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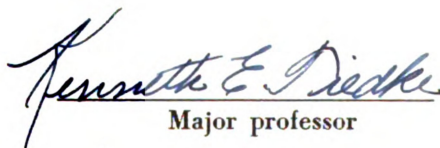
INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR IN RELATION TO THE
SOCIAL NORMS OF A SPECIFIC INTEREST GROUP

presented by

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has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

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INDIVIDUAL PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR IN RELATION TO
THE SOCIAL NORMS OF A SPECIFIC INTEREST GROUP

By
Donald R. Kogut

A THESIS

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INDIVIDUAL PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR IN RELATION TO
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ABSTRACT

Social behavior in secondary groups is individual in its enactment and collective in its effect upon the social group or society which it builds. Although both processes are not only simultaneous but coexistent, they have tended to be separated in the social sciences, the individual aspect being studied by psychology and the collective by anthropology and sociology. In this study the use of parts of all of these disciplines has been made in an attempt to uncover something of the social process as it functions through the social group and its individuals.

The Michigan State College swimming team, because it was a unified goal-oriented specific interest group was selected as the case for analysis. For six months, at 12-15 hours a week, participant observation and scheduled depth interviewing were carried on, with the investigator's role being clearly defined to the group.

The questions specifically asked from the general problem area outlined above are (1) What is the relationship between group expectancies (i.e. norms) for the social behavior of the individual and that behavior as seen by the individual and (2) What is the relationship between self

expectancies (i.e. norms) for the social behavior of the individual self and that behavior as seen by the individual? and (3) What is the relationship between group expectancies and self expectancies? The hypotheses offered are that there is little conflict between these three variables of social action. A fourth hypothesis was that there was adequate communication of the content of the social norms to all members.

The relationships between the variables were tested by comparing within the context of an actual social situation how 1. the individual perceived the social group expectancies as compared to 2. how he perceived his self expectancies as compared to 3. how he perceived his own social behavior.

The data shifted the problem since it was discovered that 1. little or no agreement existed in the perception of social norms across the group and 2. that there was a high positive association between the individual's perception of social norms (this new term being distinctly different than the original concept "group norm"), his self norms, and the individual's own social behavior, and 3. that self norms for friendliness and cooperation tended to be in close agreement across the group and other norms pertaining to techniques of social action tended to be in great "disagreement".

Thus conclusions 1 and 3 from the data became the focal points of a new problem and a new analysis.

The multi-disciplinary approach succeeded to the extent that the process-analysis of social behavior in relation to the normative systems of the social group and the social self has given empirical patterns which are simple, complementary and descriptive of the coincidental actions of a social group and the social actors.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The title of this thesis suggests that some problem of scientific interest exists in the relationship between an individual's behavior and the norms¹ or expectancies that a social group may have in reference to the individual members. The "problem" is that there is not a sufficient fund of knowledge on this subject for the phenomenon of the specific interest or non-primary group in a modern society. For some time now, ethnologists have described instances of primitive societies wherein individuals living in the publicity of an extended primary group adhere closely to a well indoctrinated legal-moral code. At least some reports² have indicated that the explicitly verbalized normative systems of the primitive groups can find little individual contradiction, for the threat of withdrawal of all reward and/or other punishment almost completely prevents it. Furthermore, with no means of considering and of the various aspects of reality except by consensual validation with the village or with the

1. The use of the term here refers to: the definition of situationally appropriate behavior for the social actor by the group (behavior literally demanded rather than ideally conceived).

2. e.g., John Whiting, Becoming A Kwoma, Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, 1941, (ethnographic section).

past ancestors or gods, the primitive indeed has little choice in his "judgments."

In modern societies there is, however, the very different phenomena of the specific interest group.¹ This aggregation is not a full time creator or controller of human action and there may indeed be a difference in the extent of social "normalcy" in the behavior of the members of this group as compared to that of the primitive. It is to be noted that the communication of the norms themselves is probably less efficient for specific interest groups since few have full time personnel who memorize and frequently publicly repeat rights and duties of its members as do most primitive groups. Also the privacy of behavior of individuals comprising the specific interest group is somewhat greater in that most of the individual's life is usually spent beyond the scrutiny of the non-primary group. Whether or not the absence of the public restraint has any effect on individual behavior in specific interest groups is one of the questions this study sought to answer.

1. The term as used here refers to: voluntary association groups formed on a vocational or avocational basis. The special interest groups are to be differentiated from primary groups by the lessening of the primacy of social relations. This is not a definition of the term but a description of the way it is being used within this thesis. This kind of group can be considered as one form of secondary groups.

The sociologist in devoting most of his efforts to a description of modern society has offered a wealth of material on the fact of the separate existences of the primary and secondary groups. He has studied the social organization of the primary group in modern society as has the ethnologist the primitive society, and has demonstrated the similar existence of a normative system governing the behavior of the individual especially during the socialization process within the family. Most sociologists have assumed that generalizations could be made from the data on the primary group to the effect that each of the normative systems existed and functioned similarly in both the primary and secondary group. A significant contribution toward the validation of this premise has been the work of the sociological criminologists who have shown the members of the "gang" to have rigid adherence to their own social norms.¹ Since the specificity of proper behavior is clearly communicated in this type of group and there is less idiosyncratic variation permitted or possible, and since usually, these groups become the major, and possibly only, group to which its members belong, it can be argued that it is a primary group. In addition, by the description made for a secondary group (footnote 1, page 1), this type of group

1. E. H. Sutherland, Principles of Criminology, J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1934.

Thrasher, F. M. The Gang, 2nd rev. edition, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill., 1936.

is not a secondary group because the members cannot easily, if at all, sever relations with the group. The criminal group, although a vocational and interest group, is also the living group in the broadest sense and hence can be considered to have much of the all inclusive directiveness of the family (for children) or like the traditional orientation of society for its personnel. Again we are left with the question of: what is the relationship between the specific interest group's normative system and the individual member's behavior?

The questions suggested by ethnological research and sociological research above can be phrased together and so designate the question of this study. It is to find out if specific interest groups in a modern society have a normative system with which the individual members concur in their personal or self norms¹ and in their behavior. When schematized this breaks down into the following questions:

1. Within a specific interest group in a modern society: are there social group norms and, if so, what relationship do they have to the group?
 - a. With what force do they exist?
 - b. What is their origin and what are their effects?
2. Are the social norms communicated to the individual members?

1. A self norm is differentiated from the social norm by asking the informant to refer to his personal rule of conduct on a given matter as against his judgment of the "average" opinion of the group on the same items of behavior. This personal judgment of "proper" behavior can be conceived of as the perceptions and attitudes about social behavior that are being acquired from all experience, past and present, outside of the group.

- a. How much and how carefully?
- b. Is the information equally available to all?
3. Does the social behavior follow the directives of the social norms?
 - a. To what extent?
 - b. What behavior is not covered by social norms?
4. Do the self norms agree with the social norms and the social behavior?
 - a. To what extent?

The absence of research on the above questions is a reflection of the historical bents of the three disciplines concerned; namely, anthropology, psychology and sociology. The first has, as mentioned above, been concerned with the recording of the various cultures of the rapidly disappearing "primitive". Such data has shown that there is great primacy of all social relations in the primitive social group and hence no occurrences of a spatially removed specific interest group (in the sense used here) have been recorded. Anthropologists (as such) are just beginning to look at modern societies. The methodological approach of the present study is to make a case analysis of a social unit rather than survey research on an element of culture.

Clinical psychologists, although concerned with social norms and their relationship to the individual, have failed to make the kind of recording of data necessary to accomplish their own ends. Working with a concept of personality they recorded

the individual's reaction to norms without actually recording what the social norm(s) were. Furthermore, they did not know the degree of awareness, on the part of the subject, of the social norm or if the subject had some definite relationship between his self norms and the given social norms. One notable exception is the work done by Muzefer Sherif on the behavior of the individual in a laboratory setting of a social group with specifically described and communicated social norms. This work, reported in his book, The Psychology of Social Norms, will be dealt with in detail later under the discussion of theory.

While sociologists have studied at some length the normative system operating in the primary family group and other well integrated forms of the primary group, their research has not extended to an analysis of the type being done here: that of relating the normative system of a specific interest group to the individuals norms and their behavior simultaneously. The remarkably clear case of the family group has given what amounts to a scientific principle about the function of the normative system in the group and even lay observers have roughly arrived at these conclusions, however, as the space-time proximity of vocation to the family has declined with the evolution of modern societies, the relationship between the normative system and the individual may be different.

The testing of the problem requires a group with a specific

and rather easily observed set of characteristics. The first characteristic required is that of a vocational or avocational (including hobbies) kind of behavior for which the group is a means to carrying out that given behavior. Secondly, the behavior of the group cannot be the major activity of the members of the group. Third, the association of the members to the group must be voluntary. And fourth, the group must spend sufficient time together to have a long enough period of activity to necessitate a structuring of the collective behavior of its members.

The group actually selected for this study is the Michigan State College Swimming Team coached by Charles McCaffree. They fit the minimum criteria above in the following ways. (1) They are a group devoted to a specific endeavor--competitive swimming; (2) the activity is not the major activity of its members since scholastic, social and living situations absorb most of their time; (3) the members volunteer for membership and are competitively selected for varsity positions, although these remain secure after they are acquired, and (4) they are in association with each other about 18 to 20 hours per week during the regular competitive swimming season. To make a clear picture of this group the following additional notations are made at this time.

The position of the team in the college and state community is that of a typical athletic team except that they demonstrated superior ability in 1950 in winning third place in the

National College Athletic Association Finals in Swimming and Diving and in 1951 (at the end of a very successful season during which the study was made) taking second place in the same meet. It goes without saying that to win in swimming was the goal of the group but, in addition, winning the national team championship was and is the major goal. This team, placed in the setting of a state college which is a member of the Western Conference or "Big Ten", and having a considerable national reputation, has then a goal which not only is pre-set for new members of the group but also one which, when attained, offers considerable prestige as a reward. Within the actual group this cultural goal is transmitted primarily through the coach of the team. The function of the coach as a teacher, trainer, and "salesman" of the goal, makes him an intermediary between the larger society and the particular group. The fact that the goal comes from "outside" the group may affect the normative system but since membership in this group is voluntary (and only to those who "volunteer" hardest to become members), the members must tacitly desire the goal of winning and/or the prestige that goes with it. We have fourteen individuals in agreement on at least one thing and thus the goal is their own goal as well as one presented by their culture.

This group is not completely described here since the data presented later provide a more precise picture of both the group and the problem introduced here.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND THE PROBLEM

The problem area defined by the questions in the introduction extends through several disciplines and many interest fields within them. But the three disciplines selected for discussion here are those whose personnel have attempted a consideration of the problem of theory and its construction. Anthropology, psychology, and sociology fit the description and their respective members have done some work on the problem.

To denote the sectors of theory which are pertinent to the problem and which will be affected by the data, the following breakdown is made:

First: a consideration of the problem can be made by comparisons of the systems of social norms between the primitive and modern society with the relationships (space, time and function, at least) between the norms and the individual's behavior being analyzed. The data on the primitive society, while not "complete" in some absolutistic sense, are nevertheless, sufficient to make a rather complete conceptualization of the relationships between the norms of the society and the individual member. To make a similar analysis of a modern society's specific interest group and to make the suggested comparison, the data of the questions addressed in the intro-

duction are necessary.

Second: the problem has implications for a differential analysis between the primary and specific interest group within a modern society.

Third: the field description of the relationship between social norms existing in a self-motivated social group and the self norms of the persons in that group has not been made for the secondary group in a modern society except by broad generalizations of relationships between a given social group and the collective of its membership.

Fourth: at the same time an addition of data on the relationship between self norms and individual behavior might have value when coupled with the third analytical possibility above in the sense that either social or self norms may be found to be the most significant or effective mechanism for channelizing social behavior.

All of the above problems offer reasons for doing this research and the resultant data contributes additional formulations on the possible relationships involved. Each of the problems has been considered by one or more of the three disciplines and the phrasings of it are worth reviewing here for purposes of lending perspective to the questions of this study.

The information the first sub-problem has asked for has a significance in that it is knowledge that can give some understanding of one of the more important facts of modern society: This is, the function of the secondary group in an

industrial and "contract" society. The cultural value of social contract held by western whites may well be reflected in the organization of the secondary group which functions in the framework of a "mass" production and distribution technology. If there exists in the specific interest group a different relationship between its groupness and its social norms than in the primary group or the primitive society, then many deductions can be made about the "mass" of national aspects of modern culture.

We know from the extensive ethnological reports on primitive societies that their social organization is held together by a strong normative system whose effectiveness is apparently maintained by its public nature. However, we do not know the actual function of the normative system in the modern society's specific interest group. If the role of the normative system is different or relatively non-existent, a more precise understanding of the differences between primitive and modern societies may be possible. The differences of the sizes of each type of society and their different relations between human power and industrial techniques can well be analyzed in terms of the respective functions of the normative systems.

In the primitive society, the anthropologist has been with difficulty able to see the relationships between the normative system of the larger group and that of "the primary

group within which the individual acquired his social self."¹ In American culture the relationship of the primary to the specific interest group is not so clear. The individual in middle and late adolescence begins to become very mobile with respect to his specific interest and even "new primary" group associations. Thus his later and "chosen" group associations are often studied as if they have no relationship to the earlier group. The American culture as a modern society is very unlike primitive cultures in that its social structure is made of specific interest groups which are removed in time, space and "political" control from the primary group. This does not mean, of course, that the primary group has no function in the social structure but rather the above analysis notes that its effects on the structure must be filtered through its individual members who go out to "join" specific interest groups in the larger structure. These individuals are of the same variety as all the people we know personally and as their families. With this wide variation from person to person the forming of a specific interest group requires considerable adjustment by single individuals in order to achieve a synthesis of desired social action as seen by the collection of individuals. That this synthesis

1. Cooley, Charles Horton, Social Organization, Charles Scribners Sons, New York, 1929, pp. 23-31.

occurs makes possible the existence of a group but the synthesis (occurring mostly through verbal communication) we know is never complete. While we can assume¹ that individuals join or migrate to specific interest groups which satisfy their most important needs, the intensity of the needs varies from one individual to the next.

The whole pattern of social relationships at the specific interest level in a modern society has yet to be carefully formulated for want of the gathering of necessary data such as the usual kinship patterns recorded in studies of primitive societies. This latter kind of data outlines the mutual obligations and rights of each person in a primitive society and clarifies the relationships of these norms to the individual's behavior as these occur in the context of a primitive society that recognized individual action within a status. It would appear that the primary group in a modern society frequently exerts much the same kind of control over the individual even after the necessary period of close supervision during childhood. However, the obligations and rights (norms of social behavior) governing individuals in specific interest groups is an entirely

1. Assumed in Chapter I, MacIver, Robert, The Web of Government, Macmillan Company, 1947, A chapter entitled "The Mult-Group Society."

2. In the sense that the individual is accepted as acting normally within a family and group position with specific demands that his actions must fulfill. Idiosyncratic behavior is accepted by permitting its expression in a religious sense but even this must not contradict the social norms.

self-constructed system (at least in those modern societies characterized as "democratic") and it is possible that there may be a difference in content or function of the norms. The second sub-problem, the relationship between primary and specific interest group norms and the third sub-problem, the relationships between the self norms and the social norms have been the subject of consideration of sociology. The third and fourth sub-problems, the relationship between self norms and individual behavior, are within the interests of psychology. More correctly all of these problems are within a field known as social psychology. The following material is divided only in that the first part can be considered sociological social psychology and the second part psychological social psychology. Writers rather than disciplines are referred to below.

Definitions of social status have been offered by several writers, as ; a given configuration of norms or a normative system to govern the behavior of an actor and deriving from a social group.¹ The configuration of norms for the actor deriving from the actor has been variously called a self,² super-ego,³ or self-reaction⁴ of rewarding behavior for the

1. Linton, Ralph, Study of Man, pp. 113-115.

2. Mead, G. H., Mind, Self, and Society, pp. 136-140.

3. Freud, Sigmund, Dictionary of Psycho-Analysis, Phil. Library, N. Y., 1950, pp. 179.

4. Cameron, Norman, The Psychology of Behavior Disorders, pp. 97-102.

self. The research that has been done on social status has been oriented toward finding out how it functions in relation to the social structure: to find out what the social source of the definition of the norm is, the justification of it, and the reinforcement of it in terms of the location of rewards and punishments. This kind of research has given the proposition that social norms are determiners of social behavior but it is to be noted that the extent of this determination has never been tested. G. H. Mead has assumed:

he (the individual) must also, in the same way that he takes the attitudes of other individuals toward himself and toward one another, take their attitudes toward the various phases or aspects of the common social activity or set of social undertakings in which, as members of an organized society or social group, they are all engaged.¹

That any individual does this completely is logically impossible, for in the first place norms are often variously or incompletely defined, have internal contradictions, are excessive in their demands, or simply do not satisfy the needs of the individual. Asocial and anti-social behavior are glaring evidence of extreme non-acceptance of some social norms but it is quite evident that even within the normal range of social behavior there is considerable variation from what is expected and accepted publicly. Mead has

1. Mead, G. H., Mind, Self, and Society, University of Chicago Press., 1934, pp. 154-155.

assumed that norms for behavior are derived from the contemporary social situation and thus has eliminated the possibility of the individual having self norms which, according to most clinical psychotherapists, although socially derived, come into existence as a pertinent part of the self at a much earlier age than when they are seen functioning in the adult. In view of clinical evidence of the effects of childhood experiences, H. S. Sullivan² has modified the concept of Mead's "generalized other" so as to picture a "significant other" composed of selected meaningful experiences from childhood which may be conscious or unconscious for the individual and later on in time he acquires a "specific other" or "generalized other" which is composed of the norms of the society and more specifically the social group of which the individual is a member. The configuration of norms of the "significant other" has obviously been integrated into the self and for this reason I have called them self norms. And the latter configuration of norms known as the "specific other", although impinging upon the self, has as its origin the social group. The first becomes the rules of behavior by the self for the self and the second, by the group for the self. Linesmith and Strauss clearly described the self and its norms. To them

1. Sullivan, H. S., Conception of Modern Psychiatry, 1945. (This is a generalized discussion carried on at many points in the text).

The concept of self, if it is to be useful and valid, must be formulated as an organization of activity. More specifically, it refers to (a) a set of responses which (b) exercise a regulatory function over other responses of the same organism. This is equivalent to saying in another way what we have already noted: that the behavior of the child is first controlled and guided by the responses of others, but in time these responses become internalized so that the person himself controls and guides his own behavior.¹

While G. H. Mead has emphasized the group norms and their effect upon social behavior, another writer, B. Dai,² has suggested that

it is around the conception of self that the many other facets of a personality are organized, and that what a person thinks of himself, consciously or unconsciously, determines his behavior to an extent not commonly realized. It (conception of self) generally takes the form of some kind of relation between the self and others. In this sense the conception of self may also be thought of as a role one intends, or is expected, to play in a social situation.³

While the number of conceptions of the self or roles an individual acquires necessarily increases with his social contacts, there seems to be a natural hierarchy among them. Those that are acquired early and in the primary group are generally more important and basic than those that are acquired later in secondary group contacts. Dr. Dai has revised the thought on the "causes" of social behavior and added to

1. Lindesmith, A. R., and Strauss, A. L., Social Psychology, New York, Dryden Press, 1949, pp. 199-201.

2. Dai, Bingham, Sociological Foundations of the Psychiatric Disorders of Childhood, p. 68, Child Research Clinic Sanehone, Pennsylvania, May 1946.

3. Op. cit., p. 68.

the contributions of Mead, Reckless, Linton, Parsons, Sullivan, and Mullahy and his own observations to achieve a new formulation. It points to what may be a more basic determinant of social behavior, an aspect of that which was referred to above as self-conception, namely self-norms. Whether it is or not is the question implicit in this study although the closely associated questions noted above are of equal importance since they bear directly on the same problem.

The relationships which may exist between the three variables of social norms, self norms, and social behavior, complex because people are to some undetermined extent free to seek their specific interest group associations. The result is that it is very difficult to separate the effects of the contemporary social situation upon behavior for it may have some connection to past situations of which the investigator and the subject are both unaware. Ruth Benedict suggests and illustrates this problem as follows.

Honesty in one experimental situation gave almost no indication whether the child would cheat in another. There turned out to be not honest-dishonest persons, but honest-dishonest situations. In the same way in the study of leaders there proved to be no uniform traits that could be set down even in our own society. The role developed the leader, and his qualities were those that the situation emphasized. In these 'situational' results it has become more and more evident that social conduct even in a selected society is 'not simply the expression of a fixed mechanism that predetermines to a specific mode of conduct, but rather a set of tendencies aroused in variable ways

by the specific problem that confronts us.¹

The situation that confronts an individual and arouses a "set of tendencies" can in our society be one of that individual's choosing and hence whatever is unique in the individual's own norms may find a counterpart in the group he belongs to. Separating the associations which each kind of norm, social and self, has to the social behavior of the individual in a particular social group situation is therefore difficult. The childhood experiences by which self norms are acquired are either lost to memory or are taken for granted as is the fact that most of us have lived the first sixteen or more years of our life within the same primary group, the family. Kardiner noted that this particular characteristic of unconsciousness of the primary group as differentiated from consciousness in the secondary (of the specific interest) group when he said "the presence of those primary institutions is never noted by the individual; they always seem as self-evident as breathing."² Social scientists doing research in modern societies seem to have forgotten the "next of kin" and the basic primary group that they form, which in our culture the individual carries with him after adolescence

1. Benedict, Ruth, Patterns of Culture, pp. 218. A review and analysis of the material to be found below.

Hartshorne, H. and May, M., Studies in Deceit, Book 1, Macmillan, New York, 1921, pp. 412-414.

2. Kardiner, Abram, The Individual and His Society, Columbia University Press, New York, 1939, pp. 471.

even though he does not remain nearly so much in contact with the family group as in primitive societies.

The above crossings of problems from different disciplines is necessary to do justice to what might be considered the complexity of the whole problem. Although the boundaries of these disciplines are hazy, the given task is but an observation of human behavior at the collective (social norms), individual overt (actual social behavior) and individual covert (self norms) levels in a given situation. This has been done once before.

This problem was worked on and written about by Muzafer Sherif in his Psychology of Social Norms.¹ The foremost contribution of this laboratory study was briefly that the judgment (or opinion) of an individual moves quickly toward agreement with a "norm" or standard set up in a group in which there is communication of this norm to the given and other individuals. This idea Sherif has exactly demonstrated in the laboratory and by assuming the underlined words above in regard to their being the condition of communication, he has made interesting analyses of social structure in American culture. However, the assumption that the artificially created clear and complete communication of the laboratory likewise exists in the field situation is not

1. Published in 1936 by Harper and Brothers, New York and London.

considered justified by the writer. If communication does not exist to the same degree in a specific interest group as found in American culture, as it did in the laboratory, then the social norms of that group impinge less upon the perceptual field of the individual. The present study was a situation with a different structuring and containing at least one more element than did Sherif's study-situation. This was an attempt to record the relationship between social norms and individual behavior as it occurs in an actual or natural social setting. This is a different problem in that social norms in the situation have been used as they occurred and their content has been described to see how they fit into the social structure of the group.

The introduction of the term self norm is a renaming of what Sherif called "individual judgment" as opposed to social (group) judgment or norm. He described the self norm as being at first at odds with the established norm for the laboratory group and then moving toward close agreement with it. This was not tested in the field. If the perfect communication of the laboratory situation does not exist in a "typical" secondary social group, then the self norms may play a more significant role than Sherif thought they did in his conclusions, since they would play the role of guiding social behavior in the possible absence of the social norms. The present study as a case analysis of a small specific interest social group does not speak for the

entire population of secondary groups but does outline the processes of the normative system.

To reiterate a point made above, this area of research is most adequately approached across three disciplines, psychology for data and theory on individual behavior, and anthropology and sociology for data and theory on collective behavior. Since this is a problem that involves observation of the phenomenon in its "natural" or actual state, the synthesis of the interdisciplinary (or non-disciplinary) approach must also attend the field work and data analysis. For this reason the data has been analyzed in two "directions," i.e., in terms of the single individual through all the data on that individual and in terms of the group through all of the data on a specific item. This noting of the different relations being analyzed keeps clear what a given statistic is describing.

CHAPTER III

HYPOTHESES, ASSUMPTIONS AND METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

The following hypotheses are those which were formulated prior to any collection of data. The first two hypotheses would logically have to be more or less correct if the remainder were to be at all possible. For all of the statements there is, however, the question of degree of existence or of relationship. This must be continually kept in mind to avoid "either or " propositions.

- Hypothesis I. That a body of social norms exist for a specific interest group in a modern society.
- II. That the social group norms are communicated to all the members of a secondary group and that the awareness of the norms by each member is approximately equal.
- III. That the social group norms have, besides a space-time relationship to behavior, a definitely observable role of channelizing individual behavior.
- IV. That the social norms will not be in conflict with the self-norms of the members of a secondary group.
- V. That self norms will not be in conflict with individual behavior.¹

1. This could appear to be the case if social and self norms were identical and both channelized individual behavior or if self norms seemed to channelize that behavior that would be in conflict with the social norms or vice versa.

The writer considers the primary use of the hypotheses to be for giving direction to the research and indicating the possible range of data pertinent to the problem rather than being only tested. Hence, the above premises are neither good guesses or even guesses at all and do not necessarily reflect the prior suspicions of the investigator. Suffice it to say that the prior private guesses are highly erroneous.¹

An Additional Note: The definition of a norm as given previously, be it social or self, while descriptively complete requires further analysis and examination to be adequate for use in research. There has not been, to my knowledge, this further consideration which was found to be necessary in order to understand the pilot reconnaissance data on the variables being examined.

During the pilot reconnaissance it became evident through the data collected on the content of the social norms that the same qualities of behavior that all individuals conceived of the group as demanding, they likewise demanded of themselves, but differences appeared among all the members, in

1. Briefly these guesses were that Hypotheses I and II were correct because research on primitive societies and all family groups has shown them to be correct (this was a completely unanalyzed assumption), that Hypothesis III would not be wholly true because research has shown social deviations in behavior to be high, that IV might be correct because most personality theory arising from clinical data shows that individuals cannot allow themselves to be "at odds" with society, and that V would be correct because the same personality theory premised that the individual must to a great extent feel no great conflict between his ideals and his behavior.

their perception of the degree of intensity of demand for conformity to the specific social norms that the group had for its members. Logical consideration easily reveals that if a given quality of behavior is not at all demanded, this norm simply does not exist. Likewise, a severe demand for conformity to a given norm makes the importance of and the actual significance or forcefulness of this norm proportionally as great as the severity of the demand for conformity. Thus a norm can be important or non-important, "big" or "small", both in the sense of its consciously valued importance to the social actors in the group and in the sense of its weight in determining behavior for the members of the group. For example, any items of behavior which are forbidden (in the sense of a taboo) or other items, non-conformity and subsequently are very important to the social structure of which they are a part. It can be said that they exist in greater force than do norms which require very little or no conformity or that the degree of conformity equals the importance of a social norm. The only absolute measurement of the force of a norm probably is the kind and degree of punishments and rewards used to reinforce it. This latter is not a concern of this study. Norms of greater or lesser importance (i.e. have a greater or lesser demand for conformity) even though otherwise containing the same demands for behavior are actually completely different in their content and in their effect upon the social group since the

the primary behavior demand of any norm logically is its demand for conformity to it. Thus, subsequent examination of the norms of the group under study are to be made in terms of these two parts of a norm: 1. the specific behavior required, and 2. the degree to which conformity is required.

Assumptions of the Study

The following assumptions do not include epistemological assumptions. If any statement of assumptions of this order were to be made they would roughly state that, 1. it is possible to know, and 2. that sensory observation is a valid method. Many arguments can be raised against both of these statements but their justification cannot be adequately handled here and is not directly pertinent to this presentation.

Methodological Assumptions:

- I. That an individual upon being assured of security from punishment from either the interviewer or his social group will, 1) make an honest attempt at rating his own behavior, and 2) be able to, with reasonable objectivity, recall actual, overt behavior in his relation to the group.
- II. That individual persons are able to conceive of both quality and importance of norms for social behavior.
- III. That whatever relationships are found to exist between social norms, self norms, and the social behavior related to them, are not "chance" relationships due to unknown forces and that when the situation recorded here is found or repro-

duced elsewhere, the relationships will be identical without exception.

Theoretical Assumptions:

- I. That individuals "join" or migrate to specific groups to satisfy their needs (as expressed by norms requiring specific kinds of social action) although these needs may vary considerably from person to person within the specific interest group.
- II. That the pressure or demand for conformity to the social norms operates equally for all actors occupying the same status when prestige is equal.
- III. That individuals act collectively as a group to achieve goals (needs) more or less common to all those participating.
- IV. That individual behavior (social, psychological and perceptual) is all part of one system.

Methodological Note

In the Introduction the operations of this study were described as descriptive and analytical. These terms as well as the term "explanatory" have been so confused in the shifting language of the social sciences that a brief definition of their use by this writer is necessary.

Description is here held to be achieved when the events of a given place and time are recorded and identified as to those characteristics. In addition, each structural unit and each process must be characterized sufficiently to enable accurate identification for later observers. At this level

of research the whole of an event need not be recorded since only some aspects of it may be of interest to the observer(s).

The analytic level of research proceeds a step further than denoting space-time relationships and descriptions of the parts of the phenomena. This is the task of attempting to record all the relationships between given parts within a phenomenon being observed. The phenomenon usually contains structure or system. A system is being studied here; namely, man the social being, and the parts are his social norms, his social behavior, individual and collective, and his individual or self norms. Besides being identified and recorded within a specific situation, these parts are being analyzed to discover if any relationships other than space-time proximity exist. Specifically each informant has recorded what the relationships are to himself; i.e., his perception of the social norms, as compared to his self norms, as compared to his own social behavior. The quantification of this is described in Chapter III.

Explanation occurs, in the view of this writer, when the question "Why," is answered by specifying the cause(s) of an event. What "cause" is or what constitutes explanation is still a much discussed question in science and especially in the social sciences. Primarily because of the lack of adequate concepts and methods, this study has been confined to the analytical-descriptive level of research and no attempt

has been made to "explain" any of the data recorded. To achieve even a research design for the explanation of the phenomena recorded in this group situation is to this writer a task still in the stages of rambling imagination. It may be that much more work at the analytic level on modern societies will be necessary before explanations of any kind are possible for this area of data. Certainly the work presented here is intended only to fulfill the task of describing the parts and analyzing the relationships involved between them and not why the parts or the relationships exist. The research design then must organize the selection of data to achieve the description of the parts in the given space-time situation in which the group exists and to record the relationship(s) between the parts as it occurs within the actions, external and internal, of each individual. This organizational step is outlined in the following pages.

CHAPTER IV

THE RESEARCH DESIGN AND FIELD PROCEDURES

Observing the Qualities of Social Action

Three parts of social action are being studied and it is necessary that these be located and described within the social situation being recorded.

Design of First Phase of Research. Social behavior itself is probably the most obvious to observe casually but, since the observer can only partially impute the organization that exists in that behavior, a direct approach to a detailed recording of the social norms is necessary. A second and equally important reason for recording the social norms is that, whether realistically or not, members of a social group admit to variations in behavior but insist that there is the right way to do it! Implicit in this assumption, made by most members of American society, is the belief that the correct way to behave is as specifically defined and as important to every other member of his social group as it is to him. Thus clarity in the informant's descriptions of one of the parts, social norms, can be expected and this can be the means for organizing the group data.

Since individual behavior and norms are being compared to social norms, the standard must be the social norms. To record all of the individual behavior and norms would not

only be impossible but needless since the organizing concepts for the functioning of any group are its social norms. It is in reference to these that the individual data must be selected and organized for social norms are the only referent points to the existent phenomenon of social behavior.

The recording of the three parts of the social action phenomena occurred as follows:

The data needed to test the hypotheses enumerated in the previous chapter are of two kinds. The first is qualitative, that is, the sheer content of the social norms that exist for the group under study, and the second, quantitative, that of observing and/or measuring the differences in importance that exist between a given social norm, self norm and related social behavior.

The first of these kinds of data requires that each norm be specifically defined and the social behavior that it sanctions, be it abstention in one instance and performance in another, adequately described. The most cursory examination of the norms of any group reveals, however, that it is often very difficult to separate one norm from another since they may be concerned with associated segments of the same act and it is difficult at another time, separation of norms having been made, to be able to distinguish a significant difference between them. Thus at some point in the acquisition of data about these norms a decision must be made, based

on the evidence at hand, to delineate one norm from another and although these delineations may not be entirely accurate, it is assumed that they differ from reality only slightly.¹ It is quite possible that the investigator can become much more aware of the norms than the actors who respond to them in an almost automatic fashion and his recording of a description of each norm is sufficient for a pilot guide to further investigation.

Procedure - Field Operation I

The initial task in the field was to attempt to record the social norms for public behavior by noting all instances in which rewards or punishments were meted out for specific acts. Each instance was recorded as to time, place, and activity unit, and, slowly, over a period of three months, the field notes provided a tentative list of social norms and a more definite listing of the group's activity into its units. The first list of social norms was not considered final even though it appeared to the investigator that after innumerable observations the entire range of activity and demands upon the members of the group had been covered. This operation primarily served as a period to gain rapport with the group, to become familiar with its activities, to learn as much as possible about the social norms by direct observation, and to learn the linguistic peculiarities of the group.

1. This Assumption II, pg. 26.

Procedure - Field Operation II

In order to obtain the definite qualities of the social norms, direct questioning of the informants was necessary. Systematic and extensive probes were made into each of the aspects of time, space, and activity as they related to given situations in which the group has been observed acting. This becomes somewhat repetitious since most of the norms apply in all of the situations. However, this is necessary in order to probe every possibility. It cannot be assumed that the informant will be aware and conscious of the social norms so that he can easily verbalize them; thus rapport and a lengthy interview are necessary. From these raw data it was expected that a description of all of the norms would be possible. Since intelligence, education, personality, etc., can affect the number and kinds of responses made by the informants, no attempt was made to explore by content analysis any similarities that might exist across the verbatim records of the informants' responses.

Cross-Checking the Data

The kind of data needed in this study further structures the techniques to be used in the field. As has been said the norms and their importance must both be observed. The first cannot be guessed at and it is necessary to find out exactly what the norms are before the second kind of data can be gathered. This requires getting the background information, learning the linguistic peculiarities of the group,

and finally, systematically and comprehensively questioning the informants. The "direct" observations in the first field operation were recorded as to time, place, actors, social situation, and norms brought into play by evidence of reward and/or punishment. In this way the group norms for public behavior were recorded and then later checked by direct questioning of all the actor-members of the group about the norms as listed and described in the field notes and then about the possibility of others existing. This questioning also uncovered data on group norms which actually were means for the control of private behavior and hence not subject to the overt demands of the group. Although punishment or reward cannot be realistically meted out toward individuals in regard to their private behavior, the norms for private behavior are yet social in a sense because the behavior which is "controlled" by these norms would be punished or rewarded if the group came to know of it. The group norms for both public and private behavior were checked across the verbatim records of the interview material for all of the members of the group. When the data was collected on the content of social norms, a listing and description of each social norm was made. Quantification was then possible.

Quantifying Social Action

A second aspect of describing each norm is to quantify its "importance"; i.e., the forcefulness of its demand for conformity by which it has greater or lesser importance to

the group.¹ To make this measurement in a finite manner is difficult unless an absolute scale of the reward-punishment system that demands conformity could be developed. However, the finite units are not needed to test the hypotheses but only some measure of the difference between units. This leads into the second kind of data needed, that of the differences between social norms, self norms, and social behavior, for the purposes of comparing them. It is this second kind of data by which the hypotheses can be tested. It is apparent that these data cannot be had without the basic data on the content of the social norms.

The investigation of the content of the self norms is almost unavoidably part of the interviewing process on social norms because both can be recorded within the same interview and the informants repeatedly volunteer the views on how the personnel of their group should behave. However, the actual recording of the self norms, is necessary only in reference to the social norms. For purposes of acquiring data to answer the questions of this study only the recording of the differences of individual norms with the social norms is useful. Thus a representative statement of a social norm is used as a standard for the individual to compare with his self norm on the area of behavior covered by the social norm. This comparison is quantitatively expressed by having the informant rate his own degree of agreement or disagreement

1. See "An Additional Note", Chapter II.

with the social norm. This is more specifically described below through the description of the scales used for making these comparisons.

Likewise individual behavior per se was not recorded but only the comparison between the behavior required by a social norm and the individual's judgment of his own "acted out" agreement or disagreement with it. A possible weak point occurs in this step for it appears likely that many individuals would be reluctant to record their own deviations from what they considered the group's social norms to be. This problem was handled by spending time in gaining the confidence of the informants¹ and also this was methodologically handled by assuming that under stated conditions, informants could and would give the necessary information. The acquisition of these data was achieved by means of a scale described below. These data, as with that on the self norms, was made by a comparative reference to the individual's perception of the social norms.

The research design itself, beyond specifying exactly what data are to be recorded, must also indicate how the data are to be organized and analyzed.

Design of Second Phase of Research

The testing of the hypotheses requires comparing three

1. About $3\frac{1}{2}$ - 4 months at an average of 12 - 15 hours per week with the group.

parts of a social situation: Social norms, self norms, and individual social behavior. A measure of the agreement between the specific norms and related behavior is necessary and the comparisons to be made are then through all the data on each single individual and through all the data on each item across the group. Diagrammatically this appears as follows:

	Social Norms	Self Norms	Social Behavior
Individual A	a. b. c. . Differences .	a. b. c. . Differences .	a. b. c. . Differences .
	-----	-----	-----
		D	
Individual B	a.	a.	a.
	-----D-----	-----D-----	-----
		D	
Individual C	"	"	"
	.		
	D		
	.		
	.		
	.		

As will be apparent from the diagram, this aspect of the study will be an examination of norms and behavior rather than individuals, although the social and self norms are being kept grouped by the individuals who perceive and respond to them. The above design enables comparisons to be made between the three parts in all possible ways.

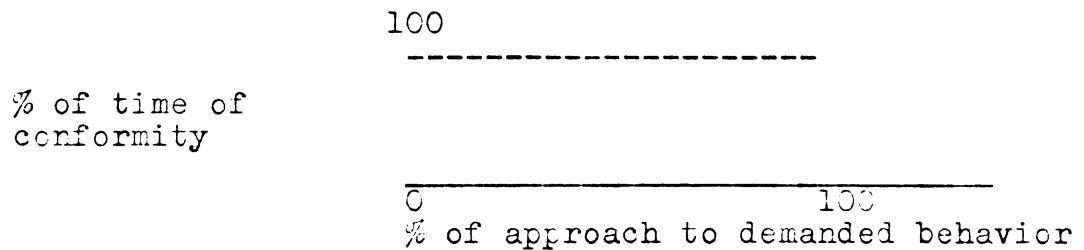
Procedure - Field Operation III

The type of question asked was, "How much of the time

is conformity to this particular norm demanded? Or can it be at all ignored or not conformed to and if so how much of the time?" Thus for each social norm a figure in terms of a percent of time in which conformity was required was projected by the informant. The introductory questions used varied little from one informant to the next but such added explanation was made as seemed necessary to insure understanding on the part of the informants of exactly what the nature of the desired response was. The same line of questioning was followed for the self norms and the data was then comparable. At this phase of data gathering there was no intent to get a measure of how conforming the behavior of each individual was, but, as is described in the presentation of the data, the informants came forth spontaneously for the most part and measured themselves in terms of their rating of the social and self norms. The opportunity was not lost to record this relationship and this became the basis for the data presented in Chapter V.

Originally, the intention was to get a direct measure of how much each member of the group conformed to the norms. This was to be done by direct observation but several problems arose. The intensity of conformity could not be measured for a given act and some norms were negative and there was no way to compare abstinence to action. Conformity has two aspects: 1. how much of the time one conforms or not, and 2. how much the behavior is like the demanded performance.

Graphically conformity then looks like a point in time and activity.



the norms. The lower point of this range is 0 or simply no importance. The upper is that of the most important norm of those which existed for the group. The highest unit (10) denotes the upper limit of this scale and 0 the lower limit. The informants were then asked to rate the importance of each norm in terms of this numerical scale from 0 to 10. This is not a scale in the usual sense; i.e., each unit having knowable absolute value. However, it is what may be described as projective scale with an absolute range, the logical extreme limits being defined as to quality of the quantity (in the sense that nothingness is the quality of the quantity zero), but not the units of quantity included, since this is perhaps unknowable. The informant projects whatever "absolute" values of behavior that he has onto the range of 0 to 10 and then denotes the difference between the group norms on the first scale and the self norms on the second scale. The units from 0 to 10 are assumed to be seen by the informants as equi-distant from each other. This assumption seems warranted in view of the fact that after more than twelve years of formal and informal use of numbers by the informants, they will have learned to respond to content of norms in numbers as equal units in the abstract. The scale is sketched below:

Social Norms	Self Norms
10 (most important)	10 (most important)
9	9
8	8
*	*
0 (of no importance)	0 (least important)

This record of the differences between the same kind of norms on the same scale and the same specific norms on different scales provide the necessary data to test Hypotheses IV.

A comparable measure of the informants' social behavior is necessary. For this, a numerical range was used as above but here the lower limit, zero, was defined as "no conformity" and the upper, ten, as the complete fulfillment beyond the minimum requirements. This scale measures in terms of a specific range of possible behavior of which only under-conformity is being recorded whereas the other scales include the entire range possible for them. By the definition of the numerical terms in the scale it follows that it directly measures the degree of conformity or the agreement between social norms and the social behavior associated with the norms. This provides directly the test of Hypothesis III. It also provides the data by which Hypothesis IV can be tested by comparison of this data with the measured differences between group and self norms. A sketch of the scale appears below:

Rating by the Individual Actor
of his Own Social Behavior as
He Conceived of It

- 10 - (Complete fulfillment of
- 9 at least the minimum
- 8 requirements of the behavior
- 7 norm in question.)
- *
- 0 - (No conformity to the social norm.)

The Relationship of the Investigator to the Group

The actual gathering of data about humans from them

always has problems and the difficulties specific to this study have been met as follows:

First, the presence of the investigator within the group must be understood by the group and be acceptable to them. In this case the investigator presented himself as one who was interested in the relationships between the techniques used and the goal of the group. Specifically this was phrased as an open question of "What relationship did the techniques of social organization, swimming practice behavior, and interpersonal relations have to the goal of winning as a team in competitive swimming?" The data gathered for the more specific problem of this thesis provided the information to the swimming coach and team. This more than allowed the presence of the investigator. All of the personnel of the group became interested in helping in whatever way they could although they did not understand how to do so. The time of intensive interviewing was spent in open observations with note-taking which informants were allowed to see and in unstructured discussions with the informants. After four months, initial apprehensions about this person who kept on looking at everything, were reduced to a point where they could not be detected by the investigator. By this time the note-taking was considered routine. Also questions, at first asked casually, now became more specific but considered "all right". The interviewing of each individual for the refined data presented here was

explained by telling the informants that these were final recordings of data needed to "make the picture of the situation complete". To all appearances the informants accepted this and the majority seemed pleased to be of assistance to the project.

This writer feels that field techniques of acquiring data must satisfy at least three requirements of his behavior in relation to the informants, 1. that the informants feel secure from punishment from the investigator or from the group for talking to the investigator; 2. that they adequately understand what kind of data is needed; and 3. that they have some interest and motive to give the information. These needs thus structure the investigator's behavior. It is necessary for him to have an extensive contact with the group so as to become a familiar person and to attain the status of being independent of the group but in communication with it; i.e., friendly toward it. Further, this long period of getting rapport is useful in order to interest the informants in giving the data needed and to have them understand at least vaguely what is needed so that when an interview is made, the explanation of the informant's role is not completely new. It is also necessary to clearly define the investigator's role as being one in which information is received but neither morally evaluated nor communicated

to anyone. In this observers opinion, only¹ a face-to-face relationship which has become casual and secure, based on at least several months of such security, can result in the close rapport required. This seems to be borne out by the experience of the study.

1. Not until informants have witnessed the investigator receiving some information and not divulging it to anyone will they feel free to admit social "deviations".

CHAPTER IV

DESCRIPTIVE MATERIAL ON THE GROUP AND THE PARTS OF SOCIAL ACTION BEING STUDIED

Background of the Group

The 1951 Swimming Team at Michigan State College had fourteen active members who successfully carried on the reputation of being a rising team. Rated third in the nation in 1950 and second in collegiate swimming in 1951, they have been the recipients of considerable attention from sports-writers. Within the setting of Michigan State College their prestige is somewhat less than would be expected because of the newly nationally prominent football team also existing there. However, living in a social setting generally appreciative of athletic success, they enjoy considerable prestige. The team is comparatively small and the members are primarily state residents. This team has not developed into a large scale operation as have most football teams and as have, at least, three collegiate swimming teams but has retained the intimacy and social cohesion arising out of their common identification with their state and college.

The position of the coach was described¹ in the introduction but two things might be added. 1. That he is

1. Page 8.

considerably more competent than the average coach and is thus respected by the team, and 2. That he is less authoritarian in his relationship with the team than is typical of thirty to forty swimming coaches known to the author and as a result, although he urged the members to work for success in competition, he allowed the group to develop as it would.¹

Further description of the group is made as the data on the problem proceeds. The first of these descriptions is that of the actual activities of the group.

Data - Field Operation I

The Time-Activity Situations of the Group

As the investigator became familiar with the surroundings and activities of the group through the pilot reconnaissance, he began to observe the range of patterns of behaving which characterized its daily and weekly activities.

The late afternoons of the week days were spent in practice sessions during which a minor portion of two to three hours was spent in actual swimming and the major part in conversation and joking. Another period of activity was the team meals on a Saturday before and after the swimming meet, or if on the road the continuous association of the members of the group over a week-end. The third major activity was the swimming meet itself, starting from the training

1. See Chapter IV.

room idle talk (e.g., "who's racing what?" talk and spasmodic joking) proceeding through the formal start of a meet with the competition completing the public activity and the dinner the more private group activity.

Recording the Norms

In regard to these three time-activity situations, the investigator spent several months of watching, talking and casually questioning the informants. The goal of this operation was to record and to abstract the group norms governing public social behavior. Only those acts which appeared significant in some way to the majority (i.e., to which the majority showed interest) of the group and which were either rewarded or punished were recorded as relevant to the group norms. Included also were acts which were demanded verbally with profferments of reward or punishment in the future dependant upon the subsequent action of the individual. Needless to say, most of the obvious instances of the existence of a norm came through the violation of it. When this occurred the punishments ranging from verbal attack through social ostracism to expulsion from the group became evident either through their threatened or actual use. The rewards for conforming to the norms are very difficult to describe for during periods of socially normal group behavior, there seemed to be nothing quite designatable as a reward. If rewards do exist for conformance to social behavior of this secondary non-economic type group

they must be either the "reward" of not being punished or the individual's "satisfaction" with the permission or right to engage in the activities of the group. The latter is well demonstrated by the observation that the most effective punishment of a group member is a threat or enactment of expulsion from the group. Further evidence is the great effort any individual must exert in order to become a member of the group and it can be assumed that his decision to engage in this complex of special behavior in some way satisfying or rewarding. Just how it is rewarding is a separate problem and why it is rewarding, a psychological problem. The only clear instance of reward in this group is that of assignment of prestige. All the informants and all observed situations indicated that prestige was completely related to success as a competitive swimmer. This is not then a reward for conformity to social behavior but rather acknowledgment of membership in an abstract "social" class of a certain degree of success as a competitive swimmer. Since membership in any given class group in this case cannot apparently be entirely made by conscious choice, then this is not an example of a kind of social behavior for which a social group norm can demand conformity. In this kind of behavior evaluation by the group there can be no punishment, only reward or lack of it.

The final abstraction of norms (by inference) from public behavior was completed after continued observation in the three time-activity situations showed very little modification of the norms by either reorganization or addition to them through continued recording of behavior. At that time the norms were conceived of by the investigator, according to the evidence at hand, as follows:

- I. Verbal and behavioral exhibition of a "willingness to try" to succeed as a competitor on the team.
- II. Exhibition of "friendly" behavior toward other members of the group.
- III. Appearing "cooperative", "non-aggressive", "conformistic", and/or submissive in interpersonal relations and in relation to all instances of reinforcement of the norms.
(Note: the first three adjectives are interchangeably used by the informants to describe the desired behavior. The last I have added from my observations.)
- IV. Verbalizing at appropriate times that "competition is good".
- V. Verbalizing at appropriate times that "swimming is good".
- VI. Attendance at all practice and other meetings of the group.

VII. Taking time trials (i.e., a timing of swimming).

VIII. Meeting practice requirements. (These varied from person to person since different races required different training.)

IX. To want to succeed in competition.

It is obvious that these norms reflect the central goal of the group, i.e., their wanting to be a successful athletic team. The efficiency of these norms for achieving that goal is questionable in two ways. First, the specific kinds of behavior demanded may not at all be conducive to helping any individual member to swim faster. second, in demanding conformity to these norms, the group may misdirect energy which could have been more efficiently used. They represent an attempt to direct behavior into channels that will make the individual more efficient in competitive swimming. Whether they do succeed well in doing this or not is a separate question which will be enlarged upon later. Also it may be that these norms serve functions or needs which are less obvious to this group and to the investigator and hence a thorough understanding of why they exist in this particular form escapes both of us.

Data - Field Operation II

In order to make an accurate abstraction of the norms

for this group, a further investigation was made. Each member of the group was questioned in an open-ended¹ interview on what the norms were. They were asked what the norms of a series of time-activity situations were and specifically how they were defined by the while group. Thus their perception of the group norms provided a list of norms which might alter the list derived from observations made by the investigator. This did happen in two ways. First, there was a slight modification of the norms for public behavior, this occurring in two ways. The last three norms as listed above were found not to be norms and two other norms were discovered.² Also, a simplification of the statement of each norm to language symbols meaningful to the group was achieved through the long interviewing and subsequent familiarity with these symbols. The following represent the norms as revised by interviewing:

1. "Acting friendly".
2. Verbalizing a "willingness to try to succeed".

1. "Open-ended" here means allowing the informants to fill in the answers to general questions in their own language and extending as much data pertinent to the study as was feasible in terms of time. The term also implies the use of the now-questioning technique of the investigation after he had set the area of discussion.

2. The verbal descriptions by the informants of the social norms is considered by the investigator to be more accurate than the direct observations by the logic that the former are what the informants feel is important to conform to and hence are operating or actual norms. The norms that were dropped were considered irrelevant by all the informants.

3. "Reasonable attendance at practice".
4. "Giving encouragement to teammates".
5. Not verbalizing a dislike of competition.
6. "Acting as a team member should in public".
7. Not verbalizing a dislike of swimming.
8. Not appearing to be intentionally non-cooperative
(i.e. appearing to be cooperative).

The second modification of the list of norms was the addition of an entirely new series of norms, these being controls for private behavior. That such an elaborate set of definitions of behavior would exist for activity that could not be very well punished or rewarded, came as a surprise to the investigator. The obvious impossibility of the group effectively controlling the private behavior of the individual would tend to argue that the group would not be over concerned with this behavior if it wanted to be an efficient government. Yet the concern was strong and was accompanied by an unawareness of the attendant difficulties in punishing such deviant behavior. The investigator questioned all the informants as to whether only deviant private behavior discovered or all deviant private behavior was to be punished and all except one informant said yes to the latter situation, the exception commenting that the latter was impossible realistically but ideal. Certainly any admission of deviancy in private or carelessness permitting its discovery brought punishment or threat to the offender. Later investigation

showed the group did not consider most of the norms for private behavior quite as important as those for public action, but they were yet important enough to warrant being considered. The norms for private behavior finally abstracted from the language of the informants and typical of their use of word symbols are listed below.

1. "Personally liking swimming".
2. "No smoking".
3. "Personally wanting to cooperate".
4. "Eating right" before a meet.
5. "No drinking".
6. Personally "having a feeling for team spirit"
7. "Not staying up late before a meet".
8. "Personally liking competition".
9. "Personally wanting to be friendly".

Upon inspection of all the norms for behavior listed above for this small group of fourteen persons, it becomes difficult to imagine some of the norms as having utility in effecting the goal which this group stated to be theirs. Rather than accept this as being the only goal of the group I shall leave to further investigation the question of why social norms, or directives of behavior in any form, exist with the specific directions they have. It is obvious that more than one goal is desired and further obvious that the means of achieving one goal can be destructive toward achieving another. A brief analysis of the list of norms above in

relation to the group structure and goals that are apparent is, however, feasible.

First it is important to note that none of the informants gave an explanation of the utility of the norms, i.e. they could not explain how they contributed to an achievement of the central goal of the group.

It might be argued that social norms, rational or not, "create" a stronger group cohesion. In any observation of social groups and in the observations of this group, cohesiveness can be seen to exist in direct relation to the social norms. As described above, however, this relation is that the members accept without inquiry or examination the norm or value that the other norms are good. The norms (No. 8) on page 52 and (No. 3) on page 53 above that refer to the cooperativeness and conformity are those norms which in temporal relationship must precede all others. Out of this type of norm comes the "cohesiveness" which seems to reinforce the group structure.¹ What role the remaining specific norms play remains a question, part of which is examinable in the data in the following chapters.

Although the intention at this time was to make a complete collection of all of the data necessary to make the analyses of the relationships noted in the title of this

1. It is not here intended to imply that all cohesiveness is only due to this kind of norm or necessarily to norms at all. It is likely that there are different kinds of social cohesiveness.

chapter, several problems arose. The methods used to collect data at this time¹ did not lead to the desired data and the material collected was unusable for testing the hypotheses. It was used as if it were data of a pilot study and thus aided in the final development of a tool that would quantify the data properly. The following analyses and summaries are presented without the data since the more complete data are presented in Chapter VII. The appropriate parts of that material duplicate the data upon which the following comments are based.

1. Pp. 37-38.

PART II

CHAPTER VI

The Relationships Between the Variables:
a. Individual Perception of the Social
Norms b. Self Norms and c. Self Be-
havior.

Data - Field Operation III

The following data was the result of the second focused interviewing of the informants. The data needed was that with which the testing of the hypotheses as stated in Chapter III could be made. The first specific goal was to find out how important or forceful¹ each of the social norms was in comparison to the associated self norm.

As often happens, the interviewing brought out unexpected information which while discovered after the fact aids in the better understanding if presented before. This phenomenon was the difficulty most of the informants had in separating their self norms from the social norms of the group. Repeatedly they would begin a sentence with "I think that" thus and so should be---and only by constantly reminding them that while discussing social norms the desired data was "what they think the group demanded" could the two types of norms be separated. It is also to be noted that on the interview record for these informants there was a definite

1. See Chapter III, pg. 24.

reluctance for some to admit that social norms even existed as such.

Later, as self norms were discussed, all the informants talked about their social behavior pertaining to each norm. Understanding of the informants' inability to conceptualize and keep distinct social from self norms came later when by comparative analysis it was discovered that those who had the greatest difficulty in conceiving of the social norms were those who rated their self norms as much more important. This followed proportionately so that those who rated the importance of their self norm lower clearly and easily made the distinction between the social and self norms. The former of these polar types typically justified their "upward" self norm difference from the social norms (they could perceive what the social norms were when questioned to the point) by a statement implying their greater desire "to work hard" as a group member and that their making their self norms more important meant that they were more "serious" than "some of the fellows". The latter polar type justified their "downward" deviation from the social norms by stating typically that "it isn't necessary to be so strict all the time" or "there isn't much sense (or use) in most of these norms".

All the informants presented these "justifications" of their self norms. The first type boasted and the second admitted that their behavior was almost as deviant as their

stated difference of the self norms from their perception of the social norms.

Comparative analysis of the perception of social norms from this data indicated only that those who had rated their self norms higher than the social norms tended to see the latter as being average to very important while those who rated their self norms lower than the social norms tended to rate the social norms from very important to some of no importance. A better measure of this was necessary and became one of the reasons for the scaled data in Chapter VII.

The intra-person analysis of the informants' ratings¹ of the two types of norms allowed a direct comparison within the context of a social actor. Thus it is possible to see upon examination of the interview records that

1. self norms varied little from the perception of the social norms, and
2. self behavior followed closely both the perceived social and self norms.

By examination across the group of records, the following was discovered:

1. that there was a wider variation in the ratings of self norms than of perceived social norms and this variation moved in both directions (of greater and lesser importance) away from the perception of of social norms, and

1. The questions used to obtain this data are discussed in Chapter IV.

2. that there tended to be little groupwide agreement on what the importance of a given social norm was (i.e. there was a very wide perception of social norms.)

The most important aspect of the across-the-group examination of the data is that there was very little communication on the importance or forcefulness of the social norms between the members of the group. As each social norm was asked to be rated by an informant, there was usually a period of about 15-30 seconds before he would answer and then repeatedly each informant would remark that he "didn't really know for sure" etc. This difficulty was entirely absent during the rating of the self norms. Some of the informants realized during the interviewing that they did not really know with any degree of clarity what the social norms were, in short that there was virtually no communication between group members about them. As the group analysis indicates, there was little knowledge of what the "real social norms were. Their reality is apparently only a statistical mean from which there is a great degree of variance in perception.

An interesting but not quite as crucial a body of data are the various spontaneous comments the informants made on the "causal" relationships between social and self norms. Both types (the higher-than average and lower-than-average raters) felt that social norms were somewhat ineffectual agents of social action. They felt that most of their

social norms existed as real sources of control in the group (and they generalized beyond the group) but that each person thought of the norms differently. When asked why the latter was so, they had no answer but as examination of the data on the individual shows in the summary statement (1) under that section) above, the self norms may be an explanation. It would seem that the actor tends to believe that his self norms are the "real" or mean social norms and that this occurs because he does not attempt to find out but merely assumes knowledge of the normative system.

The investigator further questioned¹ the informants on these attitudes to find out what they thought controlled their own behavior and also other persons' behavior in the group. Their previously mentioned feeling that their own self norms were somewhat superior to the social norms as they perceived them, of course led them to say that in general they followed their self norms. When they answered a question of why other members conformed to the social norms, most were acutely aware that there was a variation of behavior and that most likely the other individuals had some "reason" for doing as they did. They made no direct answer as to why others did conform to the extent that they seemed to.

1. This data was not recorded in a verbatim form since no note-taking was done at the time of this interviewing although this followed the formal interview. This questioning was informal and was a check to see if the informants conceived of the relationship between their perception of the social norms and their self norms as they had stated it.

In a sense this lay opinion approaches the reality of the situation. The lack of communication prevented their knowing exactly the dynamics of the normative system of the group.

At this point in the gathering of the data, the original question of the study could not be completely answered. Besides the vagueness of the variation in the intensity of the social norms perceived by various members, there was needed some measure of social behavior both public and private, that could be related to the individual's perception of the social and self norms. The scale outlined in Chapter IV was developed and the data recorded with it is presented in Chapter VII. Although it repeats the data presented above, it also adds the information necessary to understanding the social phenomena in question.

Thus far, the summarizing of the data in this chapter has described the relationships between perception of social norms, self norms and social behavior but new and important aspects, 1. the variation in the perception of social norms and 2. the need to more precisely relate social behavior to its most closely associated elements, created new dimensions to the entire problem which then suggested the further investigation.

CHAPTER VII

Relationships Between and the Data of the Importance of the Social, Self Norms, and the Conformity of Individual Behavior to the Norms As Seen by the Individual

Data - Field Operation

In the previous chapter it was stated that there was a great variation in the perception of the social norms across the group. This phenomenon appeared similarly in the ratings of the importance of the social norms. Actually this variation is of two kinds. The first is that of the extensive range of perception of each norm as indicated by the widely different values assigned to it by each informant. Thus in Table I, out of a range of eleven categories, a large portion of this range was used for each of the norms. Below is the tabulation of the responses to the norms and the percentage of the possible range used by the members to spread the ratings. This latter represents the extent of the "scatter" of the responses. Also the mean response of each norm is given.

Just as there occurred a wide variation of perceptions to the social norms, so did there occur a similar and almost identical variation regarding the actors' ratings of the importance of their self norms. By calculating the mean number of categories used for all the social norms as against the

self norms (i.e. the mean percentage of the range used for each kind of norms), it was discovered that 9.117 out of the eleven categories was the mean average number covered for both the social and self norms.

Table I

Tabulation of Ratings of the Perceived Importance of the
Social Norms of the Group Under Study

The Social Norms	The number of Ratings At a Given Numerical Value											% of Range Used	Mean Response
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
a. "Personally liking swimming."		1	1				1	3	3	1	4	91%	7.4
b. "No smoking."		2		2	1	2	1	1	2	3		82	5.6
c. "Acting friendly."	1						1	2	2	3	5	100	8.1
d. "Verbalizing a willingness to try to succeed."			1			3	1	1	3	2	3	82	7.3
e. "Reasonable attendance at practice."			1		1		2	1	3	3	3	82	7.6
f. "Personally wanting to cooperate."					2			2	2	3	5	64	8.2
g. "Eating right before a meet."		2	1		2	3		3		2	1	91	5.4
h. "Giving encouragement to team mates."						2	1	5		4	2	55	7.6
i. "No drinking."			2		1	3	1	2		4	1	82	6.4
j. "Personally having a feeling for team spirit."						1	4	1	3	3	2	55	7.6
k. "Not verbalizing a dislike of competition."	1	1			2	1		3	4	2		91	6.1
l. "Acting as a team 'should' in public."				1	1			2	1	5	4	73	8.1
m. "Not staying up late before a meet."	1		1		2	2	1	1	1	5		91	5.4
n. "Personally liking competition."	1	1				1	2	2	3	3	1	100	5.9
o. "Not verbalizing a dislike of swimming."	1			2	2	1		2	2	3	1	100	6.1
p. "Personally wanting to be friendly."		1				3		1	2	6	2	91	7.2
q. "Not appearing to intentionally non-cooperative." (i.e. appearing to be cooperative.)			1					3	5	2	3	82	7.9

Table II

Tabulation of Ratings of the Perceived Importance of the Self

Norms of the Group Under Study

The Self Norms	The number of Ratings at a Given Numerical Value												% of Range Used	Mean Respons
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10			
a. "Personally liking swimming."	1			1	1	1		2	1	3	4	100%	7.2	
b. "No smoking."	1	1			1	2	3	2		1	3	100	6.1	
c. "Acting friendly."	1						2		3	3	5	100	8.1	
d. "Verbalizing a willingness to try to succeed."	1					2	1	1	4	2	3	100	7.4	
e. "Reasonable attendance at practice."					1	1		1	4	2	5	64	8.3	
f. "Personally wanting to cooperate."						1			3	6	5	55	9.1	
g. "Eating right before a meet."	1	1	4			2				4	1	100	4.9	
h. "Giving encouragement to team mates."								1	4	5	4	36	8.9	
i. "No drinking."			4			1	2	1	3	1	2	82	6.1	
j. "Personally having a feeling for team spirit."						1		1	4	1	7	55	8.8	
k. "Not verbalizing a dislike of competition."	1			1	1	2	1	3	1	3	1	100	6.4	
l. "Acting as a team member 'should' in public."						1	3		3	3	4	55	8.1	
m. "Not staying up late before a meet."			1	1	2	3	3			3	1	82	5.9	
n. "Personally liking competition."	1						1	3	5	2	2	100	6.8	
o. "Not verbalizing a dislike of swimming."	2		1		1	1	2	2	2	3		91	5.7	
p. "Personally wanting to be friendly."			1				1		3	1	7	82	8.6	
q. "Not appearing to be intentionally non-cooperative." (i.e. appearing to be cooperative.)				1			1	1	2	4	5	73	8.4	

That the means are identical for both sets of norms is striking but that they would be very similar is imaginable and in this instance a fact. However, the patterns of the distributions are quite dissimilar in that the self norms tend to use either much more or less of the possible range than do the social norms. By inspection of Table II as compared to Table I this is evident and it is to be noticed that when the same norm (in qualitative content) was compared between the tables that either 1. the spread of the ratings was markedly greater for a given self norm, or 2. sharper "agreement" between the ratings for a given self norm was found by a clustering at the "high importance" end of the scale.¹ Thus for some of the self norms there seems to be a much greater "agreement" than the members of the group think there is for the social norms although they still tend to slightly disagree with the social norm as they perceive it. For the majority of the self norms, however, there is merely a spordic movement away from the social norms and here, as in the data of the previous chapter, we again find a wide distribution of the social norms and also as great a spread of the self norms but in a pattern different from the social norms.

A further phenomenon of the unusual spreading is to be

1. If 8.0 or above is considered a high rating (and high agreement) response then there are only two exceptions to this generalization in Table II.

noted by comparing the distance between the high and low mean responses to the social norms with that of the self norms. Comparing the high to the low means of the social norms (8.2 to 5.4) with that of the means of the self norms (9.1 to 4.9), we find the latter having a greater spread or a movement away from the little centralness found in the social norms by an increase of 48.9%.

The tendencies of the self norms to fluctuate show, as was outlined, a greater agreement on some norms and a greater disagreement on others. By inspection of the self norms on Table II, those norms which are easily seen to be in sharper agreement at the high end of the scale can be identified as norms to do with beliefs about social interaction which are described as "cooperativeness" and/or its demonstration or a feeling of "friendliness".¹ To further facilitate this kind of analysis of the norms, a table giving the rank order of the social and self norms by their ratings follows. It suffices to say at this point only that the ratings of the norms, both social and self, have a natural dividing point (the 10th norm in either ranking) in terms of the scores (as indicated) and that those in the higher brackets for the social norms are found to be repeated in the self norms with only

1. These norms (conformity norms) are concerned with beliefs about social cooperation. By examination of Table III it can be seen that the norms rated lower tend to be concerned with beliefs about physical training.

slightly different scores and rankings. This suggests a "final" discrimination of those norms which are of sufficient importance to be actually functioning as such as against those norms which are so vaguely agreed upon that it becomes difficult to imagine their having any function at all although their existence has been confirmed by observation. The unsuspected wide variation in the perception of social norms shown by the data seems to raise a question of whether any real decision can be made regarding the intensity of a given social norm making it a "real force" or whether all norms must be considered as having some function however small it may be. The norms of high importance can yet stand and be analyzed as such.

The data needed to test the hypotheses of this study are all of the associations between perception of social norms, self norms and perception of social behavior related to the appropriate norms and differently from the summary presentation in the previous chapter of field observations and interrogation of informants in which the relationships between these three entities were directly observed and first hand descriptions were made as closely in context as was possible, the use of the projective scale for "measuring", or more accurately relating, the entities allows the use of a statistical analysis. The choice of a particular statistical technique to use is always a problem since a specific kind of analysis is usually desired and to achieve this an appro-

Table III

Rank Order by Rated Importance of the Perception of Social Norms as Compared to the Self Norms

Mean Ratings	Rank Order of Perception of Social Norms	Norms	Rank Order of Self Norms	Mean Ratings
8.2	1.	f. "Personally Wanting to cooperate."	1.	9.1
8.1	2.	l. "Acting as a team 'should' in public."	7.	8.1
8.1	3.	c. Acting friendly.	8.	8.1
7.9	4.	q. "Not appearing to be intentionally non-cooperative." (i.e. appearing to be cooperative.)	5.	8.4
7.6	5.	h. "Giving encouragement to team mates."	2.	8.9
7.6	6.	j. "Personally having a feeling for team spirit."	3.	8.8
7.1	7.	e. "Reasonable attendance at practice."	6.	8.3
7.4	8.	a. "Personally liking swimming."	10.	7.2
7.4	9.	p. Personally wanting to be friendly.	4.	8.6
7.3	10.	d. "Verbalizing a willingness to 'try' to succeed."	9.	7.4
6.4	11.	i. "No drinking."	14.	6.1
6.1	12.	o. "Not verbalizing a dislike of swimming."	16.	5.7
6.1	13.	k. "Not verbalizing a dislike of competition."	12.	6.4
5.9	14.	n. "Personally liking competition."	15.	5.9
5.6	15.	b. No smoking.	13.	6.1
5.4	16.	g. "Eating 'right' before a meet."	17.	4.9
5.4	17.	m. "Not staying up late before a meet."	11.	6.8

priate relationship must be arranged between the technique and the data. For these data, since these data are comparable across scales in the same units from the perception of social norms to the self norms, an analysis of the association in relation to chance was desired. Unfortunately the Pearsonian product-moment gives a measure of association of the positions of two sets of data using the standard deviations from both distributions and consequently does not consider the possibility of the variables being functionally or integrally related. While chi-square relates the chance of two variables being associated in an homogeneous population, it does not measure this in fixed units. No other statistic known to the writer approaches the particular task at hand and of the two mentioned above only a new technique derived from the chi-square would adequately suffice (but to develop this new technique would involve many more months or years than is profitable for the analysis of this data.) Hence the product-moment r was used because (this is the best available technique in statistics as used by social scientists, and its apparent inadequacies will not need further explanation.

The tables that follow give the rectilinear correlations between the perception of social norms and the self norms (Table IV), the perception of social norms and the social behavior (Table V), and the self norms and the social behavior (Table VI). These correlations are given for each

Table IV

Product-Moment Correlation between the Perception
of Social Norms and the Self Norms for all the
Social Actors in the Group Under Study.

Social Actors	Perception of Social Norms	Self Norms
A.		.99
B.		.99
C.		.99
D.		.99
E.		.98
F.		.98
G.		.97
H.		.96
I.		.94
J.		.93
K.		.92
L.		.88
M.		.88
N.		.87
Mean of the Correlations		.95

Table V

Product-Moment Correlation Between the Perception
of Social Norms and the Social Behavior for all
the Social Actors in the Group Under Study

Social Actors	Perception of Social Norms	Social Behavior
A.		.99
B.		.99
C.		.98
D.		.99
E.		.98
F.		.98
G.		.97
H.		.99
I.		.98
J.		.91
K.		.99
L.		.99
M.		.93
N.		.99
Mean of the Correlations		.98

Table VI
 Product-Moment Correlation Between Self Norms
 and Social Behavior for All the Social Actors
 in the Group Under Study

Social Actors	Self Norms	Social Behavior
A.	.99	
B.	.99	
C.	.96	
D.	.82	
E.	.97	
F.	.98	
G.	.95	
H.	.83	
I.	.94	
J.	.96	
K.	.89	
L.	.95	
M.	.75	
N.	.98	
Mean of the Correlations		.93

social actor in the group for examination of the possible variation in the relationship of the three entities from actor to actor (i.e. social person to social person) and then the mean r is given to indicate the result of the group findings. These data as that above are most fruitfully understood by examination of the tables presented and the analyses following in the next unit are not the only ones possible. They represent an examination of the findings directly in relation to the original questions of the study.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The data presented in Chapters V, VI, and VII gives the following information pertinent to this study:

1. that there is little or no agreement in the perception of the importance (i.e. influential-ity and prevalence) of social norms between the social actors except for those norms concerned with social cooperativeness and friendliness,
2. that a similar disagreement and agreement occurred between individuals conceptions of the importance of their self norms,
3. that the different perceptions of the importance of self norms tends to be either in less agreement or more than the perception of social norms and that those norms which have closer agreement are again the norms concerned with social cooperativeness and friendliness and these perceptions are that these norms are very important,
4. that there is a high degree of association between the perception of social norms and social behavior,
5. that there is a high degree of association between the perception of social norms and self norms,
6. that there is a high degree of association between the self norms and social behavior,

7. that there is a much lower degree of association between the mean social norms and the other two variables. (Summary statement of 1, 3, and 6 above.)

The primary task of this analysis is to relate the data to the hypotheses of the study. The third of these hypotheses, to restate from Chapter III, is: "that social group norms have, besides a space-time relationship to behavior, a definitely observable role of channelizing individual behavior." In conclusion the validity of this hypothesis becomes apparent from Statement 7 above, from the data. The hypothesis as stated is unquestionably invalid. The hypothesis, in being constructed before the investigation was made, did not formulate a meaningful description of the relationships between the social elements involved. Thus the term "social group norms", a concept arising out of the theory, was employed to indicate the element whose relationship to social behavior was to be studied. However, the data shows clearly that lack of communication and subsequent "disagreement" in the perception of the social norms makes the concept useless since if it referred to the mean perception of the social norms it would not be sufficiently self-descriptive to indicate this and if it referred to actual perception of social norms, there would be little "groupness" involved. Thus by substituting the term "perception of social norms" for social group norms, the new

hypothesis then becomes valid according to Statement 4 above, of the data.

Besides the revision of Hypothesis III, the replacement of the concept "social group norm" with that of "perception of social norms" changes the focus of the entire problem for it indicates obviously that the former entity simply does not exist. By way of illustration, even the classic example of the written law which we have seen in trial cases in one court after another receive reversed decisions until finally a supreme court decision is made which is most often a new law and always the professional lawyers and the "public" are divided in many ways as to their interpretations of what the norm or law actually "is". Actually a norm does not exist as such but only in relation to an individual's perception of it. This perception of the norm we find directly related to the organization of the self norm as per Statement 5, above, from the data. This statement thus validates Hypothesis IV as it is worded in Chapter III: "that the social group norms will not be in conflict with the self norms of the members of a secondary group." Since the perception of social norms is highly related to social behavior and to self norms, we could expect self norms to be highly related to social behavior. Statement 6, above, from the data bears this out and thus validates Hypothesis V as worded in Chapter III: "that self norms will not be in conflict with individual behavior."

Hypotheses I and II are invalid as noted in the above analyses.

These latter conclusions relate back to the discussion above re the existence of a norm being primarily related to the individual's perception of it. Further it is apparent that the relation continues through self norms to social behavior. Thus in a sense we can "explain" the wide variation in social behavior by the wide variation in the perception of the social norms and by the almost identical pattern of wide variation of the self norms as conceived of by a given individual. This makes more clear why a "group norm" does not exist since the wide variation in self norms, the association of behavior to these, and the lack of interest (as previously described) in finding out what any "other person's" perception of a norm is, make the existence of a group norm almost impossible, (although not completely impossible as is indicated by the parts of Statements 1-3 regarding the kind of norms on which some "agreement" in perception does exist.)

As was discussed in Chapter V, a social norm is goal oriented (i.e. it is usually thought of as a means to an end). Thus the conclusion that group norms do not exist as such would in essence mean that groupwide agreement in goal orientation would not exist. This is true for the most part but there is a unity of goal to the extent that all of the members of this group and probably all the members

of any secondary group have some objective goal which they seek. In the case under analysis the goal was to become national champions in swimming and the norms then became "means" by which this goal might be achieved. In this consideration of the relationship between norms and goals the latter is the "means" and the former "the end(s)", however, it is pertinent to also consider the relationship in which norms are goals in themselves, both means and ends. When the normative system is considered a means to a goal, an analysis of the efficiency of these means can be made. This was begun in Chapter V but here it is worth considering again since if social norms are a means to an end and at the same time ends in themselves, then the parallel functions might be contradictory at times. In the group under analysis this probably is somewhat the case. Since they did not attempt to discover the empirical data necessary for improving their competitive swimming ability with a definite effort or interest, the resulting norms do not reflect a planned and organized attempt to reach that group goal. When this is related to the great variety of self norms, it can be tentatively concluded that these determined the normative system more than did the overt goal of successful competition in swimming. This also explains the lack of concern of why there is no attempt to systematically investigate improvements in swimming as well as the lack of the attempt itself.

When the norms are considered in the light of their effectiveness in controlling behavior toward the group goal, there likewise occurs the conclusion that they do not do so. Apparently highly individual goals control the perception of the norms and social behavior. This is not altogether unapparent to most persons or to the members of this group and yet the group believed they had norms for private behavior which is even more difficult to control than public or social behavior. It would seem that a real conflict existed for the actors when they attempted to move toward the group goal and yet their own private needs demanded attention. The attempt to control private behavior which obviously is impossible (while it remains private) seems more plausible as a non-rational attempt to prevent these private needs from interfering with the functioning of the group. The conflict seems to have arisen out of an almost feverish haste to govern social behavior and a lack of investigating how that behavior should be controlled for the purpose of the group. Thus for each actor a set of self norms arise which are unique. From this we can see why the actors were not interested in what the group norms might be and almost unaware of them since their self norms which they felt so strongly made them think that these were the group norms. Besides checking the unique personal needs which are asocial that each individual has, the self norms also have a positive demand

for a kind of social acting that perhaps can be best conceived of as a need itself. Briefly these needs reduce or prevent states of tension as all behavior does, these states being social or personal disturbances. Open hostility can produce a great deal of tension as can feeling of hostility, so for both the public and the private behavior exist self norms which make for an expression of friendliness and demand for cooperative behavior. Actually we find that this kind of norm for actively making the group secure (rather than a norm that prohibits some kind of behavior) is the kind that the group considers the most important. They rated highest the norms for friendly behavior and feeling, for acting cooperative and wanting to be cooperative, for having team spirit, and for giving encouragement to team mates. In these as well as the other norms we can easily see that they are goals themselves. The norms just mentioned, in that they secure cooperative activity in the group, obviously make the team function more effectively toward their group goal. The other norms are not so easily seen to have such utility although in terms of this conceptual scheme they still prevent or reduce tension. The attempt to enforce them are not by any rational criteria related to the major group goal in a constructive way and hence must be considered norms which are highly individualistic and thus passively or actively at odds with that goal.¹

1. It is interesting to note that the most successful swimmers, finalists and champions in the nation, rated these spurious (physical training) norms very low in importance or of no importance at all.

From the above it becomes apparent that two kinds of norms for behavior exist. They almost seem to dichotomize into "rational" versus "non-rational" but such is not actually the case. One type is that of the demand for cooperation and conformity, the other type a demand for abstinence from some kind of behavior. The former actually, besides being a demand for a specific kind of behavior, in demanding cooperativeness and conformity also becomes the norm which can allow the second type of norm. If the demand for cooperativeness and conformity is one which excludes rational reasons (rewards) for conformity and achieves its end by threat of punishment, then any kind of norm can subsequently develop. Thus the cooperation must always precede the "non-rational" demands for inhibitions in social group organization and is actually the "social" aspect of such a structure. As indicated, the way in which conformity to the social government is achieved determines the rationality and efficiency of what the content of the latter type norm will be. In a sense, it can be said that only one norm of the former type exists, that of conformity, but that the kind of behavior that is conforming varies. Given the conformity the normative system can grow by new directives for behavior and consequently a social structure will become stronger. It is evident, however, that unless there is contained within the demand for conformity a permission to rationally examine the nature of the other norms, then

the goal of any group will not efficiently be approached. Perhaps the clearest description of the difference between these two norms is to note that the function of the norm for conformity (cooperativeness, friendliness, etc,) is to make an efficient social structure in which interpersonal relationships can be utilized and the function of norms otherwise directing behavior is to make use of multiple human effort in achieving some goal.

There is an interesting paradox related to this area of behavior which is well illustrated by the data on this group. This is that while cooperativeness, friendliness, etc. are highly valued there is yet very little communication of feelings and ideas about the rest of the norms and the whole group structure. It would seem logical that the value of being friendly and the acting out of this behavior would bring about by the expression of these feelings a communication of ideas but this has not happened here and even casual observation confirms that it does not often happen. Also, this is associated with the fact that friendliness can only be expressed in certain ways that are considered "good" ways. This was not extensively described in the description of the norms for this group but the preciseness of the kinds of acceptable friendly behavior was there. Thus there is this tie of a restriction on one type of behavior perhaps putting restrictions on another, i.e. the restriction of friendly behavior restricting

communication of a variety of ideas about techniques of action. An added restriction is that there is also the restriction of not experimenting with new kinds of expressions of feeling or of ideas. It would seem that a new pattern of behavior at the level of the goal structuring or technique norm is very often misinterpreted by others in a social group or society as a change in the pattern of friendliness, or in other words a change to hostility. Whether this analysis uncovers the actual dynamics of this case or not is an open question. The evidence seems to suggest that it does, but its complexity suggests the need for further investigation.

CHAPTER IX

RELATIONSHIPS OF THE DATA TO THE THEORY

In Chapter II of this report there was a brief discussion of the theoretical lines of thought by various persons and disciplines on the relationships between social and self normative systems and the behavior "resulting" from them. At that time a few of the ideas and questions raised by these writers were presented as well as some questions about their ideas. Briefly those questions are summarized, and grouped, below.

1. How do social group norms function in relation to social behavior?
2. How do self norms function in relation to social behavior?
3. How do social and self norms relate to each other and how does this relationship affect, produce, or control social behavior in a given situation?

The first two of these questions represent earlier tendencies of sociology and psychology to try to "explain" the "causes" of behavior. The last question relates the question to social reality and thus makes possible an analysis of social and self norms by empirical testing of "natural" data. This newer theoretical or methodological approach well indicates the development that has taken

place in the scientific thinking on research problems in this area and of this type.

With these questions came, of course, propositions describing, in part, the relationships between the social quanta involved. To each question there is below a statement representative of each group attempting to make an answer to the question.

G. H. Mead was the primary contributor of thought to the first question and it was his hypothesis that the individual by taking the role of the other acquires attitudes about himself, others, and the nature of social behavior to enact. Although Mead in his book Mind, Self, and Society took considerable time and effort with data on how children develop a self, he did not in his final hypotheses relate the social phenomena to either of the conditions of time, situation or function of the behavior. R. Linton and T. Parsons developed the concept of "social status" from this beginning by Mead but again they left out the conditions of time and situation although the function of the behavior began to be adequately described.

The second question is more or less a product of these schools of psychology whose theoretical structure is more or less that of "individual psychology". Examples of writers of this bent are Krech and Crutchfield, Norman Cameron, and to some extent Bingham Dai. The hypotheses they offer to the second question roughly states that con-

ception of self is the guide or determiner of all behavior (overt) including the social. This view is expressed quite strongly by the first two writers while Bingham Dai adds that social norms of the secondary group have an effect upon behavior although this effect is of secondary or lesser importance than are the experiences in the primary group. Obviously this group fails to take into account the system of rewards that induce persons to control their social behavior and punishments that control by restriction and pain the social behavior. This might be broadly described as a failure of individual psychology to recognize that although the individual has needs or tensions and seeks to satisfy or reduce them, most often the means of this satisfaction is a social group which has its structure oriented toward some goal. That social structures are efficiently or rationally constructed is certainly not true all of the time and hence the gratification of the individual's needs proceeds through a maze of confusing norms of how to direct energy and so await satisfaction. There obviously is not a Utopian society or single social group that offers this easy gratification and thus social behavior must in terms of biological reality continue to attempt to construct more efficient social structures if it is to achieve its self set goal. I suspect that no social structure will ever become so effective as to allow such easy gratification that we can cease to consider the effect of the social structure in "structuring" the individual's behavior.

The third question has been given answers through the various hypotheses of H. S. Sullivan, Lindesmith and Strauss, R. Benedict, S. Freud, A. Kardiner and other contributors as a result of recent developments in this area of inquiry. To make an exemplary hypotheses to satisfy all these writers' contributions is only partially possible. In general they say that social and self norms are linked together in adult life within the context of a situation at a point in time the link being the similar objective functions they may have in directing and controlling behavior (i.e. to the extent that there is such objectivity) toward some goal which is specific to a situation at a given time. Likewise, dissimilarities between social and self norms have an effect on social behavior in different ways.

This proposition has more utility for understanding the relationships between the variables than either of the previous two in that it makes by way of a more "functional" type of analysis a description of how the different social quanta are related. This begins a highly descriptive kind of statement that eventually will become truly explanatory.

To relate the findings of this study to the theory is the primary function of this chapter and so the three "typical" questions representing the theory preceding the research are worth considering in the light of the new data. The first question, about "the function of (social norms) in

relation to social behavior", seems to be inadequate. As the data shows there are no real social or group norms except as these are verbal definitions of behavior but since these vary so greatly they cannot be considered as a real element or quantum. The question as stated cannot therefore be answered except wherein a social norm is perceived quite similarly by the social actors. This, as the data shows, occurs only (in this case) when the norms are those regarding conformity or cooperation. This being the one necessary essential to the existence of any social group or system, it can hardly be said that they affect social behavior but that they are merely a logical condition necessary to social groupness. This type of norm, although the core of socialness, is not of the same order as norms which specifically define proper behavior both for action and absence of action. The latter are the directives for behavior in terms of some goal and as previously discussed may be either rational or non-rational. Thus the function of norms to behavior has been partially described by the organization of the data but the changes in the definitions of what norms are has rendered the original question obsolete.

The second question asks, "How do self norms function in relation to social behavior?" Self norms, the data shows, are highly related (associated) to both the perception of social norms and to social behavior. As shown in the preceding chapter, self norms affect the perception of the

hypothetical norms for the group and they, of course, being in agreement with that perception combine with it to quite closely direct the individual's behavior. The functions of self norms in relation to social behavior are regulative in the broad sense and more specifically they, as the data shows, direct the behavior into patterns which will result in continuing as an accepted member of the group, satisfying personal needs for certain restrictions and prescriptions of behavior, and achieving to some measure the central goal of the group and the individual's part in it. Although this question was originally asked in the sense of "how do self norms cause social behavior", the answer obviously (now) could not and does not satisfy.

The third question of the relation of social and self norms to each other and the effect of this on social behavior has been answered above. To add one point, however, the incongruity of perceptions as to how to be "social" and how to obtain a specific goal of a group indicates that social behavior will reflect this variation. That it does is evident.

A brief consideration of the hypotheses offered by various writers in the light of the data of this study will complete the revision of theory. The well-known hypothesis of Mead and his school is undoubtedly quite sound when checked

against the data of the social life of children or of the tightly knit primary group but the data of the secondary social group here analyzed definitely does not confirm it for reasons obvious through previous analysis. It seems to be a legitimate guess that this secondary group is not unique in its pattern of extreme variation of the norms since the considerable time spent together during the week (20-30 hours), the closeness of their association while traveling and living together on week-ends, and their conviction (at first thought) that they did have rules and expectations, would certainly lead one to expect that these norms would be perceived uniformly, but they were not. Certainly most secondary groups are less closely integrated than this one and it can therefore be expected that the variation exists there likewise. Also our whole societal structure being what MacIver calls a "multi-group society" suggests that it undoubtedly has the same pattern throughout. Thus Mead's hypothesis does not stand up as stated.

The second hypothesis of the individual psychologists that "conception of self is the determiner of all social behavior" is also invalid as such. The social reality described above and relating to this premise denies that the individual lives in a vacuum that constantly absorbs the self needs and thus keeps the individual in a homeostatic or some other kind of balance. That there is a strong

tendency toward this balance, seems to be true, but many counter-tendencies also exist.

The last of the three hypotheses asserts that social and self norms are tied together through having the same function of being the system through which behavior is directed toward some goal specific to a situation at a given time. The instance of a contradiction between one kind of norm and another has also been described earlier and as above the obvious result is a dissimilarity in function between the two.

Insofar as this hypothesis goes, it is correct. The variation of the perceptions of social norms modifies it by adding that there often are many functions that a norm performs and that only when they are similar (as in the case of norms for conformity does a norm become a real part of a group structure. Considerable rational examination by the members of a group must occur before other functions (toward goals) become similar.

Further additions to the theory can be stated by themselves rather than in relation to this particular hypothesis. Briefly, the most important "new" social phenomena discovered are: 1. A very high variation in the way social norms are perceived; 2. That there is a priority of such norms, (as conformity, cooperation, etc.) over norms that specifically define physical acts, for the achievement of a social goal; 3. The variety of goals indicated by the

variety of self norms and perception of social norms often acts contrary to the norms for conformity and also is often mistakenly interpreted as such a contrary act; 4. Little rational examination (organized or otherwise) of efficient controls for behavior of the technique type of social norm exist with the consequence that the above mentioned contrary-to-group-goal acts occur; 5. The members of a secondary group are for the most part unaware (and unaware that they are unaware) of their ignorance of other members' self norms, needs and ideas about techniques for achieving the group goal(s).

CHAPTER X

NEW THEORETICAL PROBLEMS SUGGESTED BY THE DATA

Of theoretical problems there is no end and an addition seems almost inappropriate. However, the sheer volume of problems thought of and written about the general subject of the thesis indicates the need for an approach characterized by greater specificity of inquiry. For both reasons I shall limit myself to three problems which I consider important and well defined as to their need for further data.

The first is one resulting from the development of the polar types of the individuals response to the scale in his perception of the social norms and his rating of his self norms. Hidden in a footnote there is mentioned the fact that those individuals who disregarded the belief about physical training the most (i.e. norms for the direction of behavior toward the goal of becoming a superior competitive swimmer) were actually the best swimmers. Also, in being the best and better swimmers of the group, they were accorded the highest prestige in spite of their "deviant" behavior. Thus prestige is not necessarily granted for conformity to physical training norms and thus success in achieving the goal is associated

with not accepting these non-rationally derived norms. This high prestige, high ability polar type is the same polar type that rated many self norms lower than the social norms. These norms were all of the physical training type. Besides being an interesting side point which seems quite logical, there is a question of some significance. Briefly, is the rating of the self norms lower than social norms due to the ability and subsequent prestige of the individual or are the ability and prestige due to the lower ratings of the physical training norms? Although a hasty "conclusion" might adopt the first condition, the second is quite possible since the act of rejecting the non-rational physical training norms may indicate rational experimentation by those persons on how to swim better (and if this experimentation were successful,) and this would result in the success and prestige.

The second problem arose out of consideration of the evident lack of communication of feelings about "proper" behavior and ideas about new directives for behavior. The question simply is: "Why the lack of such communication?" The value of such communication and inquiry is well known to every scientist, "pure" and "applied", and it would seem that the highly valued "common sense" of the layman would lead to such efforts. But this has not occurred. At the end of Chapter VII a consideration of this problem was made in terms of the confusion that often exists between "deviant"

behavior at the physical training level of norms and more truly deviant behavior at the conformity and cooperation level where actual anti-social behavior can destroy a social structure. It seems likely that experimental behavior is considered erroneously as hostile behavior to many persons, the conflict between religion and science perhaps being the classic example. However, a further aspect of the pattern raises the final question when it is noted that there is a training aspect to norms for cooperation and friendliness, i.e. that the cooperative and friendly behavior must occur in a highly specific way. It seems that to experiment in what actually amounts to an attempt to be more cooperative and friendly is feared by some as a hostile act. The question then is: why the fear of communicating and inquiring in how to be more cooperative and friendly?

The third question arises out of the second in a general way. Given the feelings of not wanting to communicate and inquire into training norms and subsequently to not, in a sense, become more cooperative and friendly, it can be said that these feelings are actually norms (basic self norms). They are part of the beliefs about training and cooperative norms which define a behavior as to be valued at some specific quantity and no more. Thus there develops what can be described as anti-rational and anti-social norms. Together they

represent a system of directives and tendencies completely counter to any and all of the goals of the group and the individual members. Whoever said that "man is not rational" must certainly have been looking at this process but as is obvious man is not certainly wholly irrational. The paradoxical question in terms of this process is why is there a system of tendencies entirely counter to the goals of productive social living which hinders and sometimes destroys the social unity, the productive teamwork, the development of techniques, and finally the movement toward the goals the individuals and group possess. The technical question is: How do anti-social and anti-rational (goal) norms for behavior develop within the self and the social group? An inquiry into the etiology of this process would be useful to both the scientist of theory and application.

These few questions have been stated by the writer as an expression of his intensified curiosity which attends any inquiry into virtually anything. If nothing else, the experience of field research makes much more evident what one does not know and what generally is not known. It is the hope of the writer that the data presented in this report helps to know both what is and what is not known. The revision of previous knowledge suggests that more than our previous ignorance, we were ignorant of what we were ignorant. Since the first step in research is to know what one does not know, this last chapter and the entire report are offered.

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