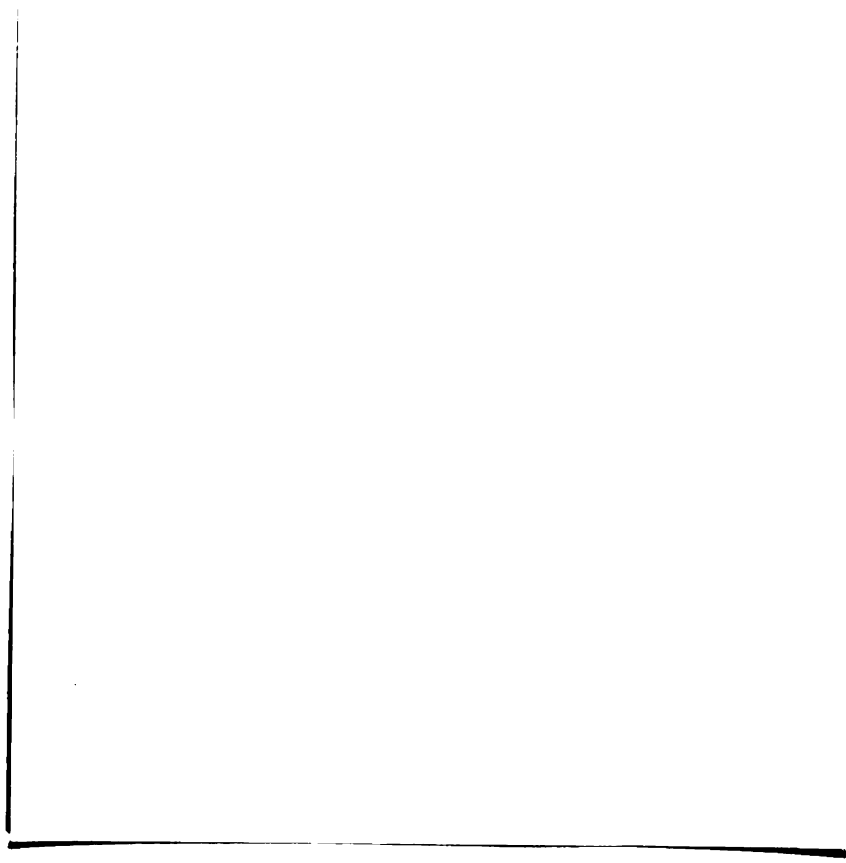


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SOCIAL FACTORS RELATED TO NON-CONFORMITY
AMONG UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

By

DONALD LEWIS CONRAD

AN ABSTRACT

Submitted to the College of Science and Arts

Michigan State University of Agriculture and
Applied Science in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

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APPROVED

Charles R. Hoffer.

ABSTRACT

The central purpose of this study was to investigate possible correlations between social factors and non-conformity among a group of university students. The study stems from research conducted by the author for the Social Research Bureau of Michigan State University to determine why student attendance at football games at the university was proportionately much higher than at other sports events.

The major conclusion of the original research was that football attendance is a part of the dominant campus culture, and students are expected to conform to this norm as members of the student body. Over eighty-five percent of them do attend half or more of the games.

If social behavior is to be explained by group norms, then a valid explanation must also be offered for those not conforming to those norms. Most social research extends only as far as the original hypotheses, but this study seeks to extend the original research to analyze the deviants in an effort to explain their non-conformity to the hypotheses.

Reference group theory as stated by Sherif, Merton, Festinger, et al, provided the conceptual framework of the study. The basic assumption was that non-conformity to the norms of the dominant campus groups is correlated with identification with groups having other norms than the dominant campus groups.

Statistical analysis was used on the data gathered in personal interviews with a random sample of 243 Michigan State University undergraduate students taken in the fall of 1954. This was supplemented with about 100 telephone interviews and a number of case studies.

Thirty-seven students were classified into three groups of non-conformists, and the balance were used as a control group for contrast. The basic premise that non-conformity to in-group norms is correlated with out-group identification was tentatively confirmed, but the data was inadequate to isolate all the significant reference groups for each individual. Other conclusions reached were:

- (1) Students are aware of the norm of football attendance.
- (2) Those in leadership positions on campus conform to the norm.
- (3) New students quickly learn the campus norms, and in case of conflict with previous norms, campus norms take the priority for most of the students.
- (4) Competition for leisure time makes more crucial the choice between competing reference groups.
- (5) Individuals with competing reference groups will develop a hierarchy of loyalties, with priority given to the group that makes group membership most desirable, and maintains a line of communication through which to reinforce its values and norms.

Further research is needed to strengthen these findings, and should include ways of measuring the extent of communication between non-conformists and prestige figures within their membership and reference groups over a period of time to show the dynamics of the situation.

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(iii)

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I. INTRODUCTION

This study of non-conformity stems from research dealing with student participation in athletic events at Michigan State University.¹ Attendance figures kept by the Athletic Department revealed that nearly all the students were attending the home varsity football games, whereas, the attendance at all the other athletic events was considerably less. The basic problem was to find out why this was true.

Several hypotheses were stated that related the attendance pattern to such factors as background conditioning, competition for leisure time, influence of the campus culture or impact of the media of mass communication.

While the study of attendance will be reported in considerable detail in a later section, it is important to note at this point that the major finding was that athletic attendance is more affected by the campus norms than by any other factor considered. Football attendance at Michigan State University, for example, may be used as an index of campus identification -- a symbol of school loyalty. To be accepted as a member of the student group, a person is expected to attend football games. Personal preferences, high school loyalties nor personal conflicts seems to be sufficient reason for not attending

¹ This research was done by the author under the sponsorship of the Social Research Service of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of the University.

home games. This is not true of attendance at other sports events, where attendance appears to be optional, depending upon any number of factors. The hypothesis that states a correlation between preferences in high school and preferences in college was supported unless there is a conflict between past and present social values, but here people can be expected to behave in terms of their present situation according to the findings of the study. This conclusion is significant because it suggests the importance of group memberships and reference groups.

If the data of this study were to be examined only on the basis of the majority of the students, the explanations could have followed the well-known patterns of acculturation and assimilation, or what has more recently been called "the acceptance of group norms". The validity and value of these terms is well established. The behavior of some particular individual, however, cannot always be predicted by studying the characteristics of the group at some arbitrary moment. It is apparent that people do not always fulfill the role expectations of all the groups of which they are a member. Linton, and many others, have examined the problems involved in being a member of competing reference groups.¹

Merton and Lazarsfeld point out that one may sometimes learn as much by looking at the exception, or deviant, as to look at the

¹ Ralph Linton, The Study of Man (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1936) and G. H. Fenchel and J. Monderer, "The Manipulation of Status and Status Equilibration in the Multiple Reference Groups of College Students", Unpublished Honors Paper, Psychology Department, The City College (New York, 1949).

majority. Rather than being embarrassed by those that don't "fit" into the hypotheses, they should be studied more carefully and used to refine the whole study.¹

This thesis will endeavor to show, by a more detailed analysis of the non-conformists within the sample of the study, that both conformity and non-conformity can best be explained in terms of "reference group" theory rather than assimilation by the membership group. Sherif in using this approach to explain the differential attitude changes in the Bennington study notes:

In most cases the total membership group served as the reference group for the changing attitudes. But some individuals changed little or not at all in attitudes during the four years of the study An oversimple theory of "Assimilation into the community" thus leaves out of account some of those whose attitudes did, and some of those whose attitudes did not change; they remained unexplained exceptions. A theory which traces the impact of other reference groups as well as the effect of the membership groups seems to account for all cases without exception.²

To this Merton and Kitt add:

That men act in a social frame of reference wielded by the groups of which they are a part is a notion undoubtedly ancient and probably sound. Were this alone the concern of reference group theory, it would merely be a new term for an old focus in sociology, which has always centered upon the group determination of behavior. There is, however, the further fact that men frequently orient themselves to groups other than their own in shaping their behavior and evaluations, and it is the problems centered about this fact of orientation to non-membership groups that constitute the distinctive concern of reference group

¹ Robert K. Merton and Paul Lazarsfeld, Eds., Continuities in Social Research; Studies in the Scope and Method of "The American Soldier" (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950).

² Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn Sherif, An Outline of Social Psychology (New York: Harper Bros., 1948) pp. 140-41.

theory Immediately its major task is to search out the processes through which individuals relate themselves to groups to which they do not belong.¹

Stated briefly then, the problem of this thesis is to find what factors influence that significant portion of a campus population that do not conform to the norms of the campus culture. The major hypothesis is that non-conformity is associated with the degree to which students identify with other reference groups having different norms.

¹ Robert K. Merton and Alice Kitt, "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior", Continuities in Social Research, Eds., Robert K. Merton and Paul Lazarsfeld (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950) p. 50.

II. A SURVEY OF REFERENCE GROUP THEORY

The concept "reference group" has proven itself increasingly useful in studying and explaining the complexities of social interaction as we know it in modern America. The term seems to have been first used by Hyman in 1942. In studying the psychology of status, he used the term to signify some person or social category with whom the individual compares himself in evaluating his status.¹ Unfortunately, Hyman has since failed to make much utility of the concept.

Newcomb profitably used it as a follow-up of his important Bemington study on attitude change. Here in a liberal school, a study was made of a shift from a conservative background to the liberal campus values, and the resistance to those shifts to the extent that some students maintained an identification or reference with the conservative values of their parents.²

Sherif, who has written extensively about reference groups, defines them as follows:

With the above considerations in mind, reference groups can be characterized simply as those groups to which the individual relates himself as a part, or to which he aspires to relate himself psychologically In many cases, of course, the individual's reference groups are at the same time his membership groups. However, in cases where the individual's membership groups are not his reference groups, it does not follow that the

¹ H. Hyman, "The Psychology of Status", Archives of Psychology, No. 268, 1942.

² T. M. Newcomb, "Community Roles in Attitude Formation", American Sociological Review (Volume VII, 1942) pp. 621-30.

groups in which the individual actually interacts will not have an effect on him. On the contrary, this creates important psychological problems for him¹

In a later section, he states that reference groups serve functionally as major anchorings, and could in fact, just as well be called "anchoring groups". An individual's attitudes toward them constitute an important basis of his self-identity and regulate his behavior.²

In another book, where he deals at more length with the psychological problems involved in multiple-group memberships, and treats such concepts as "marginal man", "ethnocentrism" and "schizogenesis", he concludes:

Ought we not in our researches be seeking for the shifts in applicable reference groups? If behavior is referred to group norms, if the individual has many group memberships, if the regnant norms may be that of a social group not physically present, I would search in such dimensions to account for changes in social behavior. I would expect that our tasks as social psychologists would be to elaborate descriptions in such terms before seeking the explanatory concepts of either general psychology or of institutional analysis. If this is our task, then social psychologists, whether drawn from anthropology, psychology or sociology, have the same job, can use the same frame of reference and can supplement one another by elaborating different dimensions of explanatory concepts.³

Merton and Kitt make the same observation in concluding their recasting of "The American Soldier" in the light of reference

¹ Muzafer Sherif and M. O. Wilson, Group Relations at the Crossroads (Harper Bros., New York, 1953) pp. 206-07.

² Ibid., p. 214.

³ Muzafer Sherif and John Rohrer, Social Psychology at the Crossroads (New York: Harper Bros., 1951) p. 386.

group theory. They point out that there have been several lines of developement in sociology and social psychology which now give promise of merging in a functional theory of reference group behavior:

Each of those has, after its own fashion made major contributions, but in retrospect, the impressive fact is that, in large measure, their mutual implications have not yet been consolidated. As is generally known, these are the conceptions of in- and out-groups set forth by Sumner, the ideas regarding the social self developed by James, Cooley and Mead, the more recent systematic researches of reference group behavior represented by the work of Hyman, Sherif and Newcomb, and the very numerous special studies on concrete problems of human behavior, such as those dealing with acculturation, assimilation, marginal man, social mobility, multiple roles, conflicting loyalties, cross pressures and the like.¹

They conclude that this consolidation would result in a more rapid cumulation of reference group theory since research on diverse departments of human behavior would become mutually stimulating and sustaining.

It is obvious from this that a survey of all the literature dealing with concepts kindred to reference group theory would be an undertaking too large for a work of this sort. It is important to note, however, that the developement of reference group theory to the place where it could be of greater value to the various fields that have already contributed to it, would be a major forward step in understanding human behavior. It is hoped that this study may make some small contribution to that accomplishment.

¹ R. K. Merton and Paul Lazarsfeld, eds., Continuities in Social Research (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950) pp. 102-03, where they also observe "...it may be said that the anticipations of reference group theory by James, Cooley and Mead also remained almost wholly undeveloped for a generation or more"

Even though the term reference group has only been in use for the past few years, it has already been incorporated into numerous articles and books. Rosen states that the reference group concept resembles the Freudian notion of "identification", but points out that a most useful idea found in the reference group concept and not explicit in identification theory is the distinction between membership group and reference group.¹

Merton and Kitt relate it to the "relative deprivation" concept used in "The American Soldier", and also make reference to the "definition of the situation" idea attributed to W. I. Thomas.² Taylor, back in 1948, used the term "Assessment group" in a very similar way to which Sherif and others use reference group.³ At least two recent articles have been written attempting to clarify the various usages of the concept and stressing the need of a more careful definition.⁴

It is possible, in seeking to extend the application of a concept as far as possible, to load it with so many connotations

¹ Bernard C. Rosen, "The Reference Group Approach to the Parental Factor in Attitude and Behavior Formation", Social Forces, Vol. XXXIV (Dec., 1955, No. 2) pp. 137-38.

² In Continuities in Social Research, pp. 40-48, 62.

³ Gordon R. Taylor, "The Nature of An Organic Society: The Concept of 'Assessment Group'", Sociological Review (Vol. 40; Sect. 5, 1948).

⁴ Tamotsu Shibutani, "Reference Groups as Perspectives", American Journal of Sociology (Vol. 40; July 1954-May 1955) pp. 562-69; and Harold H. Kelley, "Two Functions of Reference Groups" in Swanson, Newcomb and Hartley, eds., Readings in Social Psychology (New York: Holt, 1952) pp. 410-14.

that it loses most of its utility, but it would appear that eventually this theory should take into account how the norms are formed, stabilized and altered, as well as how some individual adopts them. Therefore, it seems pertinent at this point to give some consideration to the matter of the formation of group norms.

Significance of Reference Groups to the Formation of Norms

It may be easier to show what the prevailing norms are on a college campus, in a street corner society, or a housing group than to show how they were formed and how they are maintained. Sherif and Cantril give considerable attention to this vital aspect of normative behavior when they note that:

Like any other common norm, social values come into existence as a consequence of the contact of individuals or groups of individuals. In their turn, social values which have been so standardized as to reach the status of the common property of the group, may form or even standardize common attitudes, likes and dislikes, aversions and preferences in the individual members of the group

Besides things that satisfy basic needs, there are other things we value, such as our flag, our honor, or any other cherished symbol. These attachments are learned

There are fixations, on the other hand, that are standardized for the group, and as such demand respect and attachment from all members of the group Such values are not the products of individual preferences acquired during the lifetime of this or that individual. They are the products of the contact of the members of a group. They are standardized and become common property with the group.¹

In another book, Sherif uses the Bennington study to point out that:

¹ Muzafer Sherif and H. Cantril, Psychology of Ego-Involvements (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1947) pp. 123-24.

In a membership group in which certain attitudes are approved (i. e., held by majorities, and conspicuously by leaders) individuals acquire the approved attitudes to the extent that the membership group . . . serves as a positive point of reference. The findings of the Bennington study seem to be better understood in terms of this thesis than any other. The distinction between membership group and reference group is a crucial one¹

In this same book, a section is given describing the experiments with the autokinetic effect. Under certain controlled conditions, different subjects were asked to estimate the distance between two lights in a dark room. Comparisons were made between individuals both alone and in a group situation. In an unstructured situation like this, with no definite point of reference, they were influenced in their estimates by the choices of others. If there were no others present, then a person built up his own standard, and made future judgments in the light of his past internalized reference point. The tendency in the group situation was to adjust their views to correspond with others even if they thought the others were wrong.²

Though he does not actually use the concept of reference groups, Festinger, in his study of social pressures in informal groups in a new housing project, found that residents were aware of certain standardized attitudes within their neighborhood, and felt influenced by them. He explained what he calls "compliant behavior"

¹ M. Sherif and C. Sherif, An Outline of Social Psychology (New York: Harper Bros., 1948) p. 140.

² Ibid., Chapter 7.

by the degree to which a person accepts or rejects these "influences";

Such things as customs and institutionalized patterns of social interaction among people operate somehow to produce a large measure of conformity in people, and the problem of the sources of the pressures to conformity and the means of application of such pressures is clearly important. It is likely that there are at least three general sources of such pressure. Some of it undoubtedly comes from within the person himself, who has accepted many values and ideologies in the process of his socialization. Some of the pressures to conform, of course, are exerted on the individual by means of institutions and laws and taboos, rather than by face-to-face communication On the other hand, much of the pressure to conformity undoubtedly comes from the smaller groups within a society to which individuals belong. These pressures exist as group standards of the face-to-face group and are only sometimes formalized and made very explicit . . . although these are frequently very powerful.¹

In another source he points out that uniform behavior should not necessarily be considered social norms, unless there is evidence that there are psychological groups enforcing them, otherwise it may be just a number of individual responses to a situation or motivation.²

Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis and Norm Formation

As an example of the formation of norms, consideration will now be given to the contribution of some of the works on collective

¹ Leon Festinger, Stanley Schachter and Kurt Back, Social Pressures in Informal Groups (New York: Harper Bros., 1950) p. 4.

² L. Festinger, Schachter and Back, "The Operation of Group Standards", The Language of Social Research, eds., Paul Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1955). This point is well taken. Do 80% of the students attend football in this football study by happenstance? The data suggests that they feel guilty for not going, not because they are deprived of personal satisfactions, but because they are failing in their role expectations.

behavior, and the Frustration-Aggression¹ hypotheses. There is sufficient evidence to suspect that the reason attendance at home football games has been formed as a Michigan State University campus norm is that it has fulfilled a vital function.

The influx of thousands of new students into the campus social system in the fall is disruptive to both the established patterns of the social system and to the sense of security of the newcomers. They are in a new environment facing the necessity of fulfilling new roles and achieving status. In addition, they have had to at least partially sever many of their former group memberships. Freshman orientation, housing unit activities, and activities of other campus organizations help to bridge the gap, but according to Dollard, Simmel, Festinger and others, one of the best ways to accomplish in-group cohesion is by out-group aggression.² Dollard points out that yelling at football games is aggressive behavior. It is a cathartic experience, for it reduces the aggressive tendencies that come from frustrations in the campus life.³ Huizinga points out that play "represents"-- it is vicarious for the spectator.⁴

¹ A. Straus, "Collective Behavior", A Book of Readings, eds., Koenig, Hopper and Gross (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1953).

² John Dollard, et al, "Frustration and Aggression (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943) Georg Simmel, Conflict; the Web of Group Affiliations, (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1955) Festinger, Schachter and Back, Social Pressures in Informal Groups (New York: Harper Bros., 1950).

³ Dollard, et al, Frustration and Aggression, p. 50.

⁴ Jans Huizinga, Homo Ludens (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1949) p. 49-56.

Students respond that they like football because it is a contact sport. It gives them the feeling that they are out there themselves relieving tension by aggressive behavior. In addition, cheering for the team is culturally rewarded, so it serves a double purpose.

In Festinger's study of a camp experiment, he found that when frustration-producing situations were created among the boys it did lead to aggressive tendencies, and to the formation of closely knit groups, the "Red Devils" and "The Bulldogs". Conflict between them served as an integrative force within the group. This principle is then applied by Festinger to human relations in race groups and factories, but it appears to the writer that it likewise has application to a college campus and the integration of the new members, and the reinforcement of the group boundaries, by evoking a common symbol of a threatening "enemy".¹

Every victory of the team represents the school. It wins for the team esteem and honor, and this at once accrues to the benefit of the group to which the victor belongs. Success won, readily passes from the individual to the group. This principle has been recognized at least every since the Grecian and Roman games. Merrill and Eldridge point out specifically that:

The football game offers this expression under socially approved circumstances. In a football game, the ego-involvement of the crowd is strong. Victory or defeat is measured in terms

¹ L. Festinger, et al., Social Pressures in Informal Groups, p. 225. It is recognized that this doesn't explain why soccer, basketball or some other sport could not fulfill the same function, as it appears to do in some other colleges.

of the emotional participation of graduates and undergraduates, who rejoice or suffer in terms of their own personalities But on the campus, football (attendance) is hardly a fashion, involving permission, but morality -- expected behavior, with suspicion and group pressures on those who don't (attend).¹

The sense of freedom, irresponsibility and anonymity in the drama of the great crowd present during the football game enables a person to give vent to impulses that are usually suppressed by the individual in other situations.² It fulfills a vital function on the college campus, and there are few other sports that could so well combine the needed ingredients just as the students are coming on campus in the fall. Frustrations that come from being cast into a new situation will lead to aggressive and conflict situations. If this is not channeled into out-group aggression, it will be manifest in in-group situations and be disruptive to the cohesion of the group. In-group tensions are forgotten as students unite to face a common foe, and the cohesion extends beyond the point of conflict.³

Allen becomes almost an Apostle for Football when he attempts to explain why football has become so popular in America. He says:

¹ Merrill and Eldridge, Culture and Society (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952) p. 326.

² While the truth of this is acknowledged, it hardly seems necessary to take such a dim view of the crowd mind as Lebon, who says "By the mere fact that he forms the part of an organized crowd, a man descends several rungs in the ladder of civilization . . . in a crowd, he is a barbarian -- that is, a creature acting by instinct." Gustave Lebon, The Crowd (London: T. Fisher University, Ltd., 1921) p. 36; or Martin, who says "a crowd is a device for indulging ourselves in a kind of temporary insanity by all going crazy together." H. D. Martin, The Behavior of Crowds (New York: Harper Bros., 1920) p. 37.

³ G. Simmel, Conflict (Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1955) p. 91.

People crave excitement; they enjoy a spectacle and like to witness a combat, so they naturally turn to a sport like football for a vicarious thrill Football, in its purpose and its spirit, however, represents that highest craving of the human soul -- the striving for an ideal, and on the field it has no respect for wealth, poverty, social standing, race or religion The game is a characteristically American game: it is a game of the people and by the people.¹

Lundberg, and others, in concluding their study of the leisure-time activities of 1544 high school students and 53 college boys, said:

All of these activities are minor as compared to the interscholastic football and basketball games. These form the real nucleus of student morale and enthusiasm. Football dominates . . . the whole community enters in . . . making heroes of players . . . evoking of symbols²

Thus the conclusion is that behavior becomes standardized into norms because of the function that it performs for the group. It would appear likely that the norm of football attendance has been, consciously or unconsciously, developed for some such reason on the campus of Michigan State University.

Conformity and Non-Conformity to the Norms

Having considered briefly the principles of reference group theory and the formation of group norms, especially as it may apply to the campus norm of football attendance, consideration shall now be given to the extent which these norms are binding on those within

¹ Wm. D. Allen, "A Study of the Underlying Influences That Have Caused the Evolution of American Football", (Louisiana State University, 1941) Unpublished Master's Thesis.

² G. A. Lundberg, Mirra Komarovsky and Mary Alice McInerny, Leisure (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934) p. 236.

the group. It might appear that every member within the group should feel equal pressure to abide by the group norms, but such is hardly the case. A number of factors enter into how it may affect each individual, such as the extent and length of communication, contact with the prestigious elements within the group, significance of the group membership or extent of conflict with norms of other groups. The combination of such factors as these will determine to what extent each individual will conform to the norms held by the majority.

Needless to say, it is seldom in any situation that there will be equal conformity by all the members involved. A considerable amount of social research, however, only deals with the behaviour of the majority, giving the impression that those that "don't fit" are irrelevant to the study. It is the writer's conviction that the non-conformists within a group may be just as important to reference group theory as those who conform. If the normative structure is to account for the behavior of the majority, then it appears that the same hypothesis should account for the behavior of those who for some reason do not conform. The explanations emerging from reference group theory endeavor to do this. The same principles that may lead one individual to conform to the norms of a particular group may lead another to be considered as a non-conformist.

Faris outlines how the pressure to conform occurs in the small primary group:

Although it is widely recognized that the primary group exercises a strong control over its members, the investigations of the ways in which this control operates are fragmentary and inconclusive. In general, it appears that persons respond to

expectations in primary relations for a number of reasons. There are penalties for not conforming -- expulsion or avoidance, restriction of relations to those of a less intimate nature, ridicule, slight gestures of disapproval, and the imagined possibility of any of these. The essence appears to be that membership is valued, and that any violation of the standards jeopardizes in some degree the completeness of the membership. To the contented member of the primary group, the association itself is a value above the particular activities the group undertakes, and the members care less what they do or where they go than that they do it together. In primary groups which have no goals other than enjoying the company of one another, controls and penalties are rarely needed -- the members know what kinds of action are favorable to harmony, and they want this above everything else.¹

Sherif analyzes another group situation as follows:

The individual in an intense group situation acts as a member of the group, the group situation demands conformity. Whether the individual would LIKE to conform or not . . . when once he is a part of the situation, it imposes conformity on him Conformity permeates his emotions, his thinking and his tempo of action, bringing group members to a common level.²

While Sherif applies this only to valued primary groups or to intense group situations, it is true somewhat in all group situations. To the extent that a person wishes to be a part of the group, to that extent he will want to conform. Sherif foresees that some may say that the group norm is only the leader's norm, but their observations indicated that the leaders were constantly observed to be influenced by their followers and if the leader changed his norm after the group norm was settled, he many times ceased to be followed. Thus, when the norm is once fixed by group interaction,

¹ Robert Faris, "Development of the Small-Group Research Movement" Group Relations at the Crossroads, eds., Sherif and Wilson (New York: Harper Bros., 1953) p. 175.

² Muzafer Sherif, The Psychology of Social Norms (New York: Harper Bros., 1936) p. 71-72.

it achieves a measure of permanence, continuing at times for many generations. As new individuals become a member of the group they recognize these norms and accept them as their own. While the original situation may have demanded the normative relations to ensure smooth functioning of the group, there are times when the norms persist as "survivals" after the original need for them has passed, but usually they are replaced or changed.¹

Of course, it is much easier to say that individuals do incorporate these norms, whether as new members within the group, or when the group norms themselves are in transition, than to say just how and why it is accomplished. There is no doubt that considerably more research needs to be done in these areas. Sherif concludes that two general types of research must be thoroughly pursued: (1) The study of the incorporation of social values in the individual, involving such studies as perception, learning and thinking on the psychological side; individual differences due to such factors as age, sex and temperament; and the sociological consideration of the general structure of society, economic class, social background and critical social situations of which he is a part, (2) The role of values in the life of the individual once they are incorporated in him.²

Festinger raises a pertinent question on this matter of the incorporation of the values within the individual. He feels that

¹ Ibid., pp. 124, 137, 198-99.

² Ibid., p. 126.

not all conformity actually means that the individual has accepted the norms, but rather that he just complies with them at the moment because it is convenient or necessary for him to do so.

This public conformity with, and without, private acceptance, he relates to the distinctions made by Lewin and French called "own" and "induced" forces. He quotes French as saying,

An induced force which is accepted to a high degree produces in the person additional own forces in the same direction, so that the behavior instigated by induction becomes relatively independent of the inducing agent, and will occur even if his power field is removed. But an induced force which is rejected, produces in the person opposing forces with the result that the induced behavior will cease as soon as the inducing power field is withdrawn.¹

Festinger then notes that to understand fully the influence process it is necessary to have a theory that outlines the determinants of effective influence and the conditions under which one or the other kind of influences will be observed. Private acceptance will accompany public compliance if the person desires his group relationship, but if conditions are such that he is forced into group membership, and forced to comply with its norms, it will be without private acceptance.² Little empirical testing of this has been done, but it can be done by observing behavior before and after the

¹ Leon Festinger, "An Analysis of Compliant Behavior" Group Relations at the Crossroads, eds. Sherif and Wilson (New York: Harper Bros., 1953) p. 175.

² It occurs to the writer that there may also be circumstances when the individual may privately accept some influence, but because of the pressures from other reference groups, refuse to publicly conform. The same principle still applies, but it produces opposite results.

removal of the source of influence, and by coupling this with a "private interview".¹

Newcomb introduced some of the same notions by the use of the terms "Positive" and "Negative" reference groups. He defined the positive as one in which the person is motivated to be accepted and treated as a member, and the negative as one in which the person does not want to be treated as a member. In addition, he notes that one group may be both a positive and a negative reference group in that he may willingly conform to some of its norms and not to others.²

With this frame of reference in mind, Festinger conducted a study among the residents of several housing courts with a new housing development. They sought to determine the attitude and behavior of the respondents toward the development of a representative council for the living area. They found considerable difference among the fourteen different housing courts, and between individuals

¹ Ibid., pp. 247-48. Here he also points out some of the difficulties involved in the use of a private interview. They shall be noted here inasmuch as this is the main source of the data used in this thesis study.

"Technically this is not "private behavior" since the relationship between the person and the interviewer is also a social one, but it should suffice for these purposes unless there is reason to believe that the person would feel the same pressures from the interviewer as from the group in which the influence is exerted. This method of eliciting 'private' verbal response has other problems associated with it however. One can only interview people about things which they are able to verbalize, assuming that they are willing to verbalize them. Such verbal statement of opinion or verbal reactions to hypothetical situations does not always correspond simply to the way a person actually behaves it nevertheless can be a useful technique and a widely applicable one for making the empirical distinction with which we are concerned."

² Ibid., p. 209.

within each court. They took the majority in each group and calling this the norm, tried then to explain the deviates. By using the combination of statistical analysis supplemented with individual responses, they arrived at these conclusions:

Many of the residents realized that the people in their court were different from the people in some other court, but the influence which created and maintained these differences among courts were indirect and non-overt. Members of the courts were being influenced in their opinions and behavior merely by virtue of their association with others in their courts, without any formalized "group intent" to influence.

The strength of the influence which the group can exert in this manner depends partly upon the attractiveness of the group for the member and partly on the degree to which the member is in communication with others in the group The influence of some other group to which the people belong may be stronger than the influence which the court is able to exert on them. Under these conditions the person who appears as a deviate is a deviate only because we have chosen somewhat arbitrarily, to call him a member of the court group. He does deviate from his own court, but he conforms to some other group to which he actually feels he belongs. Such a group, of course, may be outside Westgate altogether.¹

This last paragraph in reality summarizes this whole section and provides the basis for the greater part of the whole study. It contains several vital assumptions upon which most of the hypotheses will be based. The extent to which a person identifies with the group and maintains contact with it, is probably the most basic of all determinants as to how much he will abide by the norms of the group, regardless of how much, or whether, he is considered a member of it. In that connection, the other significant thing to note is that the person that is a non-conformist to his membership group is

¹ L. Festinger, Schachter and Back, Social Pressures in Informal Groups (New York: Harper Bros., 1950) pp. 102-04.

very likely a conformist to some other group to which he belongs or refers.

Sherif and Cantril in their book on ego-involvement, deal considerably with the formation of group norms primarily among neighborhood gangs, and the group pressures on non-conformity. One of their major conclusions is that a person non-conforms to one group mostly because there is another group with different norms in which they are more interested.¹ In another book, Sherif makes an important observation in this connection:

When an individual who is strongly identified with one group is participating even as an announced member in actual face-to-face interaction in another group, his appraisals, conformity in the momentary situation will be deflected in terms of anchorages provided by the group of which he considers himself a part, that is, his reference group.²

In this connection he endeavors to determine the "relative weights" of the external influences, and the internal factors that have come from previous conditioning, in the joint determination of behavior. This problem of salience or anchorings becomes a crucial problem, and it appears to the writer that this is another way of describing the phenomena that Reisman placed into character types, under such headings as those predominantly "inner directed" or "other directed".³

¹ M. Sherif and H. Cantril, The Psychology of Ego-Involvements (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1947) esp. pp. 312-31.

² Sherif and Wilson, eds., Group Relations at the Crossroads (New York: Harper Bros., 1953) pp. 218-19.

³ David Reisman, The Lonely Crowd (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

A very interesting study in this regard is the one at the Bennington school, referred to earlier. The transition from conservative home backgrounds and attitudes to the liberal culture of the school varied within the individual in proportion to the extent that she related herself to the school membership group or to her home background. It was not a polarized situation, but rather a continuum, with different shadings all the way along the scale. However, these were placed into eight different groups using the following factors: (1) conservative or liberal, (2) negative to the campus values or not negative, and (3) whether they were aware or unaware of their relative standing with the attitudes of others in the group.

It is worthwhile to note that while many changed in their attitudes, many did not, and that there were in both categories those that were unaware of the fact that they were either conforming or non-conforming to the campus norms. Inasmuch as the majority of the students did change to accept the liberal campus values, those that did not were considered non-conformists or deviates. However, those that were non-conformists to this membership group, were nonetheless conformists to their family group -- their reference group.¹ Had the majority of the girls remained conservative, then the liberal students would be considered the deviates; hence, non-conformity is relative to the situation, the time and the viewpoint of the investigator. It is possible that there are those who make a practice, whenever

¹ Sherif and Sherif, An Outline of Social Psychology (New York: Harper Bros., 1940) pp. 142-55.

they can, of being a non-conformist just for the sake of being different, but no serious study seen thus far supports the fact.

It appears then, that the primary focus of reference group theory will be to develop techniques for determining under which circumstances an individual is likely to use one group or the other as his reference group. Such refinement seems necessary if the theory is going to have much value in predicting behavior, rather than being used just as an "ex post facto" explanation.

Merton and Kitt emphasize this fact:

Since both membership groups and non-membership groups, in-groups and out-groups, have in fact been taken as assumed social frames of reference in these interpretations, this at once leads to a general question of central importance to a developing theory of reference group behavior; under which conditions are associates within one's own groups taken as a frame of reference for self-evaluation and attitude-formation, and under which conditions do out-groups or non-membership groups provide the significant frame of reference?¹

This suggests also the related problem, referred to earlier, of multiple reference groups. A person is likely a member of a number of different groups, but in addition may use scores of other groups of which he is not a member as a reference group. Thus, in any situation, it is not just a matter of comparing the norms of two comparative groups or conflict groups and deciding which should be used as a frame of reference in this situation, but it is a matter of juggling the values of a number of competing groups, and trying to behave with some semblance of inner and outer consistency.

¹ Robert Merton and Paul Lazarsfeld, eds., Continuities in Social Research (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1950) p. 49.

Merton asks a pertinent question:

If multiple groups or statuses, with their possibly divergent or even contradictory norms and standards are taken as a frame of reference by the individual, how are these discrepancies resolved?¹

It appears that in a complex society like ours in the United States, a person must either become very adept at altering their behavior as they shift from one group to another, or else they will have to so organize their membership and reference groups as to permit consistent behavior throughout. While this point is of considerable interest to the writer, it is not essential to this study.

One final consideration vital to the topic at hand is: What are the consequences to both the individual and the group of which he is a member when he adopts the values of some out-group rather than his membership group?

The studies by Merton and Kitt are very helpful in this regard. They studied the attitudes toward the enlisted men who rejected their enlisted men's values because they aspired to be officers, and wished to be more acceptable to the officers -- their reference group. They found that:

For the individual who adopts the values of a group to which he aspires, but does not belong, this orientation may serve the twin functions of aiding his rise into that group and of easing his adjustment after he has become a part of it Although "anticipatory socialization" may be functional for the individual in an open social system, it is apparently dysfunctional for the solidarity of the group or status to which he belongs. For the allegiance to the contrasting mores of another group

¹ Ibid., p. 50. Dr. John Hanson, Education Professor at MSU, took the position in class discussion in 1955 that a person should seek only roles consistent with one another...any other was unethical.

group means defection from the mores of the in-group To the degree that the individual identifies himself with another group, he alienates himself from his own group.¹

It appears that such action in nearly every group is treated with a negative response, and sometimes even hostile reactions. This seems to set up a chain reaction of group dissatisfaction with the group relation.²

Thus through the interplay of disassociation and progressive alienation from the group values, he may become doubly motivated to orient himself toward the values of another group and to affiliate himself with it. It would appear from this that the reason many non-conformists are "isolates"³ is that they have been forced out of the social relations of the group, not that they are necessarily so by disposition.

¹ Ibid., pp. 87-89. Merton and Kitt also stress that Sociology has for years been concerned about the determinants and consequences of group cohesion, but has given little systematic attention to the complementary subject of group alienation. It is mostly the literary observer that has portrayed the drama in the situation of the renegade, traitor and deserter, and since group character assumes the loyalty of its members, these have just about always been treated as the object of vilification rather than the object of sociological study.

² Ibid., p. 93. "What the individual experiences as estrangement from a group of which he is a member tends to be experienced by his associates as repudiation of the group, and this ordinarily evokes a hostile response. As social relations between the individual and the rest of the group deteriorate, the norms of the group become less binding for him. For since he is progressively seceding from the group and being penalized for it, he is the less likely to experience rewards for adherence to the group's norms. Once initiated, this process seems to move toward a cumulative detachment from the group, in terms of attitudes and values as well as in terms of social relations." Note "drop outs" in school here. See Case Study # 137.

³ An "isolate" might be defined as one who is nominally in a group but only slightly incorporated in its network of social relations.

Now to relate all of this to the college campus. At the beginning of a new term there is a sizeable influx of new group members, a number of which may still be holding to various out-group identifications. There are immediate group pressures brought to bear on these new recruits to adopt the norms of the campus culture. If there were not some way of bringing cohesion, it seems that the cumulative detachment process might soon bring considerable dysfunction to the campus social system. It would appear that the football games function as a symbol of unity which tends to relieve the in-group tensions, halt the alienation process and strengthen the campus mores.

III. METHODS

Background of the Study

For a number of years the Athletic and Public Information Departments of Michigan State University discussed the reasons for the disparity between student attendance at football games in comparison with attendance at other varsity sports. While the attendance figures varied at the different sports from year to year, football games have been attended by a much larger proportion of the student body than other sports. Various explanations were offered for this, with related discussions as to its implications for other sports. This culminated in a request that the Social Research Service do a study of student attendance at Michigan State athletic events.

A proposal for such a study was formulated and made possible when the Athletic Council authorized the expenditure of a small research grant. In connection with the grant, the author received a graduate research assistantship and conducted the study under the valuable supervision of Dr. W. B. Brookover and Dr. Joel Smith of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

Procedure for Obtaining the Data

While the Athletic Council was primarily concerned with why the students did not attend basketball games in equal numbers with

football, the nature of the hypotheses made it necessary to gather extensive data dealing not only with sports attendance at Michigan State, but also a whole complex of details about age, sex, marital status, high school and college interests, and other factors.

To discover what might be the most pertinent data, a pilot study was conducted during the spring term of 1954, dealing with attendance at baseball games. A proportionate sample of the students were selected as they entered the ball park, and subsequently interviewed at their place of residence. With the experience and information gathered from these interviews, it was possible to design the research for the football study.

As soon as the Registrar could make them available, a duplicate set of the registration cards from the fall term, 1954, were used to obtain the necessary information for the drawing of a random sample that would be representative of the whole student body. Inasmuch as it was felt that the high school experiences of the 123 foreign students would not in many cases be comparable to those of the students in the United States, they were excluded from the sampling universe. The college experiences and interests of the 1,415 graduate students was likewise considered to be sufficiently different from that of the undergraduates, that they were excluded also.

The remaining 12,993 undergraduates were then stratified as to marital status, sex, geographic area of previous residence, and type of curriculum. From the resultant categories, a random sample of 243 students was taken. The 153 men and 90 women were interviewed

between October and December of 1954 in interviewing booths provided in one of the centrally located buildings on campus. A schedule was set up with forty-five minute intervals, and as many as four interviewers available. Each member of the sample was called, briefly informed of the nature of the study, and asked to set a time that would be convenient for them to come to be interviewed. Random substitutes, drawn for that purpose, were used for the one student that refused to be interviewed, and for the few that could not be contacted.

The interview schedule had previously been pretested and carefully reworked before its use. Nearly one hundred students, chosen from the sample, were subsequently interviewed in January and February of 1955 by telephone to obtain data on actual attendance at sports events so far that school year. A copy of these schedules as used in the interviewing are found in the Appendix.

For the most part, the interview schedule was pre-coded for the convenience of the interviewer. On some questions careful instructions were given not to indicate to the respondent any type of expected response. Other questions were open-ended to give the respondent an opportunity to express himself as he wished. When the interviews were all completed, the data was carefully coded and placed on IBM cards to facilitate the testing of the hypotheses.

A complete report of the hypotheses, procedure, data and findings of that study are on file at the Social Research Bureau, and will not be reported in detail here. The major conclusion of the study was that football attendance has become an important part of

the norms of the dominant campus culture, and the degree to which the students attend reflects their conformity to that norm.

Implications Involved in the Analysis of the Non-conformists

What of those who fail to attend football games? If it is such a desirable thing for students to go to the games, why are there some who fail to do so? Just as the appeal of the game is not sufficient to explain why so many students do attend, neither does campus norms explain why so many of them fail to attend. The six and six-tenths of the sample that failed to attend a single game -- if projected to the whole student body, would be about 860 students. There must be some explanation why that many students failed to attend, even though tickets were easily available at no additional cost, and it was apparently so highly valued on campus for them to do so.

We shall examine the data of this study to test the hypotheses that conformity and non-conformity to in-group norms can support the reference group concepts. When the study first developed, it was not intended to use the deviants as such a vital part of the research, but further consideration has led to the feeling that here may well be one of the most fruitful aspects of explanation.¹

¹ "A theoretical concept emerging or developed in the course of one inquiry, if it has any empirical relevance at all, can then be utilized in subsequent researches. If it is to be creative at all, research cannot be confined to the testing of predetermined hypotheses. New concepts and hypotheses emerge in the process of the inquiry, and these become the basis for further inquiry. This we take it, is precisely how continuity in science occurs." R. K. Merton and Alice Kitt, Continuities in Social Research, eds., Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert Merton, (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1950) p. 68.

It was only when conformity to the campus norms was seen to be such a strong determinant of the students behavior that we began to be more concerned about those who resisted that pressure, as evidenced by their non-conformist behavior patterns. This does not mean that the testing of the original hypotheses, and the discovery of the predominant norms regarding athletic attendance, are not of significance. Rather is it felt that it is better to use these as a control, showing the pattern of campus conformity, and then to look in more detail at the non-conformists as a comparison.

Lazarsfeld and Rosenberg encourage this procedure of extending the original research by pointing out that:

Any multivariate analysis reaches a barrier for one of two reasons. Either the available variables have been exhausted, or so many cross-tabulations have been made that the number of cases have become too small. Still we may have not achieved closure. The investigation will be confronted by cases which cannot be accounted for in terms of his own analysis. He will want to extend it at least in a speculative way and lay the groundwork for more extended and refined future multivariate analysis.¹

Kendall and Wolf, in the same book, develop this idea by noting that at present there are few generalizations which permit completely accurate predictions. There are always some who don't behave the way it is predicted they should or would. The analysis of these deviants can, and should, play a "positive role" in empirical research. They propose two main purposes of such analysis:

The first function of deviant case analysis, then, is to correct the oversimplifications of predictive schemes by demonstrating the relevance of additional variables. The second function

¹ Paul Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg, The Language of Social Research (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1955) p. 165.

. . . is not to add anything to the scheme, but rather to refine the measurement of statistical variables used to locate the deviant cases.¹

A good illustration of the fulfillment of the first function is the experience in a study reported by Merton. This was begun as an applied research project intended to determine the workings of interpersonal influence in a community. But as the pilot study was underway, they soon realized that they had over-specified the practical problem. They had made four categories of "influentials" and two of "non-influentials". Their procedure was logical and applicable, but also sterile. It was only after they had restated the problem, that they were in a position to advance toward both the applied and theoretic objectives of the inquiry. By discarding their six categories for two new ones, "Locals" and "Cosmopolitans", suggested by the study, and recasting the inquiry in that light, were they able to begin to get fruitful results.²

The study of the Kate Smith War Bond Drive hypothesized that a certain appeal would be most effective with those that had close relatives in service. A check of the fourteen families with servicemen revealed that five responded as expected, but there were nine that deviated from the hypothesis. A closer check revealed that these knew their sons were not in the war zone and not in immediate danger, therefore they were not emotionally affected by the sacrifice

¹ Ibid., pp. 169-70.

² Robert Merton, "Patterns of Influence" Communications Research, eds., Paul Lazarsfeld (New York: Harper Bros., 1949) pp. 180-88.

theme. In this case, a refinement of the variables locating deviates placed these respondents in a different category, and gave even greater strength to the hypothesis.¹

Horst stresses the value of this approach, especially in the matter of using case analysis to look closer at the deviants. He states:

One of the most interesting and useful parts of a prediction study should be the investigation of cases which have been incorrectly predicted in a new sample In this connection, the case study of incorrectly placed individuals may have its most useful function, namely that of discovering important factors which had formerly been neglected in the prediction system This type of study can offer rich rewards in the way of suggesting revision of previous hypotheses and new hypotheses which can be further tested by statistical techniques.

In this connection, the statistical and case study methods may be used profitably to supplement one another.²

One other study will be cited here to show the value of deviant case analysis. In this study, 160 men were interviewed concerning their attitudes toward ethnic minorities. Three cartoons were used which satirically portrayed "Mr. Biggott" as a prejudiced man. Thirty-six percent of the men saw both the prejudice and the satire, thirty-one percent saw neither the prejudice nor the satire, and thirty-three percent saw the prejudice, but not the unfavorable satire against it. Kendall and Wolfe state that:

Although the predictive scheme in the present study was fairly complicated, being based on several factors, it still failed to account for the behavior of a considerable group of readers We shall analyze these deviant cases . . . (1) to show how

¹ Paul Lazarsfeld and M. Rosenberg, Language of Social Research (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1955) pp. 170-72.

² Ibid., pp. 173-74.

deviant case analysis refined the theoretical structure of this study in particular, and (2) to show how such analysis can be applied to communication research in general.

Without going into the details of the study or its results, suffice it to say that a closer look at one group of twenty-one revealed three sub-groups within it, which factor added considerably to the theoretical refinement of the study; and a look at the three in the other group of deviants found that two of them were intellectually incapable of understanding, and the third had been misclassified on the basis of misleading information that he gave.¹

Merton repeatedly states the value of this type of research, and goes further to point out that if there is to be continuity and progress in this vital field of the theory of value-assimilation, the group contexts of self-appraisals, and the objective assessment of situations, then systematic sociological indices will be needed in at least three areas: (1) To measure the actual social contact between the group prestige stratum and the newcomers, (2) To measure how much these newcomers are motivated to affiliate with these prestige stratum, and (3) To see if the newcomers are an organized subgroup with their own values or an aggregate of individuals. While these indices may seem very common, he also points out that there is a great difference -- in fact, all the difference -- between impressionistic and sporadic references to such variables, and systematic incorporation of these variables into research. He feels that it is

¹ Pat Kendall and Katherine Wolfe in Communications Research, ed. Paul Lazarsfeld (New York: Harper Bros., 1949) pp. 158-79.

only through the latter procedure that theory and research will both advance.¹

While it is recognized that a systematic accounting for as many of the deviants as possible, even to the use of case studies, is advisable, it is also a fact that there are many problems involved in setting up empirical tests of some of the reference group concepts. Merton points out that laboratory experimental situations are often artificial. It is more difficult to test real life. Reference groups are sometimes unwittingly used or spontaneously selected. He concludes,

It is this type of problem -- the processes shaping the selection of reference groups -- that stands in most conspicuous need of research.²

One last observation by Merton is pertinent here, and can lead to the next section:

It is not mere indolence or lack of insight which keeps the sociologist from seeking to track down all the comparative contexts which hold for any given individual; it is, rather, that many of these contexts are idiosyncratic, not shared by a large fraction of other individuals within the same group or category. . . . These become relevant for the sociologist only if they are shared sufficiently to lead to group differences in evaluations.³

¹ Robert Merton, Continuities in Social Research, p. 80. In connection with the third index, he states in another book, "Whenever individuals cannot consistently relate themselves to the scale of values of the groups within which they move and function, there is a tendency for these individuals to gravitate toward one another and to form "informal" reference groups, deriving their major self-identity, aspirations and values from these informal groups, at least for the time being." Group Relations at the Crossroads, Sherif and Wilson (New York: Harper Bros., 1953) pp. 226-27.

² Merton, Continuities in Social Research, p. 69.

³ Ibid., p. 62.

Techniques for Selecting and Analyzing Non-Conformist Groups

In an effort to find categories with this common comparative context, and to identify the differences between those students who did not conform to the campus norm of football attendance, and those that did, the sample was divided into five groups. The main group was the approximately eighty percent that went to three or four home football games. These were called the "conformists", and will be used as the control group. The remainder were divided into four groups of "non-conformists" as follows: (1) The 16 who had attended no football games, (2) Another 16 who had attended only one or two games, (3) The 12 who said they were "not interested" or "not very interested" in sports in high school, and who did not name sports as either their first or second choice in extra-curricular activities in high school, and (4) The other 14 who did not mention sports as being either their first or second choice in high school. These four groups all represented deviant behavior from the prevailing norms. However, those in the fourth group of deviants were not necessarily disinterested in sports just because they had two other things they liked better.¹ It was felt that these should be looked at separately on the same basis of an unexpressed interest in sports as the other groups of deviants. However, in most areas, their behavior proved to be more closely correlated with that of the conformists than the non-conformists, so they will be mentioned in the subsequent reporting of the data only when their behavior is clearly different.

¹ Six of these rated their interest in sports as being "mild", four as "quite interested" and four as "very much interested".

Seven of the students in the third category, those not interested in sports in high school, are also in the non-conformist categories in college. These were placed in a separate category for two reasons: (1) to prevent duplication, so the combined totals of conformists and non-conformists will equal the 243 in the sample, and (2) to check the hypothesis that there is a persistence to non-conformist behavior as well as conformist.

It was decided to treat the basic material of the study, that is, the data showing the characteristics of the conformist group and the campus norms, at the same time as the analysis of the non-conformists for the following reasons:

- (1) It makes a more orderly presentation than to go over the same data twice in two different sections.
- (2) It will show the strength of the campus norms in contrast to the behavior of the deviants.
- (3) It will point out what factors have greatest significance in the determination of non-conformity.

Statement of Hypotheses

Inasmuch as the original study was designed to explain the behavior of the majority of the students rather than the minority, the statement of hypotheses at this point must be tentative and exploratory.

On the basis of the theoretical framework presented previously, the most fruitful explanations of non-conformity are likely to be found in other significant reference groups. Festinger pointed out

that people are able to resist in-group pressures to conformity on three bases: (1) The group is not sufficiently attractive, (2) There is a lack of communication, and (3) There is some other group to which they belong or identify that is able to exert more influence on them. Normally these three work in connection with each other.¹

The data does not permit a thorough test of any of these areas. The students were not asked if being a member of the student body was attractive to them, but since registration is voluntary, it was assumed that they were there because they wanted to be. However, this does not say that they were interested in being a part of the campus social life, for it is very possible for many of them, that enrollment was for academic reasons only. Only indirect evidence will be presented which will bear on this point.

The same might be said of the matter of communication. Students may be on the fringe of the campus life either by choice, circumstance or necessity. The reference group hypothesis would probably state that campus non-participation, off-campus residence and social isolation would be correlated with non-conformity. It is felt, however, that this material can be covered more concisely by relating it to the consideration of the third factor, the identification with other reference groups.

Since it is not possible at this point to say which of the above factors may be the greatest determinant of non-conformity, and since it is felt that where one is applicable, the other two will

¹ Presented earlier in this study, on Page 21.

IV. EXPLANATION OF THE FINDINGS

For the sake of order and clarity, the data will be presented under three sub-sections, with references to the hypotheses being included where the data is applicable.

Indications That Football Attendance is an Important Element in the Dominant Campus Norms

Some of the material will be presented here that led to the basic conclusion that football attendance is a vital element in the dominant campus norms. Other substantiating data will follow in subsequent sections.

The expression, "Michigan State is a football school" is heard frequently, implying that the school's major sport interest is recognized as being in the area of football. In order to discover to what extent the students have this image, they were asked at about mid-point in the interview, "What do you feel is the major sport of Michigan State University?" Football was the response given by every student in the sample, and only three indicated that there was any doubt in their mind about it.

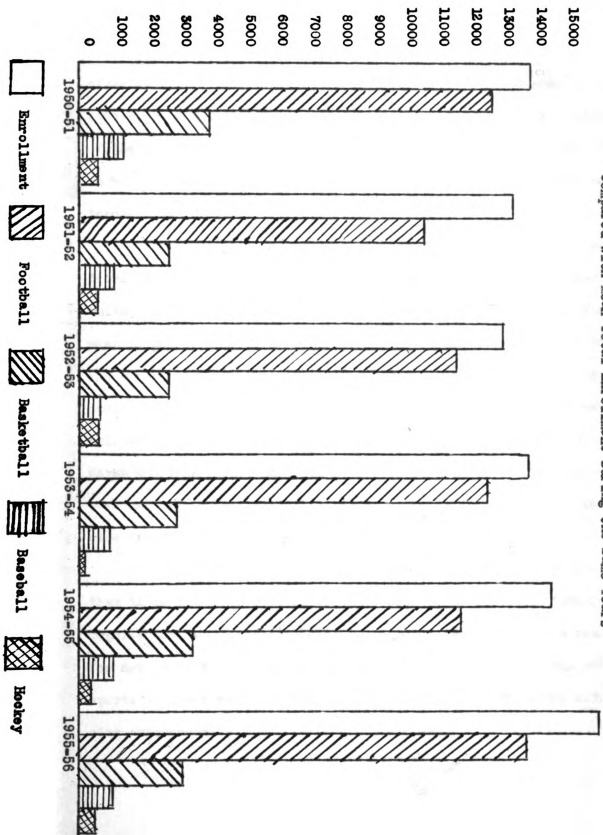
This is all the more remarkable, when it is realized that 90 of them were enrolled as a first-term student, and had been on the campus only about two months. By way of comparison, 192 were sure that basketball was the major sport in the winter, 40 weren't sure, and eight thought it might be one of the other sports. In the

spring, 142 were sure that baseball was the major sport, 67 thought it was, 10 2343 sure that some other sport was, and 23 thought that some other sport was. Only football demonstrated such a complete student body awareness.

Furthermore, 78% of those in the sample who were on campus the previous year, either went to every home game or only missed one. There were only 16 students, or 11%, that didn't go to any games. There were 17% that attended no basketball games. Only 37% attended over half the games, and just 10% went to all of them or only missed one. Thirty-six percent of the students attended no baseball games, only 17% attended over half the home games, and just four percent either attended all or only missed one. FIGURE 1 shows the average number of students present at the various sports for the years 1950-1955 in comparison to total student enrollment. No sport even approximates student attendance at football.

The behavior of the officers of the various student organizations would be expected to reflect the dominant campus norms. Sorority and fraternity members likely represent an unusually high percentage of the campus leadership and prestige figures. It is quite impressive to find that not one of those who rank student government activities as their major campus interest fail to attend more than two football games. When those are added that place sorority or fraternity as their first preference, and those that prefer the all-school events, there is still not one that does not go to more than half the games. When the 24 are added who make these their second preference, there is still just one student out of the 56 who

Figure 1. Showing Mean Student Attendance at Major MSU Sports Contests 1950-55
Compared with Mean Total Enrollment During the Same Years



did not go to more than half the games. When officers of every kind of organization on campus are included, whether it is a prestige organization or not, it is found that of the 32 students who go to less than half the games, only four hold any sort of office, whereas of the 116 attending over half the games, 48 offices are held. Thus it would appear that the campus leadership recognizes football attendance as a norm.

While it will be referred to in more detail in a later section, it is pertinent to observe here that it is normally students with sports interest that attend other campus sports events, but when it comes to football attendance, students go whether they have any other interest in sports or not. For instance, just as many students attend football that mention other than sports as their major extra-curricular interest as those that place sports first. Fifty-seven out of a possible 74 naming sports as a first choice went to over half the games, but 61 out of a possible 74 that named something else first went to over half the games.

Football is universally accepted; everybody seems to know that it is the major sport, and even the few that do not attend, recognize that about everybody goes. A person needs to have a reason for not going to football games, but this is not true for the other sports -- these are optional, without strong group pressures enforcing attendance.

Change in Reference Group Related to Preference for Football

While background conditioning and competition for leisure time are possibly related to football attendance, these factors were considered less effective than the factor of reference group in accounting for the data presented above. As the students came into the culture of the Michigan State campus, the primary explanation of the tremendous shift to football attendance appears to be the acceptance and assimilation of the campus norm which states that students should attend home football games. However, the fact that not all the students conformed to this norm, led to the conclusion that they conformed only to the extent that they accepted the dominant campus group as their reference group. This factor shall now be weighed against the other possibilities.

When an individual that is strongly identified with one group moves into another group, he will normally take "anchorages" with him from his previous affiliation which will tend to modify his behavior in the new situation. This was one of the hypotheses that was first formed to account for the interest in football here at the university. It was suggested that football was becoming increasingly popular in the high schools in Michigan, and since most of the students were previous residents of the state, perhaps they were "carrying over" a football interest from high school. The explanation seemed quite logical, but it did not describe the situation as found in the data. It was found that there were numerous areas where there was such a carry-over, but this was not the explanation for football.

To test the hypotheses that conformity to the football norm could be explained by the fact that the students were coming from communities where football was the major sport in the culture, or from high schools where this was true, the students were classified into geographic categories, using two questions as a guide: "In what state did you receive most of your education prior to coming to Michigan State University" and "In what state did you attend high school most of the time?". Previous to this, the sampling universe had also been stratified according to geographic areas.

The students were then asked to tell what was the size, type and location of the school; the major sport, and sports for which they had pep rallies. Using these as an index, the various categories were compared. The first finding was that the size of the high school had more to do with the major sport determination than the state it was in. Students from Indiana, Illinois, and New York were expected to be high in basketball interest, and would be less likely to conform to the football attendance norm here, whereas those from Michigan and other football areas would be high in conformity. However, it was found that in Indiana and Illinois, 69% of the schools had football as a major sport, and only 31% favored basketball; whereas in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan only 31% preferred football and 62% favored basketball. The smaller schools may not be able to provide the facilities for football, both in manpower and equipment. Students from out of the state come mostly from larger schools, where football is possible, and according to the data, the major sport.

Eighty-eight percent of the 57 students with previous residence outside of Michigan were attending more than half of the football games, which was even higher than Michigan students. It is true that they were also higher in attendance at basketball and baseball games and several other campus activities, which may indicate that they have less opportunity to go back home, and more opportunity to attend campus activities -- a factor which may strengthen their identification with the campus norms.

It might also be hypothesized that it is those who preferred football in high school in these other states that came to Michigan State because they knew it was a football school. However, the data shows that 40% of them said they preferred some other sport in high school.

The overwhelming fact here is the great shift to football. Of the 140 who came from schools where football was the major sport, 109 now prefer to attend football games, and 16 prefer basketball; while of the 74 who came from schools where basketball was the major sport, 54 now prefer to watch football, and only six prefer basketball; and of the 15 who felt that football and basketball was equal in their high school, 12 now prefer football and only one prefers basketball, and of the 14 who had some other major sport in high school, 11 now prefer football, and two basketball. Thus, there is a net gain of 46 to preference for football, and a net loss of 49 for basketball.

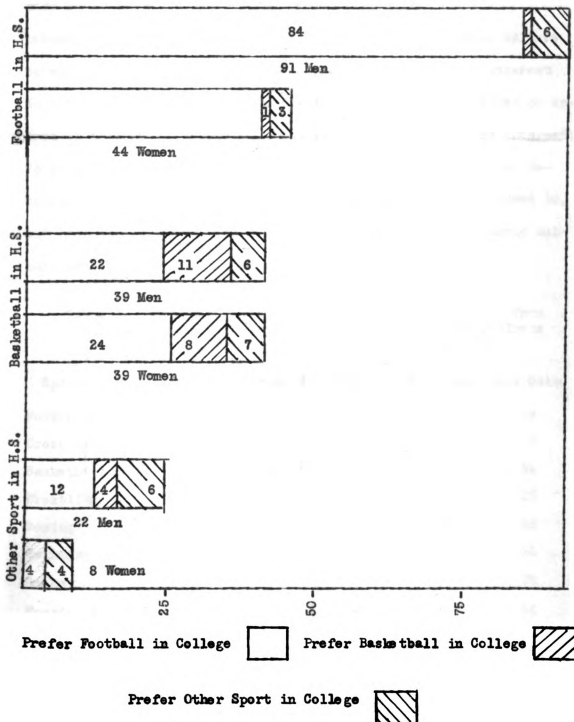
It might be thought that this is because the students did not agree with the high school major sport in their personal preference,

but preferred football all along, but the switch is just as striking when considered from a comparison of personal preferences in high school, and personal preference now. Of the 136 who preferred to watch football in high school, 124 still prefer it, and two now prefer to watch basketball; but of the 78 who preferred basketball, 46 now prefer football, and only 19 still prefer basketball; of the 30 who preferred other sports, 16 changed to football, and just four to basketball. Thus in this instance there is a net gain of 51 for football, and a net loss of 53 for basketball. FIGURE 2 graphically presents these differences.

Of the 37 non-conformists in the three categories, 18 of them preferred football in high school, now 21 do; nine of them preferred basketball, now six do; five preferred none, now three do; and five preferred some other sport, and now seven have such preference. Football had a net gain of three and basketball a net loss of three.

In an effort to locate some of the factors involved in this change, the students were asked to name the sport they preferred to watch in high school by the different seasons, then in a later section of the interview schedule were asked to state their current preferences by seasons. It was anticipated that the students might not be aware of the change, or care to say that they had changed, so by recording the first answer on an insert, the interviewer was able to make a quick comparison to see if there had been any change in the intervening time. A series of probes was used here to get a rather complete picture, even though a few of the respondents appeared reluctant to go through this type of question. One hundred eight

Figure 2. Sport That Students Preferred To Watch in High School and College



reported that they had made no changes, but subsequent questioning revealed that 93 of them had. Another 75 indicated that they had made some change. Thus, a total of 168 had changed their sports interest in some way in the process of moving from one school culture to another. Thirty-five noted an increase or addition of interest in football, while 7 dropped or decreased interest; nine added or increased interest in basketball, but 48 dropped or decreased interest; 73 added or increased interest in hockey, and three dropped or decreased interest; Baseball added 28, but dropped 15; Track added 10, but dropped 24. TABLE I will show the impact of the new campus culture and its affect on the fourteen varsity sports.

Table I. Changes in Interests in Sports Liked to Watch from High School to College by a Sample of 243 Undergraduate MSU Students Interviewed in the Fall of 1954

Sport	Added	Increased	Dropped	Decrease	Net Gain
Football	10	25	4	3	28
Cross country	9	-	-	-	9
Basketball	1	8	11	37	- 39
Wrestling	18	2	1	5	15
Boxing	27	2	-	-	29
Swimming	30	4	1	1	32
Hockey	63	10	2	1	70
Fencing & gymn.	23	1	-	-	24
Golf	23	5	2	-	26
Tennis	34	5	2	6	31
Baseball	15	13	5	10	13
Track & Indoor	6	6	9	15	- 12

This represents an average of 1.99 changes, with 77 of the students noting three or more. Reasons for adding football were given as school emphasis, better quality, bigness and atmosphere. Thirty of the students that dropped interest in basketball said they changed because they were now interested in other sports with more appeal. Interests in minor sports were developed by taking classes in Physical Education, and by the fact that the high schools did not have some of these available.

There is no doubt that a considerable amount of change occurs as the students become a part of the campus culture, but there is no evidence to support the idea that students attend more football games because they come from high schools or states where this has been the major sport.

However, there is evidence of a carry-over of sports interest of other kinds. Sixty-six percent of the boys who played basketball in high school are high in attendance now at basketball games, while only 42% among those who did not play are high attenders. In baseball, 54% of those who played are high now, and only 26% of those who did not play are high in attendance. Only six and seven-tenths percent of those who played basketball go to no basketball games now, compared to 22.2% of those who did not play.

Of those that ranked Student Government activities as either their first or second choice of extra-curricular activities in high school, not one of the 17 failed to attend some football games here. It appears that these campus leaders in high school carry-over a sensitiveness to the campus norms. On the other hand, of the 27

students who said they had no major or second extra-curricular activity in high school, 18 of them fell into one of the non-conformist categories. Seven of this group attended no football games, and five of them were non-conformists in both high school and college. It is not at all conclusive, but there is some evidence of an "anchorage" from high school for some individuals in the college culture. However, it appears that there is something in the present campus norms that is a stronger factor, especially in those cases where the present norms differ from those followed while in high school. This, the writer believes, is the extent to which the individuals identify themselves with the dominant campus norms. It is interesting to surmise what might be the impact upon the campus social system if in any given year the majority of the students would come from schools where some other sport, like basketball, were the major sport -- what other factors would have to be present to create the possibility of a change in the campus norms affecting sports attendance?

Another important factor that must be considered in the explanation of the high interest in football on the campus, and in the explanation of those who do not conform to that interest, is the competition for leisure time. It was known that practically no other campus activity was allowed to be scheduled to conflict with a Saturday afternoon home football game. It was also known that this was not true of any of the other varsity sports. Therefore, the question was asked, "What other campus activity or duty would keep you from attending a good home varsity football game? (Basketball game? Baseball game?) if you could not attend to the other

activity and go to the game both?" They were given a suggestive list and then asked to add any others they thought of.

While this question was more difficult than most to administer, and is not completely reliable, nevertheless, the pattern of responses is quite interesting. Thirty-nine of all the students said that nothing on campus would keep them from a good home football game, while only seven percent said that nothing would keep them from a comparable basketball game, and only four and one-half percent said that nothing would keep them from a baseball game. The students reported that an average of 2.01 campus activities might keep them from a football game, 3.24 from a basketball game, and 4.22 from a baseball game.¹ This data would suggest one of two things: either that there are more competing activities in the winter and spring, or else that there is less interest in these two sports, and the students consequently turn to other activities. Responses from the students lead us to believe that both are probably true.

In the fall there are only one or two cross-country meets in addition to the four or five home football games, while in the winter and spring there is a full schedule of varsity sports to compete with the rush of academic and social events. In addition, students pointed out that they could build their schedules around the home

¹ Inasmuch as our check lists included some items that did not apply to all the students, and some of those who said "most anything" would keep them away did not spell out each item, there is a possibility of error here. Also, not all of the conflicts suggested actually occurred for some of the respondents, and their answers varied in terms of their ability to decide what they would do if such a conflict actually did occur. While the question is very helpful, its value is mostly comparative.

football games, but there were just too many basketball and baseball games to try to go to all of them.

On the other hand, there were a surprising number of students who responded that "most anything" would keep them away from a basketball or baseball game. Thus the competition for their leisure-time is probably less of a factor than their lack of interest in attending. TABLE II will show how few students attend some of the home varsity sports events.

A similar question dealing with the off-campus activities that would keep them from attending the home games followed the same pattern as above. Only 2.24 conflicts would keep them from a football game, but 3.98 would from basketball and 5.00 from baseball. The fact that these show the same ratio indicates that it is not so much the competing pressure of activities as it is the lack of desire to attend.

The significance of this is increased when the same question is applied to those that are non-conformists. This verbal response was expected to do three things: (1) Give a comparison as to which sports had the most priority, (2) Give an index of sport interest by the number of conflicts named, (3) Reveal what kind of things would keep people from attending. TABLE III summarizes these responses in terms of the average number of conflicts named by the different non-conformist groups in contrast to the conformists. The contrast is remarkable, and is further evidence that those that stay away from these varsity sports are kept away more by lack of desire than the lack of time.

Table II. Attendance of a Sample of 245 MSU Undergraduates at Athletic Contests in 1953-54 as Reported in Fall of 1954

Sport	Total re- porting attend- ance *	Students Attend- ing None # %	1 - 2 con- tests	3 - 4 con- tests	5 - 6 con- tests	7 - 9 con- tests	10 or more con- tests	Mean No. contests per stu- dent	Ratio of Mean Contests at- tended to No. of Home cont.
Football	145	7 5	20	118	--	--	--	3.29	.82
Basketball	147	25 17	18	55	30	27	14	4.75	.45
Baseball	148	54 36	37	32	14	11	--	2.28	.25
Hockey	149	61 41	49	20	8	4	5	1.95	.15
Boxing	145	94 65	36	15	--	--	--	.64	.21
Swimming	147	100 68	36	9	--	--	--	.60	.15
Track-Indoor	148	100 68	48	--	--	--	--	.45	.28
Wrestling	147	101 68	27	15	4	--	--	.75	.12
Gymnastics	145	105 71	42	--	--	--	--	.36	.18
Track-Outdoor	148	110 74	38	--	--	--	--	.26	.15
Tennis	146	115 79	25	4	2	--	--	.45	.05
Cross Country	146	126 86	20	--	--	--	--	.15	.15
Fencing	146	151 90	15	2	--	--	--	.16	.04
Golf	146	142 97	3	--	1	--	--	.006	.001

* Balance not a student the previous year, or gave no response to question.

Table III. The Average Number of Activities Which a Sample of MSU Students Report Would Keep them from Attending Major Home Football and Basketball Games

Group	Campus Conflicts		Off-Campus Conflicts	
	With Football	With Basketball	With Football	With Basketball
Conformists	1.38	2.82	1.88	3.81
Total Non-Conformists	3.27	5.11	4.69	6.24
Football "None"	4.31	5.19	5.38	5.80
Football "1 or 2"	2.31	3.38	2.75	3.44
H. S. "Not interested"	6.08	9.00	6.08	8.50
Duplicates	8.13	8.13	7.88	7.63

TABLE IV will show that study is the most often named conflict for any of the sports. It is not likely that the academic requirements are twice as rigid in the spring term as in the fall, so the fact that study is named by twice as many students as a factor keeping them from baseball as say keeps them from football is probably a better index of desire to attend than of competition for leisure-time.

Further insight into the extent to which academic competition may affect sports attendance is found in this table which compares categories called "Heavy" and "Light". These categories were obtained by arbitrarily dividing all the subject majors into one or the other, using the assumed difference in the amount of time demanded by the different curricula for laboratory, studio and practice activities, as the basis of division. In the "heavy" category were included the laboratory sciences, veterinary medicine, home economics,

Table IV. Campus Activities Which a Sample of MSU Students Report Would Keep Them From Attending Major Sports Events By Type of Curriculum

Activity	FOOTBALL			BASKETBALL			BASEBALL		
	Light # %	Heavy # %	Total # %	Light # %	Heavy # %	Total # %	Light # %	Heavy # %	Total # %
Study if behind	64 38	35 46	99 41	116 69	64 84	180 74	136 81	62 82	198 81
Date	39 23	17 22	56 23	88 53	33 43	121 50	96 57	44 58	140 58
Weather	32 19	12 16	48 20	25 15	16 21	41 17	75 45	40 53	115 47
Work	31 19	10 13	41 17	41 25	19 25	60 25	46 27	23 30	69 28
Lecture-Concert	19 11	17 9	36 15	46 27	29 38	75 31	53 32	32 42	85 35
Organizations	24 14	4 5	28 11	34 20	16 21	50 20	39 23	21 28	60 25
Sorority-Frat.	19 11	4 5	23 9	33 20	10 13	43 18	37 22	15 19	52 21
Foreign Movie	11 7	9 12	20 8	23 14	17 22	40 16	36 21	22 29	48 20
Travelogue	11 7	6 8	17 7	26 17	12 16	40 16	33 20	19 2	52 21
Pers. Recreation	10 6	5 7	15 6	33 20	19 25	52 21	57 34	39 51	96 28
Radio - T.V.	11 7	3 4	16 6	20 12	16 21	36 15	39 23	22 29	61 25
Dorm Activity	11 7	2 3	13 5	21 13	10 13	31 13	26 16	13 17	39 16
None	58 35	26 34	84 39	14 4	3 8	17 8	8 5	3 4	11 5
Total Students	167	76	243	167	76	243	167	76	243
Tot. Activities	340	150	490	522	264	786	681	355	1036
Mean No. of Activities	2.04	1.97	2.01	3.13	3.47	3.24	4.08	4.67	4.22

nursing, social work, fine arts and engineering. A study of the table would reveal that students enrolled in a light curriculum apparently have more time, or inclination, to attend basketball games and baseball games than those enrolled in the heavy curriculum. But when it comes to football, there is no difference! Increased time spent in study may be a fact associated with a decrease in attendance at other sports, but competition for time does not explain why students attend football games rather than these others.¹ The explanation for this must be found in some other dimension according to this data.

It is recognized that there are a number of other activities on the campus that might compete for the leisure time of the students in addition to the academic pressures. Therefore, they were asked, "There is some sort of campus activity going on most all of the time; Which, of all the campus activities, do you find the most interesting?". This was followed with the question, "What do you find the next most interesting?".

While it is recognized that the students normally associated the interview with athletics, it is important to note that 62% of the boys and 30% of the girls ranked sports activities as personally the

¹ Other data in the study indicated that those in the heavy category played less intramural, and gave as the two main reasons: "too busy" and "studies". Thirty-seven percent of them do not participate in any campus activities, whereas only 26% of the lights do not. Of those who do participate, the heavy category predominates in academic interests, 38% to 24%, whereas the lights predominate in sports. Heavys more often name study as a conflict with major home games, and average a higher number of conflicts. There is no difference in attendance at football, but only 38% are high attenders at basketball to 57% by the lights, and only 18% at baseball to 47% by the lights.



the most interesting, and another 21% of the boys and 30% of the girls ranked them second. Thus 83% of the boys, and 60% of the girls place first or second priority on the sports activities on Campus.¹ No other activity came close to it. Ten percent of the boys and 21% of the girls preferred the Lecture-Concert series, and another 18% ranked it second, but all the other activities were even less. If this is the case, then the fact that the social and college calendar is more crowded at some seasons would not be a great factor, inasmuch as in the event of a conflict, the students would place the sport activity first.

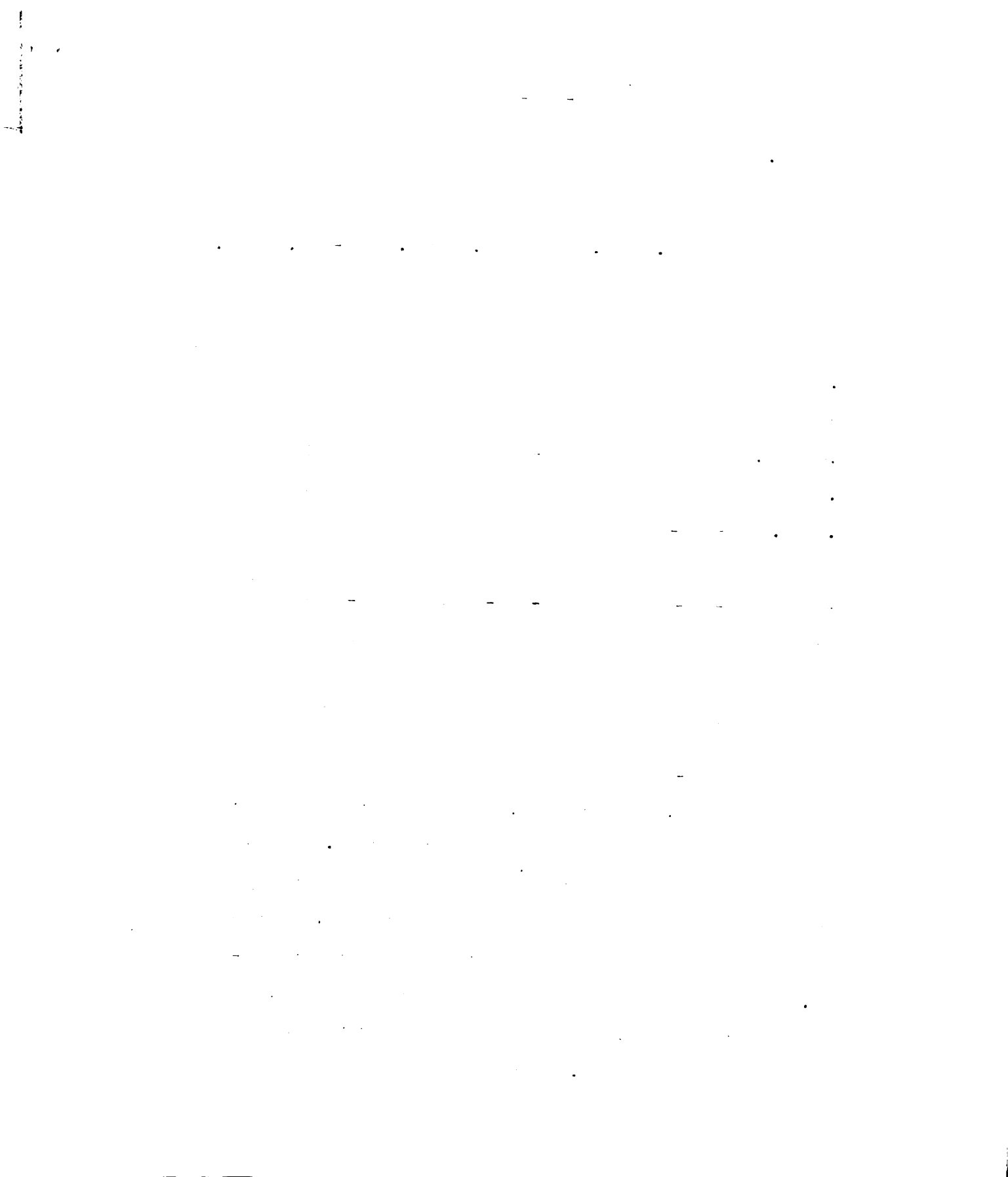
However, this principle does not hold for the non-conformists in the sample. TABLE V will show that they do not rate sports as high in proportion as several other activities. These have not accepted the norm of sports interest, and competition for their time will likely result in their placing a priority on some other item. The fact that they are so low on a number of the categories that involve contact with the other students on a social level, indicates that they are not campus oriented. Competition cannot explain this behavior in the judgment of the writer as well as non-conformity to the in-group norms.

¹ These findings are comparable to a study by G. A. Lundberg, Mirra Komarovsky and M. A. McInerney, Leisure (Columbia University Press, 1954) p. 112, in which 73% of the boys and 55% of the girls in high school considered sports "a good time", outings received 26%, and others very low. Another study of 53 college boys showed they spent 95 minutes a day, or 23% of their leisure time on sports. (p. 93) Another study of 1544 high school students showed that the boys spent 19% of their leisure time on sports, and the girls nine percent.

Table V. "Main" and "Second" Campus activities Chosen by a Sample of 243 MSU Undergraduates in Fall of 1954 Comparing Conformity

Activity	MAIN				SECOND				COMBINED			
	Non-conf. #	Conf. %	Non-conf. #	Conf. %	Non-conf. #	Conf. %	Non-conf. #	Conf. %	Non-conf. #	Conf. %	Non-conf. #	Conf. %
Lec-Concert	7	19	27	13	6	17	39	19	13	18	66	16
Travelogues	3	8	5	3	2	5	8	4	5	7	13	3
For. Movies	1	3	3	1	7	19	12	6	8	11	15	4
Sports	12	32	109	53	9	24	50	24	21	28	159	38
Sor.-Frater.	1	3	25	12	-	-	11	5	1	1	36	9
Org. & Clubs	1	3	5	3	4	10	13	6	5	7	18	5
Stu. Govt.	-	-	3	1	1	3	5	2	1	1	8	2
Social	6	17	16	8	1	3	38	19	7	9	54	13
All-school	-	-	3	1	-	-	7	4	-	-	10	2
Other	2	5	8	4	1	2	7	4	3	4	15	4
None	4	10	2	1	6	17	15	7	10	14	18	4
Total	37	100	206	100	37	100	206	100	74	100	412	100

As a follow-up of the question on what activities they found the most interesting, they were asked, "What campus organizations or activities do you belong to or participate in regularly?". The interviewers were instructed to probe various types to make sure that their students would not overlook any with a hasty response. Thirty-two percent of the boys and 35% of the girls listed sports organizations. This was followed by 29% who were not in any activities, 27% in Academic organizations, 22% in Fraternities and Sororities, and 21% in Religious organizations.



The non-conformists follow a different pattern. Nineteen percent are in Sports, 31% in None, 39% in Academic organizations, only five percent in Fraternities and Sororities, and 25% in Religious organizations. There is some support here for the notion that the non-conformists are on campus for academic reasons only.

There was also a small difference between the number of activities the non-conformists and conformists were in, with the conformists participating in an average of 1.61 activities and holding an average of .23 offices, while the non-conformists were in just 1.18 activities and held .18 offices. Those that were non-conformists in both high school and college held no offices, and were in only .50 activities.

However, the number of activities students are in does not prove to be a competing factor with their being able to go to sports events. It proved to be just the opposite, for the more activities they are in, the more games they attend. Those that are in no activities attend on an average of 2.6 football games, while those that are in four or more activities go to an average of 3.7 games. Those in no activities attend an average of 4.1 basketball games, but those in four or more go to 6.5 games. Forty-six percent of those in no activities also go to no baseball games, while only 25% attend no games that are in four or more activities. Increased campus participation is an index of increased campus identification, and attendance at the sports activities seems better understood in these terms than on the basis of competition for time.

A considerable section of the questionnaire of the study was devoted to questions concerning the use of leisure time. It was designed to find out the amount of competition the responses would indicate, and also planned to get some indications of the types of activities that would be correlated with different groups of people. The second point will be considered at a later point in the paper, but the matter of the competition for time affecting sport attendance should be considered at this point. The non-conformists were anticipated to be high in amount of time spent in movie attendance, listening to radio, television and recorded music, and high in the listing of other leisure activities. A little evidence was found. There was some evidence that married students were different than the single in listing the other leisure activities. The non-conformists quite frequently named "home and work" and "personal pastimes" as their leisure activities.¹

But reading of books or magazines, movie attendance, listening to radio, television, or records -- none of these seemed to have any affect on the attendance at football games, nor were the non-conformists particularly high in any of them. There was a slight tendency for those who were higher in these activities to also be higher in attendance at basketball, baseball and hockey, but in no case was the difference statistically significant. If attendance at any of these sports can be correlated with a lack of time, this study

¹ Only 68% of those who participate in no campus activity are single, compared to 96% of those who are in four or more activities.

fails to show it. The only other area giving any support at all is in the realm of the academic. Further investigation into the area of actual conflicts between specific basketball games, or other varsity sports, and specific fraternity, sorority or organization activities, might have also revealed such a competition.¹ The only conclusion that can be reached on the basis of the data is that sports attendance cannot be explained on the basis of competition for time, for either the conformist or non-conformist.

A further indication that the reference group theory concept of "compliant behavior" may have a greater significance in this regard was the student's responses to the question, "Do you have any suggestions, criticisms or gripes. Any comments about the program, balance, publicity or anything else?". Seventy-nine of the students made some comment about the balance of the sports. They were permitted more than one comment, but 81 of the 88 comments made on this phase indicated that those students felt that football was over-emphasized, or that the minor sports needed more promotion. Fourteen of the 16 comments made by the non-conformists were in this vein. But when the students were asked if there was anything they especially disliked about going to a football game, anything that spoiled their enjoyment of it, it was found that the more the students went, the more they expressed disturbances of their enjoyment. At first

¹ There was some indication of either an increased competition for time, or of conflicting loyalties, when they responded as to what things would keep them from the different sports. Increased participation decreased the number of conflicts with football, but for the other two major sports, and some other activities, it increased the number of conflicts named, somewhat.

the opposite was expected, but a look at the kind of gripes they made indicated that the students that attended complained about things that interfered with the enjoyment of the game, while those that didn't go had no occasion to be concerned with these things. About forty responses by those that attended over half of the games gave some indication of inner dissatisfaction with the game, but they went anyway because it was the thing to do. About 22% of those who didn't attend said they disliked the over-emphasis of football, in comparison to about eight percent of those who did attend. The comment of one of the non-conformists is significant at this point. He was quite expressive of his resentment against the pressure to attend the games. He said, "It's a religion around here. They expect everybody to trot down there to their temple (stadium) and bow down to their god (football)".¹ Comments made by other students, including those that attend, indicated not only an awareness of a pressure to conform, but of some resentment because of it.

Exploration of Several Factors for Differences Between Conformists and Non-conformists

It has been indicated that football attendance is an important element in the campus culture, and that this seems to explain the data of this study more satisfactorily than to look at the high school conditioning or the present competition for leisure time. Now the focus will be placed more specifically upon the non-conformists in an effort to discover in just what areas they are different

¹ Expressed to the author during the interview.

than those that conform. Correlation of certain social characteristics with non-conformity may contribute to further research in the area of significant reference groups. The data of the study permits an exploration of several factors.

Sex. It was hypothesized that interest by the girls would be different than that of the boys in a number of sport areas. Girls do not play the same sports as boys in high school, so could not be expected to have the same anchorage of interest there. The data shows that the girls attended the major sports in high school in the same ratio as the men, but their overall sports interest was not as high. The same pattern extended to college, with the girls attending football as much as the fellows, but with a considerably lower attendance at the other sports, and with sports placed in a lower rank of importance. Sixty-one percent of the boys rated sports very high in high school, but only 43% of the girls so considered them. In college, 83% of the boys ranked sports either as their first or second choice of campus activities while only 59% of the girls did. This indicates that student bodies cannot be treated as a whole on sport interests, but rather on the basis of each sex. With an increasing number of girls on college campuses, these sex differences hold an enlarged significance.

The girls named only seven and two tenths varsity sports on an average here at Michigan State, while the boys named an average of nine. The girls participate less in intramural sports, and give as their major reason that there were not interested. A significant difference in terms of conformity is the fact that they rated football

and basketball on an almost equal basis as far as their preference to watch in high school, but at Michigan State only 10% preferred basketball. There are indications from the students that basketball attendance by girls is not very acceptable here on the campus in spite of the high interest they had in it while in high school.

The tremendous shift that they make towards football, and the degree to which they stay away from basketball, is evidence of high conformity on the part of the girls. TABLE VI shows that the girls still make up a slightly higher percentage of the non-conforming group than they do of the conformist, 43% as compared to 36%. This is partially accounted for by the four women that did not care for sports in high school or attend any football at Michigan State.

Table VI. Sex Differences as a Factor in Conformity and Non-Conformity Among a Sample of 243 MSU Undergraduates.

	MEN		WOMEN		TOTAL	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Conformists	132	64	74	36	206	100
Total Non-Conf.	21	57	16	43	37	100
Football - 0	8	50	8	50	16	100
Football - 1 & 2	10	63	6	37	16	100
H.S. Not inter.	6	50	6	50	12	100
Duplicates	3	43	4	57	7	100

Age. The study anticipated that the older students would be much less interested in sports participation. The data showed that interest decreased somewhat among those above the age of 23,

Size and Type of High School Attended. Inasmuch as Michigan State has from its beginning emphasized agricultural training, it has often been assumed that the bulk of the students have come from the smaller rural high schools. Students from the smaller schools were found not to have had as wide a selection of extra-curricular interests, and to have had basketball predominantly as their high school major sport. However, 121 of the sample came from Class A high schools, having over 800 students, and many of these were from metropolitan areas where their schools had over 2000 enrolled. Sixty-nine attended schools with over 325 students, and only 63 came from Class C, D or E high schools. Sixteen students attended parochial schools, and two went to private schools.

It was found that those who had attended the larger schools were much higher in participation in the college varsity and intramural programs, perhaps reflecting a greater opportunity to develop their sport abilities and have them publicized. The size of the school does not seem to be a major factor in conformity and non-conformity. There is only a three percent difference in those that attended Class A schools, but those that came from the Class C-E were 10% higher on non-conformity. Attendance at the various sports events averaged less for those coming from these smaller schools also, but this does not seem to be the factor that determines conformity or non-conformity.

Classification. The factor of classification was found to be practically the same as length of time on campus, since most of the students remain in continuous attendance after they enroll.

This factor was introduced for two reasons: (1) to show how long the student has been exposed to the campus culture, and (2) to account for any differences in the campus academic and social involvements that might be assumed between freshmen and seniors. TABLE VII shows this factor of classification by the different categories.

The length of time on the campus seemed to make very little difference, for the freshmen attended football in even slightly greater numbers than any of the rest, even though many of them came from high schools where other sports were more important. The seniors cut down considerably on the number of games attended, probably indicating a greater competition for their time and interest, but also perhaps reflecting the beginning of an out-group orientation.

Table VII. Classification as a Factor in Conformity and Non-Conformity Among a Sample of 243 MSU Undergraduates.

Classif.	F. B. None att.	F.B. 1 & 2 att.	H. S. Not Int.	Dupli- cates	Total			
					Conformist #	%	Non-Conf. #	%
Freshman	5	2	4	2	71	89	9	11
Sophomore	3	3	2	1	51	88	7	12
Junior	2	2	1	-	38	88	5	12
Senior	3	9	3	2	41	76	13	24
Post-Grad.	3	-	2	2	3	50	3	50
Special	-	-	-	-	2	100	-	-
Totals	16	16	12	7	206		37	

By using the Registrar's information, all the graduate students had been excluded from the sampling universe, but when the

students were asked to classify themselves in the interview, six post-graduate students and two special students were found. Three of the six post-graduate students attended no games, suggesting that perhaps these should also have been excluded from the sample.¹

Interruption of Schooling. Only about 10% of the students had their schooling interrupted after they had first enrolled, but 28% of those in the non-conformist categories have had. This interruption of communication with the campus culture is probably a significant factor. Thirty-six percent of those that have had their schooling interrupted are non-conformists by their low attendance at football, in comparison to 15% of the rest of the sample. The students in regular attendance could name an average of 9.3 varsity sports, but those gone over one term named an average of only 6.1. They are also in nearly 25% less campus activities. Many of those who have had extended interruption have been in service, are now older, married, and with different group orientation than those that have continued from high school straight through college.

Subject major and Intellectual Interests. One possible explanation that has been offered to account for the students that do not conform to the norm of football attendance, is that they are a group of serious-minded "intellectuals". None of the data of this study was designed to accurately test this, but TABLE VIII shows a

¹ There is further evidence of the impact of culture that is of interest here. Upper class girls attend fewer basketball games than freshmen. Upper class students can name nearly two more varsity sports on an average, and are much higher in their attendance at "away from home" varsity games.

very likely be working in conjunction with it, they will be treated as though they were one.

Inasmuch as this extension of the original study is of an exploratory nature, the statement of our hypotheses will be in general terms.

The basic hypothesis is that non-conformity to the norms of the dominant campus group is associated with identification with groups having other than the dominant campus group norms. With this basic premise, several sub-hypotheses can then be stated.

First, to the extent that the basic premise is true, non-conformists would not be found in places of leadership in the dominant campus organizations.

Second, non-conformists would be more likely to be oriented to off-campus groups.

Third, "anchorages" from the norms of the high school group memberships would be more correlated to the non-conformists than the conformists. In addition, those that were non-conformist in high school will be more likely to be non-conformist now.

Fourth, significant correlations discovered in the first study would lead to the hypothesis that non-conformity would be related to a number of social factors, such as age, marital status, interruptions of schooling and sex.

comparison between the conformists and non-conformists on a number of variables that might be considered as indices.

Table VIII. Factors That May Show That Non-Conformity is Associated with Being "Intellectuals" Among 243 MSU Undergraduates.

Intellectual Factors	Conformists	Non-Conf.
Average number of books read per month	0.7	0.9
Average number of magazines read per month	3.6	2.8
Avg. hours listening to recorded music per day	1.1	1.5
Average hours cards played per week	0.9	0.5
Percent naming Lecture-Concerts, Travelogs, or Foreign Movies as Conflicts with Football attend.	7%	26%
Percent naming above as conflicts with Basketball	18%	48%
Percent naming "Study" as conflict with football	39%	53%
Percent naming "Study" as conflict with Basket.	72%	87%
Percent participating in Academic organizations	27%	39%

While the evidence does not disprove this "intellectual" possibility, neither does it lend conclusive support to it. There is one non-conformist that reads an average of six books a month, and if this one person was removed, the rest of the non-conformists would average reading .7 books a month just as the conformists do. Magazine readership by the conformists is a little higher, but probably because more of them live in housing units where they are readily available at no cost.

The 12 minutes a day difference between the two groups in listening to music is not significant, though the type of music

listened to might be if we had data available to check it. The conformists seem to spend a little more time with the social pastime of card playing, as expected.

The non-conformists do rank higher in naming Lecture-Concerts, Foreign Movies and Travelogs as conflicts with the different sports. The difference is especially noted on Travelogs and Foreign Movies, with half of the total mentions of these activities as conflicts with football coming from the 32 non-conformists that went to less than half of the games. It must be remembered, however, that these non-conformists are also high in the number of conflicts named with all the other sports and activities too. The same observation might be made of their frequent mention of "study" as a conflict. The slight indication seen in a few of these areas, and the high reporting of participation in academic organizations would suggest that this is an area for further research.

There does seem to be some correlation between non-conformity and some of the subject majors the students took. Home Economics and Social Science majors show the highest ratio of conformity, and agriculture the lowest. No explanation is available at this time. Some of the categories that had been classified as being a heavy curriculum have no non-conformists at all, while other categories are higher than expected. For instance, it was expected that the students in the Laboratory Sciences and Home Economics would run very high in non-conformity because they would be too busy, but they were very low. Engineering and Fine Arts ran high as expected, but Education, Agriculture and Language and Literature were much higher

than anticipated. Further research is also needed here. TABLE IX will show other differences according to subject major.

Table IX. Subject Major as a Factor in Conformity and Non-Conformity Among a Sample of 243 MSU Undergraduates.

Subject Major	Total Number	Non-Conformists		Conformists	
		#	%	#	%
Education	35	7	20	26	80
Laboratory Sciences	19	1	5	18	95
Home Ec, Nursing, Soc. Wk.	14	-	-	14	100
Fine Arts, Decorating	12	2	17	10	83
Social Sciences	26	1	4	25	96
Business, Police Admin.	44	3	7	41	93
Agriculture, etc.,	23	5	22	18	78
Engineering	30	6	20	24	80
Language and Literature	19	4	21	15	79

"Sports Fan" Factor. The available data indicate that those students interested in one area of sports will have a higher interest in other areas as well. This is demonstrated in nearly every area except for those that attend football games. Students go to football games whether they have any other sports interest at all. TABLE X shows that several of these sport interest indices are related to attendance at basketball and baseball. These indexes of sports interest are, of course, interrelated. Playing varsity sports on the campus would be one of the most logical areas of high sports interest. Seventy-seven percent of those playing on varsity

Table X. "Sports Fan" Factor in Attendance at Athletic Events
Among a Sample of 243 MSU Undergraduates

	Average Football Attended	Average Basketball Attended	Average Baseball Attended
STATE NEWS-Read sports every day	3.23	5.04	2.68
STATE NEWS-Seldom or never read	2.60	2.64	.68
Sport magazines read	3.24	5.47	3.09
No sport magazines read	3.15	4.17	1.88
Sports page read in other papers	3.17	4.90	2.67
No other sports page read	3.24	4.09	1.67
Participation in Intramural	3.46	5.53	2.91
No participation in Intramural	2.75	3.66	1.63
High sport interest in High School	3.16	5.12	?
Low sport interest in High school	2.48	1.92	.58
Sports-most interesting campus act.	3.08	5.94	3.50
Other activity preferred	3.04	4.08	1.63
Away from home games attended	3.83	5.64	2.95
No away from home games attended	2.93	4.08	1.90
Some professional football attended	3.45	5.42	3.12
No professional football attended	3.08	4.13	2.06

teams ranked sports as their main campus interest, 82% of them read the sports in the State News every day; they list considerably fewer conflicts for football, basketball and baseball, and attend considerably more professional football games.

Participation in intramural activities is correlated with sports participation in high school, and the rate of interest. Those not interested or not very interested participate on an average in just .08 intramural activities, and 92% do not participate at all. Those very much interested in high school participate now in an average of 1.00, and only 54% do not participate at all.

Thirty-one percent of those who participated in no intramural seldom or never read the sports page in the State News, while only 13% of those in four or more intramural events failed to read it. An average of .45 sport magazines were read each month by those in no intramural compared to 1.00 by those in four or more. Similar ratios are evident on several other factors.

Those who did not prefer to watch football games in spite of its being the major campus sport are also low on the number of basketball, baseball, "away from home" games and professional football games attended. They are also higher on the number of campus and off-campus conflicts named with football.

TABLE XI will show how the non-conformists compare with the conformists on several indexes of sports interest. If no one was any more interested in sports than the non-conformists appear to be, there wouldn't be much of a sports program, and the same could be said of a number of other activities. Especially is it found that

those who were not interested in sports either in high school or college are consistent in this regard. While this number is not large, yet if the sample were projected to the whole student body, there would be about 400 students in this category. If those were added who were not interested in sports in high school, or who have attended no football games here, it would represent about 11.5% of the student body, or 1500 students.

Table XI. "Sports Fan" Factor in Conformity and Non-Conformity Among a Sample of 243 MSU Undergraduates

Item	No Football	F. B. 1 & 2	H. S. Not I.	Dupli- cates	Total N. C.	Conf.
<u>State News Sports read nearly every day</u>	44%	63%	33%	25%	52%	73%
No sport magazine read	83%	69%	92%	88%	81%	63%
No Intramural played	94%	69%	93%	100%	82%	60%
Avg. # Var. sports named	6.57	8.50	5.92	4.12	7.66	8.95
# Camp. Conf. with F.B.	4.31	2.45	6.08	9.14	3.17	1.56
Listen to radio sports nearly every day	<u>25%</u>	<u>38%</u>	<u>8%</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>30%</u>	<u>37%</u>
Total number	16	16	12	7	37	206

Off-Campus Reference Groups. There is a possibility that the nonconformists may be members of some sub-groups within the campus that have other than the dominant campus norms. The identification of such a group, or groups, was not possible from the data available, unless it might be those that live in married housing. It is expected that one of the most fruitful areas of investigation

to determine where the primary reference groups of these students is would be in the off-campus affiliations. The original study considered this as a possibility and included several questions that were intended to indicate if this were a significant factor. However, no extended effort was made to locate what these off-campus reference groups might be.

It is known that a number of the students commute to their homes on the weekends, and some about every weekend. A number of these students were thought to forego this on the Saturdays when there were home football games, but what about the other sports? Seventy-nine students said they would rather go home than to stay for a good home football game, and 97 said they would rather take a nice weekend trip. One hundred forty-seven would rather go home than to stay for a good basketball game, and 148 would rather take a weekend trip. One hundred fifty-six would rather go home than to see a good home baseball game, and 175 would rather take a weekend trip. These two responses were mentioned most frequently on each sport, and the number increased as the importance of the sport decreased.

There is some evidence that the non-conformists are more home-oriented than the conformists. While they name more conflicts of all kinds, to go home is mentioned considerably more than the second highest, a week-end trip. Twenty-four of the 36 non-conformists would rather go home than to see a football game, compared to 56 out of the 206 conformists. Table XII will show several other comparisons.

Table XII. Home Orientation Factor in Conformity and Non-Conformity Among a Sample of 243 MSU Undergraduates

Item	% of Conformists who would	% of Non-Conformists who would
Rather go home than see football game	27%	65%
Prefer weekend trip to football game	39%	50%
Rather go home than see basketball game	53%	78%
Prefer weekend trip to basketball game	61%	60%
Rather go home than see baseball game	64%	70%
Prefer weekend trip to baseball game	73%	65%
Total number in group	37	206

The major difference is on the factor of football, and since the campus norm includes football attendance, this higher home orientation is of primary significance. For the non-conformist, in each case, the appeal of going home is stronger than a weekend trip, but for the conformist, just the opposite is true.

This "home" identification decreases interest in other campus activities as well. The 79 that mentioned going home as a conflict, when compared with the 164 that gave some other response, were on an average in 32% less campus activities, attended 1.11 fewer football games, 2.32 fewer basketball games, 1.26 fewer baseball games, 17% less away from home games, and 48% fewer professional football games.

The nine students who attended no football games and were also home oriented have 7.9 conflicts with football; while the seven who had other reasons for not attending have only 2.86 such conflicts.

There is some evidence that this carries over from one sport to the other also. Those who stated they would prefer going home to staying for a good home basketball game also were found on the average to have attended .75 less football games, 1.96 less basketball games, 1.17 less baseball games, and fewer away from home games than those who had other reasons for not attending. Seventy-five of the 79 that would rather go home than stay for a football game would also rather go home than stay for a basketball game.

It does make some difference where "home" is, as might be expected. Those living in Ingham, Clinton and Eaton counties were so close that it meant nothing to them to "go home". Five out of 36, or 14%, living in those areas said they would rather stay home than come back for a football game; Fifty-six of the 152, or 37%, living in other areas of Michigan would rather go home than stay to watch a game; and 13 of the 56, or 23%, living out-of-state would rather go home than stay. The same ratio held true for those who preferred to go home rather than watch a basketball game. Ingham, Eaton and Clinton counties were very low, with 33%, the commuting distance in Michigan very high, with 69%, and the out-of-state somewhat lower, with 59%. Those in this out-of-state category don't have an opportunity to go home very often, but if they did, they

would likely prefer that to staying for a game. On the other hand, the fact that they go so seldom makes them more campus oriented, and consequently, less likely to make plans that would conflict with a good home football game.

When Michigan was compared with all the rest of the states, it was found that 16.1% of the Michigan students were classified as non-conformists, whereas only 9.5% were so classified from all the other states.¹ Three students from Indiana, and one from Northeastern United States, were the only non-conformists outside the state of Michigan. To be within commuting distance increased non-conformity.

The students living close to campus in the three adjacent counties of Clinton, Ingham and Eaton are worthy of specific observation on this matter of home reference group orientation. Many of them commuted to school, so did not really become a part of the campus life. Yet, living so close to the school, they may have actually felt the impact of the dominant school norms even before they enrolled. Further research on this group of students would be warranted in the light of the reference group theory. Eighty-seven percent of these students preferred football as their personal preference to watch, as against 74% by all the other students. They were in 1.18 campus activities as compared to 1.60 by the rest of the students. Thirty-eight percent of them were in no campus activities, while only 17% from the Michigan metropolitan areas were,

¹ The sampling category containing married women was not reported according to states.

and 19% of those out-of-state. They were a little lower than the rest naming sports as their main interest in high school, but a little higher when first and second choice was combined. They rated their sports interest just as high as the others. Sports attended were no different, except for a high interest in wrestling, boxing and hockey. Football ranked a little higher as the major sport in high school, and the personal preference of the students. Seventy-five percent of these students were underclassmen compared to 54% of the rest of the sample. Business and Engineering ranked high as choices of subject majors, and Education and Agriculture ranked low. They were comparatively lower in campus activities, especially fraternities and sororities, but higher in religious organizations. About the same "hangouts" were mentioned, except that only two mentioned "dorm", indicating that most of them probably lived at home. They named about the same number of varsity sports, but played only about half as many intramural sports as all the rest of the students. Sixty-one percent of them prefer sports as their most interesting campus activities, compared to 48% by the rest, and 83% list sports as either their first or second preference, compared to 72% by the rest. They attended about the same number of football games as the rest, but a little less basketball and baseball.

The reasons they mentioned most often for not playing intramural sports were that they were off-campus, uninformed and first termers. They had made an average of .20 more changes in their sports interests. They read the State News sports page just as much, and sports in other papers, especially the State Journal, a little

more. They were more likely to name studies as a campus conflict with football, basketball and baseball. Weather and personal recreation also rank high.

Off-campus conflicts named most by these students were off-campus job, church, hunting or fishing, or week-end trip. Those named less were visiting friends, drinking parties, or going home. Only one said he would go to the game with a single date, while 57 of the rest would.

While these students from the three adjacent counties reported a high sport interest, it appears that they are actually lower in most all forms of campus participation. Whether their home being in proximity to the campus is the factor or not, the data indicates that they are less campus-oriented than the rest.

The place the students were living at the time they were interviewed provides another check on campus orientation. Sixty-three lived in the Boy's Dorm, 53 in the Girl's Dorm, 51 in East Lansing housing, 28 in Fraternity and Sorority houses, 33 in Lansing and surrounding areas, and 15 in married housing.

That place of residence evidently did affect their behavior is shown by TABLE XIII. Further research might also show that their behavior, interests and reference groups also affect where they live. For instance, a student with a strong campus orientation might not accept housing anywhere except in the dorm. On the other hand, some student with a girl friend near his home in Eaton County might choose to commute rather than to live on campus. Also, fraternities might predominate in students liking sports.

Table XIII. Place of Residence as a Factor in the Explanation of Athletic Interest Among a Sample of 243 MSU Undergraduates.

Item	Boy's Dorm	Girls Dorm	East Lans.	Frat. & Ser.	Lan- sing	Mar. Hous.
Average age	20.5	19.0	21.6	--	23.3	25.3
Classified as Freshmen-%	52%	47%	17%	4%	33%	7%
Avg. # of Activities in	1.36	1.51	1.86	2.64	.94	1.14
Avg. # of Var. Sports Named	8.69	6.45	9.48	10.60	8.31	9.07
% Playing No Intramural	75%	81%	43%	14%	82%	100%
Avg. hrs. cards played-wk.	.38	1.11	.90	1.96	.36	.20
Hear Radio Sports every day	41%	17%	47%	11%	42%	73%
Read sports in <u>S.N.</u> ev. day	84%	57%	63%	89%	55%	60%
% That never Drink	63%	77%	39%	29%	44%	40%
Avg. # C. Conflicts w/FB	1.32	1.72	1.65	1.32	2.06	2.27
Avg. # C. Conflicts w/BB	2.83	3.25	3.00	3.68	3.39	3.63
Avg. # Off-c. Conf. w/FB	1.97	1.77	2.11	1.43	3.03	3.00
Avg. # Off-c. Conf. w/BB	3.57	3.98	3.56	3.64	4.97	5.86
Avg. # Off-c. Conf. w/Base.	4.16	4.83	5.06	4.46	6.03	7.27
# Football games attended	3.12	3.00	3.15	3.74	2.91	1.84
# Basketball games attend.	5.68	4.13	3.37	5.57	2.86	1.93
# Baseball games attended	3.00	1.88	2.31	2.86	1.62	.64
% Attending no Baseball	18%	50%	33%	18%	43%	79%
% Attending no Away games	77%	66%	86%	41%	64%	93%
% Attending no Pref. FB	55%	76%	67%	61%	67%	79%
% Preferring to watch FB	73%	72%	78%	93%	79%	67%
# of magaz. read per month	3.25	3.40	3.75	3.93	3.73	4.13
# of books read per month	.82	2.45	2.13	1.23	1.60	1.37
Hrs. recorded music per day	<u>1.54</u>	<u>2.63</u>	<u>1.53</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>1.33</u>	<u>.91</u>
Total number in category	65	53	51	28	33	15

There seems to be no other difference as to where the non-conformists now live, with the exception that 47% of those living in married housing were non-conformists. The percent of non-conformists in the other living areas were: Boy's Dorms-12%, Girl's Dorms-14%, East Lansing-13%, Fraternity and Sorority Houses-7%, and Lansing-15%.

It is worthy of notice that one of the high responses on conflicts with football games given by those living in the Lansing area was "off-campus job". Nearly half of them mentioned that as a reason for not playing intramural sports. Only about ten out of the 36 from these three adjacent counties had moved to the college area. Distance becomes a barrier, and the students feel like outsiders. Because they have other interests outside the campus, they are not too greatly concerned about their lack of acceptance in the college social configurations. Some of the non-conformists are known to be school teachers in the outlying areas that come onto the campus just for academic reasons. The activities of their own community, circle of friends, and place of employment was of more concern to them.

Case Histories

In the sections of this study dealing with theory and methodology, considerable stress was laid on the value of looking not only at the deviants as a group, but also to study the case history of each deviant to see if they have been properly placed, and to see

if they can help to refine the study. With this in mind, brief descriptions are given of the seven respondents that were classified as non-conformists in both high school and college. The responses they give may help to clarify the factors involved in being persistently non-conformist. One other student had at first been classified as non-conformist in both high school and college, until a closer look at his schedule indicated that he was not actually non-conformist, but rather was misclassified back in high school, and about average in college. Thus in the tables, he was added to the conformist group. A careful analysis of the deviants thus helped to refine the study and clarify the categories.

CASE # 14. He is between 24 and 30 years of age, married, with one child. He was educated in a Class A parochial high school in Chicago, Illinois. He had no extra-curricular interests in high school except to work, and his interest in sports was low, though he occasionally attended a football game or boxing match, and participated in them in intramural. Football was the school's only major sport, and they were "thoroughly sold on it", but he personally had no preference.

He has attended Michigan State nearly three years, dropping out for one term in his second year. He is a Senior with an English major. His first and second choices of campus activities are Lecture-Concerts and Foreign Movies. He is in no activities, including sports, and "resents enthusiasm" over playing. Wrestling is the only sport he is interested in seeing, but he doesn't attend that.

His interests have not changed in sports since high school, except that he "lied about it in high school". He does not know the major sports on campus in the winter and spring, and explains the high football interest by advertisement, promotion for profit, and the enthusiasm of the students, who are "all pepped up".

He spends a little more time than average with movies, recorded music, radio programs, reading of books and drinking. He pays no attention to any form of sport news, and says that "anything" would keep him from attendance at any of the games. If he did go, he would rather go in a group to "save himself from boredom". What he enjoys most about a football game is "the ending!". He greatly dislikes the cheering, pep and enthusiasm. He expected to attend the Purdue game, "unfortunately".

This student is aware of the campus norm of football attendance, but refuses to comply. He does have a minimal sport interest, and occasionally attends, but appears to be cynical about attendance being a part of the dominant norms.

CASE # 111. She is married, 52 years old, and has three married children. She was educated in a Class D Public High School in Michigan. Music was her main high school interest, and a job prevented her having others. She was not very interested in sports, but went to a few games after school if it did not interfere with her piano. The major sport was baseball, which was also her preference, with football and basketball being preferred in their seasons.

She has attended one night class each term since 1949, and

is listed as a special student, with a major in public school music. She has some interest in the campus activities, but can't afford any of them, and does not participate. She meets socially with her friends in homes.

She named only the four major varsity sports, and does not participate in intramural, because she is "older", and "off-campus with other interests". She prefers watching basketball because she understands it better, but doesn't think she has changed any in her preferences since high school.

She reads two women's magazines and three general interest magazines regularly, but has only small amounts of other leisure activities. Most of her leisure time is spent at church, school or social activities. She occasionally listens to sport news or reads them in the paper. She had attended no sports at all the previous year, but when she does go, it is with her husband. Her final comment was: "I have sent three children through college, and can't take in all the interests of each. I'm older now and tied up with other interests, as teaching."

This woman appears to have had an average interest in sports, but in high school, it was shadowed by a higher priority reference to her music interests. Now she has the image of herself as being an older school teacher, with out-group identification, and attending the college only for academic reasons.

CASE # 129. A single lady, over 30 years of age, educated in Lainsburg, Michigan, Class D Public High School. Music was her

main extra-curricular activity and church was second. She had no other activities due to poor health, which also kept her from playing sports. She was not very interested in sports, but attended some football, which she said was the only sport they had.

She has attended Michigan State from two to three years, and is classed as a special student, with no subject major preference, though she thinks she may major in Business. Lecture-concerts are her first campus interest, and travelogs are second. She is in no campus organisations and has played no intramural. Her main "hang out" is with her business associates and church friends, but on a class break at the university, she goes over to the "other" drug store.

She named only two varsity sports, and is "Too busy", "not physically able", and "off-campus", so she cannot participate in intramural. All she really enjoys is playing cards and dancing. However, her sports interests have changed some. Her boss is the President of the Downtown Coaches Club, and the interest of her associates in football is "catching". She feels that "State is 'Okay' without it (football), but it has created interest."

She is about average in her leisure interests and time spent on them, but follows only baseball news in the Detroit paper, and has attended a few games. She dislikes football because it is too rough. She don't think losing would affect attendance. "My friends are disappointed and hurt, but nonetheless loyal". Her final comment: "I feel a greater responsibility to my family and business, and this keeps me from football. I have been sick, and want now to repay my

folks. I think football is over-emphasized".

This lady is home and business oriented, with the added factor of being physically handicapped for sports participation. She is not part of the campus group.

CASE # 166. A married lady, over 30 years of age, with two children. She was educated in a Class B parochial school in Lansing. Social dancing was her main interest, but she had no other because she worked and did not have time. She had a visual handicap, "could never see the ball", so was not interested in sports, and never played. Basketball was the major sports, and she went occasionally because she felt she ought to, but went to no other sports.

She has attended MSU nearly four years, and is classed as a Senior, with an English major. She "has no time for any campus activity...I'm interested, but have no time or car to get back on campus." She does not participate in any activity, and eats in the cafeteria by herself, then goes to the library so she won't be up too late at night. She named four varsity sports, but guessed at three of them, and does not know the major sports for winter or spring. She listed nine reasons why football was the major sport. She reads three magazines, and very little other. Her family has the sports news on every day, but she never listens to it, and follows no other sports news. "Anything" would keep her from a game, but when she does go, it is with two or three friends. She went to no games last year. The band is "about all I go for", and it would improve other sports too, so that "when I had to go, it wouldn't be such a bore".

This year she went to both the Wisconsin and Purdue games. She thought losing would hurt attendance . . . "Down for everybody -- too bad, but kids say they don't like to go and watch the team lose."

Her final comment was, "I have never enjoyed sports for personal reasons. Sports are probably over-emphasized. There are lots of activities here I would enjoy, and am frustrated because I can't come."

She would probably be called a "public conformist without private acceptance" if she were in contact with the campus norms to a greater extent.

CASE # 50. He is single, 31, and lives in the Dorm. He attended a Class A Public High School in Grand Blanc, Michigan. He had no extra-curricular interests, was not interested in sports, played in none, went to none and preferred none. Football was the major sport in the fall, but he couldn't remember the sports for the other seasons.

This is his second term on campus. He is a freshman with his subject major undecided, but he expects it will be Medical Technology. His only campus interest is square dancing. He has no "hang out" with his friends because of "study". He mentions no varsity sports because he "don't pay any attention to that stuff", and is not interested in intramural. He thinks football is the major sport because this is a football state, and "it's just popular here". His interests in sports haven't changed because he never has been interested.

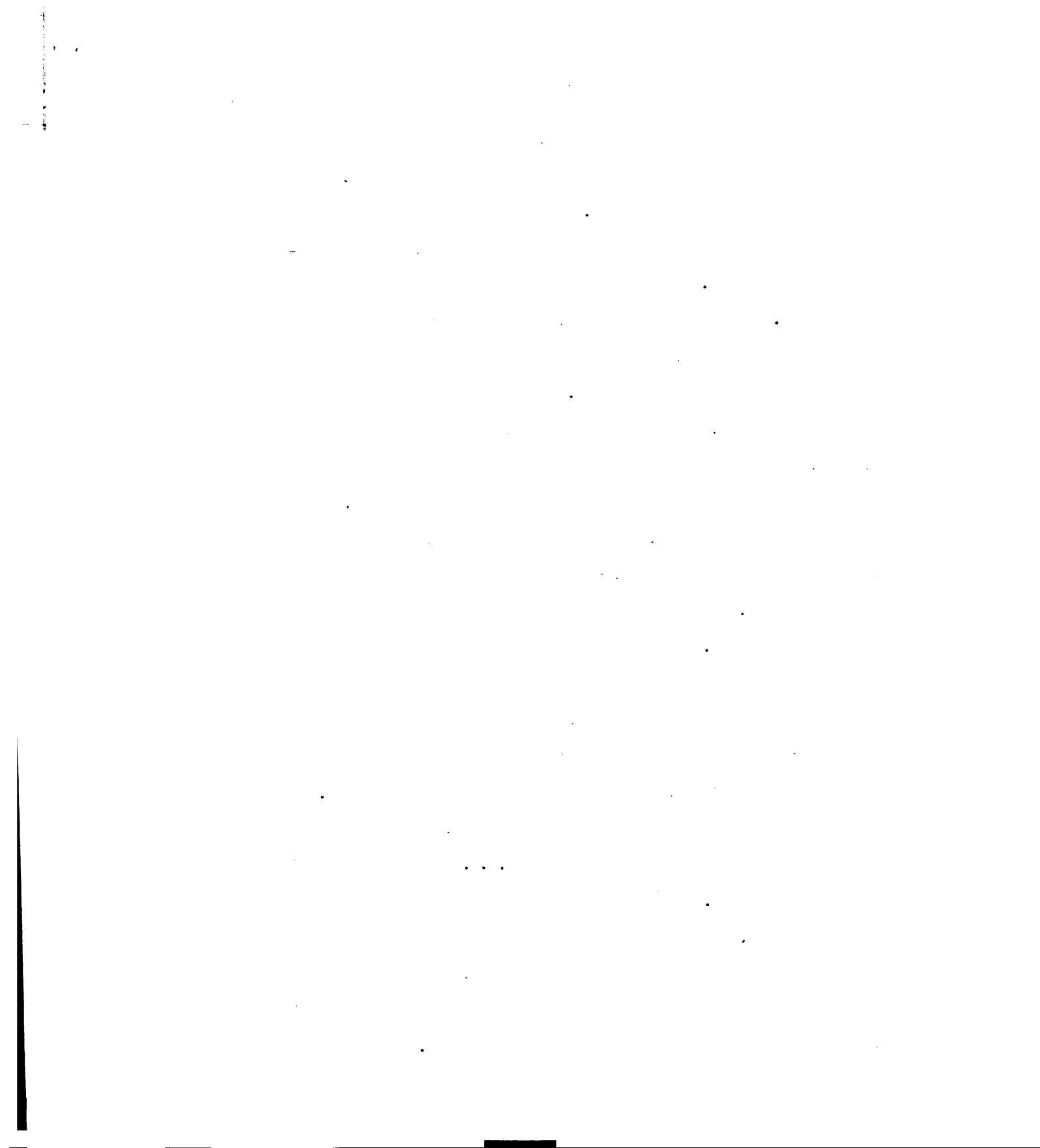
He lists only one movie a month, one hour of recorded music a day and his square dancing class as leisure-time activities. He does not follow sports news at all. He would not list conflicts with the different sports because as he flatly stated, "I do not attend athletic events". His only desire to go to a game would be to hear the band. His final comment was, "I have never been interested in any athletic contests, and my lack of interest here is due to this rather than the program here at MSU".

This student, and the following two, were still in school in May, 1957, so they were called by telephone to see what the impact of the campus culture would be after three and one-half years.

He was now a Junior, with a Psychology major, and still no first or second campus activity, and no interest or attendance at any sports events. His only other leisure than a movie a week is reading of Philosophy.

When he was asked if he knew any other fellows in the dorm that did not attend any of the games, and if he felt any pressure was exerted to get him to attend, he responded that he didn't know any others that didn't go, but they seemed to accept him alright. He also added that it is probably because he is older, and they can understand that he might not be so interested . . . it might be different if he was younger. Sports are fine for those that are interested, but he just isn't.

The same day that we called this student, the author also talked to an employee of the university that worked in this student's dorm, and had known him every since he had been there. This employee,



not knowing the nature of this study at all, or even why this student was involved, volunteered that this fellow was "a very strange boy. He is away from all the rest of the kids. He is nice, helpful and friendly, but just always seems apart. He is just different -- he is always so quiet, and you never see him with anyone."

This student, being a member of the dorm group but holding a negative attitude towards it's dominant sports values, might be expected to feel alienation from the group of which he is nominally a part. The comment of the employee appears to confirm this suspicion.

CASE # 109. This student is a 17 year old single girl living in the dorm, and educated in a Class B Public High School in Calummett, Michigan. Music was listed as her first high school interest, journalism second, with some sports played outside the school. She wasn't very much interested in sports because they didn't have much. Basketball was the major sport, but she preferred football, and want to several sports.

She is an English major freshman, here for her first term, with sports as her first choice, lecture-concerts second. She is in the Skating Club. Her hang out is at Union Grill and College Drug. She named six varsity sports, but has interest she states is entirely in the winter ice-sports. She likes hockey best, with football best in the fall.

Her leisure activities are about normal, except that when she is not in school, she reads about 30 books a month, but none while on campus. Only two campus items would keep her from football, and four

off-campus, but most anything would keep her from baseball and basketball. She usually goes in a mixed group of about six, and had attended both games so far this year. She follows professional football some, and had been to two games in the last three years. She likes football because it is a contact sport, and for the crowd atmosphere. She concluded the interview with the comment, "I wish the kids would support hockey more. A little explanation and I think the kids would like it. The team practices hard."

The follow-up call on May 14, 1957 found her as a Junior, enrolled in Home Economics. Ice skating was her first interest and football second. She had been in two or three activities, but had just dropped them this term. She now goes mostly to the Grill and Kewpees with friends. She is in no intramural because of ice skating, and that is her main interest. Football is now the major preference to watch, with hockey second, and some baseball games being attended. Her leisure activities are still about the same.

She now goes to Detroit every week-end, since she is engaged. She glances at the Sport news, and listens on the radio if its included with other news. She was out of school last fall, but went to all of the home football and hockey games the year before. She also saw all the Detroit Lion's home games, and followed the Red Wings on television. She still wished the kids would support hockey better, but thinks attendance is improving.

This student should no longer be classified as a non-conformist. She is highly interested in sports, and has conformed to the campus norm in favor of football, even though she has maintained her

interest in hockey. She is not an isolate, and should likely be reclassified as a conformist.

CASE # 137. A 19 year old Lansing girl, living in Lansing and enrolled as a freshman in Applied Music. She attended Eastern High School, where football was the major sport, but she did not watch any, prefer any, or play any since she was not interested in sports.

At MSU, her first interest was lecture-concerts, and the second was foreign movies. She was in the chorus and the Christian Science organization, but was not an officer. She had no "hang out" and was not in intramural, and could name just five varsity sports. She was not interested in watching any sport on campus, and was one of three that was not sure that football was the major sport in the fall. She never attends movies, reads no books or magazines, listens to nothing except records about one hour a day. Her other interests are all musical.

She reads sports in the State News nearly every day, but nowhere else. She lists everything that applies as equal conflicts for all of the sports. There is nothing that she especially dislikes about football, but if she went, the band is probably all she would notice. However, "you couldn't have the band in the field-house (for basketball), and it's not traditional for baseball". She had no further comment.

When telephoned in May, 1957, she still had been in no activities, and attended no games of any kind. When asked if she had any problems of being accepted by the kids, she stated that she

would probably have gotten along better if she had stayed in the dorm, rather than off-campus, but she didn't care to. She didn't develop any interests while a student, and makes the significant comment, "nothing, that's probably why I quit. Ha!" She wasn't really interested in Harp, and didn't want to take voice from the professor available. She made good grades in music and flunked the rest because she was not interested, so she quit school.

She didn't ever read the sports in the State News, she reported on this occasion, and never developed a sport she preferred to watch. Sports have never interested her, even in high school. She commented that she isn't sensitive, and it wouldn't have bothered her if the kids had tried to snub her for not going. The few that knew her well enough to ask her, didn't bother her when they learned she meant business about not going.

This student appears to be an individualist and non-conformist. She lives alone, with a telephone listed in her name, and is now working as a stenographer in a downtown office. She hopes to go on with her music some time, but only with voice. She is not interested in either the campus norms, or conforming to them if she was a part of the campus group. Her main reference group seems to be the musician that she aspires to be.

These case histories strengthen the hypothesis that non-conformists to the campus culture are those not primarily campus oriented. While each non-conformist has individual differences in personality and behavior, yet there are certain patterns and common comparative

areas which make it possible to group them. Grouping has revealed that there are such correlative factors as sex, age, place of residence, out-group affiliations, number of children, sports interest and non-conformity. It will be the task of future research to determine which of the areas will be the most fruitful in explaining student behavior.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Inasmuch as the hypotheses tested in this study were of an exploratory nature, the conclusions will be tentative and may not extend much beyond what has already been reported in connection with the data.

However, on the basis of the evidence presented, some conclusions have been reached.

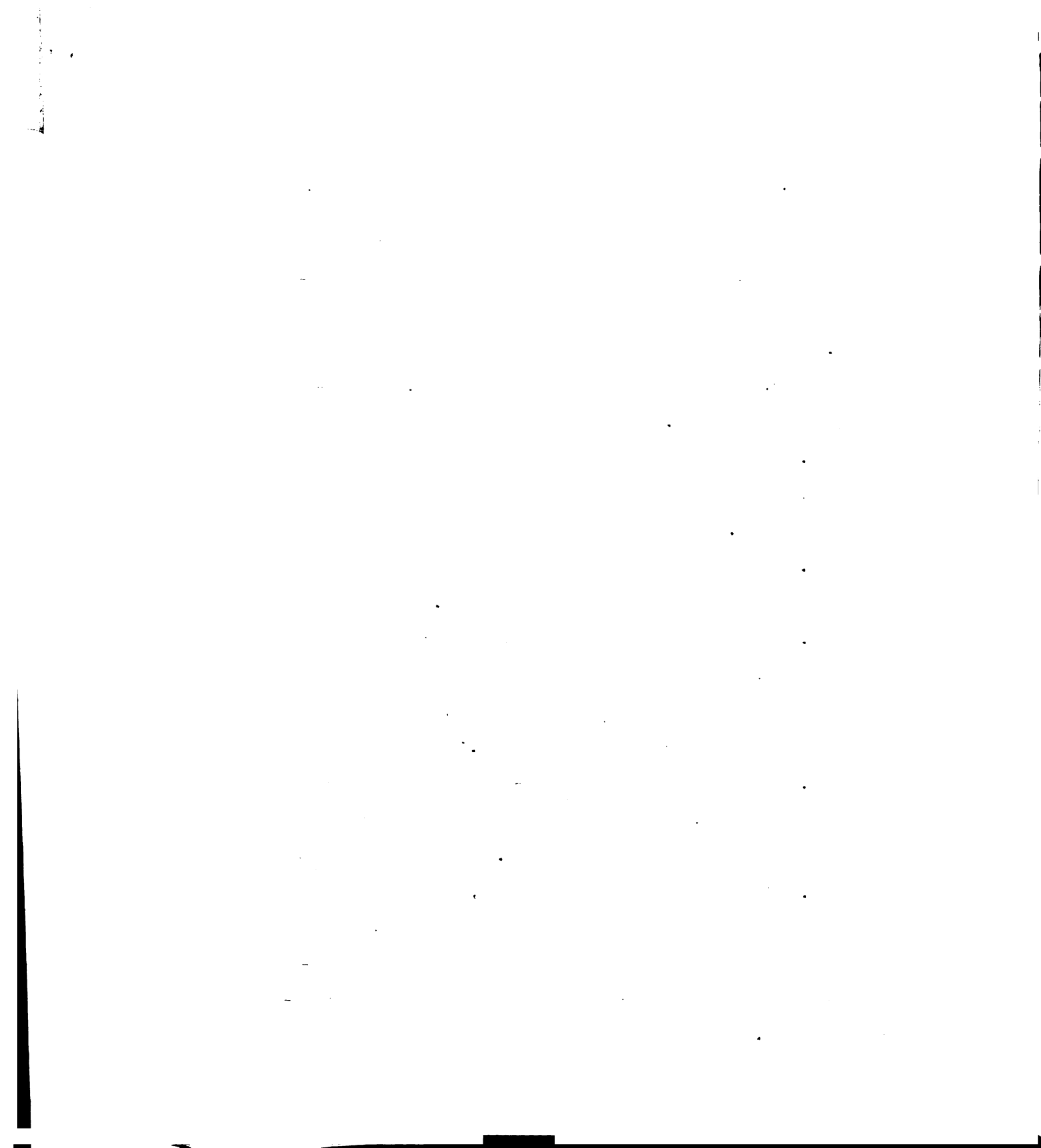
(1). Nearly all the students are aware that football is the major sport, and most all are aware that students are expected to attend the home games.

(2). Non-conformity is not practiced by those that are active in the leadership positions in the student body.

(3). The norms of the campus are quickly learned by those coming on campus. In case of conflict between the campus norms and the "anchorage norms" of previous group memberships, the campus norms take the priority for most of the students.

(4). While competition for leisure-time is not the major determinant of behavior, it does add impetus and make more crucial the choice between competing reference groups.

(5). Within the limitations of the data, the findings of this study support the principles of reference group theory, which basically states that an individual can resist conformity to the in-group norms by using some out-group as his point of reference for conforming behavior.



(6). Valuable insight into the practical problem of student attendance at University athletic events has been given by the theory of reference groups. Its application to other areas of social relations by various fields should also prove valuable, and could contribute to the development and refinement of the theory.

(7). Individuals with competing reference groups will develop a hierarchy of loyalties. Priority will be given to the values of the group that (1) makes membership in that group seem most desirable; (2) maintains a line of communication through which to reinforce its values and norms.

Areas in which the present study could have been strengthened, and which should be included in further research are:

(1). Some way of measuring the social contacts of the individuals to show how much communication is being maintained between the individual and his membership and reference groups, and especially to the prestige figures within those groups.

(2). Plan the research to include the re-interviewing the respondents after a lapse of time, to show the impact of the new environment and social system over a span of time.



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and considerably among those above age 30. Those above 26 had practically no intramural participation, with 93% having no participation. A greater number of the older students also are enrolled in the school intermittently, with 40% of them between the ages of 31-40 interrupting their enrollment, and 67% of those over 40.

Age is definitely correlated to non-conformity with 78% of the students that are above the age of 30 falling into one of the non-conformist categories, and 100% of them above 40, as against 13% of those under the age of 30. This appears to represent family and community indentifications. Since most of these older students live off-campus and are married, they are likely to have other significant reference groups.

Marital Status. Marital status does not affect attendance at football games, but having children does. Nearly 50% of the married students with children are in one of the non-conformist categories, whereas only 18% of those single or married without children are. Married students with children do not participate in any intramural sports nor belong to many other campus organizations. They mention "work" and "married" much more often as reasons why they do not participate or attend games. It appears those with children do not relate themselves to the dominant campus norms. Married men with children mention four off-campus conflicts with football on an average to 2.4 for single men, while the women mention 8.1 conflicts if married to 3.2 if single. The same ratio holds for the other sports. Babysitting was mentioned as one problem in going to sports, especially together, and was a factor in the fewer games attended.

I am _____ representing the Social Research Services of the College. The Athletic Council is interested in the leisure-time activities of the students. They have asked us to give them some information on this, especially with regard to the athletic program. Your name was drawn at random from the student body as the sample to be interviewed. The study is directed by Dr. Wilbur Brookover of the Social Science Department and Social Research Service. We appreciate your taking time to talk with us today, and we may want to do so again for a few minutes later on in the year. Your name will not be used in any connection.

1. Sex? (MARK BY CIRCLING 1 OR 2: DO NOT ASK.)

Male 1
Female 2

2. Would you mind telling me your age? (CIRCLE RESPONSE)

18 1
19 2
20 3
21 4
22 5
23 6
24 - 30 7
30 plus 8

3. Are you married or single? (CIRCLE RESPONSE)

Single 1
Married 2

4. (IF MARRIED) Do you have any children living with you?

No 1
Yes 2

Number of children _____.

5. In what state did you receive most of your education prior to coming to Michigan State College?

Michigan	1
Indiana	2
Ohio	3
Illinois	4
New York	5
Pennsylvania	6
Wisconsin	7
New Jersey	8
Other	9

6. A. What High School did you attend most of the time?

School _____ City _____ State _____

- B. Was this a public, parochial or private school?

Public	1
Parochial	2
Private	3

- C. Approximately how many students attended this High School?

Class A - (800 plus) . . .	1
Class B - (325-799) . . .	2
Class C - (150-324) . . .	3
Class D - (Less than 150) .	4

7. A. What do you remember as your main extra-curricular interest as a student in High School (or private school)?

Music	1
Clubs	2
Sports	3
Journalism	4
Dramatics	5
Social	6
Art	7
_____	8

(CAN GIVE THE SPECIFIC RESPONSE)

- B. What would you say was your second extra-curricular interest?

Music	1
Clubs	2
Sports	3
Journalism	4
Dramatics	5
Social	6
Art	7
_____	8

8. How would you rate your interest in the sports activities in High School?

Very much interested 1
 Quite interested 2
 Mildly interested 3
 Not very interested 4
 Not interested 5
 (OTHER RESPONSE, WRITE OUT) — 6

9. Which sport activities did you attend? (If asked how often we mean: Somewhere around $\frac{1}{2}$ the home events)

None 0

Football 1
 Basketball 2
 Baseball 3
 Track 4
 Tennis 5
 Swimming 6
 Wrestling 7
 Boxing 8
 Hockey 9

Softball 11
 Soccer 12
 Volleyball 13
 Gymnastics 14
 Crew 15
 16

10. Which of these sports did you play or participate in?

BOYS

None 0

Football 1
 Basketball 2
 Baseball 3
 Track 4
 Tennis 5
 Swimming 6
 Wrestling 7
 Boxing 8
 Hockey 9

Softball 10
 Soccer 11
 Volleyball 12
 Gymnastics 13
 Crew 14

(Doesn't apply-Female) X

GIRLS

None 0

Basketball 1
 Baseball 2
 Softball 3
 Track 4
 Tennis 5
 Swimming 6
 Bowling 7
 Volleyball 8
 Badminton 9

Field Hockey 10
 Golf 11
 12

13

(Doesn't apply-Male) 14

11. What was your High School's "major" sport?

Football	1
Basketball	2
Baseball	3
Track	4
	5
Don't know	6

USE CARD HERE for 12 and 13.

14. A bit ago we asked your High School's major sport; now what would you say was the major sport in the Fall? in the Winter? In the Spring?

A. Fall?

B. Winter?

Football	1
Basketball	2
Track	3

Basketball	1
Wrestling	2
Swimming	3

Baseball	1
Softball	2
Track	3

_____ 4

_____ 4

_____ 4

15. Did your school have organized "pep" or yell sessions? If so, for which sports?

None 0

Football	1
Basketball	2
Baseball	3
Track	4
Tennis	5
Swimming	6
Wrestling	7
Boxing	8

_____ 9

16. When did you first enter as a student in Michigan State?

Fall	1
Winter	2
Spring	3
Summer	4

1950	1
1951	2
1952	3
1953	4
1954	5
19__	6

17. Have you attended continuously since then? (except summers)

Yes	1
No.	2

If "No", when have you been away? _____.

18. How many years, then, have you been in attendance?

First term	1
1 year or less	2
1-2 years	3
2-3 years	4
3-4 years	5
Over 4 years	6

19. What is your present classification or class?

Freshman	1
Sophomore.	2
Junior	3
Senior	4
Special.	5
Graduate	6

20. Have you decided on a subject major?

No	1
Yes.	2

If Yes, What? _____.

If No, What do you now think you are most likely to major in?

_____.

21. There is some sort of campus activity going on most all of the time - Which, of all the campus activities, do you find the most interesting?

Lecture-Concert	1
Travelogue.	2
Foreign Movies.	3
Class Activities.	4
Sports Activities	5
Student Government.	6
Sorority-Fraternity	7
Proms, Dances	8
All-School Events	9

_____ 10

22. What would you say is the next most interesting?

Lecture-Concert	1
Travelogue.	2
Foreign Movies.	3
Class Activities.	4
Sports Activities	5
Student Government.	6
Sorority-Fraternity	7
Proms, Dances	8
All-School Events	9

10

23. What campus organizations or activities do you belong to or participate in regularly. (PROBE FOR EACH TYPE)

ORGANIZATION	OFFICER
None	0
Housing Group _____	1
Clubs _____	
Subject-Oriented _____	
(Psych-colloquium) _____	
Publications _____	
Student Government _____	
Fraternity-Sor. _____	
Intra-Mural _____	

24. Where do you and your friends usually "hang out"? (PROBE)

Kewpee	1
Union Grill	2
Smoke Shop.	3
College Drug.	4
Coral Gables.	5
Town House.	6
Bennie's Drive In	7
Christian Student Foun.	8
Y.M.C.A. or Y.W.C.A.	9
Other Religious House	10
_____	11

12

1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been named in the document. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

2. The second part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been named in the document. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

3. The third part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been named in the document. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been named in the document. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

5. The fifth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been named in the document. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

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15. The fifteenth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been named in the document. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

16. The sixteenth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been named in the document. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

17. The seventeenth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been named in the document. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

18. The eighteenth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been named in the document. The names are listed in alphabetical order.

25. Let's turn our attention now to sports here at Michigan State. We have several varsity teams; in which sports do our teams participate in inter-collegiate contests? It might help to think of them by seasons. (CIRCLE ALL NAMED)

Cross-country	1
Football	2
Basketball	3
Boxing	4
Fencing	5
Gymnastics	6
Hockey	7
Indoor track	8
Swimming	9
Wrestling	10
Baseball	11
Track	12
Tennis	13
Golf	14

26. Have you played in any of these since coming here as a student?

No 1
Yes 2

(IF YES) List:

FRESHMEN VARSITY?

_____ 1	_____ 1
_____ 2	_____ 2

27. There are also quite a large number of intramural organized sports events. Have you participated in any of these since coming here as a student? If so, which sports?

None	0	Bowling	17
Football	1	Sports Skills	18
Basketball	2	Badminton	19
Baseball	3	Table Tennis	20
Track	4	Weight Lifting	21
Tennis	5	Fencing	22
Swimming	6	Horseshoe	23
Wrestling	7	Golf	24
Boxing	8	Sig. Delta Psi	25
Hockey	9	Cricket	26
Softball	11	_____	27
Soccer	12		
Handball	13		
Gymnastics	14		
Turkey Trot	15		
Archery	16		

28. (IF "NONE" IN 27) Is there any special reason why you haven't gotten in to any of these? (DO NOT FORCE INTO PRECODED CATEGORIES: WRITE OUT EXACT RESPONSE UNLESS IT FITS ONE OF THESE)

Not interested 1
Work 2
Live off-campus 3
Too busy 4
_____ 5

29. What sport do you personally like to PLAY the best?

None 0

Football 1
Basketball 2
Baseball 3
Track 4
Tennis 5
Swimming 6
Wrestling 7
Boxing 8
_____ 9

30. Of the fall sports, which do you like to play the best? Of the winter? Of the spring?

Fall	Winter	Spring
Football 1	Basketball 1	Baseball 1
Track 2	Hockey 2	Softball 2
Wrestling 3	Swimming 3	Track 3
Boxing 4	Bowling 4	Tennis 4
_____ 5	_____ 5	_____ 5

31. Now in thinking of all the campus sports events, both varsity and intramural, which do you enjoy going to WATCH the most?

Football 1
Basketball 2
Baseball 3
Hockey 4
_____ 5

32. Of the fall sports, what do you prefer going to watch the most? Of the winter? Of the spring?

Fall?		Winter?		Spring?	
Football.	1	Basketball.	1	Baseball.	1
Gymnastics.	2	Wrestling	2	Track	2
Swimming.	3	Hockey.	3	Tennis.	3
_____	4	Boxing.	4	Golf.	4
		Swimming.	5	Softball.	5
		_____	6	_____	6

33. Now then, how does this compare with your high school? Have you noticed any change in sports preferences since then?

About same 1
Some change. 2

(HERE USE CARD. IF RESPONDENT SAYS ABOUT THE SAME, BUT THERE IS SOME CHANGE, SAY, "I see it is about the same, but you may have changed a little on _____. Are there any others?" Proceed with card and following questions) We would now like to list any changes whatever that you have noticed in your preferences, and it would probably be the easiest to do it by seasons.

A. FALL: Have you added any? Dropped any? Changed preferences?

<u>ADDED</u>		<u>DROPPED</u>		<u>CHANGE</u>	
Football.	1	Football	1	Basketball to F.B..	1
Cross-country	2	_____	2	_____	2
Swimming.	3	_____	3	_____	3
_____	4	_____	4	_____	4
_____	5	_____	5	_____	5

B. WINTER:

<u>ADDED</u>		<u>DROPPED</u>		<u>CHANGE</u>	
Boxing	1	Wrestling.	1	Basketball to swim	.1
Wrestling.	2	Bowling.	2	Basketball to F.B.	.2
_____	3	Basketball	3	F.B. to Basketball	.3
_____	4	Hockey	4	Hockey to Basketb.	.4
_____	5	_____	5	_____	5
_____	6	_____	6	_____	6

C. SPRING:

<u>ADDED?</u>	<u>DROPPED?</u>	<u>CHANGED?</u>
Baseball 1	Softball. . . . 1	Softball to Baseball . . 1
Track. 2	Baseball. . . . 2	Baseball to Golf 2
Tennis 3	Track 3	Baseball to Tennis . . . 3
Golf 4	Tennis. 4	Track to Baseball. . . . 4
_____ 5	_____ 5	_____ 5
_____ 6	_____ 6	_____ 6

34. How do you explain this change? Be as specific as you can.

FALL:

<u>ADDS</u>	<u>DROPS</u>
School Emphasis. 1	Don't know players here. 1
Took a class in it 2	Too busy now 2
Better quality here. 3	Don't have it here 3
High School didn't have. . . . 4	Football too rough 4
Everybody goes here. 5	Have to work now 5
_____ 6	_____ 6
_____ 7	_____ 7

CHANGES

_____ . . . 1
_____ . . . 2
_____ . . . 3

WINTER:

<u>ADDS</u>	<u>DROPS</u>
School Emphasis 1	Don't know players here. . . . 1
Took a class in it. 2	Too busy now 2
Better quality here 3	Don't have it here 3
High School didn't have 4	Basketball scores too high . . 4
Everybody goes here 5	Don't like style of Basketball. 5
_____ 6	_____ 6
_____ 7	_____ 7

CHANGES

_____ 1
_____ 2
_____ 3

SPRING:

ADDS

DROPS

School emphasis 1	Don't have it here 1
Took a class in it. 2	Don't know the players here. . . 2
Saw some Major League 3	Too busy now 3
Quality of game 4	Track don't appeal here. 4
High School didn't have 5	Nobody I know goes 5
_____ 6	_____ 6
_____ 7	_____ 7

CHANGES

_____ 1
_____ 2
_____ 3

35. In thinking of our Varsity sports, which do you think is the major inter-collegiate sport in the Fall? Winter? Spring?

<u>Fall?</u>	<u>Winter?</u>	<u>Spring?</u>
Football 1	Basketball 1	Baseball 1
_____ 2	_____ 2	_____ 2
Sure ____ Unsure ____	Sure ____ Unsure ____	Sure ____ Unsure ____

36. On an over-all basis, what is the major inter-collegiate sport here?

Football 1
_____ 2

37. This is a little harder one: Why do you think this is true at M.S.C. when it is not true at some other colleges? (PROBE HERE A LITTLE, BUT DO NOT SUGGEST ANY ANSWERS)

This is football state.	1
Admin. or Athletic Dept. promotes it.	2
Emphasized in the high schools.	3
National collegiate sport	4
Team quality and record	5
Entrance into Big 10, or trying to get in	6
Facilities.	7
Financial gain that comes with football	8
The game itself has tremendous appeal	9
STATE NEWS plays football up.	10
Competition with University of Michigan	11
Public associates football with M.S.C..	12
Saturday games-ends up week nice.	13
Time of year-nice to be outdoors.	14
Alumni pushes football-school recognition	15
Only fall sport	16
	17
	18

I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS NOW ABOUT HOW YOU SPEND YOUR LEISURE TIME.

38. About how often do you go to the movies?

Never 1
_____ a week 2

39. What magazines do you read rather regularly?

_____ 1	_____ 4
_____ 2	_____ 5
_____ 3	_____ 6

40. About how many non-school books do you read a month? _____.

41. How often do you play cards a week? _____.

42. About how many hours a day do you listen to recorded music? _____.

43. How much each day to all radio and T.V. programs? _____.

44. About how often do you go out and drink with the fellows (girls)?

Never	1
Seldom.	2
Occasionally.	3
Quite often	4
_____	5
_____ a week.	6

45. How often do you drink when on a date?

Never	1
Seldom.	2
Occasionally.	3
Quite often	4
_____	5

46. What other kinds of informal leisure-time activities do you participate in?

_____.

47. How often do you listen to the sports news over any radio or T.V. station?

Nearly every day	1
Occasionally	2
Seldom	3
Never.	4

48. How often do you read the Sports Page in the State News?

Nearly every day	1
Occasionally	2
Seldom	3
Never.	4

49. Do you rather regularly read the Sports Page in any other newspaper? (IF YES, PLEASE LIST) Which ones?

No	1
Yes.	2

Chicago Tribune	1
Detroit News.	2
Detroit Free Press.	3
Detroit Times	4
Lansing State Journal	5
Sporting News	6
_____	7

50. Do you rather regularly read any sports magazines?

No 1
Yes 2

IF YES, Which ones?

_____ 1
_____ 2
_____ 3

51. What other campus activity or duties would keep you from attending a good home varsity Football game. (Basketball game; Baseball game) if you could not attend to the other activity and go to the game both? I'll give you a list to help suggest some things.

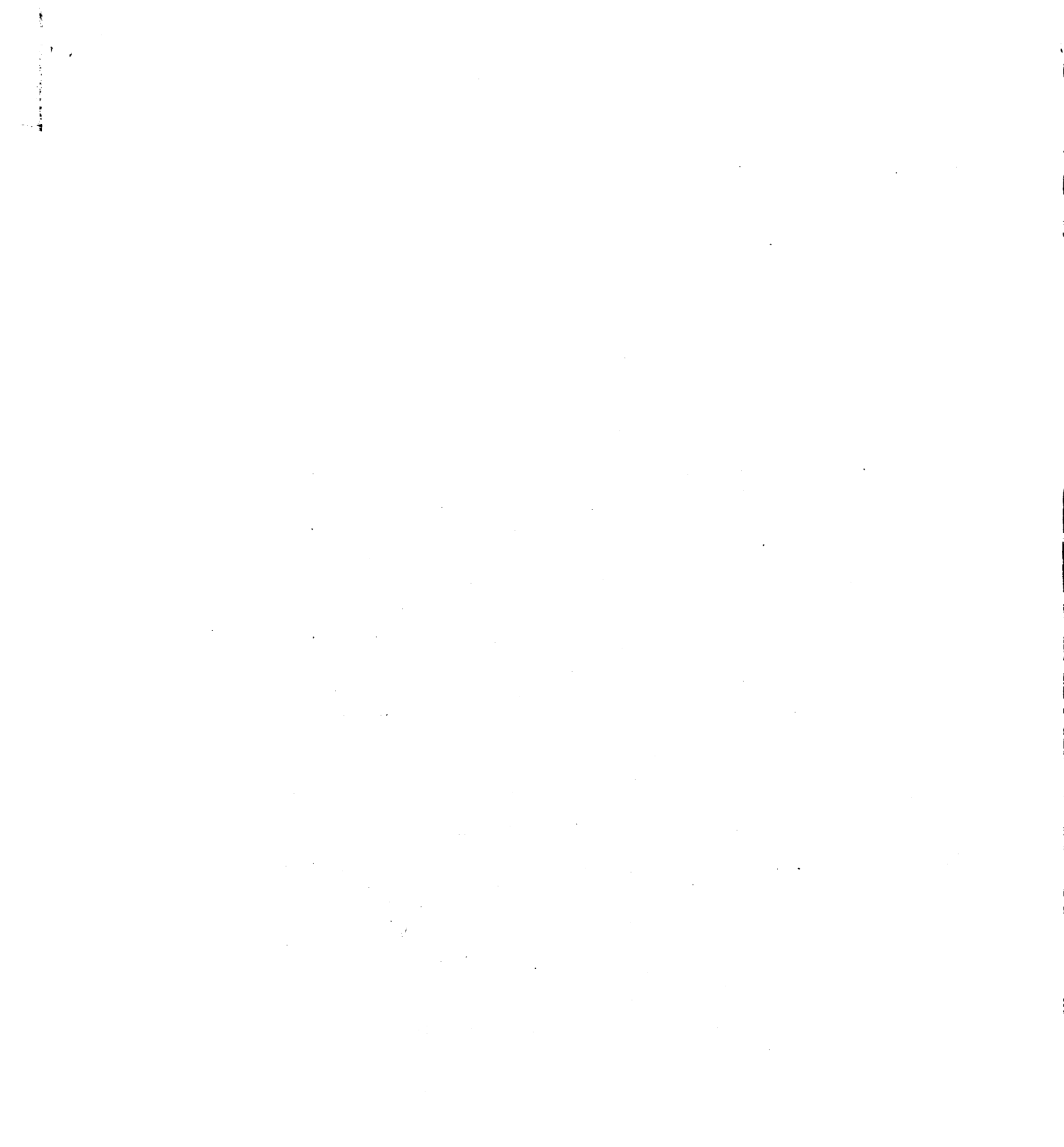
A. Football game? Basketball game? Baseball game?

Lecture-concert .	1	Lecture-concert .	1	Lecture-concert .	1
Travelogue . . .	2	Travelogue . . .	2	Travelogue . . .	2
Foreign Movie . .	3	Foreign Movie . .	3	Foreign Movie . .	3
Dorm Activity . .	4	Dorm Activity . .	4	Dorm Activity . .	4
Married, at home.	5	Married, at home.	5	Married, at home.	5
Sorority-Frat . .	6	Sorority-Frat . .	6	Sorority-Frat . .	6
Date	7	Date	7	Date	7
Study, if behind	8	Study, if behind	8	Study, if behind	8
Radio or TV . . .	9	Radio or TV . . .	9	Radio or TV . . .	9
Read a book . . .	10	Read a book . . .	10	Read a book . . .	10
Work on campus .	11	Work on campus .	11	Work on campus .	11
Personal recrea .	12	Personal recrea .	12	Personal recrea .	12
Weather	13	Weather	13	Weather	13
_____	14	_____	14	_____	14

52. What off-campus activity or duty would keep you from attending a good home Football game; Basketball game; Baseball game; if you could not attend to the other activity and go to the game both?

A. Football game? Basketball game? Baseball game?

Go home-stay home .	1	Go home-stay home .	1	Go home-stay home .	1
Visit friends . . .	2	Visit friends . . .	2	Visit friends . . .	2
Week-end trip . . .	3	Week-end trip . . .	3	Week-end trip . . .	3
Go hunting	4	Go skiing-ice skate	4	Go fishing-beach .	4
See a good movie .	5	See a good movie .	5	See a good movie .	5
Off-campus date . .	6	Off-campus date . .	6	Off-campus date . .	6
Drinking party-tav	7	Drinking party-tav	7	Drinking party-tav	7
Off-campus party .	8	Off-campus party .	8	Off-campus party .	8
Married-at home . .	9	Married-at home . .	9	Married-at home . .	9
Off-campus job . .	10	Off-campus job . .	10	Off-campus job . .	10
Church activities .	11	Church activities .	11	Church activities .	11
Personal recrea . .	12	Personal recrea . .	12	Personal recrea . .	12
_____	13	_____	13	_____	13



53. When you attend a sports event--do you ordinarily go by yourself or with others? (If not alone) With whom do you usually go?
(CAN READ LIST)

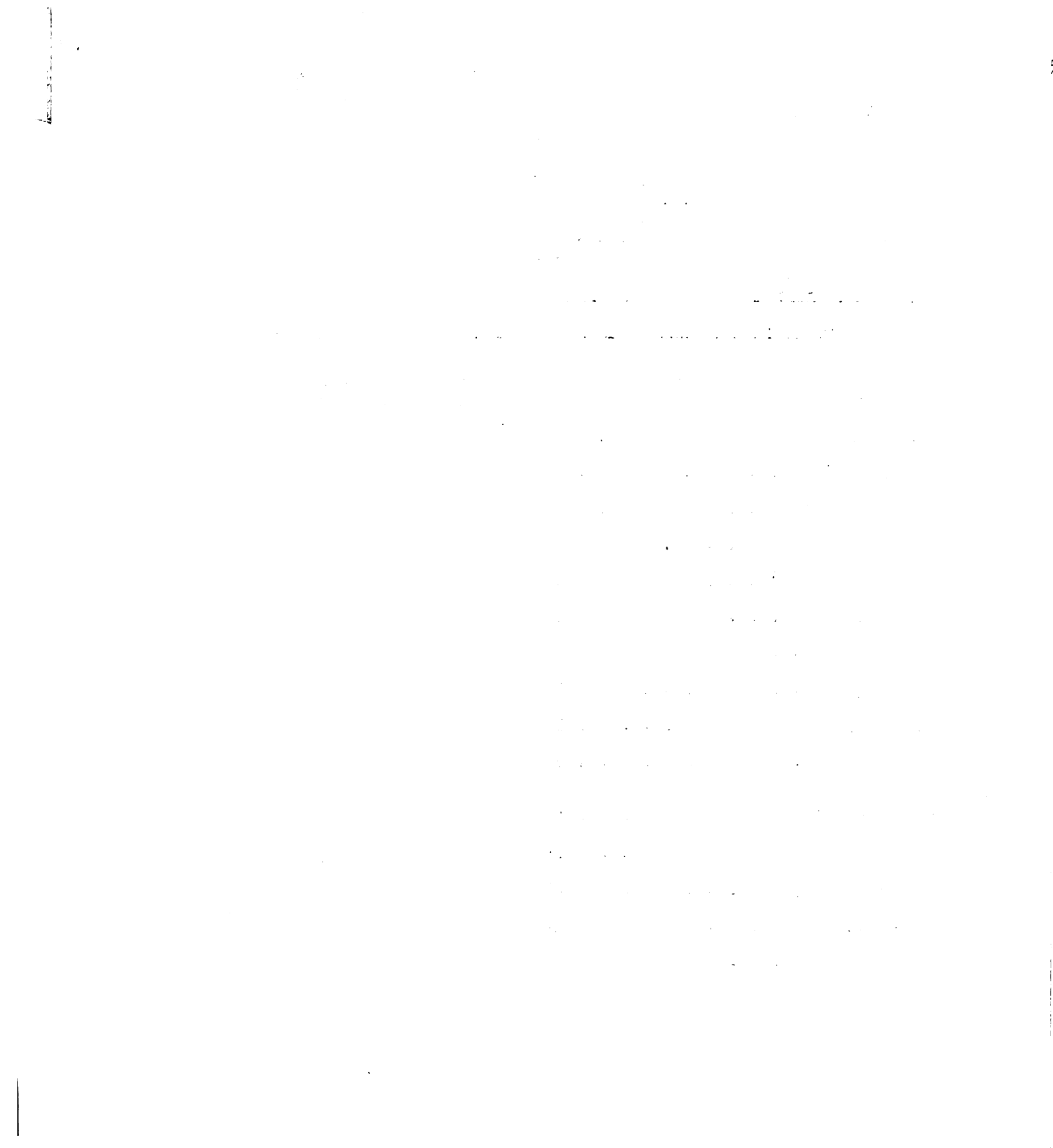
Alone 1
Date 2
Double-date 3
Group of two or three friends 4
With roommate 5
Bunch of guys (or girls) from dorm . 6
Group of four or more friends 7
8

Comment: _____ .

54. About how many Michigan State "Home" games did you attend last season for each of the following Varsity sports? (Read List)

None of any 0
Football (4) 1
Basketball (11) 2
Baseball (9) 3
Track, Indoor (2) 4
Tennis (5) 5
Swimming (4) 6
Wrestling (6) 7
Boxing (3) 8
Hockey (15) 9

Gymnastics (2) 10
Fencing (4) 11
Outdoor Track (1) 12
Cross-country (1) 13
Golf (5) 14



55. Did you attend any "away from home" games for any of these?
(IF YES,) For which sports, and how many did you attend?

None 0

Football 1

Basketball 2

Baseball 3

_____ 4

56. Do you follow professional football quite closely?

Yes 1

Some 2

No 3

57. About how many games have you attended in the last three years?

58. What thing or things, do you especially enjoy about football?

Tension 1

Contact sport 2

Season of the year 3

Saturday games end up week . 4

Band, ceremony, pagentry . . 5

Color 6

_____ 7

_____ 8

59. Is there anything that you especially dislike about the game?

Cheering 1

Too rough 2

Jam of the crowd 3

Penalties 4

Long ticket lines 5

_____ 6

_____ 7

Nothing that I think of . . 8

60. Now we're used to having the band, ceremonies and pagentry at football games, but just how much does this add to your enjoyment of the afternoon? (RECORD ACTUAL RESPONSE)

About all I go for 1
Adds a lot 2
Part of it adds 3
Uncertain 4
Don't go for that-go for game . . 5
Doesn't help at all 6
Spoils it for me 7

8

9

61. Do you think this same kind of pagentry, color and music would improve interest, enjoyment and attendance at Basketball? At football? At other sports?

Basketball?

Baseball?

Other sports?

Yes 1
No 2
Some might . . . 3
Don't know . . . 4

Yes 1
No 2
Some might . . . 3
Don't know . . . 4

Yes 1
No 2
Some might . . . 3
Don't know . . . 4

5

5

5

Would you care to comment further? _____

62. Did you attend the Wisconsin Football game the other Saturday?

Yes 1
No 2

63. Do you expect to (Or did you) attend the Purdue game on the 16th?

Yes 1
No 2

64. If Michigan State were to lose several football games this season, what affect do you think it would have on the interest and attendance of the students and public? _____

7

65. Now we trust that these questions have proved interesting to you. We certainly appreciate your co-operation. Do you have any additional comments that you'd like to make about your leisure-time activities; or why you do or don't attend M.S.C. athletic events, or about the sports program in general? Do you have anything else of interest that you thought of as we were passing through?

* * * *

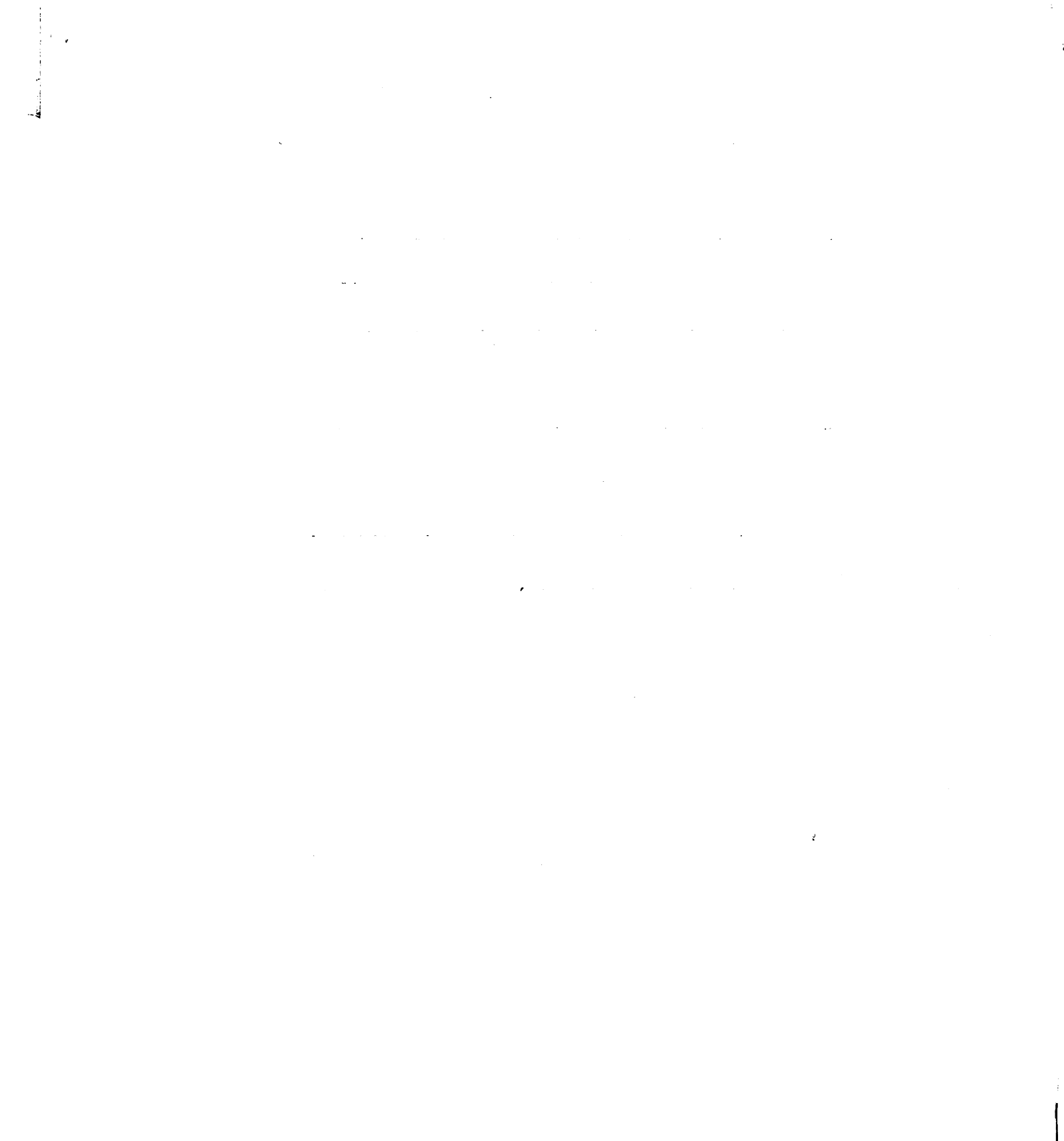
NAME _____ TELEPHONE _____

ADDRESS _____ DATE _____

INTERVIEWER _____

TYPE OF SURVEY _____

ORIGIN OF SAMPLE _____



SCHEDULE II - TELEPHONE SURVEY

Code _____ Name _____ Ph. _____ Date _____

Hello! This is _____ speaking. I'm calling about the Sports Survey that you helped us with a while back. I'd like to ask about your attendance at a few games. If you have a few minutes, we'll be able to do it right now over the phone, O.K.?

1. Did you go to the last football game of the season?

Yes 1
No 2

2. Who was that game with; do you recall. (On November 20th)

Marquette, Sure 1
Marquette, Unsure 2
Other 3
Don't recall 4

3. (IF YES TO QUESTION 1) Now you say you went to that game with Marquette; do you recall whether you went in a group, or alone? I'll read a list, and you tell me which one best fits you.

Alone 1
Roommate 2
Date 3
Double date 4
~~Two or three~~ friends 5
4 or more friends 6
Don't remember 7

4. Was there any question in your mind about your going to the game?

No, I always go 1
Yes 2
Don't remember 3

5. (IF YES TO QUESTION 4) What other possibilities were considered?

Game of the week on T.V. (PROBE) 1
Going home 2
Studying 3
Work 4
Movies 5
Go out with the gang 6
Week-end trip 7
Don't remember 8
9

6. Did you discuss whether or not you would go with anyone else?

Yes. 1
No 2

7. (IF ANSWER TO QUESTION 1, IS NO) Is there any special reason why you didn't care to go? _____

8. Do you recall what you did instead? (Probe, esp. on T.V.)

Game of the week on T.V. 1
Went home. 2
Studied. 3
Didn't recall at first 4
Don't remember 5
6

9. Did you consider going to the game at all? What finally led you to decide to do the other thing?

Yes 1
No 2
3

10. Did you discuss this with anyone else?

Yes. 1 Who? _____
No. 2

11. Let's turn our attention to the Basketball games. Did you go to the second home game-the one with the Univ. of Detroit on Saturday, December 4?

Yes. 1
No. 2

12. (If NO) What did you do at the time of the game? (Probe)

Studied. 1
Date 2
Went home. 3
Out with the gang. 4 Doing what? _____
Don't remember 5
6

13. Did you consider going to the game at all? (IF YES, WHAT led you to decide not to go?

No. 1
Yes. 2

(3)

14. (IF YES TO QUESTION 11) Did you consider not going at all?

No 1
Yes 2 (If YES) What led you to

decide to go? _____.

15. How about the home game with the University of Wisconsin on Saturday afternoon, January 8; did you go to that one?

Yes 1
No 2

16. (If NO) Did you watch in on T.V., or did you do something else?

T.V. 1
_____ 2

17. Did you appreciate having it played in the afternoon, or do you prefer only night games?

Like afternoons . . . 1
Only at night. . . . 2
_____ 3

18. Is the fact that a game is a Conference game or a non-conference game, a determining factor in your attendance at games.

Go only to conference games1
Prefer conference games2
Go to all games regardless3
Depends on the team4
_____ 5

19. Have you gone to any other Basketball games this season. Which ones?

Wed., Dec. 1 - Marquette University . . 1
Wed., Dec. 22-DePaul University . . . 2
Thurs., Dec. 30-Penn. State College . . 3

20. Have you been to any other varsity sports here this winter?
If so, which ones? or how many?

None _____
Hockey _____
Fencing _____
Swim _____
Boxing _____
Wrestling _____

SCHEDULE II - TELEPHONE SURVEY

Code _____ Name _____ Ph. _____ Date _____

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1. Did you go to the last football game of the season?

Yes 1
No 2

2. Who was that game with; do you recall. (On November 20th)

Marquette, Sure 1
Marquette, Unsure 2
Other 3
Don't recall 4

3. (IF YES TO QUESTION 1) Now you say you went to that game with Marquette; do you recall whether you went in a group, or alone? I'll read a list, and you tell me which one best fits you.

Alone 1
Roommate 2
Date 3
Double date 4
Two or three friends 5
4 or more friends 6
Don't remember 7

4. Was there any question in your mind about your going to the game?

No, I always go 1
Yes 2
Don't remember 3

5. (IF YES TO QUESTION 4) What other possibilities were considered?

Game of the week on T.V. (PROBE) 1
Going home 2
Studying 3
Work 4
Movies 5
Go out with the gang 6
Week-end trip 7
Don't remember 8
9

6. Did you discuss whether or not you would go with anyone else?

Yes. 1
No 2

7. (IF ANSWER TO QUESTION 1, IS NO) Is there any special reason why you didn't care to go? _____

8. Do you recall what you did instead? (Probe, esp. on T.V.)

Game of the week on T.V. 1
Went home. 2
Studied. 3
Didn't recall at first 4
Don't remember 5
_____ 6

9. Did you consider going to the game at all? What finally led you to decide to do the other thing?

Yes 1
No 2
_____ 3

10. Did you discuss this with anyone else?

Yes. 1 Who? _____
No. 2

11. Let's turn our attention to the Basketball games. Did you go to the second home game-the one with the Univ. of Detroit on Saturday, December 4?

Yes. 1
No. 2

12. (If NO) What did you do at the time of the game? (Probe)

Studied. 1
Date 2
Went home. 3
Out with the gang. 4 Doing what? _____
Don't remember 5
_____ 6

13. Did you consider going to the game at all? (IF YES, WHAT led you to decide not to go?

No. 1
Yes. 2

(3)

14. (IF YES TO QUESTION 11) Did you consider not going at all?

No 1
Yes 2

(If YES) What led you to

decide to go?_____.

15. How about the home game with the University of Wisconsin on Saturday afternoon, January 8; did you go to that one?

Yes 1
No 2

16. (If NO) Did you watch in on T.V., or did you do something else?

T.V. 1
_____ 2

17. Did you appreciate having it played in the afternoon, or do you prefer only night games?

Like afternoons . . . 1
Only at night. . . . 2
_____ 3

18. Is the fact that a game is a Conference game or a non-conference game, a determining factor in your attendance at games.

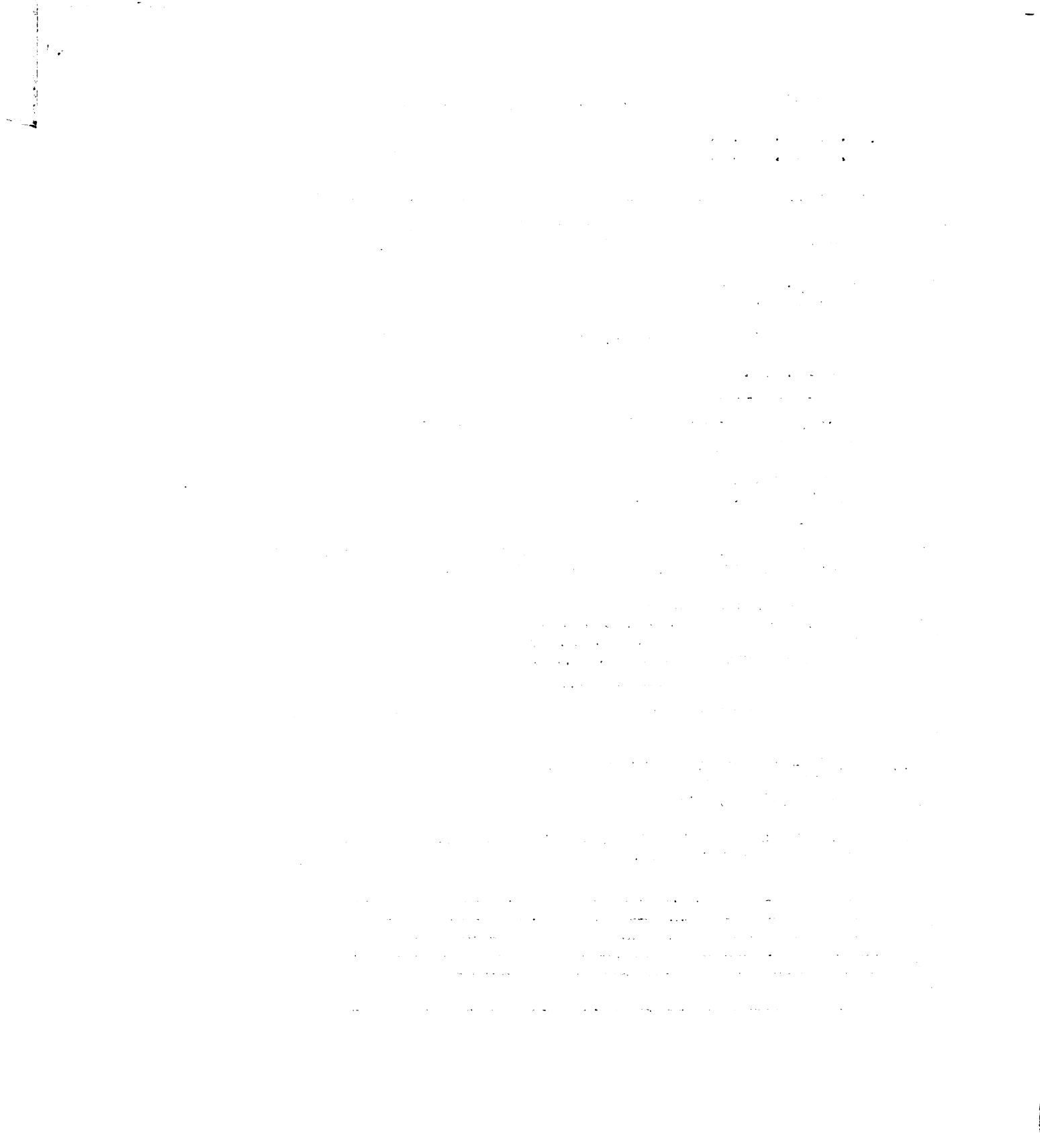
Go only to conference games1
Prefer conference games2
Go to all games regardless3
Depends on the team4
_____ 5

19. Have you gone to any other Basketball games this season. Which ones?

Wed., Dec. 1 - Marquette University . . 1
Wed., Dec. 22-DePaul University . . . 2
Thurs., Dec. 30-Penn. State College . . 3

20. Have you been to any other varsity sports here this winter?
If so, which ones? or how many?

None _____
Hockey _____
Fencing _____
Swim _____
Boxing _____
Wrestling _____



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