

OPINIONS ON CLOTHING, APPEARANCE
AND SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE AS FACTORS
IN GROUP COHESION OF
NINTH GRADE GIRLS

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
Madelyn Claire Williams
1963



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ABSTRACT

OPINIONS ON CLOTHING, APPEARANCE AND SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE AS FACTORS IN GROUP COHESION OF NINTH GRADE GIRLS

by Madelyn Claire Williams

The purpose of this exploratory study was to determine if opinions on clothing, appearance and group acceptance were factors which contributed to group cohesion or lack of cohesion in a population of 154 ninth grade girls. The study was conducted in a Michigan community.

Social acceptance categories of isolate, mutual pair member and reciprocal friendship structure member were established by answers to a near-sociometric question based on the criterion of choosing a "best friend." Warner's Index of Status Characteristics was used to determine social class categories of each member.

Other data were obtained by an opinionnaire and a structured interview schedule. An objective evaluation of each participant was completed by the interviewer. The instruments contained open-ended questions on general acceptance, clothing and appearance.

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The data were descriptively analyzed to show similarities and differences among the three categories of reciprocal friendship. Stone's terminology of review and program were utilized in the analysis. Review refers to responses made about the wearer of clothes by others, and program pertains to responses made about the wearer of clothes by the wearer. These were interpreted to include the review and the program of the self and one's group.

The analysis of responses showed in general that the individual reciprocal friendship structure members had a greater amount of cohesiveness within their own groups than did the other categories of group membership in terms of clothing, appearance and group acceptance.

The data in terms of review revealed that when all the girls responded to general acceptance, "clothing" was considered the attribute first in importance in describing the characteristics of the most popular girl. Clothing was mentioned second and looks third in importance in describing how to "get in" with the popular girls, as well as the characteristics on which a new girl would be judged.

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The isolates mentioned clothing and appearance items proportionately more and concurred more frequently on the influence of clothing on popularity, than did the other girls.

The isolates and mutual pair members were more parent oriented in terms of clothing approval and suggestions made by someone regarding their clothing.

Reciprocal friendship members exhibited a relatively higher amount of cohesion in their opinions than did the isolates or mutual pair members. The reciprocal friendship members mentioned that "proper action to others" was important for popularity in one's own group.

Two-thirds of all girls wanted to change something about themselves, but only one-third of them thought they could make more friends by doing this and only a small proportion thought this would allow them to make a different impression on others.

These findings support the working hypothesis that members of a group have similar opinions regarding clothing, appearance and group acceptance which contribute to the groups' cohesion, and that these opinions are different than those of non-group members or members of other groups.

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OF NINTH GRADE GIRLS**

By

Madelyn Claire Williams

A THESIS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Research indicates and public opinion further reflects the feeling that today's adolescents' conspicuous concern with clothing and appearance is evidence of superficial values. However, studies show that during the early teen-age years in the United States, a new awareness of the self develops, accompanied by the formation of strong peer group ties.¹ The clique is typical of the peer group where youths join together in a common effort to learn acceptable group norms and values in order to establish an identity.² Studies of cohesion have neglected the influence of clothing and appearance on group maintenance of teen-age cliques.³

¹Elizabeth Hurlock, Adolescent Development, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1959), p.3.

²David Gottlieb and Jon Reeves, Adolescent Behavior in Urban Areas, Michigan State University Bureau of Research and Publications, East Lansing, 1962, Part III.

³Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, Group Dynamics: Research and Theory, 2nd edition (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson and Co., 1960), pp. 69-92.

The concern of this study is the relationship of the influence of clothing and appearance to group cohesion and acceptance of teen-age girls. It is part of a larger study¹ in which upper and lower social class (isolates and group members) ninth grade girls were interviewed with regard to differences in their opinions concerning the importance of clothing, appearance and group membership.² An analysis was done of the girls' clothing as related to actual and ideal role behavior.³ The entire population, including members and non-members of groups will be examined separately. It is hoped that this study will further understanding of peer group acceptance and cohesion to the importance of clothing and appearance to ninth grade girls.

¹Joanne B. Eicher, "Ninth Grade Girls' Attitudes and Behavior Related to Role, Appearance, Social Class and Group Acceptance." (Research in progress for Michigan State University Agricultural Experiment Station.)

²Arlene Bjorngaard, "The Relationship of Social Class and Social Acceptance to Clothing and Appearance of a Selected Group of Ninth Grade Girls" (unpublished Master's thesis, Michigan State University, 1962).

³Betty Wass, "Clothing as Related to Role Behavior of Ninth Grade Girls" (unpublished Master's thesis, Michigan State University, 1962).

Review of the Literature

Selected literature will be reviewed in this chapter dealing with the major areas of adolescent peer groups, the social aspects of clothing and appearance and sociometric studies.

Adolescent Peer Groups and Clothing and Appearance

Most authorities on adolescence emphasize the importance of peer group influence on adolescent social development. The peer group is considered as significant as the family and the school in adolescent socialization.¹ The efforts of these groups are all directed toward conformity while there is also the urge to be unique, to achieve individuality, but within the narrow frame of the group's pattern.²

One of the typical adolescent peer groups is the clique. Bossard defines the clique as a small, exclusive, non-kin, informal, face-to-face social group. There are no rules but there is a common set of values.³ Typically the

¹Dexter C. Dunphy, "The Social Structure of Urban Adolescent Peer Groups," Sociometry, XXVI (1963), p.230.

²Carolyn Tyron, "The Adolescent Peer Culture." Forty-Third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Part I. Adolescence. (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1944) p.218.

³J. H. S. Bossard, The Sociology of Child Development (New York: Harper and Bros., 1949), p.496.

clique consists of three or more members who share in mutual admiration and affection for each other.

An adolescent culture which values social acceptance in such ways as cliques and social groups often places emphasis on clothing and appearance. Hurlock points out that the "right" kind of clothes help the adolescent identify with the group and gives him security in knowing that his appearance does not differ from that of the group.¹ Gordon indicates that clothing enhances one's opportunities for social acceptance because of its high visibility.² Goffman emphasizes the importance of clothing and appearance in expression of the self by impression management.³

Cartwright and Zander indicate the cohesiveness of any group is determined by both the attractive and repelling features of the group to its members.⁴ They report a dearth of systematic studies which have explored the factors involved in increasing or decreasing group cohesiveness.⁵

¹Hurlock, op. cit., p.246.

²C. Wayne Gordon, The Social System of the High School (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), pp.114-117.

³Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1959).

⁴Cartwright and Zander, op. cit., p.89.

⁵Ibid., p.91.

Coleman found that certain attributes were necessary in order to be in the leading crowd in the schools he studied. They were, "having a good personality," "good looks," "nice clothes," "good reputation," "being friendly," "being neat," "having money," "good grades," and "coming from the right neighborhood."¹

Reports by Cannon, Staples and Carlson, as well as by Moore revealed a positive relationship between clothing and appearance and popularity among adolescent girls.^{2,3} Masumoto discovered a tendency for students to designate the well-dressed students as the popular ones.⁴

The importance of clothing behavior is validated by the study conducted by Wass. Her respondents indicated that all the roles which they might assume were affected by their

¹James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (New York: Free Press, 1961), p.40.

²Kenneth L. Cannon, Ruth Staples, and Irene Carlson, "Personal Appearance as a Factor in Social Acceptance," Journal of Home Economics, XLIV (1952), pp.710-713.

³Kathleen A. Moore, "Fashion Leadership Designation and Related Factors Among a Group of Adolescent Girls" (unpublished Master's thesis, Pennsylvania State University, 1962), p.73.

⁴Sachiko Masumoto, "The Relationship of Dress and Behavior Associated with Dress to the Social Participation of the Adolescent Boy and Girl" (unpublished Master's thesis, Pennsylvania State University, 1962), p.131.

dress. A change in dress often followed a change in role, and might even have caused the role change.¹

Bjorngaard's study analyzed social class and social acceptance differences concerning opinions about the importance of clothing, appearance and group acceptance among ninth grade girls. The girls appeared to be more alike than different in their views. They generally agreed as to who was most popular, best dressed and poorly dressed. However, she did note some evidence as to differences between group members and isolates. Upper social class group members seemed more aware of clothing, and placed greater emphasis on conformity than did the lower social class isolates.²

Stone's research emphasized the importance of appearance in social interaction. "The appearance covers many things, including body size, shape, reputation and image, clothing, stance and facial expression....Appearance means identifications of one another."³ Stone's theoretical framework organized such identifications into "program" and "review." Program refers to responses made about the wearer

¹Wass, op. cit., p.68.

²Bjorngaard, op. cit., pp.146-147.

³Gregory P. Stone, "Appearance and the Self," Human Behavior and Social Processes: An Interactionist Approach, ed. Arnold M. Rose (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961), pp.86, 92.

of clothes by the wearer; and review to responses made about the wearer by others. "When program and review coincide, the self of the one who appears...is validated or established; when such responses tend toward disparity, the self of the one who appears is challenged, and conduct may be expected to move in the direction of some redefinition of the challenged self."¹

Sociometric Studies

The presence of structure is inevitable in every group, community and society. A number of human beings cannot interact for any period of time without forming an interactional structure. One way of studying group interaction and structure is the sociometric method. Moreno declared that this technique "inquires into the evolution and organization of groups and the position of individuals within them. One of its special concerns is to ascertain the quantity and expansion of the psychological currents that pervade the population."²

Sociometric methods of investigating how an individual is evaluated by his peers have been effectively used in a variety of situations--schools, camps, gangs, villages,

¹Ibid., p.92.

²J. L. Moreno, Who Shall Survive? (Beacon, N.Y.: Beacon House, Inc., 1953), p.51.

communities, industries, and the military.

Bronfenbenner states of the sociometric test:

One of the most ingenious devices for the study of social status and structure is the sociometric test. The technique permits the analysis of the framework of group organization and identification of persons dominant in the group structure, of cliques, cleavages, and patterns of social attraction and repulsion...Sociometry is the method for discovering, describing and evaluating social status, structure and development through measuring the extent of acceptance or rejection between individuals in groups.¹

Helen Hall Jennings, who worked closely with Moreno in applying sociometric tests to school groups, described the instrument as focusing upon the organization and the psychological structure of a group.² Moreno has said it is an "instrument to measure the amount of organization shown by social groups."³ Jennings concluded after much practical use of the test that it is well fitted for the task of penetrating beneath the overt manifestations of group life to the invisible network of interrelations on which they are built.⁴

¹Urie Bronfenbrenner, "The Measurement of Sociometric Status, Structure and Development," Sociometry Monographs, No.8 (Beacon, N.Y.: Beacon House, 1945), p.3.

²Helen Hall Jennings, Leadership and Isolation (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1950), p.10.

³Moreno, op. cit., p.432.

⁴Jennings, loc. cit.

The test might more accurately be called a choice situation, because individuals are asked in a given social group to name other individuals in the group with whom they wish to associate, wish to avoid, or those to whom they feel indifferent.

Along with the sociometric test, the sociogram has proven a helpful tool for the social sciences. It is a "map" in which individuals are symbolized by circles, squares, etc., and the relations among them, as expressed in a sociometric test, are symbolized by lines or arrows which represent attractions or rejections. Hence the configuration or structure of a group may be diagrammatically shown. The purpose of the diagram is to provide a picture of the sociometric structure according to the criteria used, and thus enable the researcher to determine quickly the status of any member of the group, in order to identify the cliques, cleavages, stars, and isolates.

Structure and Position

Position in a group is important since people exhibit characteristic differences in action and reaction and in the extent to which they initiate interaction or acquiesce to

interaction initiated by others. Stogdill defined position by the predictability of action and reaction operating as a stimulus to predictable reaction by other members of the system.¹ When this definition is applied to the position of each member it becomes apparent that the structure of an interaction system is determined by the reciprocal actions and reactions of its members.

Members of animal as well as human groups exhibit a remarkable sensitivity to both position and structure of groups. Gronlund has shown that members of human groups not only have a fairly accurate perception of their own positions, but also of the position of other members in a group.²

Group dynamicists have done a good deal of research in group structure and position within groups. As Deutsch pointed out, people in his field have used the term position to refer to the functions a member performs in a group, to an individual's locus in a communication network, to a person's ability to induce forces, to a person's prestige in

¹Ralph M. Stogdill, Individual Behavior and Group Achievement (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p.25.

²Norman E. Gronlund, "Sociometric Status and Sociometric Perception," Sociometry, XVIII (1955), pp.127-128.

a group, etc. He cited a study by Gerard which has provided insight into the diversity of meanings of position. Gerard conceptualized the position of a person in a group "as a locus which describes his relationship to other group members with respect to a single dimension. At any given time each member may have one and only one position on a specified dimension." A dimension is defined as (a) being able to communicate with, (b) having power over, (c) having more skill than, etc. In some settings an individual may find one dimension more salient than another, hence that locus becomes more important for him at a given time.¹

Leavitt used differently structured groups in his work on the behavior of small groups and their patterns of communication. He worked with structures which he referred to as circles, chains, Ys, and wheels when he showed how the position of the person affected his behavior.²

¹Morton Deutsch, "Field Theory in Social Psychology," Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. I, ed. Gardner Lindzey (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing, Co., 1959), p.218.

²Harold J. Leavitt, "Some Effects of Certain Communication Patterns on Group Performance," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XXXXIII (1951), p.46.

The Sociometric Test

Pure sociometric tests specify the following criteria: (1) that the limits of the group be made known to the subjects, (2) that their choices or rejections be unlimited, (3) that each choice or rejection be made in terms of specific criteria, (4) that the results will be used to restructure the group and that the subjects should be told their choices or rejections will play a decisive role in this, (5) that the test will be done in private, and (6) that the questions should be at the level of understanding of the members of the group.

Only a small portion of the studies conducted adhere to these criteria. Those that are modified from the above are usually called near-sociometric or quasi-sociometric. However, when no criterion is involved in the choice, as in "Who is your best friend?", or "Whom do you like best?", the data may best be described as neither sociometric nor near-sociometric, but rather as projected "liking" reactions in an undetermined setting.¹ Bjernstedt found in a study of 100 representative sociometric investigations that only 11

¹Ake Bjernstedt, Interpretations of Sociometric Choice Status (Lund, Sweden: CWK Gleerup, 1956), p.36.

percent of the studies indicated adherence to criterion (4) above, that of restructuring the group. In the same study he was interested in finding out to what degree rejection reports were used. Sociometrists feel strongly concerning this topic. It is therefore interesting that he found 50 percent had used positive choice only, while the other 50 percent had used both positive and negative.¹

It appears that asking "Whom do you like least?" is a somewhat artificial question, which according to a number of investigators, might cause discrimination, intolerance, and resentment. Most people are not interested in those with whom they do not wish to associate. However, rejection reports have a place when the investigator has a diagnostic or therapeutic aim in mind. In such a situation, Jennings has argued that "the negative aspect of choice merits equal consideration with the positive."²

Another frequent modification of the "pure" sociometric test is in the number of choices the individual is required to make. Frequently the number is three. If the

¹Ibid., p.49.

²Jennings, op. cit., p.21.

investigator wishes to distinguish between such people as the isolate (the isolate being the person who neither chooses nor is chosen) and those who choose but are not chosen it is best to have an unspecified number of choices.

Analysis

Proctor and Loomis discussed the principle methods of analysis of sociometric information: graphic, matrix, index, and statistical analysis.¹

Graphic analysis is done by means of the sociogram, where circles or squares are used to represent group members, and various kinds of lines represent their choices or rejections within the group which serve to hold the individuals together to form a group. Numerous terms are employed to describe a person's choices and locus within the group, and these will be described in the section on definition of terms. The accuracy of the sociogram depends on the investigator, in that there are no external checks upon the adequacy of the diagram drawn.

¹C. H. Proctor and C. P. Loomis, "Analysis of Sociometric Data," in Marie Jahoda, et al., ed., Research Methods in Social Relations. Part II (New York: Dryden Press, 1951), pp.563-569.

Matrix analysis is similar to the graphic type in that all the data can be observed at once. In this method an $N \times N$ table is used in which the sociometric choices or rejections are summarized. The main advantages of this analysis are that different investigators produce similar data, and the data are in a form conducive to statistical treatment.

Index analysis makes the quantification of individual choice relationships possible. The most frequently used index is that of a person's sociometric status. This is obtained by the sum of acceptances minus the sum of rejections a person receives, divided by one less than the group size since no individual will choose himself. This serves to determine the relative status of each individual in the group with reference to the criterion of choice. It can also give unique results which are conclusive if sufficient cases are collected to warrant statistical analysis.¹

Statistical analysis of sociometric data yields precise results. Proctor and Loomis mentioned that the computational intricacies of this approach can become quite extensive, and demand a considerable statistical knowledge from the investigator.²

¹Ibid., p.582.

²Ibid., p.585.

Validity and reliability are regarded as necessary measures in the social sciences. However, in sociometry the situation is unique. Test validity refers to the notion that a test should measure what it is supposed to measure. In sociometric tests, the results of the test are in terms of choice behavior. Goode and Hatt state "the findings indicate that the independent criterion of case studies and behavior observation provide satisfactory indications of the validity of sociometric tests."¹ Moreno has pointed out that the test should provide incentives and motives primarily for the subject, rather than the tester.² This means that the subjects should know that their choices will have meaning for them in securing changes in such things as seating arrangements, workmates, etc. It is in this manner that validity has meaning in sociometric analyses.

The concept of reliability is based on the assumption of internal consistency and stability.³ "Jennings, ...gives

¹William Goode and Paul Hatt, Methods in Social Research (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1952), p.255, citing Jennings, op. cit., pp.27-31.

²Moreno, op. cit., pp.240-245.

³Pauline M. Pepinsky, "The Meaning of Validity and Reliability," Journal of Educational and Psychological Measurements, IX (1949), pp.42-49.

ample evidence that 'choice position' is slow to change and that sociometric measurements may therefore be considered reliable."¹

Summary

Social acceptance is important to the adolescent peer group. Research findings emphasize the importance of appearance, manners and nice clothes in social acceptance of adolescent groups.

Studies have been done on social class, social acceptance as viewed through clique membership and social isolates, and clothing behavior; but little knowledge is available on the relationship of these factors in adolescent life.

Sociometric methods have been successfully utilized with many different kinds of populations to inquire into the evolution and organization of groups and to the position of individuals within them. When presented diagrammatically the results of a sociometric test provide a picture of the structure according to the criteria used, and enable the researcher to determine quickly the status of any member of the group, such as to identify cliques and isolates.

¹Goode and Hatt, loc. cit.

Pure sociometric tests require adherence to specific criteria which if not followed cause the tests to be termed near-sociometric. If no criteria are followed, they are termed projected liking reactions in an undetermined setting.

Analysis of sociometric data is accomplished by means of graphic, matrix, index or statistical methods. The results can be considered valid and reliable. The use of sociometric methods will help us better understand the importance of clothing to adolescents.

Common opinions of clothing and appearance may represent a single element in the total matrix of elements which produce cohesion in any group. If this general position is correct, it would be expected to obtain the same situation with that element of cohesion which may occur in the broad category of impression which is represented by clothing and appearance.

Although an exploratory study, a working hypothesis has been developed from these ideas and will be tested. The hypothesis is that members of a group have similar opinions regarding clothing, appearance and group acceptance which contribute to the groups' cohesion. These opinions are different than those of non-group members or members of other groups.

It is the purpose of this study to investigate the relationship of group and non-group membership as indicated by a near-sociometric test with ninth grade girls' views concerning clothing, appearance and group acceptance in a high school with social class extremes.

This study has utilized the same data as Bjorngaard who analyzed only the upper and lower social classes; in this study the entire population of ninth grade girls in one school will be examined.

Data for the study will be examined by means of a near-sociometric analysis of the population which has been correlated with responses to clothing, appearance and group acceptance. The responses will be analyzed in terms of Stone's theoretical framework of program and review.

Chapter II will discuss the methodology of the study. A description of the population in terms of group and non-group membership will comprise Chapter III. Chapters IV and V will analyze the data concerning the relationship of group and non-group membership with opinions concerning clothing, appearance and group acceptance of ninth grade girls in terms of review and program. Chapter VI will discuss the girls' selections of those they appraised as

"most popular," "best dressed," and "not dressed right."

Chapter VII will include the summary and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

The relationship of adolescent clothing behavior to group membership has been relatively unexplored. Thus an exploratory study was deemed appropriate for this investigation. In selecting a research design, Selltitz says that the exploratory study has the purpose of discovering ideas and insights where little information is available.¹ Many exploratory studies have the purposes of formulating a problem for further investigation and of developing hypotheses.²

The selection of individuals representing different positions in the social structure helps to produce a well-rounded view of the situation. In addition, those individuals who fit well or do not fit well in a given situation provide insight into the characteristics of the community.³

¹Claire Selltitz, Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1960), p.50.

²Ibid., p.51.

³Ibid., p.63.

These preceding factors served to define the area of investigation--namely, the position of the individual in terms of group membership and the relationship of opinions on clothing and appearance to this position.

Selection of Community

The community in which the study was administered was East Lansing, Michigan, which adjoins Lansing, in south central Michigan. The location is atypical in many respects due to the fact that Michigan State University is located in East Lansing. The University affects the population in such characteristics as level of education, age, mobility, occupation and income.

According to 1960 census information;¹ East Lansing's population consisted of 30,198 residents, including college students. Of the persons who were twenty-five years of age and over, residents in East Lansing had a median of 15.8 years of schooling compared to 10.8 for the entire state. The median age was 22.2 years, while the state median age was

¹U. S. Bureau of the Census, Michigan General Population Characteristics, 1960 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1960).

28.3 years. Of the residents, 50.7 percent have moved into their present homes since 1958.

The median income in East Lansing was \$7,152, while the median income for the state was \$6,256. Twelve and two-tenths percent of East Lansing residents had incomes under \$3,000 while 31.7 percent had incomes over \$10,000.

White collar workers predominate according to the census. Seventy-one and nine-tenths percent were employed in white collar jobs while only seven percent were in manufacturing industries.

East Lansing had only one high school, a co-educational public school with a total enrollment of 1,103. Two years prior to this investigation the school district incorporated Towar Gardens, an area of low income working class families, into their school system. Thus, socioeconomic extremes existed in the school population, which provided the major purpose in conducting the study at this location.

Instruments

A questionnaire and an interview which included a rating by the interviewer, were used for collecting data. Questions pertinent to this study were selected from these instruments.

From the questionnaire the items chosen for this study pertained to personal information about the respondent and her family background; and the girl's friendship choices. See Appendix A.

From the open-ended interview schedule, items that pertained to Stone's framework of program and review were chosen. According to Stone, review responses are comments "made about the wearer of clothes by others, and program responses are those comments made about the wearer by the wearer."¹ See Appendix B.

All information from the rating by the adult interviewer was used which included an objective evaluation of each girl's appearance as viewed by these adults. See Appendix B.

¹Stone, op. cit., p.92.

Pretest

The questionnaire was pretested by administering it to 24 students in a twelfth grade home economics class at Charlotte, Michigan, since the original intent was to use it with twelfth grade girls. Cooperation from the school originally contacted was withdrawn and permission was granted by the principal at East Lansing High School to study the ninth grade girls. When the ninth grade counselor at East Lansing High School read the instrument, he said it was within the level of comprehension of his students. The interview schedule was pretested by administering it to four ninth grade girls in the Okemos, Michigan, community. Minor changes were made in the instruments as a result of the pretests in order to allow for the approximate length of time necessary for answering the questions, the interpretations high school girls would have of the various questions, and the types of responses which could be expected.

Administration of the Instruments

The instruments were administered to 152 of the 154 girls in the ninth grade at East Lansing High School, the entire population of ninth grade girls with the exception of

two girls who were not available for either instrument. Both instruments were administered by other researchers in the 1962 spring semester. Part of the data was used in the two other studies.^{1,2}

The questionnaire was administered to 140 ninth grade girls during one home room period when they were assembled in the school cafeteria. Twelve girls were absent and were given the questionnaire at a later date. The questionnaire was presented in two sections. The first part sought personal information about the respondent and her family background and consequently a pledge of anonymity was given by the researcher.³ The first section was the only one where the student would place her name and this was in an envelope which she could seal. The second section was coded with a number which matched the first section in order that the responses would correspond with the personal information of the respondent.

¹Bjorngaard, op. cit., Ch. 6.

²Wass, op. cit., Ch. 5.

³The pledge of anonymity has not been broken, since in assigning a number to each individual, the findings become anonymous and are reported as such.

The interviews and ratings by the interviewer were conducted at the school by three trained interviewers. The interviews were limited to seventy minutes, the length of one class period, and were given to the entire population of ninth grade girls.

Operational Definitions of Social

Acceptance and Social Class

Social Acceptance

A near-sociometric question was included in the questionnaire and was used as the basis for determining the social acceptance category of each girl as one whose friendship choices were reciprocated or not reciprocated. The girls were asked to write the names of their two "best girl friends" in the ninth grade at East Lansing High School with whom they shared secrets. Additional spaces were given if they wanted to list more than two names. Appendix A.

Each informant was given a code number and her best friend choices were recorded on a matrix chart. If her best friend was in another grade or another school this was noted. Reciprocated choices were circled and joined with a line, and distinctions were made between her first two and more choices.

From the matrix chart a sociogram was constructed to show only the reciprocated friendships of each ninth grade girl to the entire group. Three major categories of social acceptance were established.

The sociometric analysis showed the composition of the ninth grade class to consist of a total of 17 reciprocal friendship structures ranging in size from three to 27 members. The average size of the structure was 5.35 girls. Of the 154 ninth grade girls, 113 were members of reciprocal friendship structures, 18 were members of a mutual pair, and 23 were isolates.

The term reciprocal friendship structure has been used instead of clique. Clique is used in the literature to refer to a group of three or more persons built around a nucleus of individuals whom they chose.¹ Two of the structures in the present study were large and did not have the centralized characteristics of a clique thus the term reciprocal friendship structure seemed preferable.

Social Class

The method of determining social class membership was Warner's Index of Status Characteristics. Martindale

¹Coleman, op.cit., p.183.

refers to the Warner method as one which can be applied to small cities like East Lansing.¹

Three components of Warner's Index of Status Characteristics² were used to determine each girl's social class ranking. Ordinarily a fourth index is used, that of the source of income which could not be used in this study since it was not included in the questionnaire. The researchers felt the girls would not know this so it was omitted from the instrument. The three indices used were: father's occupation, dwelling area, and type of house. Each index was rated on a seven point scale. The rating was multiplied by the appropriate weight: (a) occupation times five, (b) dwelling area times three, and (c) house type times four. The computed sum was the ISC score for the family.³

Due to the nature of East Lansing as an "educational community," some changes were made in the occupational ratings. Warner has indicated that this is advisable in certain cases.

¹Don Martindale, American Society (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1960), p.397.

²Warner's Index of Status Characteristics will be referred to as ISC.

³W. Lloyd Warner, Marcia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, Social Class in America (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949), p.185.

The specific classifications used here were designed for a particular community; certain modifications might be necessary in other communities. In a large city, with a number of large business concerns, a different monetary value might be assigned to each category of proprietors. There may be a change in the status, and consequently in the rating assigned to a mayor, high school principal, etc., depending on the size of the community. However, while there might be a change in the range allowed within any category, the general method of classification and the framework developed here will have¹ general use and can be applied to all communities.

The father's occupation was obtained from the questionnaire and was rated according to Warner's Revised Scale for Rating Occupation. It was verified by checking school records and the city directory.

The residential area was rated on a seven point scale by four individuals--an economist, a sociologist, a real estate agent, and the researcher of the previous study.²

The houses were also rated on a seven point scale by two or more individuals.

The social acceptance categories as determined by the near-sociometric test are shown in Table 1 in relation to the social class distribution. Bjorngaard studied the

¹Ibid., p.158.

²Bjorngaard, op. cit., p.29.

Table 1. Social class distribution of ISC weighted ratings by social acceptance categories of ninth grade girls, East Lansing High School

ISC ¹ Weighted Ratings	Iso- late	Mutual Pair Members	RFS ² 1	RFS 2	RFS 3	RFS 4	RFS 5	RFS 6	RFS 7
12-17	1 ³	1			1				3
18-22	1							2	5
23-24									
25-33	7	4		6	3	4		1	7
34-37	4	2				1		1	4
38-50	6	4		7	2	3	1		8
51-53				1					
54-61		2							
62-66		1	2				1		
67-69	1	1							
70-84	3	3	1	1			2		
Totals	23	18	3	15	6	8	4	4	27

¹ISC rating based on occupation, dwelling area and house type.

²RFS refers to Reciprocal Friendship Structure. Each RFS was given a number for identification.

³Number of girls in each category.

RFS 8	RFS 9	RFS 10	RFS 11	RFS 12	RFS 13	RFS 14	RFS 15	RFS 16	RFS 17	Totals
										6
1					1	1	1	1		13
1										1
1	2	3	2	1	6	1		1	2	51
1				3		1			1	18
	6	2	2				1	1		43
				1						2
							1			3
										4
										2
		1								11
4	8	6	4	5	7	3	3	3	3	154

upper social class isolates and group members (defining a group member as anyone with a reciprocated friendship) and lower social class isolates and group members. These categories are represented on the table by double lines, indicating the middle social class girls which she omitted.

"Upper" social class includes scores from 12-37, "middle" includes scores from 38-61, and "lower" encompasses scores from 62-84.

Definition of Terms

The near-sociometric question determined friendship choices in terms of the criteria of sharing a secret. A sociogram was used as a method of graphically describing the girls' reciprocated choices. The following terms¹ were devised to describe the individual in terms of her reciprocated choices, or lack of the same by the present researchers:

ISOLATE: An individual who had no reciprocated

¹Most of these terms are commonly used by sociometrists. The four categories of isolates, although suggested by Houser, have been developed by the present researchers. Leah Houser, "A Sociometric Test of Aspects of Reference Group Theory in a Study of Prejudice Among Youth" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1956), pp.57-58.

friendships. There are four types of isolates.

Isolate₁ = pure isolate, whose lack of choices received matches her lack of choices made.

Isolate₂ = ignored isolate, makes choices but receives none.

Isolate₃ = self isolate, makes no choices but receives some.

Isolate₄ = confused isolate, the choices made and received do not match.

RECIPROCAL FRIENDSHIP STRUCTURE:¹

A sociometric diagram of individuals whose choices of friends were returned. This study includes the following types:

Mutual Pair - A reciprocated choice of two members, hence a dyad.

Triangle - Three individuals whose choice of each other forms a cohesive unit.

Chain - An open series of mutual choices.

¹For convenience, Reciprocal Friendship Structure will be abbreviated as RFS. It refers to all structures with the exception of mutual pairs.

Wheel - Two chains which have a central common member.

Complex Structure - Consists of a cluster of dyadic relationships.

ACCURATE PERCEIVER:

An individual who had all choices reciprocated, or who neither chose nor was chosen. This category was developed by the present researchers during analysis of the reciprocated (and thus unreciprocated) choices.

Structural Description

The near-sociometric analysis of the population formed five kinds of configurations when graphically presented, as is shown below:

Reciprocal Friendship Categories	Number of Individuals	Number of Structures
Isolates	23	--
Mutual Pairs	18	9
Triangles	16	5
Chains	16	4
Wheels	19	3
Complex structures	62	5
Totals	154	26

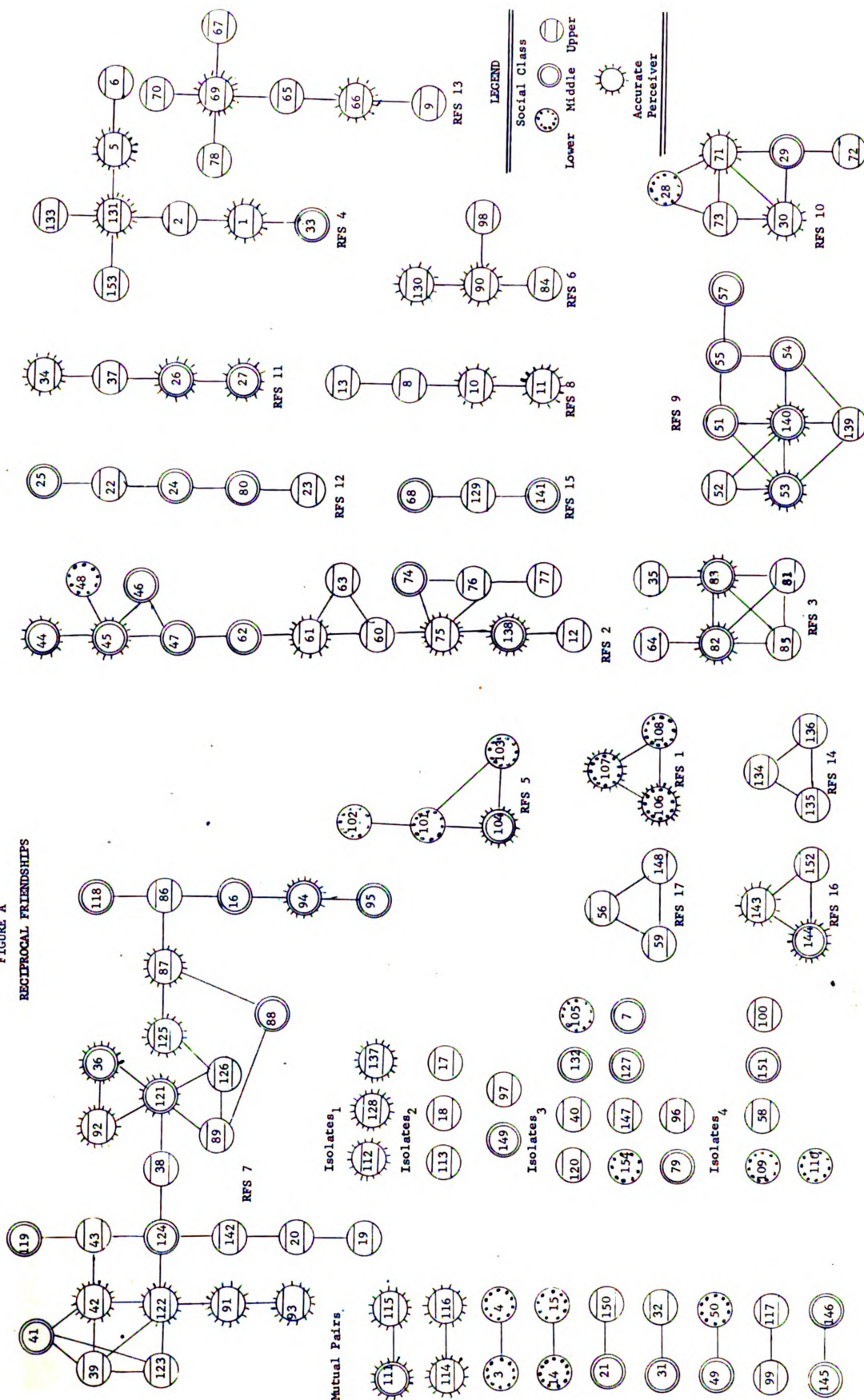
The Sociogram

The sociogram, Figure A, graphically describes the relative position of each of the 154 ninth grade girls with respect to her reciprocated friendship choices or lack of the same. These were determined by the near-sociometric question and resulted in the structures shown. Each circle represents an individual whose code number appears in the center. The lines which connect many of the circles represent reciprocated choices. Also indicated in each circle is the girl's social class rank as was determined by her family's ISC rating. See legend in Figure A. Each RFS has been assigned a number for identification purposes.

Analysis of Data

In order to test the relationship between the independent and dependent variables, the categories of isolate, mutual pair and RFS were cross-tabulated against the various aspects of clothing behavior (dependent variables). The responses to the questions, interviews, and ratings by the interviewer were coded and punched on IBM cards. The cross-tabulation was done on the IBM tabulating machine.

FIGURE A
RECIPROCAL FRIENDSHIPS



Data from these runs were plotted on the sociograms which were used as worksheets. From these, the data were transferred to tables for comparison.

It was not possible to use the chi square test of significance since more than 20 percent of the theoretical frequencies were under five.¹ Therefore, the analysis has been done by descriptive methods.

The data have been analyzed according to program and review. Those questions interpreted as program items were: 5, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, and 29. See Appendix B.

Those questions representing review items were: 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 17, 18, and 19. See Appendix B.

Three other questions were used which pertained to naming those girls who were: (1) most popular, question 7, (2) best dressed, question 13, and (3) not dressed right, question 18, all in Appendix B.

¹Sidney Siegel, Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1956), p.110.

CHAPTER III

POPULATION DESCRIPTION

This chapter describes the population of this study by comparing the reciprocal friendship categories with the following: respondent's social class components, whether the mother works, father's educational level, number of siblings, church affiliation, location of elementary school attended, grade point average, honor roll membership, number of club memberships, and the rating of the respondent's appearance by the interviewer. These factors were analyzed separately in order to control their effect on the findings in the next chapter dealing with clothing, appearance and group acceptance.

Social Class

An analysis of the composition of the population according to the reciprocal friendship categories and differences in social class categories as measured by Warner's Index of Status Characteristics follows. See Table 2.

Table 2. Percentage distribution of population by social class¹ and reciprocal friendship categories

Reciprocal Friendship Categories	Social Class Categories				
	Lower	Middle	Upper	Totals	
	%	%	%	(No.)	%
Isolates	23.5	12.5	14	(23)	15
Mutual Pair Members	29.5	12.5	8	(18)	12
RFS Members	47.0	75.0	78	(113)	73
Totals	100.0%	100.0%	100%		100%
(Number of students)	(17)	(48)	(89)	(154)	(154)

¹The term "upper" for East Lansing does not have the same meaning as Warner's upper class. Upper in reference to this location also includes upper middle and indeterminate. The lower social class here consisted of indeterminate upper-lower to lower-lower class according to Warner's social class equivalents.

Of the total population, 15 percent of the girls were isolates, 12 percent were mutual pair members, and 73 percent were RFS members. Eleven percent of the total number were rated as lower social class, 31 percent as middle social class, and 58 percent as upper social class.

There were proportionately more isolates and mutual pair members in the lower social class than in middle or

upper social classes. Proportionately more girls in each social class category were members of an RFS.

Two RFS's were predominately lower social class. RFS 1 was 100 percent lower social class, and RFS 5 was 75 percent lower social class. Two RFS's were predominately middle social class; RFS 9 had 75 percent in this category, and 67 percent of girls in RFS 15 were also rated here. One hundred percent of girls in RFS's 6, 8, 13, 14 and 17 were members of the upper social class. More than 65 percent of all girls in RFS's 3, 7, 12 and 16 were rated as upper social class members.

Index of Status Characteristic Components¹

The three components of Warner's Index of Status Characteristics have been tabulated and compared according to each of the categories of reciprocal friendship.

Seventy percent of the girls' families were from the two highest rated categories of occupational level. Sixty-three percent of isolates were in the two highest

¹Each component of the ISC is rated on a scale of 1 to 7. In all cases a rating of 1 is high and 7 is low. The reader is referred to the Bjorngaard thesis for a complete description.

categories, as were 50 percent of mutual pair members, and 75 percent of RFS members. These first two categories largely represent professional and semi-professional employment levels. Rated in category 3 were the following: 15 percent of all girls, 13 percent of isolates, 16 percent of mutual pair members and 11 percent of those in RFS's. The remainder were gradually dispersed down the scale, as is shown below:

Reciprocal Friendship Categories		Occupational Scale							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Totals
Isolates		8	6	3	1	-	4	-	22
Mutual Pair Members		5	4	3	1	4	-	1	18
RFS Members		51	33	17	5	5	2	-	113
Totals		64	43	23	7	9	6	1	153 ¹

¹Raw scores have been used in the tables, whereas in the discussion percentages are used. This has been done in order not to distort the true figures, since in the case of the triangles, which have only 3 members, 67 percent might be misleading. Figures in all tables are based on those girls for whom data were available. In some cases not all girls responded.

The following RFS's consisted of a high percentage of similar backgrounds, for 75 percent of those from RFS 6 and 8, 80 percent of RFS 12, and two-thirds of girls from

RFS's 14, 15, 16, and 17 were rated in the first two categories. RFS 1 girls showed consistency here for 100 percent of them were rated in the fifth category.

Forty percent of the population lived in houses that were rated 4 on the scale, which was the mid-point, whereas 17 percent were rated in category 3, followed by 11 percent in category 2, 18 percent in category 5 and 8 percent in category 6.

Nearly equal distribution of the scores occurred on either side of the mid-point house type score of 4. Proportionately more isolates were ranked in categories 3 and 4 than were mutual pair members and RFS members. More RFS members were represented in both category 1 and 2, as is shown below:

Reciprocal Friendship Categories	House Type Score							Totals
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Isolates	1	1	5	9	3	2	1	22
Mutual Pair Members	-	-	3	5	4	5	1	18
RFS Members	4	16	19	44	22	8	-	113
Totals	5	17	27	58	29	15	2	153

House type ratings given by the researchers placed 75 percent of RFS 6 girls in category 2, and 67 percent of those in RFS 14 in category 3. The raters placed 75 percent of those in RFS 11, 67 percent of those in RFS 16 and 17 in category 4.

The mutual pair category was the only group that had no members in category 1 or 2, and generally had more members below the average than any of the other categories.

The scores for dwelling areas showed a wider distribution than those for house type, and the majority, or 40 percent, was in category 3. This was one rank higher than that for house type, indicating that the girls' families, on the whole, lived in an area more highly rated than their type of home, as is shown below:

Reciprocal Friendship Categories	Dwelling Area Score							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Totals
Isolates	2	1	9	3	4	1	2	22
Mutual Pair Members	-	1	6	6	3	1	1	18
RFS Members	12	8	46	26	13	2	6	113
Totals	14	10	61	35	20	4	9	153

Five percent of the total population named their mother as the main financial supporter. In 27 percent of the families the mother was a secondary financial contributor. Four percent mentioned receiving financial support from someone other than the mother or father, as is shown below:

Reciprocal Friendship Categories	Mother is main support	Other Financial Support			
		Father	Mother	Other	Total
Isolates	2	0	6	2	8
Mutual Pair Members	2	2	5	0	7
RFS Members	4	1	30	1	32
Totals	8	3	41	3	47

In terms of the categories of reciprocal friendship, those in RFS's had fewer other financial supporters than did the isolates or mutual pair members. Whereas 36 percent of the isolates and 39 percent of the mutual pair members had a secondary contributor, only 29 percent of the RFS members named such a person.

The occupational ratings of these secondary financial supporters ranked considerably lower than those of the main contributors. Five percent were in category 1, 21 percent in category 2, while in rating the main financial

source, 70 percent were in categories 1 and 2. The largest percentage in this analysis appeared in category 4, and amounted to 37 percent of the total, as is shown below:

Reciprocal Friendship Categories	Occupational Rating							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Totals
Isolates	-	-	1	3	1	-	-	5
Mutual Pair Members	2	5	1	-	-	-	-	8
RFS Members	-	3	8	11	1	-	2	25
Totals	2	8	10	14	2	-	2	38 ¹

¹ Nine girls did not respond to this question.

Other Descriptive Measures

Two-thirds of the girls' main financial supporters had graduated from college. The high proportion of isolates whose fathers were college graduates might have been due to the high mobility of their families. Bjorngaard stated of her sample of this population that "the upper social class was more mobile than the lower social class."² These girls

² Bjorngaard, op. cit., p.33.

may not have been in the school long enough to have become a group member. The distribution is shown below:

Reciprocal Friendship Categories	Educational Level							Totals
	Grade School Grad- uate	Some Grade School	High School Grad- uate	Some High School	Col- lege Grad- uate	Some Col- lege	Don't Know	
Isolates	2	-	1	2	14	2	1	22
Mutual Pair Members	-	-	2	2	12	1	1	18
RFS Members	2	1	13	2	76	11	7	112
Totals	4	1	16	6	102	14	9	152

The average number of children in the families represented in the study was 2.43. No major differences were found between the various categories of group and non-group membership and number of siblings, as is shown below:

Reciprocal Friendship Categories	Number of Siblings									Totals
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Isolates	4	6	6	3	2	-	-	-	1	22
Mutual Pair Members	-	6	5	4	2	1	-	-	-	18
RFS Members	9	33	28	30	9	2	-	1	-	112
Totals	13	45	39	37	13	3	-	1	1	152

Eighty-two percent of the total population were Protestant; 11 percent were Catholic; two percent were Jewish; and five percent listed no preference. Proportionately more isolates were Catholic than the other categories of reciprocal friendships, as is shown below:

Reciprocal Friendship Categories	Religious Preference				Totals
	Protes- tant	Catholic	Jew- ish	None	
Isolates	15	5	1	1	22
Mutual Pair Members	16	2	-	-	18
RFS Members	93	10	2	7	112
Totals	124	17	3	8	152

As mentioned previously, it is possible that many of the Catholic girls attended a parochial elementary school, and were new to the public schools, which might have been a reason for their lack of group membership. One RFS had 75 percent Catholic membership. This was the only group showing a predominance of Catholics while, because of the high proportion of Protestants, there were many RFS's predominantly or totally Protestant.

Forty-nine percent of the girls in the class had attended only one elementary school in East Lansing; 10 percent had attended two or more in East Lansing; 15 percent had attended one outside of East Lansing; and 25 percent had attended two or more in East Lansing or elsewhere, as is shown below:

Reciprocal Friendship Categories	Number and Location of Grade School				
	One in E.Lansing	2 or more in E.Lansing	1 other than E.Lansing	2 or more in E.L. Or elsewhere	Totals
Isolates	10	2	4	6	22
Mutual Pair Members	9	1	3	5	18
RFS Members	48	11	14	23	96
Totals	67	14	21	34	136 ¹

¹Data were not available for 18 girls.

Four of the smaller RFS's showed homogeneity in that the girls had attended the same elementary school. Three of these, RFS's 1, 10 and 17 were composed of girls who had attended only one elementary school in East Lansing. All the

girls from RFS 14 attended two or more schools in East Lansing. No other marked relationships were found.

A comparison of the girls' grade point averages and honor roll membership revealed similarities and differences. Grades for all types of courses at this school received equal credit. Four points were given for each A; 3 for each B; 2 for C; 1 for D, in figuring the grade point averages. No points were given for an F. Those with grade point averages for the academic year of 3.5 or over were on the Honor Roll. Twenty-four of the girls were on the Honor Roll, three were isolates, three were mutual pairs, and 18 were in RFS's.

The distribution of grades for the class as a whole showed the following averages: three percent had A, 37 percent had B, 46 percent had C, 12 percent had D, and one percent had F averages. Sixteen percent of the total class members were on the Honor Roll for the year, as is shown below:

Reciprocal Friendship Categories	Grade Point Averages					Totals
	0-1.0=F	1.0-2.0=D	2.0-3.0=C	3.0-4.0=B	4.0=A	
Isolates	2	4	9	8	-	23
Mutual Pair Members	-	3	7	5	1	16
RFS Members	-	11	53	42	4	110
Totals	2	18	69	55	5	149 ¹

¹Figures for five of the girls were not available.

Analysis according to group and non-group membership of the isolates revealed 13 percent were on the Honor Roll, and 26 percent were D and F students; 19 percent of the mutual pair members were on the Honor Roll and another 19 percent were D and F students; 16 percent of the RFS members were on the Honor Roll, while 10 percent were D and F students.

All the girls in RFS's 11 and 15 had the same grade point averages. Over 65 percent of the members of 7 RFS's had similar grades.

The only consensus in Honor Roll membership was in RFS 14 in which 100 percent of the girls were on this list.

Only one percent of the girls belonged to no clubs, whereas a third belonged to one club or organization. The largest category of isolates and mutual pair members belonged to two clubs, whereas the largest group of RFS members belonged to one club, as is shown below:

Reciprocal Friendship Categories	Number of Club Memberships					Totals
	0	1	2	3	4	
Isolates	1	7	11	1	1	21
Mutual Pair Members	4	3	6	3	1	17
RFS Members	10	40	22	22	17	111
Totals	15	50	39	26	19	149

Four of the RFS's (RFS 1, 6, 15 and 16) had 65 percent of their members belonging to one club and RFS 17 to one club. All members of RFS 11 and 14 belonged to the same number of clubs.

Each girl was rated objectively on her appearance by one of the three interviewers. Three categories were originally used in the ratings, (1) above average, (2) average, and (3) below average. See rating schedule in Appendix B.

An above average rating indicated the girl was outstanding in all aspects of appearance. An average rating meant that all aspects of appearance were neat and acceptable. A below average rating indicated that one or more aspects of the girl's appearance were not acceptable.

Only two of the girls were rated above average, an indication that the interviewers were perhaps using adult standards to judge adolescents. These have been grouped with the average ratings; hence leaving two categories, i.e., average and below average, with 57 percent of the girls rated average and 43 percent below average, as is shown below:

Reciprocal Friendship Categories	Rating by Interviewer		
	Above average and average	Below average	Total
Isolates	9	13	22
Mutual Pair Members	8	10	18
RFS Members	67	40	107
Totals	84	63	147 ¹

¹Seven of the girls were not available for this rating.

Since proportionately more isolates and mutual pair members were rated below average than were RFS members the

natural corollary is that a girl who was a member of an RFS would have a better chance of being rated as average than would girls in the other categories.

Those girls who were among the 43 percent of the total class rated below average were rated down for specific reasons. See Appendix B. Many were rated down for more than one reason. One hundred items that lowered the rating of the 63 girls rated below average were checked. Thirty-eight percent had clothing as the major reason for a low rating. Hair was the second most frequent reason for a low rating on which 24 percent of the girls were checked. In 23 percent of the cases, the reason for low rating was a poor figure.

Fifty percent of the isolates, 32 percent of the mutual pair members, and 36 percent of the RFS members were given low ratings because of their clothing.

The second most frequent reason for low ratings was hair. Thirty-two percent of the isolates, 26 percent of the mutual pair members, and 20 percent of those in the RFS's were marked down for this reason.

Figure was the third most frequently mentioned negative aspect checked by the interviewers. Fourteen

percent of the isolates were rated down for figure, as compared to 21 percent of the mutual pair members and 27 percent of the RFS members.

Make-up was responsible for only seven percent of the total problems and complexion for only eight percent. These are all shown below:

Reciprocal Friendship Categories	Reason for Below Average Appearance					Totals
	Cloth- ing	Hair	Make up	Figure	Com- plexion	
Isolates	11	7	-	3	1	22
Mutual Pair Members	6	5	1	4	3	19
RFS Members	21	12	6	16	4	59
Totals	38	24	7	23	8	100

All girls in RFS's 1, 5 and 17 were rated below average, and all in RFS's 6, 13, 15 and 16 were rated average, hence these groups showed much internal consistency.

Summary

The population for this study consists mainly of middle and upper social class girls. The majority of these girls were members of a reciprocal friendship structure.

There were two distinct lower social class groups in the school, RFS 1 and 5.

RFS members were rated higher in terms of the occupational rating of the main financial supporter than were the other groups. Isolates generally ranked higher than members of mutual pairs.

Proportionately fewer mutual pair members were from upper social class backgrounds than were the isolates or RFS members. Proportionately more isolates than mutual pair members or RFS members lived in homes that were ranked 3 and 4 according to the scales used. Dwelling area scores were generally higher than house type scores for the population as a whole. However, there were more isolates and mutual pair members than RFS members in the lower categories.

Two-thirds of the main financial supporters of the girls were college graduates, while the rest were equally distributed among the occupational categories.

The average number of children in the families was 2.43, and no outstanding differences were found between this and the categories of reciprocal friendships.

Since 82 percent of the girls were Protestant, the groups were generally homogeneous in terms of religion. Proportionately more isolates were Catholic than any of the other

groups. In one RFS, number 6, three of the four girls were Catholic. This was the only RFS to show much agreement in terms of religion other than Protestant. Since there was a Catholic school nearby which goes only to the eighth grade, perhaps this is the reason there were more Catholic isolates and one RFS composed mainly of Catholic girls.

The majority of girls attended elementary schools in East Lansing only. More isolates and mutual pair members had attended elementary schools outside of East Lansing. In RFS 1 and 14 all of the girls had only attended school in East Lansing.

Analysis of the girls' grade point averages showed that proportionately more RFS members had averages in the range of 2.0 to 3.9 than did isolates or mutual pair members. Fewer RFS members were in the range of 1.0 to 1.9 than were isolates and mutual pair members. Proportionately more mutual pair members were members of the Honor Roll and were followed in descending order by RFS members and isolates. All members of RFS 14 were on the Honor Roll.

The largest majority of girls belonged to one club or organization. RFS members generally belonged to more clubs than did the other girls, except in the category of

belonging to two clubs, where isolates outnumbered the others. All girls in RFS 11 belonged to the one club and all girls in RFS 14 belonged to four clubs.

Proportionately more girls from the RFS category were rated as being average, whereas more girls from the mutual pair and isolate categories were rated as being below average on appearance by the interviewers. The interviewers were in total agreement that RFS 1, 5 and 17 were below average, and that all girls in RFS 6, 13, 15 and 16 were average when rated on appearance. The main reason the interviewers gave for assigning a below average rating was clothing. This was followed by hair. More isolates were given a below average rating because of clothing and hair than were either of the other categories of reciprocal friendship.

The next chapter will analyze the girls' responses to questions on clothing, appearance, and group acceptance by categories of reciprocal friendship in terms of Stone's framework of review.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF RESPONSES TO REVIEW

The responses in the next two chapters have been presented to show similarities and differences among the categories of reciprocal friendship and the members' opinions on general acceptance, clothing and appearance. The responses have been analyzed according to Stone's theoretical framework of program and review. Program refers to responses made about the wearer of clothes by the wearer; whereas review pertains to responses made about the wearer by others.¹ Program and review in this study will include the program and review of the self and one's group. Review responses are discussed first since this is the order in which they occurred in the interview. The interview schedule was constructed in this manner because it was considered easier to elicit responses concerning others, prior to asking the girls questions about themselves.

The first questions in the schedule were constructed to see if the girls would spontaneously refer to clothing

¹Stone, op. cit., p.92.

and appearance. The remainder specifically asked about clothing, appearance and group acceptance. In all instances where multiple responses occurred the six highest responses are reported as they ranked in order for all girls to find out whether clothing and appearance were important attributes in group acceptance.

The reported percentages reflect the disproportionate number of girls in the RFS categories. Because of the large number of RFS members, the total percentages for all girls in the study were weighted by the RFS groups. Not only have the isolate, mutual pair and RFS categories been examined and presented in tabular form in Appendix C and D, but so have the specific RFS's been examined. They will be referred to when members of the RFS agree two-thirds or more of the time. Because of the varying sizes of the RFS's from three to 27, two-thirds was selected as the proportion which indicated group cohesion. Although 100 percent agreement might be more indicative of cohesion in the smaller RFS's, this is unrealistic for the larger RFS's. Therefore, two-thirds was selected as the cut-off point, for it includes two out of three members in an RFS of three, and three out of four for an RFS of four members.

General Acceptance

The girls were asked, "If a new girl came to East Lansing High School and wanted to get in with the popular girls, what would be the best way to do this?"¹ The main response by 44 percent of all girls was to "be friendly, talk to them." This was followed in order by "clothes," "looks," "personality," "be onself" and "actions are important" as shown below:

	<u>Reciprocal Friendship Categories</u>			
	Isolates	Mutual Pair Members	RFS Members	All Girls
	%	%	%	%
What would be the best way for a new girl to get in with the popular girls?				
Be friendly, talk to them	59	50	40	44
Clothes	27	22	28	26
Looks	13	22	27	24
Personality	18	28	23	23
Be herself	4	11	22	18
Actions important	18	22	17	18

All categories of reciprocal friendship agreed that "be friendly, talk to them" was the best way to gain acceptance with these girls. "Clothes" was second in importance

¹The complete interview schedule will be found in Appendix B.

for the isolates and RFS members, but the mutual pair members ranked "personality" in this second position.

More than 67 percent of the members of RFS 3, 10 and 11, agreed about the need to "be friendly, talk to them" as a way for a new girl to get in with the popular girls.

Only in RFS 14 did over 67 percent of the girls agree on "clothes." In none of the RFS groups did more than 67 percent of the members agree concerning the importance of "looks."

Two out of three of the girls in both RFS 14 and 17 agreed that "personality" was an important way to get in with the popular girls.

The girls were asked on what characteristic they thought a new girl would be judged when coming to their school. Fifty-seven percent of all girls mentioned "personality." Other attributes mentioned in descending order were: "clothes," "looks," "way she acts," "neatness" and "friendliness" as shown below:

	<u>Reciprocal Friendship Categories</u>			
	Isolates	Mutual	RFS	All
		Pair	Members	Girls
	%	Members	%	%
Characteristics on which a new girl would be judged:				
Personality	36	50	62	57
Clothes	45	39	62	56
Looks	45	50	56	54
Way she acts	68	66	46	52
Neatness	18	28	30	28
Friendly	36	22	18	21

The three categories of reciprocal friendship placed different emphasis on these attributes. The RFS's were in greater agreement concerning "personality" and "clothes." Isolates and mutual pair members named "the way she acts" as being the most important way a new girl would be judged.

In analyzing the individual RFS's two of them were totally agreed that "personality" was important. These were RFS 3 and 9. RFS's 2, 7, 12, 14 and 15 had at least 67 percent of their members who believed "personality" was most important.

RFS 1, 6 and 14 were 100 percent agreed that "clothes" would be important. Four RFS's showed cohesion for at least 67 percent agreed on the response "value of clothes."

These were RFS 4, 5, 7 and 16.

RFS 3 was the only group that had 100 percent agreement concerning "looks." Members of RFS 4, 6, 7, 11, 14 and 17 agreed concerning "looks" in over 67 percent of the instances.

While 100 percent of RFS 1 members agreed that the "way she acts" was important, girls in RFS 5, 6, 10, 13 and 15 were over 67 percent agreed concerning this response.

Two-thirds of girls in RFS's 15 and 17 were the only ones who agreed on "neatness."

When the girls were asked what characteristics they considered in choosing a friend they responded in the following manner: the six highest responses for all girls were in the following descending order: "the way she acts," "personality," "interests," "friendly," "looks" and the "way she thinks." The responses are shown as follows:

	Reciprocal Friendship Categories			
	Isolates	Mutual	RFS	All
		Pair	Members	Girls
	%	%	%	%
Characteristics used in choosing a friend.				
Way she acts	55	50	46	48
Personality	27	66	48	47
Interests	32	56	40	41
Friendly	27	11	21	21
Looks	18	28	14	16
Way she thinks	14	17	16	15

The isolates generally agreed that the "way she acts" was the most important characteristic. The mutual pair members and those in RFS's were more likely to agree about the value of "personality."

Five of the RFS's were over 67 percent in agreement about the importance of the "way she acts." These were RFS 1, 7, 10, 12 and 17.

One hundred percent of the members of RFS 11 and over 67 percent of the girls in RFS 3, 8, 13, 14 and 15 mentioned "personality."

Two out of three of the girls in both RFS 14 and 15 referred to the criterion of "interests."

There was no consensus in any individual RFS about the responses to "friendly," "looks," or the "way she thinks."

When asked to mention the characteristics of the most popular girl in the ninth grade, the largest proportion, 55 percent, of all girls named "clothes." This was followed by "being nice to everyone," "personality," "looks," "friendliness" and "interest in school," as shown in the following:

Reciprocal Friendship Categories				
	Isolates	Mutual Pair Members	RFS Members	All Girls
	%	%	%	%
Characteristics of most popular girl:				
Clothes	59	56	54	55
Nice to everyone	32	33	46	43
Personality	27	44	44	41
Looks	41	50	38	40
Friendly	45	28	39	39
Interest in school	23	50	27	29

There was consensus among the three reciprocal friendship categories, for all of them listed "clothes" more than any of the other items. However, they did differ in the second item of importance. Isolates named "friendliness" as the second most important characteristic; whereas the mutual pair members mentioned "looks" and the RFS members named "being nice to everyone" in this secondary position.

"Clothing" was named by 100 percent of the girls in RFS 14, 15 and 17, and by over 67 percent in RFS 4 and 7.

"Being nice to everyone" was mentioned by all members of RFS 15, and by over 67 percent in RFS's 1 and 3.

"Personality" was listed by more than 67 percent in RFS 1, 9 and 13.

All members of RFS 11 mentioned "looks" as being important. This was also listed by more than 67 percent of those in RFS 4, 15 and 17.

One hundred percent of those in RFS 17 listed "friendliness" as being an important characteristic. This was also mentioned by two-thirds of those in RFS 3.

None of the individual RFS's were over 67 percent in agreement about "interest in school" as a characteristic for the most popular girl.

Clothing and Appearance

Sixty percent of the students agreed that the popular girls' clothing was different from the clothing of the others. Proportionately more isolates thought this way than did mutual pair members, and slightly more mutual pair members were agreed concerning this than were the RFS members.

When they were asked how the clothing of the popular girls differed, the greatest proportion, 24 percent, said that they had "more clothing." This was followed by these responses in descending order: "more fashionable clothing," "neat and cared for clothing," "money," "better quality clothing" and "more matching co-ordinates," as is shown below:

<u>Reciprocal Friendship Categories</u>				
	Isolates	Mutual Pair Members	RFS Members	All Girls
	%	%	%	%
Clothing of popular girls is different from others?				
Yes, sometimes	73	61	57	60
No	27	39	43	40
How?				
More clothing	32	17	24	24
More fashionable clothing	18	11	22	20
Neatness and care of clothing	36	17	18	20
Money	14	17	22	20
Better quality clothing	14	28	10	12
More matching co-ordinates	13	4	4	6

The RFS members were the only reciprocal friendship group that thought "more clothing" was the most important difference. Isolates mentioned "neat and cared-for clothing" as the main difference, while mutual pair members named "better quality clothing."

In the specific RFS's, all of the girls in RFS 4 stated that there was no difference, while all the girls in RFS 14 said there was a difference.

More than 67 percent of these RFS members agreed there was a difference: 1, 2, 8, 11, 15 and 16; more than 67 percent of RFS 3 and 17 felt there was no difference.

When the individual RFS's were asked what the difference was, all members of RFS 14 agreed that it was "more clothing," and more than 67 percent of RFS 8 girls agreed on this also.

Only RFS 15 contained girls who were over 67 percent agreed about the response "more fashionable clothing."

None of the RFS's were over 67 percent agreed on these three responses: "neat and cared-for clothes," "better quality clothes" or "more matching co-ordinates."

Three-fourths of the members of RFS 1, all lower social class girls, indicated 67 percent agreement on the response "money."

Seventy-four percent of the girls agreed that clothing influenced a girl's popularity at East Lansing High School. Proportionately more of the isolates felt this way (82 percent) than did mutual pair members (78 percent) or RFS members (71 percent).

When asked why they thought this way, more of the girls answered in terms of "dress right," followed in rank order by "other," "amount of clothing," "easier to be popular when well dressed," "first impression," and "popular kids have the latest styles." This is shown below:

	Reciprocal Friendship Categories			
	Isolates	Mutual Pair Members	RFS Members	All Girls
	%	%	%	%
Does clothing influence a girl's popularity?				
Yes	82	78	71	74
No	18	22	29	26
Why?				
Dress right	17	29	52	39
Other	-	21	31	16
Amount of clothing	11	14	28	16
Easier to be popular if well dressed	50	7	20	16
First impression	6	29	23	14
Popular kids have latest styles	11	21	23	14

The three categories of reciprocal membership differed in their opinion as to which response was uppermost. Proportionately more isolates responded to "easier to be popular if well dressed," an equal number of mutual pair members responded to "dress right," and "first impression" and the greatest majority of RFS girls responded to "dress right."

Only one RFS, number 8, exhibited over 67 percent agreement in terms of "dress right."

"Amount of clothing" was the consensus of over 67 percent of those in RFS 15 only.

RFS 1 girls agreed over 67 percent that it was "easier to be popular if dressed well."

None of the individual RFS's agreed over 67 percent with the responses pertaining to "first impression" or "popular kids have the latest styles."

The norms of the population were established when they were asked how their group compared with the others in dress. Seventy-two percent of the girls stated that their group was "average," 19 percent said "better than average," and 9 percent said "not so well."

No isolates said their group was "better," but 22 percent of the mutual pair members and 21 percent of RFS members said their groups were "better" dressed.

Ten percent of the isolates, five percent of the mutual pair members, and 10 percent of RFS members said their group was "not so well" dressed.

Ninety percent of the isolates, 73 percent of mutual pair members and 69 percent of RFS members stated that their groups were average compared to the other groups, as shown below:

	Reciprocal Friendship Categories			
	Isolates	Mutual	RFS	All
		Pair	Members	Girls
	%	Members	%	%
How does your group compare with the other groups in dress?				
Average	90	73	69	72
Better	--	22	21	19
Not so well	10	5	10	9

RFS's 3, 5, 9, 15 and 16 agreed 100 percent that their groups were "average."

Sixty-one percent of the girls indicated that they did not think the manner in which their best friend dressed was a reflection upon themselves. A majority of all categories of reciprocal friendship gave a "no" response.

The greatest proportion of responses for the remainder of those in all categories of group and non-group membership was that of "reputation by association." This response was followed in order, by these: "influences acceptance," "they like you, not your friends," "I don't care that much," "I don't know" and "other." This has been tabulated as follows:

	Reciprocal Friendship Categories			
	Isolates	Mutual Pair Members	RFS Members	All Girls
	%	%	%	%
Is the way your best friend dresses a reflection on you?				
No	50	66	63	61
Yes	41	33	37	37
Why?				
Reputation by association	36	33	35	35
Influences acceptance	--	--	4	3
They like you - not your friends	--	5	1	3
I don't care that much	4	--	1	3
I don't know	4	--	--	1
Other	4	--	--	1

Nine of the RFS's exhibited more than 67 percent consensus in that they did not think the manner in which their best friend dressed was reflected upon them. These were RFS 1, 4, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14, 16 and 17. In RFS 10, all of the girls agreed to a "no" response.

The only consensus of RFS members was in terms of "reputation by association," on which over 67 percent of girls in RFS 8 agreed.

The girls were asked if there were girls in the ninth grade who did not dress right, and if so why? The greatest majority (75 percent) said there were.

The most frequent response as to why the girls were not dressed right was "wrong combinations" followed by "inadequate care," "out-of-style," "improperly fit," "dress the best they can for the money" and "inappropriate for the occasion." This is shown as follows:

	Reciprocal Friendship Categories			
	Isolates	Mutual Pair Members	RFS Members	All Girls
	%	%	%	%
Are there 9th grade girls who do not dress right?				
No	18	22	27	25
Yes	82	78	73	75
If yes, why?				
Wrong combinations	39	27	38	37
Lack of cleanliness and care	55	33	23	27
Not fashionable	33	23	24	25
Improperly fit	17	23	23	22
Dress best they can for money	11	13	20	18
Inappropriate for occasion	33	9	14	16

The isolates felt that "inadequate care" was the most important characteristic; whereas both the mutual pair and RFS members indicated that "wrong combinations" was proportionately more important.

The only appreciable agreement within the individual RFS groups was in terms of the response "out-of-style" to which 100 percent of girls in RFS 11 agreed.

When they were asked to describe these girls who were not dressed right, the greatest proportion of the girls responded that they were "poor families." This response was followed in descending order by: "don't care about their appearance," "unkempt," "nice," "poor grades and school attitude" and "wild" as shown below:

	Reciprocal Friendship Categories			
	Isolates	Mutual Pair Members	RFS Members	All Girls
	%	%	%	%
How would you describe these girls?				
Poor families	27	39	26	28
Don't care about appearance	22	16	24	23
Unkempt	22	16	13	15
Nice	18	16	10	12
Poor grades - school attitude	14	6	11	11
Wild	14	11	10	10

Proportionately more mutual pair members than isolates or RFS members responded in terms of "poor families." However, all of the categories of reciprocal friendship were agreed that this term best described the girls.

The only agreement within the RFS's was in terms of the response referring to "poor families" which more than two-thirds of the girls in both RFS 14 and 17 responded. The

same approximate percentage of RFS 6 members responded to "they don't care about their appearance."

The majority (80 percent) said they did not have friends who were "not dressed right." This was the same response given by the majority of the isolates (77 percent), mutual pair members (66 percent) and RFS members (82 percent). Thus, more mutual pair members (33 percent) had friends who they said were "not dressed right," than either of the other categories of reciprocal friendship. All of the RFS's were 67 percent or more in agreement that they did not have friends who were "not dressed right." This is shown below:

	<u>Reciprocal Friendship Categories</u>			
	<u>Isolates</u>	<u>Mutual</u>	<u>RFS</u>	<u>All</u>
		<u>Pair</u>	<u>Members</u>	<u>Girls</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Do you have friends who do not dress right?				
No	77	66	82	80
Yes	18	33	18	20
Why?				
Lack of fashion	9	11	10	10
Improper fit	4	11	6	6
Lack of neatness	9	11	5	6
Wrong combinations	4	11	4	5
Lack of cleanliness and care	4	--	4	4
Inappropriate for occasion	--	11	3	3

The girls were asked why these girls' clothes were "not right." The highest proportion of all who responded, 15 girls, replied in terms of "lack of fashion," which they named as being the reason these friends were "not dressed right." This same response was named by the greatest proportion of isolates, mutual pair members, and RFS members. The next five highest responses dealt with: "improper fit," "lack of neatness," "wrong combinations," "lack of cleanliness and care" and "inappropriate for occasion," in that order.

Only one RFS showed a consensus of opinion in terms of reasons for friends being poorly dressed. This was RFS 11 in which 75 percent of its members named "lack of fashion" as the reason for not being "dressed right."

Summary

In the girls' review of others they mentioned clothing as the first attribute in describing the characteristics of the most popular girl. When asked how to "get in with the popular girls" and the characteristics on which a new girl would be judged, clothing was the second most frequent response, with "looks" third. The only question which did not elicit a response of clothing was that concerning the

characteristics used in choosing a friend, although "looks" was mentioned by a small proportion of all categories of reciprocal friendship.

This section showed that the isolates in general had proportionately stronger feelings regarding the importance of clothing and appearance than did the population as a whole or the mutual pair or RFS members as groups.

Proportionately more isolates than either mutual pair or RFS members considered their group as being "average" when compared to the dress of other groups. Proportionately more of the mutual pair members considered their group "better" dressed than did the other categories of reciprocal friendship. One-tenth of the isolates and RFS members thought their group to be "not as well dressed" as compared to only one-twentieth of mutual pair members.

Isolates had stronger feelings concerning the influence of clothing on popularity, for proportionately more of them thought it was important than did the mutual pair or RFS members. Conversely, more RFS members than the other categories of reciprocal friendship thought clothing was not influential in terms of popularity.

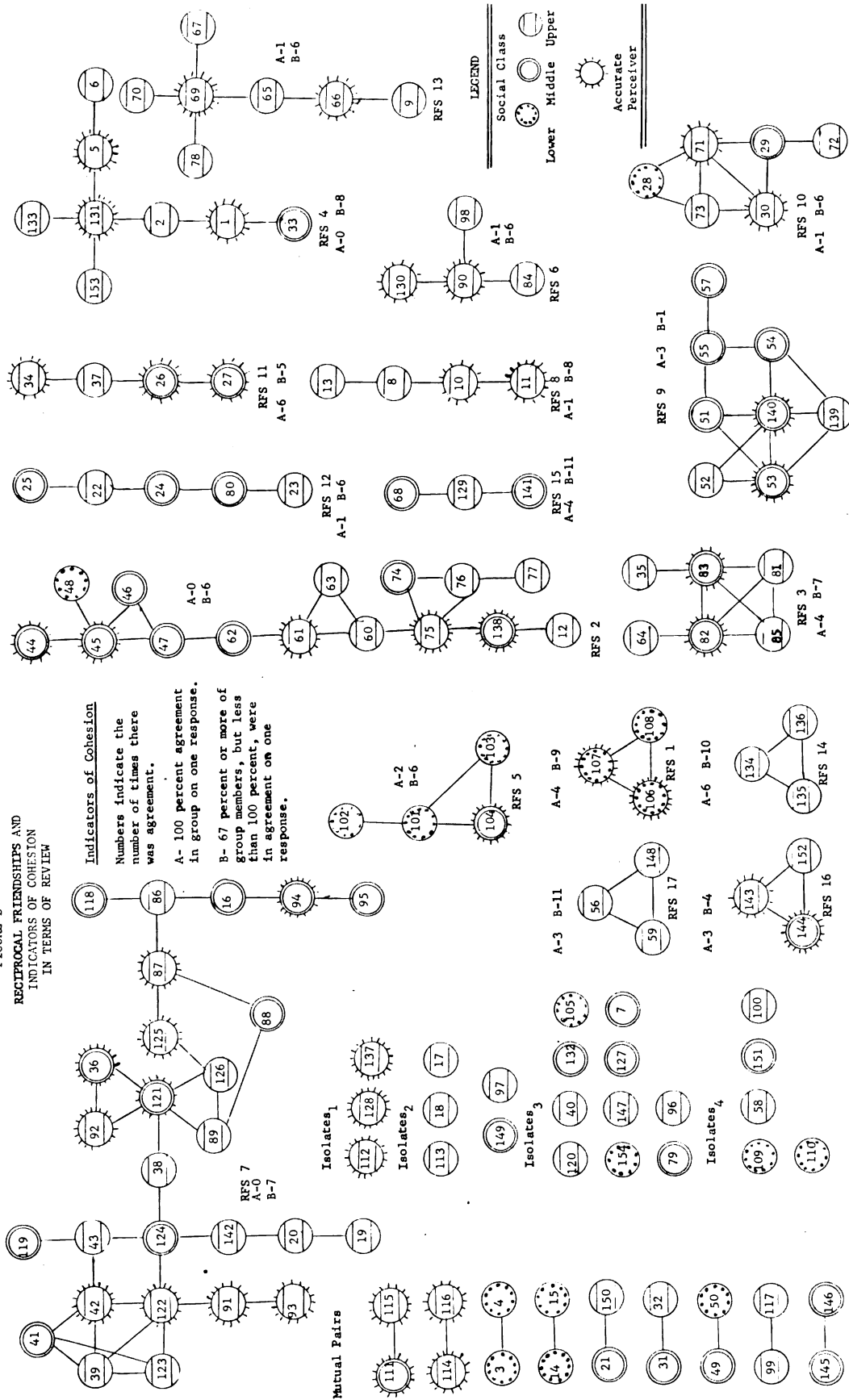
The majority of the population, 75 percent, agreed that there were girls in the ninth grade who were "not dressed right." The isolates concurred more frequently than did the other categories, that there were girls who were improperly dressed. On the other hand, RFS members agreed more frequently than the other categories of reciprocal friendship that there were no girls who were "not dressed right." These girls were generally described by all groups as being from "poor families." The term most frequently used to describe these girls' clothing was that they were not in "fashion."

The specific RFS's were analyzed separately to determine the cohesion in terms of opinion of each of the six highest responses. These were compared with those of the isolates and mutual pair categories.

There were 73 possible responses to the 11 questions on review. The individual RFS's were in 100 percent agreement concerning 40 different items, and 67 percent or more of the RFS members agreed concerning 117 different responses. The summarized data may be found in Appendix C and the sociogram on page 81.

Thus, in terms of review of others' clothing, appearance and general acceptance, more RFS members were agreed than were isolates or mutual pair members. The isolates, however, reflected stronger feelings concerning these attributes than did the other reciprocal friendship categories. These findings lend support to the working hypothesis in terms of review, that members of the same group have similar opinions concerning clothing, appearance and group acceptance which contribute to the groups' cohesion and differ from those held by non-group members or members of other groups.

FIGURE B
 RECIPROCAL FRIENDSHIPS AND
 INDICATORS OF COHESION
 IN TERMS OF REVIEW



CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF RESPONSES TO PROGRAM

While the previous chapter dealt with the girls' judgments or review concerning their fellow-students, in this chapter the girls' responses to the presentation of themselves and their group, or their program, will be discussed.

General Acceptance

The respondents were asked "In the group you go around with what is important to be popular?" Proportionately more girls (38 percent) responded in terms of "proper actions toward others" rather than to any other answer. All three categories of group non-group membership answered in the same manner. Other items mentioned were the following in this order: "activities, sports," "friendliness," "personality," "nice clothes" and "neatness." These are shown in the following table:

Reciprocal Friendship Categories				
	Isolates	Mutual Pair Members	RFS Members	All Girls
	%	%	%	%
With the group you go around with what is important to be popular?				
Proper action to others	41	50	36	38
Activities, sports	32	28	36	34
Friendly	36	11	18	24
Personality	23	17	22	22
Be nice	9	11	12	11
Nice clothes	23	6	8	10

Members of RFS 15 were agreed 100 percent that "proper action toward others" was important in their group, as were over 67 percent of members of RFS 1 and 13.

Sixty-seven percent of girls in RFS 15 were agreed in terms of "activities, sports" as being important in their group.

The above-mentioned were the only areas of consensus among the various groups in response to this question.

Clothing and Appearance

The girls were asked how their clothes compared with others in the school. The greatest majority, or 74 percent replied "average," 13 percent of all the girls thought they were "better dressed," and 13 percent thought they were "not as well dressed." This is shown below:

	Reciprocal Friendship Categories			
	Isolates	Mutual	RFS	All
		Pair	Members	Girls
		Members		
	%	%	%	%
How do your clothes compare with others?				
Average	77	72	74	74
Better dressed	9	17	13	13
Not as well	13	11	12	13

Proportionately more mutual pair members, 17 percent, said they were "better dressed," as compared to other categories of reciprocal friendship. Nine percent of the isolates said they were "better dressed," as did 13 percent of RFS members. Proportionately more isolates, 13 percent, thought they were "not as well dressed" as the others.

Six of the RFS's were 100 percent agreed that they were "average" as compared to the other girls. These were RFS 5, 9, 13, 14, 15 and 16. Six of the RFS's exhibited over 67 percent agreement concerning an "average" rating. These were RFS 2, 3, 4, 10, 12 and 17.

None of the RFS's agreed in terms of the "better" or "not as well" comparisons.

The respondents were asked whose approval of their clothes meant the most to them and why. Most girls responded "mother, father, or parents" (39 percent) than any other

response. Other responses in rank order were: "girl friend," "self," "boy friend," "no one" and "other," as is shown below.

	Reciprocal Friendship Categories			
	Isolates	Mutual	RFS	All
		Pair	Members	Girls
	%	Members	%	%
Whose approval of your clothing means the most to you?				
Mother-father-parents	50	50	30	39
Girl friend	36	33	36	36
Self	4	11	14	12
Boy friend	4	5	9	8
No one	18	5	6	8
Other	4	5	4	4

The RFS members mentioned "girl friend" proportionately more than the other responses. However, the isolates and mutual pair groups mentioned "mother-father-parents" in more instances than any of the others indicating that individual RFS members seem less parent oriented than the other two categories. The isolates and mutual pair members may be more parent oriented because they are realistic in recognizing their lack of friends. RFS members may feel more secure because of their group membership, thus mentioned "girl friend" more often than anyone else. However, in four RFS's more than 67 percent of their members sought first their

"mother-father-parents" approval of their clothing. These were RFS 1, 10, 14 and 16.

More than 67 percent of the members of RFS 9, 15 and 17 were agreed that their "girl friends" approval meant the most to them.

The girls were asked why the approval of this person was important to them. Twenty-seven percent gave as their reason for liking the approval of this person his or her "good taste." This was the consensus of opinion of girls in the categories of isolates and mutual pair membership; however, proportionately more RFS members mentioned "helps in acceptance," as is shown below:

	Reciprocal Friendship Categories			
	Isolates	Mutual	RFS	All
		Pair	Members	Girls
		Members		
Why? ¹	%	%	%	%
Good taste	36	44	22	27
Helps in acceptance	13	11	31	26
Makes me feel good	9	--	14	12
Satisfy self	4	11	8	8
Tell you what you look best in	4	11	6	6
Parents buy clothes	4	5	5	5

¹Refers to previous question.

Other reasons mentioned in descending order were, "makes me feel good," "satisfy self," "tell you what you

look best in" and "parents buy their clothes."

Sixty-seven percent of the members of RFS 14 and 16 agreed to the response "good taste," and 67 percent of girls in RFS 15 and 17 agreed concerning "helps in acceptance."

Seventy percent of the total group said their mother made suggestions concerning the clothes they wore to school.

This is shown below:

	Reciprocal Friendship Categories			
	Isolates	Mutual	RFS	All
		Pair	Members	Girls
	%	%	%	%
<hr/>				
Does your mother make suggestions about the clothes you wear to school?				
Yes	82	78	66	70
No	18	22	33	30
What kind of suggestions?				
Appropriate combinations	50	55	35	40
Appropriate for occasion	32	28	17	20
Fashion	14	11	21	19
How to improve appearance	18	56	12	15
Appropriateness for age	4	17	5	7
<hr/>				

Proportionately more isolates, 82 percent, mentioned that their mothers did make suggestions than did the mutual pair members or those from the RFS's. Conversely, more RFS members proportionately, 33 percent, answered that their

mothers did not make suggestions. Again the peer orientation of RFS members and parent orientation of isolates are indicated. However, since all but four of the RFS's showed over 67 percent agreement in that their mothers made suggestions about their school clothes, parent involvement seems to be the norm.

The girls were then asked what kinds of suggestions their mothers made. The greatest majority, 40 percent, responded in terms of "appropriate combinations." The next five highest responses in order were "appropriate for the occasion," "fashion," "how to improve appearance," "fit" and "mother helps pick out clothes," as shown in a previous table.

All categories of reciprocal friendship agreed that suggesting "appropriate combinations" was the kind of suggestion that the majority of their mothers made.

All members of RFS 5 mentioned "appropriate combinations." This was also mentioned by more than 67 percent of RFS 4 girls.

Sixty-seven percent of RFS 1 girls agreed that their mothers made suggestions in terms of "appropriateness for the occasion."

Next the girls were asked if they followed their mothers' suggestions. Forty-one percent of the girls said they did follow their mothers' suggestions, and 26 percent said they did "sometimes." Only four girls said they did not. Of these four girls all were upper social class members except one girl from RFS 7 who was rated in the middle social class. The distribution of responses was as follows:

	Reciprocal Friendship Categories			
	Isolates	Mutual Pair Members	RFS Members	All Girls
	%	%	%	%
If yes, do you follow her suggestions? ¹				
Yes	55	61	36	41
Sometimes	27	17	27	26
No	4	--	3	2
I don't know	--	--	1	.1

¹ Refers to previous question.

The girls were asked if there was anything about themselves they would like to change. Sixty-six percent of them said there was. Of these, 64 percent of the isolates, 67 percent of the mutual pair members, and 67 percent of the RFS members agreed that they wanted to change something.

Members of RFS 3, 10 and 15 were unanimously agreed that they wanted to change something about themselves. All of the members of RFS 1 on the other hand, did not wish to

change anything about themselves. Seventy-five percent of the RFS 5 girls held a similar opinion of not wishing to change anything.

When members of the two large RFS's responded, 73 percent of the girls in RFS 2 and 65 percent of the girls in RFS 7 wanted to change something about themselves.

Those who answered "yes" were asked what they would change. The category named by more girls than any other was "figure," which was mentioned most often by all the reciprocal friendship categories. Other items cited that they would like to change in order of importance were: "hair," "personality," "height," "be more friendly" and "get better grades." The tabulation was as follows:

	Reciprocal Friendship Categories			
	Isolates	Mutual	RFS	All
		Pair	Members	Girls
	%	%	%	%
Is there anything about yourself you would like to change?				
Yes	64	67	67	66
No	36	33	33	32
What?				
Figure	27	28	22	24
Hair	9	28	12	14
Personality	14	22	14	14
Height	9	6	13	12
More friendly	18	5	6	8
Get better grades	18	5	6	8

The only consensus of opinion expressed in the RFS groups was in terms of "height" which was mentioned by 67 percent of those in RFS 15 and 16.

They were then asked if they thought these changes would enable them to make a different impression on others. Forty-one percent of the girls answered "yes." Proportionately more isolates, 50 percent, thought they would make a different impression than did mutual pair members, 44 percent, or RFS girls, 38 percent.

More than 67 percent of the members of RFS 3 and 15 thought that these changes would help them to make a different impression on others. Conversely, more than 67 percent of girls in RFS 10 and 16 thought that the changes would not result in a different impression being made on others.

Proportionately the largest majority of all girls mentioned that the way in which they would make a different impression was that their "personality would be changed." Other responses in rank order were: "look better," "easier to be accepted," "make a better first impression," "friendlier" and "counts with the boys." The distribution was as follows:

	Reciprocal Friendship Categories			
	Isolates	Mutual	RFS	All
		Pair	Members	Girls
	%	%	%	%
Do you think you would make a different impression on others if you make these changes?				
Yes	50	44	38	41
No	13	16	27	23
How?				
Personality would be changed	18	11	10	11
Look better	18	11	7	9
Easier to be accepted	13	11	7	8
Make better first impression	4	17	6	7
Friendlier	--	--	6	4
Counts with the boys	--	11	3	4

The reciprocal friendship categories of isolates and RFS's both said that "personality would be changed" was the most important way in which they would make a different impression on others. However, the proportionately largest majority of mutual pair members who responded, mentioned that the change would be made in terms of "make a better first impression."

They were asked if they thought it would be easier to make friends if they made these changes. A greater proportion of all girls, 36 percent, answered "no" than answered "yes," 24 percent. Responses of the reciprocal friendship

categories were proportionately the same.

All members of RFS 15 answered "no." More than 67 percent of those in RFS 10 and 16 also said "no." Only in RFS 3 did over 67 percent of its members answer "yes."

The girls were then asked why they felt this way concerning making friends. The greatest proportionate response by all girls was it would be "easier to be accepted" followed by "more at ease," "personality would be changed," "friendlier," "counts with the popular group" and "other." This was tabulated as follows:

	Reciprocal Friendship Categories			
	Isolates	Mutual	RFS	All
		Pair	Members	Girls
	%	%	%	%
Do you think it would be easier to make friends if you made these changes?				
No	32	33	36	36
Yes	23	28	24	24
Why?				
Easier to be accepted	9	17	7	8
More at ease, etc.	9	--	7	6
Personality would be changed	4	11	4	5
Friendlier	--	--	5	4
Counts with popular group	--	--	2	1
Other	--	--	1	1

The isolates, mutual pair and RFS members responded in the same manner as the entire population.

Eighty-three percent of the girls' responses indicated that some clothes gave them more self confidence than others. Proportionately more isolates, 91 percent, agreed to this than did mutual pair members, 89 percent, or RFS girls, 80 percent.

They were asked which clothes gave them more self confidence. The main consensus of opinion for all girls, and all categories of reciprocal friendship was in terms of "design features." This response was followed in descending order by these: "separates or casual clothes," "fashionable clothes," "proper fit," "clothes suited to the occasion" and "clothes like others wear," as is shown below:

	Reciprocal Friendship Categories			
	Isolates	Mutual Pair Members	RFS Members	All Girls
	%	%	%	%
Do some clothes give you more self confidence than others?				
Yes	91	89	80	83
No	9	11	19	17
Which ones?				
Design features	36	33	28	30
Separates or casual clothes	18	22	18	18
Fashionable clothes	27	11	17	18
Proper fit	13	17	11	12
Clothes suited to the occasion	9	--	8	7
Clothes like others wear	4	5	8	7

Sixty-six percent of girls in RFS 14 agreed that "design features" was most important. "Fashionable clothes" was named by 67 percent of the girls in RFS 16 and 17.

The girls were asked why these clothes gave them more self confidence. Proportionately more of the total population responded to "feel comfortable in these clothes." This response was followed by others in rank order: "gives confidence," "improves appearance," "I like to conform," "I enjoy clothes" and "I don't know," as is shown below:

	Reciprocal Friendship Categories			
	Isolates	Mutual	RFS	All
		Pair	Members	Girls
	%	Members	%	%
Why do these clothes make a difference?				
Feel comfortable in these clothes	45	39	33	35
Gives confidence	27	28	28	28
Improves appearance	32	33	19	22
I like to conform	--	--	5	4
I enjoy clothes	--	5	4	4
I don't know	4	--	1	1

Proportionately more isolates, 45 percent, responded in terms of "feel comfortable in these clothes" than did the mutual pair members, 39 percent, or RFS members, 33 percent.

All members of RFS 14 agreed that they "feel comfortable in these clothes," which was the reason they gave

for more self confidence. Two-thirds of RFS 17 girls gave the same reason.

The girls were questioned concerning whether they had ever come to school dressed differently from the other girls. "Yes" was the response made by 24 percent of the population. Proportionately more mutual pair members (33 percent) than isolates (31 percent) or RFS members (22 percent) had this experience. This was tabulated as follows:

	Reciprocal Friendship Categories			
	Isolates	Mutual Pair Members	RFS Members	All Girls
	%	%	%	%
Have you ever come to school dressed differently from others?				
No	64	66	78	75
Yes	31	33	22	24
If yes, how did you feel?				
Didn't bother me	20	17	39	32
Self conscious	--	11	4	4
Different	9	5	3	4
Out of place	9	--	3	3
Embarrassed	--	5	2	2
Conspicuous	--	5	--	1

The only RFS that showed a consensus of opinion among its members in coming to school dressed differently was RFS 16 in which 67 percent of the girls reported that this had happened to them.

Those girls who had dressed differently were asked how they had felt. "It didn't bother me" was the most common response. Other feelings of these girls in descending order were: "self conscious," "different," "out of place," "embarrassed" and "conspicuous."

Proportionately more RFS members (39 percent) said "it didn't bother me" than did the isolates (20 percent) or mutual pair members (17 percent).

The only consensus of opinion in an RFS was in terms of "it didn't bother me" which was listed by two-thirds of the girls in RFS 16.

The girls were asked if they were usually satisfied with their general appearance. Ninety-one percent of all the girls said they were not. More RFS members, 92 percent, mentioned that they were dissatisfied with their general appearance, than did mutual pair members, 89 percent, or isolates, 86 percent, as is illustrated below:

	Reciprocal Friendship Categories			
	Isolates	Mutual	RFS	All
		Pair	Members	Girls
	%	Members	%	%
Are you satisfied with your general appearance?				
No	86	89	92	91
Yes	13	11	6	8
Sometimes	--	--	4	1
Don't know	--	--	4	1
If not, why not?				
Hair	13	5	3	5
Clothes	4	5	3	4
Complexion	9	-	-	1
Figure	9	-	-	1
Eyes	-	-	4	1

In 11 of the RFS's 100 percent of the girls and in the remaining six RFS's, 67 percent or more of the girls agreed that they were not satisfied with their general appearance.

Only 13 percent of the girls who said they were dissatisfied responded to why they felt this way. Five percent of all the girls, the largest proportion to respond, said they were not satisfied with their "hair." Other items mentioned in descending order were: "clothes," "complexion," "figure," and "eyes."

Proportionately more isolates, 13 percent, responded to "hair" than did the mutual pair members, five percent,

or RFS members, three percent. Also, proportionately more isolates said that their "complexion" and "figure" were things about themselves with which they were not satisfied.

On the other hand, 75 percent of the girls reported that they were usually satisfied with their hair. Thirty-six percent of the isolates, 44 percent of mutual pair members and 20 percent of those in RFS's said they were not satisfied with their hair.

With the exception of 67 percent or more of those in RFS 1 and 5, the two predominately lower social class groups, all of the individual RFS's reflected satisfaction with their hair.

The reason "hard to manage" was given by proportionately more girls as to why their hair was unsatisfactory. This was listed by 23 percent of all girls. Other reasons given in descending order were: "too straight," "wrong color," "after swimming," "too curly" and "did not fix it," as is indicated below:

	Reciprocal Friendship Categories			
	Isolates	Mutual Pair Members	RFS Members	All Girls
	%	%	%	%
Are you usually satisfied with your hair?				
Yes	64	56	80	75
No	36	44	20	25
If no, why not?				
Hard to manage	27	39	11	23
Too straight	4	11	3	4
Color	9	5	2	3
After swimming	--	--	3	2
Too curly	4	--	2	2
Did not fix it	--	--	2	1

Proportionately more mutual pair members, 39 percent, mentioned their hair was "hard to manage" than did isolates, 27 percent, or RFS members, 11 percent.

Twenty-eight percent of all the girls said "no" when asked if they were usually satisfied with their complexion. Proportionately more mutual pair members, 39 percent, were not satisfied with their complexions than were isolates, 32 percent, or RFS members, 26 percent.

Only in one RFS, number 8, did more than 67 percent of the girls agree they were not satisfied. More than two-thirds of the girls in a majority of the RFS's (13) agreed that they were usually satisfied with their complexions.

Those who were not satisfied were asked the reason. Twenty percent of all girls named "blemishes" as their main reason, which was also the main reason listed by the three reciprocal friendship categories. Other reasons given in order of predominance were: "freckles," "oily," "color," "other" and "make-up." The responses were as follows:

	Reciprocal Friendship Categories			
	Isolates	Mutual Pair Members	RFS Members	All Girls
	%	%	%	%
Are you satisfied with your complexion?				
Yes	68	61	71	71
No	32	39	26	28
If not, why?				
Blemishes	18	28	19	20
Freckles	4	11	3	4
Oily	4	-	1	1
Color	-	-	2	1
Other	-	-	1	1
Make-up	-	5	-	1

Proportionately more mutual pair members mentioned "blemishes" than did either of the other two categories.

The girls were asked, "If you heard that everyone on 'dress-up' day was going to wear a sweatshirt to school and at the last minute they changed their minds, but you were not notified and wore one to school; what would you do when you saw them dressed differently?" The greatest

proportion, 28 percent, of all girls responded that there was "nothing I could do." This was true of the three categories of reciprocal friendship as well. However, proportionately more mutual pair members (39 percent) responded "nothing I could do," than did RFS members (28 percent) or isolates (23 percent).

The other five highest number of responses mentioned were in this order: "go home and change immediately," "go home and change at noon," "wear a coat," "other" and "it wouldn't bother me," as illustrated below:

	Reciprocal Friendship Categories			
	Isolates	Mutual Pair Members	RFS Members	All Girls
	%	%	%	%
Sweatshirt story.				
Nothing I could do	23	39	28	28
Go home and change immediately	13	28	15	16
Go home and change at noon	18	17	15	16
Wear a coat	18	5	11	12
Other	13	11	8	9
It wouldn't bother me	4	--	10	8

There was more consensus of opinion in the individual RFS's concerning the comment "nothing I could do." More than 67 percent of the girls in RFS 5, 10 and 14 agreed to that response.

Two-thirds of RFS 1 members agreed that they would "go home and change immediately." More than 67 percent of RFS 8 girls said "it wouldn't bother me," and 67 percent of those in RFS 15 agreed that they would "wear a coat."

The girls reported how they would feel in such a situation. The greatest proportion responded that they would feel "embarrassed." The five next most frequently given responses in order of importance were: "angry," "out of place," "wouldn't make any difference," "self conscious" and "different." The distribution was as follows:

	<u>Reciprocal Friendship Categories</u>			
	Isolates	Mutual Pair Members	RFS Members	All Girls
	%	%	%	%
How would you feel?				
Embarrassed	32	28	26	27
Angry	23	33	22	24
Out of place	18	5	19	17
Wouldn't make any difference	13	11	16	15
Self conscious	4	28	10	13
Different	18	5	11	12

The largest proportion of RFS members, 26 percent, agreed that they would feel "embarrassed," and the greatest proportion of isolates, 32 percent, reported this also. However, proportionately more mutual pair members, 33 percent, agreed that they would feel "angry."

More than 67 percent of RFS 5 members agreed that it "wouldn't make any difference" in the way they felt.

The only other consensus among the RFS's was in RFS 15, two-thirds of whose members agreed that they would feel both "angry" and "different."

"Seldom" was the most common reply given to the question "Do you enjoy wearing clothes if your friends don't like them?" This was listed by 36 percent of the population, followed by 28 percent who named "sometimes" and 26 percent who listed "never," as is shown below:

	Reciprocal Friendship Categories			
	Isolates	Mutual	RFS	All
		Pair	Members	Girls
		Members		
	%	%	%	%
Do you enjoy wearing your clothes if friends don't like them?				
Seldom	36	22	38	36
Sometimes	27	28	28	28
Never	36	28	25	26
Often	--	17	4	5
Almost always	5	5	4	5

The RFS members listed "seldom" more often than the other groups, whereas "sometimes" was equally named by all groups. More isolates mentioned "never" than did mutual pair members or those in RFS's.

In the specific RFS's there was some agreement, mainly in terms of the response "seldom," which was named by 67 percent or more of the girls in RFS 1, 2 and 14.

The girls were asked if they ever felt ill at ease at school because of their clothing. The greatest majority, 41 percent of all girls, listed "seldom," followed by 38 percent of the girls who checked "never." Of these categories, proportionately more mutual pair members than either of the other two groups named "seldom," and more isolates listed "never." The responses were distributed as follows:

	Reciprocal Friendship Categories			
	Isolates	Mutual Pair Members	RFS Members	All Girls
	%	%	%	%
Do you feel ill at ease at school because of clothing?				
Seldom	23	56	43	41
Never	50	22	35	38
Sometimes	27	22	19	20
Often	--	--	4	1

Three RFS's agreed in terms of the response "seldom." These were 67 percent or more of girls in RFS 3, 15 and 17.

Those who agreed to the response "never" were 100 percent of those in RFS 8, and over 66 percent of those in RFS 5 and 16.

When they were questioned if others complimented them on the way they looked at school, 52 percent of the girls listed "sometimes," closely followed by 41 percent who said "often." No girls listed "seldom" or "never." All categories of reciprocal friendship expressed similar opinions on the question. Over 67 percent of the members in seven of the individual RFS's agreed to the response "sometimes," while the same proportion in three of the RFS's were over 67 percent agreed concerning "often." The responses were tabulated as follows:

	<u>Reciprocal Friendship Categories</u>			
	<u>Isolates</u>	<u>Mutual</u>	<u>RFS</u>	<u>All</u>
		<u>Pair</u>	<u>Members</u>	<u>Girls</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Do you get compliments on the way you look at school?				
Sometimes	55	56	51	52
Often	41	39	41	41
Always	5	5	8	7

They were asked if they had ever felt embarrassed about the clothes they wore to school. Forty-nine percent answered "never." Forty percent of all girls answered "seldom." The remaining 11 percent answered "sometimes" or "often."

The different categories of reciprocal friendship answered in strikingly different ways. Almost twice as many mutual pair members listed "seldom" than did isolates and RFS members. Conversely, more than twice as many isolates and RFS members named "never" as did mutual pair members.

More than 67 percent of seven of the individual RFS's answered "seldom." The responses are tabulated below:

	<u>Reciprocal Friendship Categories</u>			
	Isolates	Mutual	RFS	All
		Pair	Members	Girls
	%	Members	%	%
Have you ever felt embarrassed about the clothes you wear to school?				
Never	54	22	52	49
Seldom	36	67	37	41
Sometimes	9	11	10	10
Often	-	-	1	1

Sixty-two percent of the girls made no comments when asked why they had felt embarrassed. Those who responded did so in this manner: 12 percent said the "garment was too long or too short," 10 percent named "not suitable for the occasion," and 10 percent also named "fault in the garment." The responses were as follows:

	<u>Reciprocal Friendship Categories</u>			
	Isolates	Mutual Pair Members	RFS Members	All Girls
	%	%	%	%
<hr/>				
If you ever felt embarrassed about your clothing - why?				
No comment	67	33	67	62
Too long or short	14	27	9	12
Fault in garment	4	22	10	10
Not suitable for occasion	9	22	9	10
Someone didn't like what I'm wearing	-	5	2	3
Other	4	5	1	2
<hr/>				

A larger proportion of mutual pair members than isolates and RFS's gave the reasons as to why they had felt embarrassed about their clothing.

The only consensus among RFS's was in RFS 11 in which more than 67 percent of the girls agreed concerning the response "not suitable for the occasion."

Summary

The girls referred to clothing as the sixth most important attribute when responding to the program¹ of their group in terms of what was important for popularity.

"Proper action toward others" was deemed the most important

¹Program refers to appraisal of one's self or group.

characteristic. Proportionately more mutual pair members than those from the other two categories thought "proper action toward others" was more important.

Questions were then asked in terms of who assists, if anyone, and how they go about putting together their program.

Proportionately more isolates mentioned their clothes were "average" and "not as well," whereas more mutual pair members said they were "better dressed" than did the other categories of reciprocal friendship.

In terms of clothing approval, proportionately more isolates and mutual pair members were parent oriented than were the RFS's. This may indicate a realistic acknowledgment of lack of friends. RFS members mentioned peer approval of their girl friend proportionately more than the other responses, and may indicate a greater security because they were members of a group.

Seventy percent of the population said their mothers made suggestions about the clothing they wear to school, and again the isolates showed more parent orientation than did mutual pair or RFS members. The majority of suggestions were for "the appropriate combinations." Only two percent

of all girls said they did not follow their mothers' suggestions.

Two-thirds of all girls said they wanted to change something about themselves. The greatest proportion of all girls, 24 percent, reported they would like to change their figure.

Two-fifths of the girls thought they could make a better impression on others, and only one-third thought they could make friends easier if they made such changes. Proportionately more isolates than mutual pair or RFS members thought they would make a different impression on others with these changes made.

The majority, four-fifths, of all the girls said some clothes gave them more self confidence than others. Nine-tenths of the isolates and mutual pair members responded in this manner, as compared to four-fifths of RFS members. The main reason they said these clothes made a difference was because they felt comfortable in them.

Thus, the isolates and mutual pair members thought clothing and appearance had a greater effect upon their relationships with others than did the RFS members as a whole.

More RFS members, 78 percent, said they had come to school dressed differently from the others, and they also mentioned proportionately more times than the isolates or mutual pair members, that it had not bothered them.

Although proportionately more girls in all categories responded in terms of "nothing I could do," when confronted with the question concerning being dressed in a sweatshirt, the mutual pair members showed stronger feelings about their course of action. Proportionately more of the mutual pair members said there was "nothing I could do," and "go home and change immediately" than did the girls in the other reciprocal friendship categories.

The girls were not usually satisfied with their own general appearance. Their hair was considered satisfactory by more RFS members than by the other groups. More mutual pair members, proportionately, considered their hair unsatisfactory than did the isolates or RFS members.

"Seldom" did the girls enjoy wearing clothes their friends did not like. Proportionately more mutual pair members answered that they "never" enjoyed wearing clothing under such conditions.

The greatest majority of all girls, 41 percent, said they "seldom" felt ill at ease at school because of

their clothing. Proportionately more isolates responded to "never" and "sometimes" than did the other girls. The majority of all reciprocal friendship category members said they "sometimes" received compliments on the way they looked at school. Five percent of the isolates and mutual pair members said they "always" did, whereas eight percent of those in the RFS's said they "always" did receive compliments.

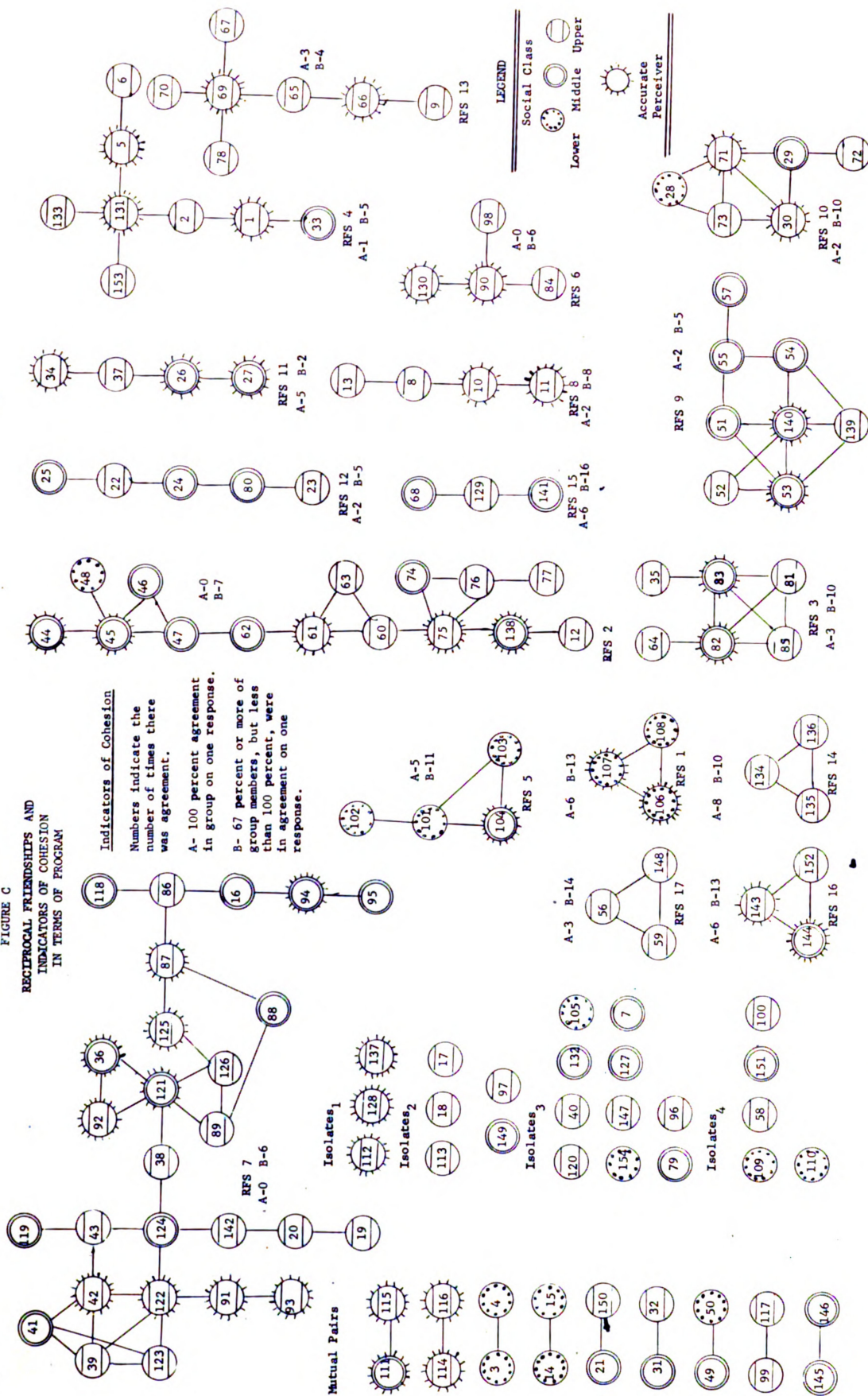
More of the isolates and RFS members responded they had "never" felt embarrassed about the clothes they wore to school, whereas the largest proportion of mutual pair members said "seldom." The main reason for feeling embarrassed given by isolates and mutual pair members was that the clothing was "too long or too short," whereas proportionately more of the RFS members named "fault in the garment."

An analysis of the seventeen individual RFS's was done to determine if the individuals in these groups generally agreed or disagreed on the responses. There were 140 possible responses for each RFS which pertained to program of the self or one's group in terms of clothing, appearance and group acceptance. Individual RFS's were in 100 percent agreement within their own group 39 times. Two-thirds or more of the

members of individual RFS's agreed 145 times on these responses. The summarized data for the chapter may be found in Appendix D and in the sociogram on page 114.

These findings in terms of responses to program show that members of the individual RFS's had a greater consensus of opinion than did the isolates or mutual pair members. These findings then support the working hypothesis that members of the same group have similar opinions on clothing, appearance and group acceptance which contribute to the group's cohesion and are different from non-group members or members of other groups.

FIGURE C



CHAPTER VI

ACCEPTANCE AND APPRAISAL OF POPULARITY AND DRESS

The girls were asked to name the ninth grade girls whom they considered "most popular," "best dressed" and "not dressed right." Their responses have been analyzed in this chapter according to the reciprocal friendship categories.

A consensus of opinion was shown by all categories of reciprocal friendship for members of RFS 7 when they were asked to name the most "popular girl" in the ninth grade. Seventy-nine percent of those chosen were from that structure. The next most popular group was RFS 11 whose members were chosen by nine percent of the population.

The following RFS's chose girls within their own group as being most popular: RFS 2 girls named one girl, RFS 6 members named one girl, RFS 7 members named 30 girls, and both RFS 10 and 11 named one girl. Program and review coincided for the RFS 7 members. See Table 3.

When asked to name the best dressed girl in the ninth grade a number of respondents named more than one girl.

Table 3. Association of girls chosen as "most popular" with categories of reciprocal friendship and the 17 RFS's

Number of girls chosen as "most popular" in the Reciprocal Friendship Categories																				
Reciprocal Friendship Categories	Isol.	MP	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Totals
Isolates	1	3		4					16	1	1		1							27
Mutual Pairs	2							1	14				5							22
RFS's	2			1				1	10	9	1		1	10	1					126
All Girls	5	3		5				2	13	9	2	1	1	16	1					175
Specific RFS's																				
RFS 1									3											
RFS 2				1*					13											
RFS 3									7											
RFS 4									4				3							
RFS 5									7				1							
RFS 6								1*	4				1							
RFS 7	2								30*				2							
RFS 8									3											
RFS 9									6				1							
RFS 10									8			1*								
RFS 11									4				1*	1						
RFS 12									3	1										
RFS 13									6				1							
RFS 14									5											
RFS 15									4											
RFS 16									1											
RFS 17									2											
Subtotals	2			1				1	10	9	1		1	10	1					

*Indicates they chose within their own RFS.

The main consensus of opinion again was for girls in RFS 7. Seventy-eight percent of the total number of choices were for girls in RFS 7. The second leading RFS, according to times girls in it were named again, was RFS 11. These girls were named ten percent of the time.

In terms of the individuals within the RFS's, number 124 in RFS 7 was mentioned 61 times as being "best dressed," and one of her best friends, number 43, was named 25 times. In RFS 11, number 37 received 13 out of the total of 18 votes for her RFS as being "best dressed."

Girls within RFS 7 named members of their own RFS 25 times, thus showing that program and review again coincided here. See Table 4.

The girls were also asked to name those in their grade who were "not dressed right." The results indicate a reluctance on the part of the girls to name anyone. Eighty girls did not respond while the rest made one or two choices.

Thirty-one percent of the responses named girls who were members of a mutual pair. Number 3 and 4 were named most often. They made up a lower social class dyad. Number 3 cited her best friend, number 4, as "not being dressed right."

Table 4. Association of girls chosen as "best dressed" with categories of reciprocal friendship and the 17 RFS's

Reciprocal Friendship Categories	Isol.	MP	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Totals
Isolates	2	4		1	1		1		24				1			1				35
Mutual Pairs	2				1				14				3							20
RFS's	2	4			2				93				12							113
All Girls	6	8		1	4		1		131				16			1				168
Specific RFS's																				
RFS 1									2				1							
RFS 2									11				1							
RFS 3	1	1							4				1							
RFS 4									5											
RFS 5									3											
RFS 6	1								4											
RFS 7		3			1				25*				4							
RFS 8									3											
RFS 9									9											
RFS 10									3				2							
RFS 11									63											
RFS 12									3											
RFS 13					1				6				1							
RFS 14									3				1							
RFS 15									2				1							
RFS 16																				
RFS 17									4											
Subtotals	2	4			2				93				12							

*Indicates they chose within their own RFS.

Sixteen percent of those considered "not well dressed" were isolates, and each of the four girls named were from the lower social class.

RFS 1 girls were judged by 23 percent of the respondents and RFS 5 girls by 14 percent as "not being dressed right." This is important for these are the two predominantly lower social class RFS's. The remainder of the choices were randomly scattered. See Table 5.

Comparison of Those Selected as Most
Popular and Grade Point Averages

RFS 7, the group named most popular, with members chosen 139 times in this category, had only two members on the Honor Roll. One of these girls was named six times as "most popular," and the other girl was mentioned only once.

Of the remaining 22 girls on the Honor Roll, one girl was named twice as the most popular, and only two were named once.

These results support Coleman's findings¹ that good grades do not count when popularity among or between the sexes is being considered.

¹Coleman, op. cit., pp.48-49.

Table 5. Association of girls chosen as "not dressed right" with categories of reciprocal friendship at the 17 RFS's

Number of girls chosen as "not dressed right" in the Reciprocal Friendship Categories																				
Reciprocal Friendship Categories	Isol.	MP	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Totals
Isolates	5	6	3		1	3	4													22
Mutual Pairs	1	6*	5			1	2		3											18
RFS's	13	25	20	2	1	1	1		3					1				2		79
All Girls	19	37	28	2	2	5	17		6					1				2		119
Specific RFS's																				
RFS 1																				
RFS 2	2	3	7	1*			1		2											
RFS 3	1	2					1													
RFS 4		1	2				1													
RFS 5	1		1				1*											1		
RFS 6	1						1													
RFS 7	5	11	6																	
RFS 8																				
RFS 9	1	1	2				2													
RFS 10		2																		
RFS 11	1	1			1		2							1				1		
RFS 12		3					1													
RFS 13	1		1	1		1	1		1											
RFS 14		1																		
RFS 15			1																	
RFS 16																				
RFS 17																				
Subtotals	13	25	20	2	1	1	1		3					1				2		

*Indicates they chose within their own structure.

Summary

All categories of reciprocal friendship agreed that the largest number of "most popular" girls were in RFS 7. This was also true of those chosen as "best dressed."

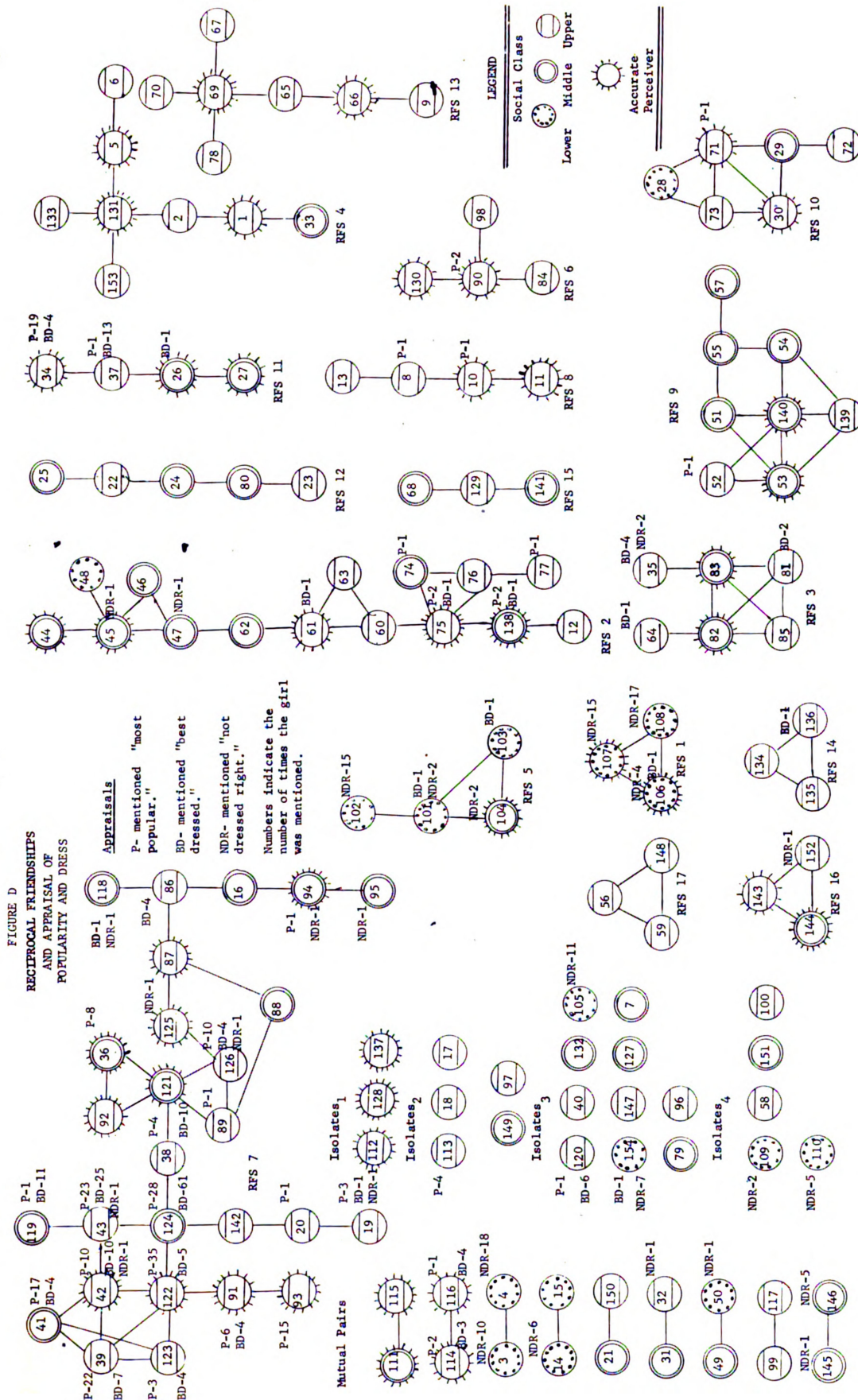
The girls were reluctant to name those "not dressed right." However, of those named, 31 percent came from the mutual pair category, 16 percent were isolates while 23 percent of the girls were in RFS 1, and 14 percent in RFS 5. These latter two were lower social class RFS's. The others named as "not dressed right" were dispersed throughout the other RFS's.

Program and review coincided many times for those in RFS 7 in the areas of "most popular" and "best dressed."

In the category of girls who were "not dressed right," program and review coincided for five isolates, six mutual pair members, and one RFS 2 and RFS 5 member.

The sociogram on page 122 summarizes the findings of this chapter.

FIGURE D



CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

This exploratory study was initiated to determine if opinions on clothing, appearance and group acceptance were factors which contributed to group cohesion or lack of cohesion in a population of 154 ninth grade girls.

The data had been collected previously by other researchers at East Lansing High School. The population for this study reflected the atypicality of the location. East Lansing is a highly educated, high income, mobile community. Social class extremes were present in the population, for the high school district had recently incorporated a lower social class area into their system. Some of these students were among those studied. These social class extremes were the major reasons for selection of the location for the larger research project of which this study is a portion.

The data were obtained by two instruments. The first, an opinionnaire, included questions on personal background information, and a near-sociometric question. From this instrument the population was described in terms of social class according to the rating which used Warner's Index of Status Characteristics, and in terms of the social acceptance or reciprocal friendship category of each girl.

The structured interview schedule contained open-ended questions which pertained to opinions on general acceptance, clothing and appearance. Also included was an objective evaluation of the respondents appearance which was rated by one of the three trained interviewers.

A major determinant of organization for the research was the reciprocated friendship choice (or choices) of each girl based on her response to the near-sociometric question. Three major categories of reciprocal friendship were used by the researchers to describe the girls. These were: isolates, mutual pair members, and reciprocal friendship structure¹ members. This organization permitted a comparison of girls who were group and non-group members.

¹Reciprocal friendship structure has been abbreviated to RFS.

The near-sociometric analysis of the 154 girls in terms of the criterion of choosing a "best friend," showed the population consisted of 23 isolates, 18 mutual pair members, and 113 reciprocal friendship structure members, the latter of which belonged to 17 different groups.

There were two distinct lower social class RFS's. The other RFS's were dispersed with middle and upper social class members. Proportionately fewer mutual pair members were from upper social class backgrounds than were the isolates or RFS members.

The majority of girls were Protestant. However, one RFS was predominantly Catholic, and there were proportionately more Catholic isolates than in any of the other categories of reciprocal friendship.

More isolates and mutual pair members had attended elementary schools in places other than East Lansing than had the RFS members.

Proportionately more RFS members had better grade point averages than the other categories of reciprocal friendship. However, proportionately more mutual pair members were on the Honor Roll than were isolates or RFS members.

Rating of the girls' appearance by the interviewers showed proportionately more RFS girls were rated as "average" and proportionately more isolates and mutual pair members were rated "below average." The main reason for "below average" ratings was clothing, followed by hair.

Clothing, appearance and group acceptance as elements of impression management have been neglected areas in studies on the cohesiveness of adolescent groups. In this study, data pertaining to general acceptance, clothing and appearance were analyzed descriptively in terms of each category of reciprocal friendship and each RFS as indicators of group cohesion. In addition, Stone's terminology of review and program was utilized to classify the respondents' answers. Review refers to responses made about the wearer of clothes by others, and program pertains to responses made about the wearer of clothes by the wearer. These were interpreted to include the review and program of the self and one's group. The analysis was descriptive only. The small numbers involved in the RFS's did not permit use of the chi square test of significance as more than 20 percent of the theoretical frequencies were under five. Nevertheless, trends of important differences were evaluated by descriptive methods.

Analysis of the data in terms of review revealed that when all the girls responded to general acceptance, "clothing" was considered the attribute first in importance in describing the characteristics of the most popular girl. "Clothing" was mentioned as second, and "looks" as third in importance in describing how to "get in" with the popular girls, as well as the characteristics on which a new girl would be judged.

RFS members, isolates, and mutual pair members generally did not agree on the responses. Analysis of all replies according to reciprocal friendship category showed that the individual RFS's had greater consensus regarding clothing, appearance and group acceptance than did the other categories.

Generally a greater proportion of isolates than mutual pair or RFS members responded in terms of clothing and appearance. The isolates mentioned and concurred more frequently on the influence of clothing on popularity. Isolates also mentioned in greater proportion that there were girls who were "not dressed right" than did mutual pair or RFS members.

Proportionately more isolates referred to their "group" as being "average" when compared to the dress of

other groups, whereas proportionately more mutual pair members considered their group "better dressed" than did the other categories of reciprocal friendship.

The percentage of agreement on responses made by members of each reciprocal friendship structure was used as an indicator of group cohesion. The minimum indicator of cohesion used was 67 percent since it included two out of three girls' responses in the smaller groups and over a majority in the larger groups.

The group members exhibited a relatively high amount of cohesion in their opinions on the following:

1. Personality, clothes, looks and the "way she acts" were the main characteristics used in judging a new girl.
2. The clothing of the popular girls differs from the clothing of the other girls.
3. Clothing has influence on a girl's popularity at East Lansing High School.
4. The clothing of their group was considered to be "average" when compared to that of other groups.

5. There were girls in the ninth grade who did "not dress right," and those who responded in this manner were agreed that they did not have friends who were "not dressed right."

Responses to questions on program and general acceptance revealed that "proper action to others" was considered most important in the girl's own group for popularity. Nice clothes ranked sixth in importance. Thus, clothing was considered more important by all girls for others than for one's self or one's own group.

Proportionately more isolates and mutual pair members were parent oriented than were the reciprocal friendship category members in terms of clothing approval. The RFS members mentioned their girl friends and themselves more often, hence seemed more peer oriented than the other girls. The same pattern of orientation was apparent when responses to the question, "Does your mother make suggestions about the clothes you wear to school?" were analyzed. Again, the parent orientation of isolates and mutual pair members was strong, and more RFS members said their mothers did not make suggestions.

Two-thirds of all girls wanted to change something about themselves. The item named most frequently for change

was their figure. However, the majority of all girls did not think they could make friends easier or make a different impression on others if they made these changes.

All categories of reciprocal friendship reported a dissatisfaction with their general appearance. Hair was mentioned most often as an item they would like to change.

Self confidence was reported by all girls to be gained from some clothes more than others, and the major reason they said these clothes made a difference was because they felt comfortable in them.

The majority of girls reported that if they had come to school dressed differently it would not bother them. However, they did not enjoy wearing clothes if their friends did not like them.

The main consensus of the girls was that they seldom felt ill at ease at school because of their clothing, they sometimes received compliments on the way they looked at school, and they never felt embarrassed about their school clothes.

In general, the isolates and mutual pair members expressed the opinion that clothing and appearance had a greater effect upon their relationships with others than did the RFS members as a whole.

The same indicator of cohesion was used in analysis of the individual RFS's, i.e., 67 percent indicated a minimum of cohesion and 100 percent a maximum amount in the analysis. The RFS members exhibited a relatively high amount of cohesion in their opinions on the following:

1. They were "average" in dress when compared to the other girls.
2. Their mothers made suggestions about the clothes they wore to school.
3. The girls wanted to change something about themselves.
4. Some clothes gave them more self confidence than others.
5. They had not come to school dressed differently than the other girls.
6. They were not usually satisfied with their general appearance, especially their hair and complexion.
7. They "sometimes" received compliments on their clothes.
8. They "never" felt embarrassed about their school clothes.

Program and review coincided for a majority of those girls in RFS 7, both in terms of "popularity" and being "best dressed." The respondents named mutual pair members, girls from RFS's 1 and 5 and isolates in this descending order most often as those who were "not dressed right."

These findings support the working hypothesis that members of a group have similar opinions regarding clothing, appearance and group acceptance which contribute to the groups' cohesion, and that these opinions are different than those of non-group members or members of other groups.

Clothing, appearance and group acceptance seem to be important elements in the cohesiveness of groups of ninth grade girls at East Lansing High School.

Especially to adults these may seem shallow and unimportant. Nevertheless, Wax has suggested that clothing and appearance are not superficial values to adolescent girls. In their continual experimenting with new styles and grooming, teenage girls are experimenting with a yet undeveloped self-image with which they can be comfortable.¹

¹Murray Wax, "Themes in Cosmetics and Grooming," American Journal of Sociology, LXII (1957), pp.589-590.

This study may assist educators and other adults who have direct or indirect contact with teenage girls. It is hoped that it will provide an increased understanding of the relative importance of the elements of clothing, appearance and group acceptance in the total perspective of group cohesiveness of a group of ninth grade girls.

Recommendations

The major purpose of this exploratory study was to determine if clothing, appearance and group acceptance influence group cohesion among ninth grade girls. From this study the research suggests areas which need further investigation such as:

- (1) replication of the study in other schools whose students are representative of the middle and lower social classes;
- (2) replication of this study in other years with the same population;
- (3) case studies could be compared from those named as "most popular," "best dressed" and "not dressed right;"

- (4) comparison of data from this study with that of a similar study on boys.

The instruments which were used in the larger study could be revised to be more specific in nature, as the wide diversity of responses made coding difficult. Refinement of the sociometric analysis could allow for a more accurate description of the individuals, for example, a sociometric status could be assigned each individual, as well as within the group a more sophisticated index of cohesion might be used. Student judges might be used instead of adult judges of appearance. They might be from the interviewees own grade level or from other grades.

Contribution of the Study

There has been a lack of information available on the possible influence of clothing, appearance and group acceptance as elements of impression management in the cohesiveness of adolescent groups. It is hoped that this effort will be helpful in furthering the understanding of the relationship of these elements to other factors of teenage life.

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APPENDIX A

You and Your Clothing
An Opinionnaire

WHAT THIS IS ALL ABOUT

Michigan State University is doing a study of the opinions young people in Michigan have about clothing.

You can help us best by answering the following questions as clearly and carefully as you can. If there is something you do not understand, ask questions. You will be helped as much as possible.

No one you know, not even your teachers, will ever see what you have written.

INSTRUCTIONS

This opinionnaire is in two parts. When you have finished the first part place it in the envelope and go on to the second. Sign your name to the first section. These questions are about yourself and your class. Do not sign the second section. For this part, we do not want to know who you are.

Most of the questions can be answered by checking a blank or filling in a short answer. In those cases where you are asked to write out your own answer, space is provided for you to do so.

8. Does any other person contribute to the financial support of your family?

___Yes ___No

If yes, explain who. (mother, father, brother, etc.) ___

What does this person do? _____

9. What church do you go to? _____

10. How many clubs or organizations in school and outside of school do you belong to?

None _____

One _____

Two _____

Three _____

Four or more _____

11. Please list the clubs and organizations you belong to:

12. What is the name and location of the grade school you attended?

13. The people with whom we share secrets and spend most of our time are usually referred to as our "best friends."

Write the names of your two "best girl friends" in the 9th grade in the East Lansing High School. (If you only have one person you consider a "best friend," write her name only.)

1.

2.

If you have more than two "best girl friends" in the 9th grade, write the other names in the spaces below.

1.

2.

If your "best girl friends" are in another grade or in another school, write their names in the spaces below.

Other Grade

1.

2.

Other School

1.

2.

APPENDIX B

C O N F I D E N T I A L I N T E R V I E W *

What this is all about

The youth of a community are in many respects, the most important element of our society.

There is a great deal written and said about this age group, but much of it is not based on facts.

This study is intended to supply important information about the opinions young people have about themselves.

I need your help for without it this study cannot be done. You can help best by answering the questions as clearly and carefully as possible. I would like your honest reaction to what adolescents think. You may think about the question and take your time in answering it. There are no right or wrong answers. We want to know what your opinions are. Different people will have different opinions.

This information is confidential. Your name will never be used and no one you know will know what you have said.

*Appendix B reduced to one-third of original interview schedule which allowed adequate space for recording responses.

Now I would like to begin by asking you some questions about what would happen if a new girl came into your grade at school.

1. If a new girl came to East Lansing High School and wanted to get in with the popular girls, what would be the best way to do this? _____

2. What characteristics do you think a new girl would be judged on? _____

3. What characteristics do you use in choosing a friend? _____

4. Do you think it is difficult to make friends in East Lansing High School: ____No ____Yes If yes, why do you think so? _____

5. With the group you go around with, what are some things which are important to do in order to be popular? _____

6. What are the characteristics of the most popular girl in the ninth grade? _____

7. Who is the most popular girl in the ninth grade? _____

8. Does the clothing of the popular girls in the ninth grade differ from the clothing of the other girls? ____No ____Yes If yes, how does it differ? _____

9. Do you think clothing influences a girl's popularity at East Lansing High School? ____No ____Yes Why or why not? _____

10. How do your clothes compare with other girls in school? _____

11. How does the group you go around with compare in dress to other groups at school? _____

12. What are the characteristics that are necessary to be the best dressed girl in school? _____

13. Who do you think is the best dressed girl in the ninth grade? _____
14. Is there anything about yourself you would like to change? ☐ No ☐ Yes. If yes, what would you change?

 Anything else? _____

 Do you think you would make a different impression on others if you could make these changes? ☐ No ☐ Yes.
 If yes, why do you feel this way? _____

 If yes, do you think it would be easier to make friends if you made these changes? ☐ No ☐ Yes. If yes, why do you feel this way? _____

15. Whose approval of your clothing means the most to you?

 Why? _____
16. Do some clothes give you more self-confidence than others?
☐ No ☐ Yes. If yes, which ones? _____
 Why? _____
17. Do you think that the manner in which your best friend dresses is a reflection on you? By that I mean, do others judge you by the way your best friend dresses?
☐ No ☐ Yes. If yes, why do you feel this way? _____

18. Are there any girls in the ninth grade who do not dress right? ☐ No ☐ Yes. If yes, why do you think their clothes are not right? _____

 How would you describe these girls who do not dress right?

 Can you tell me more about them? _____
 Would you mind telling me who they are? _____

 Do they have many friends? ☐ No ☐ Yes

19. Do you have any friends that are not dressed right?
____No ____Yes. If yes, what's wrong with the way
they dress? _____

20. Have you ever come to school dressed differently from
the other girls? ____No ____Yes. If yes, how did you
feel when you were dressed differently from everyone
at school? _____

21. If you heard that everyone on "dress-up" day was going
to wear a sweatshirt to school and at the last minute
they changed their minds but you were not notified and
wore one to school; what would you do when you saw them
dressed differently? _____

How would you feel? _____

- Now I am going to ask you several questions about yourself?
22. Are you usually satisfied with your general appearance?
____Yes ____No. If no, why not? _____

23. Are you usually satisfied with your hair? ____Yes ____No.
If no, why not? _____

24. Are you usually satisfied with your complexion?
____Yes ____No. If no, why not? _____

25. Does your mother make suggestions about the clothes you
wear to school? ____No ____Yes. If yes, do you follow
her suggestions? _____

If yes, what kind of suggestions does she make?

I would like you to answer the next four questions with one of these responses. (Give interviewee card with responses.)

26. Do you enjoy wearing your clothes if your friends don't like them?

_____ Almost always
_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Seldom
_____ Never

27. Do you feel ill at ease at school because of your clothing?

_____ Almost always
_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Seldom
_____ Never

28. Do others compliment you on the way you dress at school?

_____ Almost always
_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Seldom
_____ Never

29. Have you felt embarrassed about the clothes you wear to school?

_____ Almost always
_____ Often
_____ Sometimes
_____ Seldom
_____ Never

If you have felt embarrassed about your clothes, why?

RATING APPEARANCE OF INTERVIEWEE

Clothing:	neat clean pressed fit appropriate for school fashionable		
Figure:	tall average short heavy average slender		
Hair:	neat clean unkempt		
Style -	simple elaborate		
Complexion:	good fair poor		
Make-up:	None	Some but not obvious	Obvious
Eyes			
Lipstick			
Make-up base			

ROOM USE ONLY

RFS 7	(26)			
RFS 8	(4)			
RFS 9	(8)			
RFS 10	(6)			
RFS 11	(4)			
RFS 12	(5)			
RFS 13	(7)	71		
RFS 14	(3)			
RFS 15	(3)	100	67	
RFS 16	(3)			
RFS 17	(3)			
Sub-Totals	(112)			

1. The response

2. The of g

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