

A SOCIOMETRIC STUDY OF
DORMITORY FRIENDSHIPS:
OF CLIQUE FORMATION AND
PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT IN
A DORMITORY

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
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Lucille Kennedy Mick
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A SOCIOMETRIC STUDY OF DORMITORY FRIENDSHIPS:
Of Clique Formation and Personality Development in a Dormitory

by
Lucille Kennedy Mick

A THESIS

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Michigan
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Chapter I

Introduction and Methodology

The Importance of Dormitory Friendships in Personality Development. Presented here is a detailed, sociometric study of the relationships of one type of college social organization. The college dormitory where students of one sex live together during the usual nine months of the regular academic year and perhaps for as many as four of those years furnishes a compact, highly important field of study for the sociologist. (1) Application of sociological principles of group adjustment in the college dormitory field is almost non-existent although fourteen years have passed since the epochal publication of Moreno's findings at the New York State Training School for girls. (2)

That the primary group relationships are the most significant contributors to socialization and personality development is established in the classic literature of sociology. (3) Particularly important, then, are those primary relationships which during college life must take the place of family and neighborhood groups as well as the informal, community clique groups based on such factors as age, sex, class, and school grade. Perhaps there may be one or even a few friends from the hometown enrolled in the college where an individual matriculates, but for

(1) The dormitory is a very important part of the sub-culture known as the campus. Here is a unique social system with its own mores and folkways together with techniques for their transmission; a pattern of rituals, symbols, and traditions; a value structure; a hierarchy of power and stratification; and a set of culture objects. The campus and its dormitories constitute a unique social system and specific sub-culture certainly worthy of the serious attention of the research sociologist, but to date it has been given rather scant attention. (See Angell, Robert, C., The Campus, D. Appleton Co., 1928

(2) Moreno, J. L., who Shall Survive?, Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Co., Washington, D. C., 1934.

(3) Especially, Cooley, C. H., Social Organization, Charles Scribners Sons, New York, 1909. Chapter 3.

the most part, the entering student is on his own. The quality of the relationships he or she establishes is one of the basic factors determining what they get out of college. And if, as Moreno found, congeniality is the important culture medium for personality growth and achievement, far-sighted educators might profitably give as much attention to their students' group adjustment as to the selection of their faculties.

The Sociometric Approach to the Study of Dormitory Friendships.

Helen Jennings Says:

"The emotional milieu of the self is affected by the other selves with whom the self is in contact and the inter-personal experiences that take place between the self and others. If the self is inadequate in capacity to enter into relationships with other selves, the individual may find himself in a relatively neutral relationship to almost all the surrounding selves so that he is neither able to act upon them nor to be contacted by them, and to the extent that this is true the individual has fewer affective avenues for contributing his experience to the experience of others or to be enriched by theirs." (1)

The sociometric method was used by Jennings and her co-worker, Moreno, as a means of discovering the nature of inter-personal relationships at the New York State Training School for girls. Other workers following the above application have used the sociometric method successfully on other groups. The Warner school of cultural anthropologists used the method in their community studies of social class stratification. (2) Lundberg and Steele used it in their study of the social attraction patterns in a rural village. (3) Zeleny studied group morale (4) in the class room and later in an army air force flight training school.

(1) Jennings, Helen, Leadership and Isolation, Longman Green and Co., 1944, p. 6.

(2) In particular, Warner, W.L., and Lunt, Paul S., The Social Life of a Modern Community, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1941. Davis, Allison; Gardner, Burleigh; and Gardner, Mary; Deep South, University of Chicago Press, 1941.

(3) Lundberg, George A. and Steele, Mary, "Social Attraction Patterns in a Village.", Sociometry 1, Jan. '38, pp. 375-419.

(4) Zeleny, Leslie D. "Sociometry of Morale", Amer. Soc. Rev. 4, Dec. '39, pp. 799-808.

"Selection of Compatible Flying Partners", Amer. Jour. Soc. 52, March '47, pp. 424-431.

He also used the sociometric technique for measuring social status and for selecting group leaders. ⁽¹⁾ Loomis studied racial cleavage in two high schools of the Southwest and political cleavage in the Hanoverian town of Rietze, Germany by the same method. ⁽²⁾ Cook, in his study of a 10th grade class, was able to spot individuals needing special guidance through the sociometric technique with particular emphasis on sociographic presentation. ⁽³⁾ In her Leadership and Isolation, Helen Jennings used an analysis of sociometric data in a study of personality types: the overchosen personality type, the underchosen, and the average chosen. An analysis of prestige and personality development at Bennington College was made by Newcomb through the use of similar data. ⁽⁴⁾

So Sociometry which Franz defines as "a method used for the discovery and manipulation of social configurations by measuring the attractions and repulsions between individuals in a group" ⁽⁵⁾ has been utilized for many different types of groups and for as many purposes since Moreno's successful application of the method fourteen years ago. The sociogram is a graphical presentation of the sociometric data which reveals the configurations and the total group structure as no statistical method can. Moreno and Jennings say of the sociogram:

(1) Zeleny, Leslie D., "Measurement of Social Status", Amer. Jour. Soc. 46, 1946, pp. 478-482.

⁽¹⁾, "Objective Selection of Group Leaders", Soc. and Soc. Res. 24, March-April 1940, pp. 326-336.

(2) Loomis, Charles P., "Ethnic Cleavages in the Southwest as reflected in Two High Schools", Sociometry 6, Feb. '43, pp. 7-26.

⁽²⁾, "Political and Occupational Cleavages in a Hanoverian Village, Germany", Sociometry 9, Nov. '46, pp. 316-333.

(3) Cook, Lloyd Allen, "Experimental Sociographic Study of a Stratified 10th Grade Class", Amer. Soc. Rev. 10, April '45, pp. 250-261.

(4) Newcomb, Theodore, Personality and Social Change, Dryden Press, 1943.

(5) Franz, J. G., "Survey of Sociometric Technique", Sociometry 2, Oct. '39, p. 76.

"(It) is not merely another means of schematic representation of data, but an invention for exploratory aims. It is an accurate reproduction of the results of a sociometric test on the level of inquiry and can well be compared with the constructs in the geometry of spaces. / It accomplishes our original search for a spatial science which would do for ideas, things, and persons what the geometry of spaces accomplishes for geometric figures. / From the earliest beginnings of sociometric work, charting the data in the form of a sociogram and following the sociogram as a trail has led from one discovery to another: to the tele, to the social atom, the network, and in this paper to a method of its own statistics. Quantitative analysis of choices is of limited value; it appears as an artificial and abstract view of the configuration studied. Structural analysis of the configurations as such gives a better picture." (1)

Orden Smucker found in his studies at Stephens College that the sociometric method is admirably suited to the understanding of friendship patterns existing on the college campus. (2) He analysed these patterns in sociographic presentations for five dormitories at Stephens, a junior college for girls with an enrollment of approximately 2,200 students. With such a small number, it was possible for a Stephens girl to know at least slightly most of the other girls on the campus.

Locale of the Present Dormitory Study. The Michigan State College campus where the present study was made is no *gemeinschaft* totality. Claiming 13th place in U.S. college enrollments, Michigan State boasted a 1947 Fall term enrollment of 14,819 regular students, a Winter term (1948) enrollment of 14,251, and a Spring term enrollment of 13,822. The campus is now of the size in which secondary contacts are dominant. Large classes often totalling well over a hundred, particularly in the required Basic College lectures, are not particularly conducive to the formation of friendships. Later, after work on the major is begun--

(1) Moreno, J. L. and Jennings, Helen, "Statistics of Configurations", *Sociometry* 1, Jan. '38, pp. 342-374.

(2) Smucker, Orden C., A Sociographic Study of the Friendship Patterns on a College Campus, unpublished doctoral thesis, Ohio State University, 1945. Parts of this thesis have been published separately. See bibliography.

usually in the last two years of college--there is more possibility of classroom friendships being established. However, the post-war difficulties of resolving doubled and tripled enrollments with already inadequate facilities have resulted in overcrowding these classes, too.

There remain the small organizations, the special activity groups, and the living quarters as possible locales for intimate friendship recruiting, and of these the latter, because of the daily routine of their interaction, are probably most important for the majority of students. Michigan State College maintains five large dormitories for its men students. For its women students, the college has five dormitories, each organized into two separate entities or wings which house from 150 to 206 girls each. One of these dormitories was not ready for occupancy this year, and another only opened its doors to women students during the Winter term. In order to accommodate about ninety more girls, the college has utilized for the past three years an off-campus domicile which had been at one time a residence hotel. Next year, this dormitory, North Hall, will no longer be needed for undergraduate girls. Instead, it will be reserved for graduate women students. Because of its size and because it would not be possible later to study it as an undergraduate dormitory, North Hall was chosen as the site for the study here presented.

Development of
the Sociometric
Study of North
Hall Group
Structures.

This study was proposed as an experiment by Mrs. Isabelle Gonon, Counselor for Women at Michigan State College. She had learned through one of his students of Dr. Smucker's work in the dormitories at Stephens College. She hoped that the study would reveal techniques which could be used successfully by her dormitory housemothers and counselors in bettering the friendship

relationships and group adjustments of all girls living in dormitories.

Mrs. Gonon also singled out North Hall for the initial study because of its housemother, Mrs. Wanda Dewey whose special interest is the personality development of the girls residing in the dormitory under her supervision. Her late husband was a professor of psychology, and she herself is doing graduate work in guidance and social service. Her interest in the study, her keen insight, and her observation of the girls' development and interaction over the three year period North Hall was used as a dormitory proved invaluable in interpreting and providing validation for the findings of the study.

The North Hall girls themselves exceeded all hopes in their eager co-operation and interest in the study. Smucker found quite a bit of antagonism on the part of many girls at Stephens who were particularly incensed over the part of the questionnaire dealing with rejections. Slightly over eleven percent of the Stephens girls did not return their questionnaires.

The girls of North Hall were introduced to the proposed study at dinner May seventh, 1948. Dr. Smucker, now of the Michigan State College faculty and chosen to supervise the study of the dormitory, explained the sociometric method, showed the girls some sociograms from the Stephens study, and awakened the girls' interest in the possibility of improving the group adjustment of dormitory girls. He also introduced his co-worker, the writer, who later that same evening, after the ten o'clock curfew for co-eds, supervised the filling out of the questionnaire at a special "house" meeting held in the living room and dining room. The girls were given plain envelopes in which to seal their completed questionnaires. They were assured anonymity as far as the individual findings were concerned. Several of the girls stopped to ask

questions and to express their interest as they handed in their questionnaires. Later, when a re-test of the attitude question seemed necessary for verification of the original findings, the girls were shown the completed friendship sociogram in which each girl was represented by a number known only to the co-workers. Even though the re-test was given during the last, pre-exam week of the term, the girls graciously complied when the reason for the re-test was explained--again at dinner. It is possible that the success of the re-test was accounted for by the girls' interest in the sociogram. For fully an hour after dinner, the table on which it was displayed was surrounded by different groups of girls who studied it intently to try to identify their own and other cliques. A few were so successful that they began trying to identify the individual members of the cliques. At this point the co-worker interceded, telling the girls that they would probably be successful given a little more time, but if they were allowed to continue, the anonymity promise made each girl would be broken.

Seventy-five or 100% of the girls answered the first questionnaire, and 74 girls took the re-test. The 75th girl had left school in the meantime.

(1)

The questionnaire itself was developed by Dr. Smucker and the co-worker with the object of adapting the data to the needs of the Counselor for Women. Smucker's original questionnaire from Stephens was used as a guide. A new set of questions relating to prestige was devised, and questions dealing with dating habits and attitudes toward moral and idealistic behavior were added. Since the girls in their classes and in the dormitory are so often submitted to questionnaires for research carried on by several departments in the college, it seemed feasible to make

(1) See questionnaire in Appendix A.

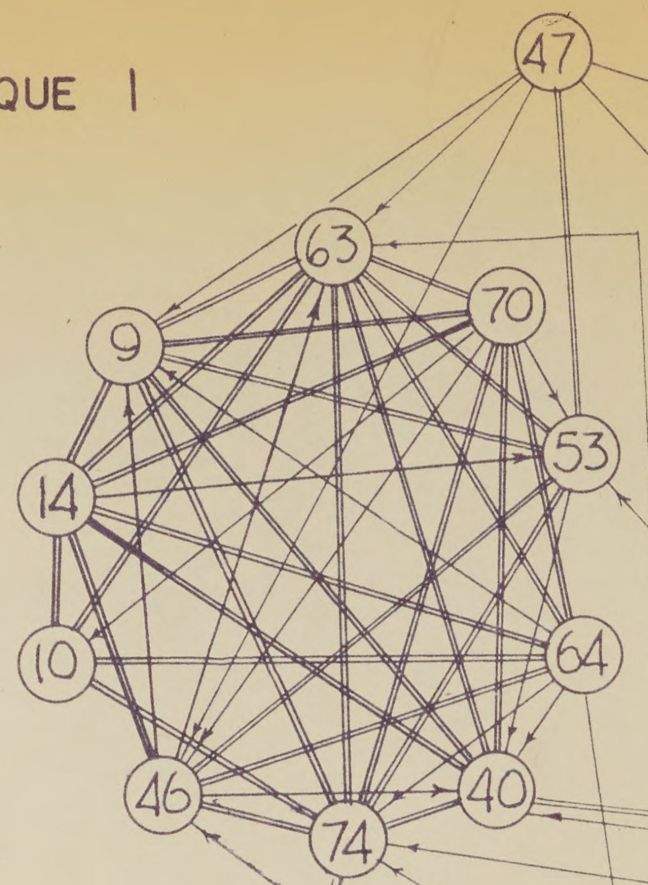
(2) Questions 8, 9, 10, and 12 of the questionnaire.

the questionnaire as brief and simple as possible. To cut it down to its two page length, several questions which had been previously answered in other questionnaires ⁽¹⁾ available to the research workers were omitted.

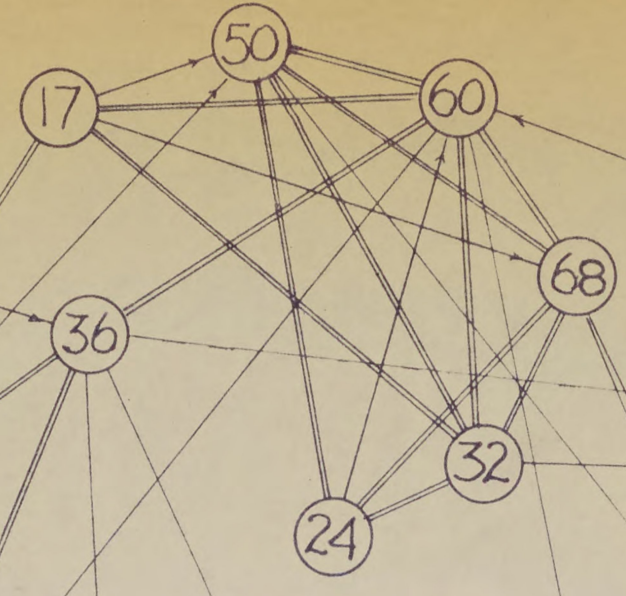
The completed questionnaire was given a preliminary testing on six dormitory counselors from Mary Mayo Hall. Their reluctance to answer a part of the attitude question dealing with pre-marital sex relations necessitated a change in wording which will be dealt with more fully in Chapter 5.

(1) See Personal Data Blank and Student Activity Record samples in Appendix B.

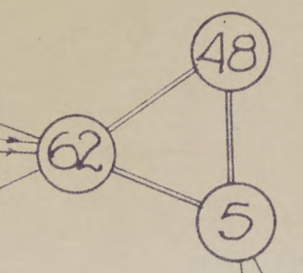
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N.E. TRIANGLE

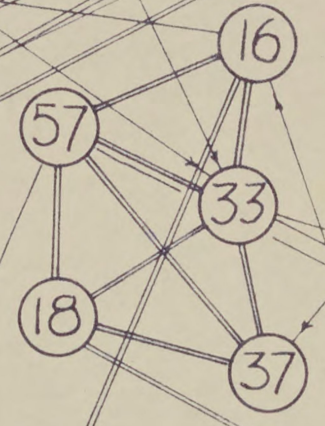


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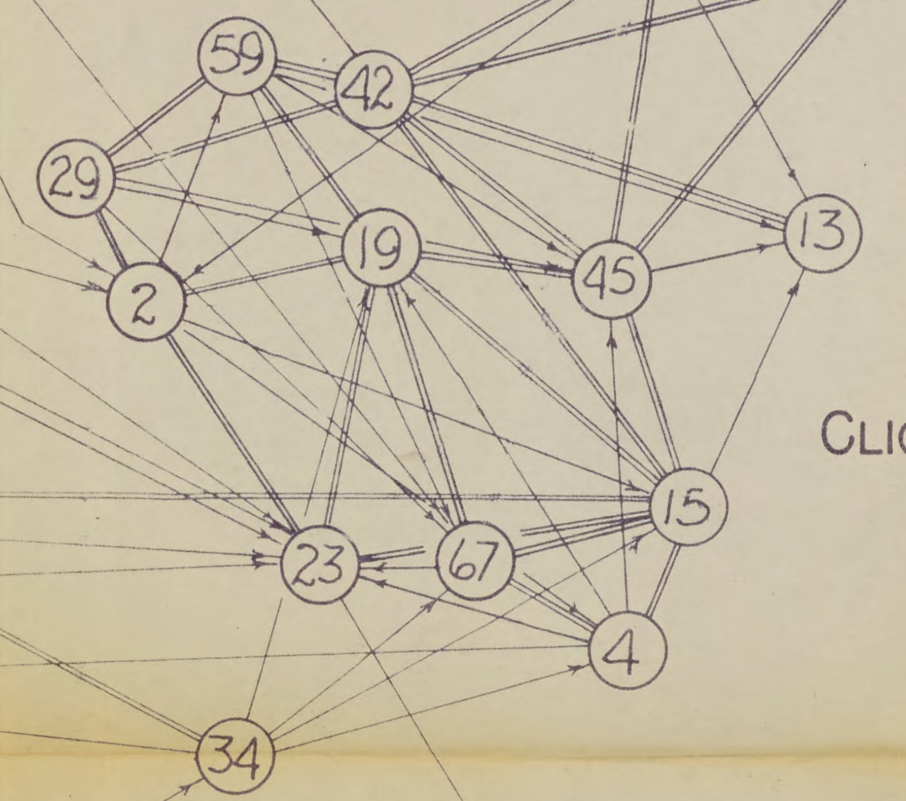
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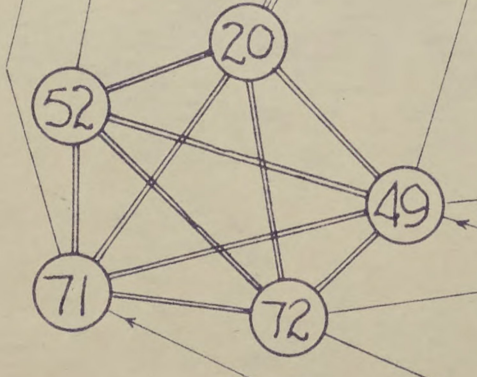
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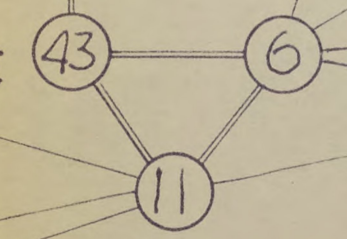
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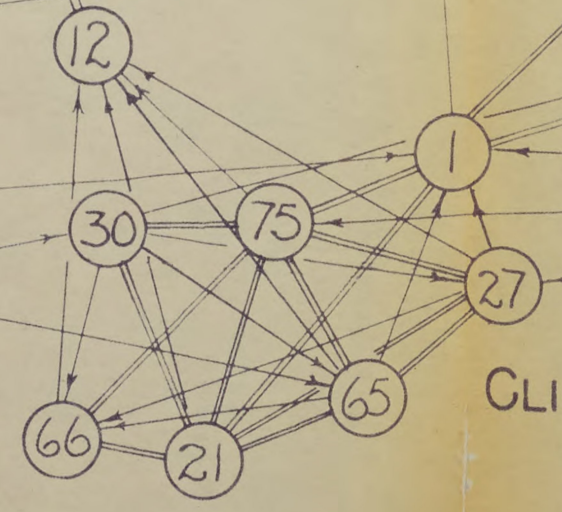
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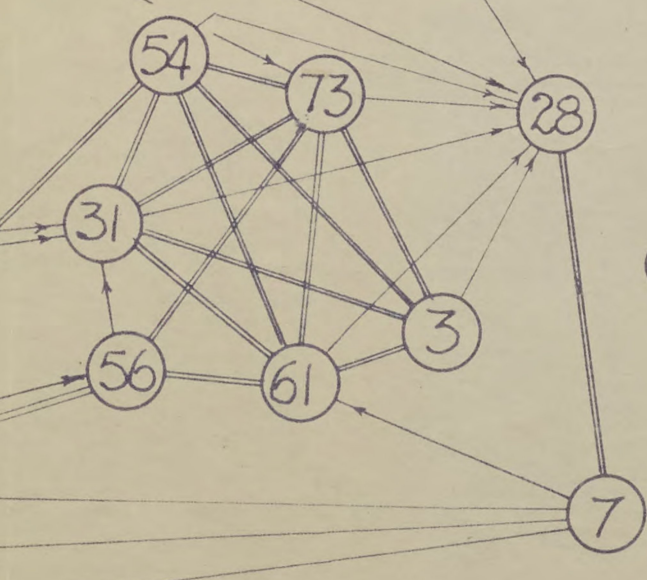
S.W. TRIANGLE



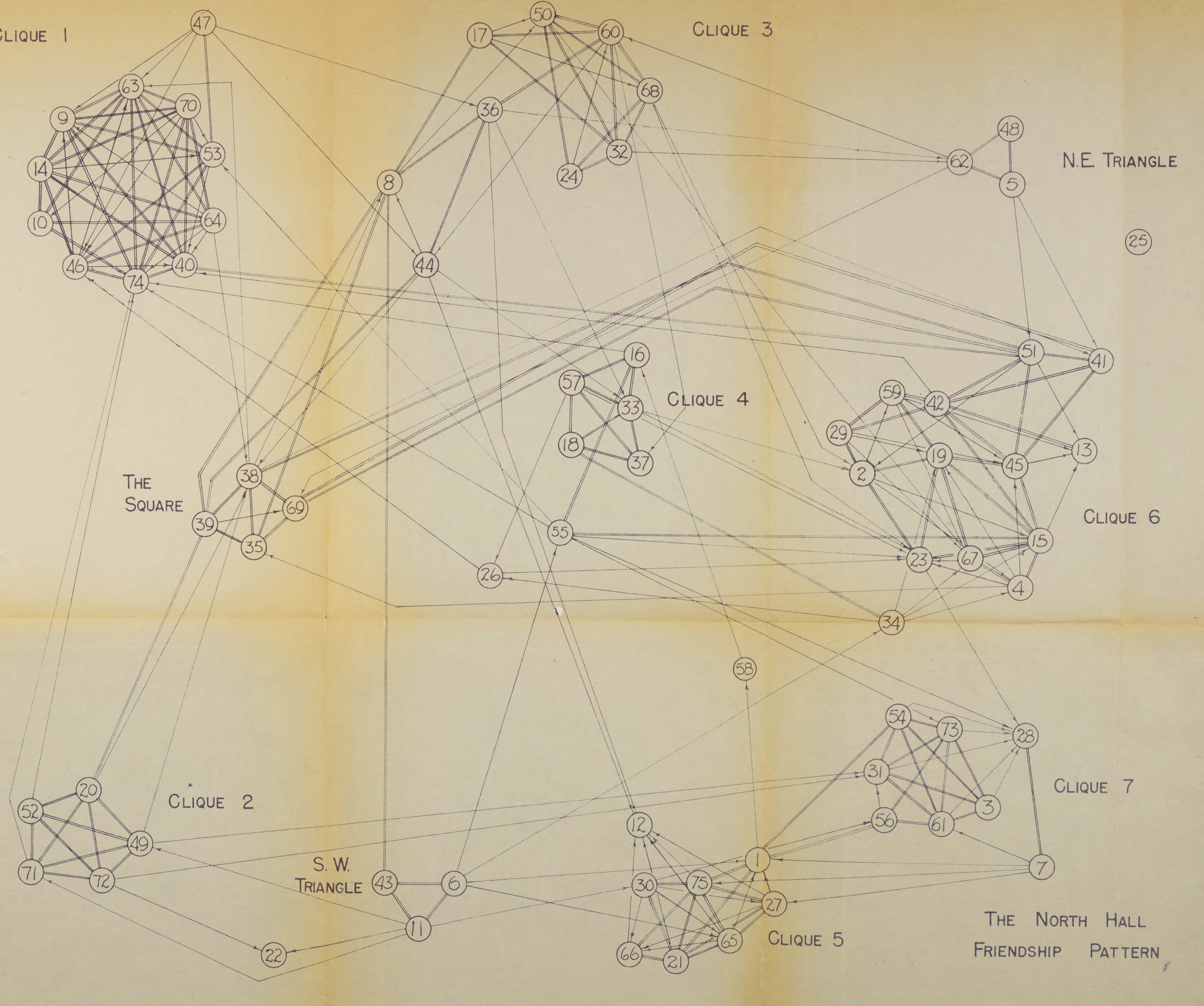
CLIQUE 5



CLIQUE 7



THE NORTH HALL FRIENDSHIP PATTERN



Chapter 2

The Friendship Pattern

Analysis of the Total Dormitory Sociogram. The friendship pattern of North Hall as seen in the sociogram on page nine is based on the friendship choices made in answer to question six of the questionnaire: "Who are your best girl friends in the dormitory? List one, two, three or more as you like. If you don't feel really close to any women in the dorm, write no name."⁽¹⁾ The questionnaire was filled out during the middle of Spring term so that the great majority of the girls had lived in the dormitory together for at least two and one half terms, and had had ample opportunity to establish friendships. Only one girl, Number 25, had entered new Spring term. Four other girls, Numbers 3, 11, and 22 and 30 had entered the dormitory for the first time Winter term. Altogether, 75 or 100% of the dormitory residents filled out the questionnaires.⁽²⁾

A glance at the sociogram shown on page nine reveals immediately an unusual complexity of configurations. Few other sociograms published to date reveal such complex, cohesive networks.⁽³⁾ Moreno and Jennings make note of mutual choices, chain relations, triangles, and squares, correlating the greater complexity of revealed relationships with increased socialization.

"The factor responsible for the increased trend toward mutuality of choice far surpassing chance possibility is called tele. With increased tele the chance for a first choice to draw a first choice is greater; likewise the chance for a second and third choice to draw a second or third choice is greater. In kindergarten and the first grade tele is weaker

(1) Question 6 of the questionnaire; see Appendix A.

(2) This was unusual response for a questionnaire. In her Social Surveys and Social Research, p. 57, Pauline Young says often there is only a 20% response to a questionnaire.

(3) Op. cit.

than in the 4th, 5th and 6th grades, but it is still more than chance. The increasing number of pair relations with increasing maturing of the participants and the age of the configuration in which they are, suggest that an objective social process is functioning, with transference as psychopathological outgrowth and empathy as aesthetic outgrowth."

If the above is true, it would seem logical that college age groups, particularly those limited to a single sex, would tend to exhibit greater mutuality of choice and a tendency to develop more complex social relationships than younger groups in elementary and even secondary schools. In a sociometric study Becker ⁽¹⁾ made in a small town consolidated high school this year, the most complex structure revealed in the sociogram of friendship choices was a triangle. Smucker in his sociograms of friendship choices in five dormitories at Stephens found mutual pairs, triangles, squares, and a few star clusters in which a number of girls choose one very popular girl and also make choices among themselves. Although he found a number of clique structures numbering five or more individuals, none matched the complexity or cohesiveness of Clique 1 in North Hall. Very few approached the cohesiveness of the largest group in North Hall, Clique 6, which had the least intra-clique unanimity of friendship choice. The Stephens girls made an average of 2.8 friendship choices; North Hall girls made an average of 5.25 such choices. Smucker used the same question for eliciting friendship choice responses as that used in North Hall except that the North Hall choices were limited to those in the dormitory and the Stephens choices could be drawn from the entire Stephens enrollment which was more feasible in a smaller college.

Other investigators have limited the number of friendship choices to a specified number such as three or five. Some of these also have

(1) Becker, Myron G. and Loomis, Charles P., "Measuring Rural Urban and Farm and Non-Farm Cleavages in a Rural Consolidated School", to be published in a forthcoming issue of Sociometry, 1948.

their subjects rank their friendship choices as Moreno (1) and Jennings describe. While the unspecified number of friendship choices gives the subject more freedom and allows for differentiation of social expansiveness, it cannot be claimed that the questionnaire was free of psych-

----- Table 1 -----

No. of Students	Number of Friendship Choices Made	
	Made	Totals
3	0	0
3	1	3
2	2	4
3	3	9
13	4	52
7	5	35
30	6	180
6	7	42
6	8	48
1	9	9
1	10	10
75	Totals	392

ological limitations. A certain number of spaces for friendship choices had to be provided; the North Hall questionnaire allowed six spaces. The analysis of the number of choices made by each girl shown in Table 1 shows that 30 or 40% adhered strictly to this spatial limitation.

Another limitation of the question itself might be revealed by the close inspection of girls Number 22, 12, and 28 on the friendship sociogram. Numbers 22 and 12 chose no one, and Number 28 chose only one girl, her roommate, who reciprocated. Although the question definitely specifies close friendship, it cannot command a single definition or limitation of closeness. The above girls placed an exclusively high value on what they called a close friendship. Said Number 28 who tied for the highest prestige rating in the dormitory and was chosen by seven girls other than the one with whom she reciprocated, "I like all those girls. I go around with them and with other girls in the dormitory, but they aren't my very close friends. My only close friend is this girl here." And she indicated her roommate with obvious affection. At the other extreme, Number 70 says of her friends in Clique 1 that the friendships

(1) Op. cit.

in this group are not very intimate. "Few of them will last after the girls leave college", she says.

Helen Jennings' suggestion that the friendship choice question be framed as a choice for some specified activity or relationship would undoubtedly allow for greater uniformity of interpretation, but it straitjackets friendship to a single situation. For instance, it was considered by the co-workers to frame the friendship question:

If you had your choice of the girls in the dormitory with whom you would like to sit at the dinner table, which girls would you choose?

Here it was learned that practical considerations such as the necessity for two shifts in the dining room because of space and five o'clock and six o'clock classes on the campus and the fact that some ten or twelve girls did not eat in the dining room with the others but helped in the kitchen and dining room during the regular mealtime limited a completely free choice of friendship on that basis.

Looking again at the sociogram on page nine, another somewhat unusual observation can be made of the North Hall friendship pattern concerning what Moreno and Jennings call the sociodynamic effect. This sociodynamic effect or the tendency for a few to be overchosen and a greater number to be underchosen or not chosen at all is typical of most sociometric data. Moreno and Jennings say, "The frequency distribution of choices shown by sociometric data is comparable to the frequency distribution of wealth in a capitalistic society."

"The sociodynamic effect", they continue, "apparently has general validity. It is found in some degree in all social aggregates, whatever their kind, whether the criterion is search for mates, search for employment, or in social-cultural relations. It is found in populations of children as soon as they begin to develop societies of their own, as well as in adult populations,

(1) Jennings, Helen, "Sociometry in Action", Survey 84, Feb. '48, pp. (41-44.)

in groups of various levels of chronological age and mental age and in populations of different races and nationalities. Its effect may change in degree, but it is universally present, appearing like a halo effect inherent in every social structure. It may be pronounced where differences of any sort are intensely felt by the participants, whether these are aesthetic differences, racial differences, sexual differences, economic differences, cultural differences, or differences between old and young." (1)

That the sociodynamic effect may be antagonistic to the formation of networks of friendship relations was recognized by the same workers:

"The relationship between sociodynamic effect and the development of networks appears to be complex. Sometimes its effect is simply negative. The greater the sociodynamic effect, the larger the number of isolates and the larger the number and volume of most chosen, the less choices are free for chain relations and network formation." (1)

The existence of the star, the overchosen person, and the cluster of star satellites is an effect of sociodynamics. Likewise, the presence of a large number of near isolates is a sociodynamic effect at the opposite extreme. At Stephens, Smucker found several examples of such stars and isolates. One of his stars had 14 single choices directed toward her, made two single choices herself, and had one reciprocated choice. Another had 10 single choices coming to her and had four mutual choices. A third rated nine single choices, had four mutual choices, and made one choice which was unreciprocated. One of his isolates was chosen by only one and made no choices herself. Another made four choices, but received none; a third made nine choices, and received but one
(2)
in return.

The friendship choice sociogram clearly shows that the sociodynamic effect has not been great enough to stultify network formation in North Hall. The great majority of girls is well organized into definite networks of friendship relations. Only 11 girls out of the 75 could not

(1) Op. Cit., pp. 360-362.

(2) Op. Cit., p. 152.

be placed with comparative certainty in one of the organized nuclei. Among these 11 are five classified as "indeterminants" because choices they made and received went into or came from two or more cliques in such a way that there was no clear indication of membership in a single clique. The remaining six girls have been classed as near isolates although only one is unchosen. That one girl, Number 25, should not necessarily merit the term "isolate", however, because it is probable that hers was a temporary isolation which was ended before the term's close. She is the girl who entered the dormitory new only five weeks before the questionnaires were filled out. She explained on her questionnaire that she did not know any of the girls well enough yet to have made friends. Four weeks later she told the writer that she could list friends then, and the housemother was certain that she would have received friendship choices as well at that later date.

Friendship Choices Received There are in the total structure significant differences in the number of friendship choices received. Table 2 showing the distribution of friendship choices reveals that the number of choices received varies from 12 to zero. Forty-seven or 62.66% of the girls received not more than two choices above or two choices below the Mean of 5.23. ⁽¹⁾ Eleven girls, or 14.67% received more than two choices above the Mean, and 17 girls, or 22.67% received less than two choices below the Mean. Although there were a few more "poor" girls than "rich" girls in friendship choice, the difference is not phenomenal.

Moreover, the friendship sociogram reveals a distinction which diminishes still more the sociodynamic effect in the North Hall friendship

(1) The stratification for friendship choices received was arbitrarily done by using two choices above and below the Mean as the Average Chosen group limits. Because of the distribution and the small number of subjects the method used by Zeleny and Jennings placing the limits at 1 SD above and below the mean was impractical.

pattern. Table 2 reveals nothing about the source of the choices going to the highly (1) chosen. Moreno and Jennings make a distinction between the person with popularity and the person with power. The powerful individual will have many choices coming to her from outside as well as from inside her own network. A glance at Clique 1 in the friendship pattern sociogram will reveal a large network

----- Table 2 -----
 : Distribution of
 : Friendship Choices.
 : -----

	No. of Girls	No. of Choices
Highly Chosen		
	1	12
	1	11
	2	10
	4	9
	3	8
Average Chosen		
	10	7
	12	6
<u>Mean</u>	<u> </u>	<u>5.3</u>
	12	5
	13	4
Underchosen		
	6	3
	7	2
	3	1
	1	0

of 10 participants with many mutual choices between them. It is significant that five of the 11 girls who were highly chosen came from this large, cohesive clique: Number 74 who received 12 choices, Number 63 who received 11 choices, Number 40 who received 10 choices, and Numbers 9 and 63 who received nine choices each. In all, there were only 13 choices coming into this clique from outside: Four of them went to Number 74; two each went to Numbers 40, 46, 53, and 63; one went to Number 9. From this analysis and a comparison with other girls who have as many or more outside choices as these highly chosen girls of Clique 1, it should be apparent that here is no great concentration of power. The members of the clique itself account for by far the greater share of the choices given the highly chosen.

The other six highly chosen girls are members of cliques of stated size as follows: Number 23 who received 10 choices, Numbers 15 and 19 who received nine choices, and Number 45 who received eight choices all

(1) Op. cit.

come from Clique 6 which has 13 members; Numbers 28 and 38 who received eight choices each, come from Clique 7 of seven members and the Square of four members respectively. Choices received by them from outside their own sub-groups were as follows: Number 23, five choices; Number 15, no choices; Number 19, one choice; Number 45, no choices; Number 28, three choices; Number 38, five choices. These out-group choices do not represent a particularly high concentration among the highly chosen, although these 11 girls representing 14.67% of the population account for 23 or 21.7% of the 106 choices which were not intra-clique. In short, the sociodynamic effect is present, but it is not highly significant. If the frequency distribution of choices is comparable to that of wealth in a capitalistic country, one might say that the North Hall friendship distribution more closely resembles the wealth distribution in a Scandinavian democracy than in the more highly capitalistic democracy in the United States.

Mutual Choices and Single Choices

Mutual choices on the friendship sociogram are indicated by connecting the pair of reciprocals with a double line. Single, or unreciprocated choices are indicated by single lines with the arrow pointing to the person chosen. The sociogram reveals the large number of mutual choices within the network formations. In all, there were 392 friendship choices made in North Hall. Of these, 272 or 69.5% were mutual or reciprocated choices (which means that there were 136 mutual friendship pairs). Smucker found 57% of the friendship choices made at Stephens were mutual although one of the five dormitories studied had only 41% of its choices reciprocal. One hundred and twenty single or unreciprocated choices were made at North Hall, accounting for 30.5% of the total choices. The analysis of the mutual and single choices in Table 3 indicated the sources of these choices. It will be seen that choices between roommates account for 54 of the mutual choices and intra-

Table 3

ANALYSIS OF FRIENDSHIP CHOICES

Mutual Choices		
A. Indeterminant or near-isolate Roommate mutuals	8	26*
B. Inter-clique mutual choices Roommate mutuals	0	14
C. Intra-clique mutual choices Roommate mutuals	46	232
<u>Total roommate mutuals</u>	<u>54</u>	
<u>total mutual choices</u>		<u>272</u>
Single or non-reciprocal choices		
A. Indeterminant or near isolate Roommate choices	3	38*
B. Inter-clique choices Roommate choices	2	28
C. Intra-clique choices Roommate choices	0	54
<u>Total Roommate singles</u>	<u>5</u>	
<u>Total single or non-reciprocal choices</u>		<u>120</u>
<u>Total Roommate choices</u>	<u>59</u>	
<u>Total number of single plus mutual friendship choices</u>		<u>392</u>

* Total number of choices (single or mutual, made and received by indeterminants or near-isolates.

clique mutual choices account for 232 or 85.3% of the total 272. The sociogram does not reveal a single isolated pair of mutual friends. At North Hall every one of the 136 pairs or at least one of the members of the pair also belongs to a more complex structure or sub-group.⁽¹⁾

Triangles and Squares Two triangle structures and one square structure are pictured in the friendship sociogram. The two triangles of three reciprocating friends have been designated as the S.W. Triangle and the N.E. Triangle as a description of their respective positions on the sociogram. It is the opinion of Mrs. Dewey, the housemother, that these triangles are composed of a pair of isolated girls who were drawn together because of their isolation plus another isolated girl whom the pair adopted. Members of the S.W. Triangle are all Freshmen. Numbers 43 and 6 were the original pair, and they adopted the Winter term newcomer, Number 11. Shortly after the questionnaire was filled out, Number 11 dropped out of school, and the pair was left to function by itself. There is only one outside choice directed into this triangle, and it is given to Number 43. Outside choices into this group, then, are equal to only .33 per capita which is the index of the group's outside attraction. In contrast, Numbers 6 and 11 made four choices each outside the group while Number 43 made one reciprocated choice. The six choices the girls made among themselves divided by the total number of choices they made represents the group's closed-clique exclusiveness which is .40 or 40%.

The N.E. Triangle is composed of two Juniors who formed the original pair of roommates, Numbers 5 and 48, and a proudly independent

(1) Hereafter whenever the term sub-group is used, it refers to a friendship group of three or more members.

Sophomere, Number 62, whom they adopted this year when she entered the dormitory for the first time. The two Juniors have lived in the dormitory since it opened in the Fall of 1945. Number 5 made two unreciprocated choices outside the group; Number 48 made none and received none; Number 62 made two unreciprocated choices outside the group and received two single choices from outside. The total group thus received two outside choices or a percapita outside attraction of .66. Their closed-clique exclusiveness was 60%.

The Square as a group presents a contrast to the triangles because it has the highest percapita outside attraction of any of the structures in the dormitory. It is composed of Numbers 35, 38, 39 and 69. It lacks one choice of being completely reciprocal, so its unanimity of choice is 91.6%. These girls are all Freshmen; two of them are roommates and the other two would like to be. They make 11 choices within the group and 10 outside, so theirs is a 52, closed clique. Thirteen choices are directed into this group from outside, making a percapita outside attraction of 3.25. Number 38 received five outside choices, and her total of eight choices gives her the honor of being the only Freshman among the highly chosen for friendship.

All structures including five or more persons were arbitrarily designated as cliques. The friendship choice sociogram revealed seven such cliques which were numbered for convenience of reference. Table 4 presents an analysis of the total sociometric friendship interaction of the cliques as well as the other three structures. It records what the sociogram clearly reveals: the size of the subgroup, the number of intra-clique choices, the number of out-clique

choices made by each group, the number of individuals chosen outside the group, and the number of outside choices coming into the group. The table also shows the percent of Intra-clique Unanimity which the actual intra-clique choices represent for each group, the percent Closed-clique Exclusiveness, the Index of Cohesion, the Index of Outside Attraction, the Intra-clique Friendship Probability, and the Total Friendship Probability for each group.⁽¹⁾

It will be seen that there were three groups which had complete unanimity of intra-clique choices: the two triangles and Clique 2, both of which are comparatively small sub-groups. The 77.7% unanimity of intra-clique choice found in Clique 1 is not surprising after viewing that complex structure in the sociogram. For a large clique of 10 members, it is a unique example of unanimity of friendship choice. The Index of Cohesion for this group, 8.3, is the highest for any of the groups in the dormitory. The highest index of cohesion Lundberg and Steele found even in the inner rings of the groups they charted in their village study was 4.8.⁽²⁾ This index measures the centripetal-centrifugal tendency and according to the above workers, "shows the forces drawing a group apart or outward as balanced against the forces that hold it together, namely the forces of intra-activity, plus the forces passing upon it from outside."

It was mentioned earlier that Smucker did not find any such complex or cohesive a structure as Clique 1 in his studies of the five dormitories at Stephens. Mention should be made here of the fact that

(1) See Table 4, page 22 for explanations and formulae for these terms.
 (2) Lundberg, George A. and Steele, Mary, "Social Attraction Patterns in a Village", Sociometry 1, Jan. '38, pp. 375-419.

Table 4

Analysis of the Total Sociometric Friendship Pattern
of 10 Sub-groups in North Hall

Group	Size	Ca (1)	Co (2)	Io (3)	Ci (4)	%U (5)	CCE (6)	Cohesion (7)	Ao (8)	Pa (9)	Pai (10)
C1-1	10	70	3	3	13	77.7	.96	8.30	1.30	6.99	8.29
C1-2	5	20	8	5	3	100.0	.71	2.87	.60	4.00	4.60
C1-3	6	25	8	8	4	83.3	.76	4.83	.67	4.17	4.84
C1-4	5	16	7	6	6	75.0	.70	3.77	1.20	3.00	4.20
C1-5	8	34	4	3	10	60.7	.89	5.62	1.25	4.25	5.50
C1-6	13	65	7	6	20	41.7	.90	5.60	1.53	5.00	6.53
C1-7	7	30	3	2	10	71.4	.91	3.81	1.43	4.28	5.71
Square	4	11	10	6	13	91.6	.52	6.00	3.25	2.75	6.00
SW Tri	3	6	9	9	1	100.0	.40	2.33	.33	2.00	2.33
NE Tri	3	6	4	4	2	100.0	.60	2.66	.66	2.00	2.66

- (1) Ca refers to intra-clique choices.
- (2) Co refers to out-clique choices made by the group.
- (3) Io refers to number of out-clique individuals chosen by the group.
- (4) Ci refers to the total number of outside choices coming in.
- (5) %U refers to the percent of the total possible number of intra-clique choices (Unanimity) which the actual intra-clique choices represent. The formula is: $\frac{Ca}{N(N-1)}$. N is number of girls in group.
- Lundberg and Steele (11) refer to this same percentage as the Ratio of Interest.
- (6) CCE stands for Closed-clique Exclusiveness, and it is found by dividing the intra-clique choices by the total choices made by the group: $\frac{Ca}{Ca+Co}$.
- (7) Cohesion or the Index of Cohesion is a measure used by Lundberg and Steele. It is a measure of centripetal-centrifugal tendency and shows the forces drawing a group apart or outward as balanced against the forces that hold it together, namely the forces of intra-activity, plus the forces passing inward upon it from outside. The formula is: $\frac{Ca+Ci}{\frac{N}{Co}}$ or $\frac{Io(Ca+Ci)}{N(Co)}$. Lundberg and Steele used this index in their village study of eight groups who were pictured on as many charts. The indices of cohesion for the entire charts ranged from 2.5-3.1; for the inner ring of each chart, the indices ranged from 2.0-4.8.
- (8) Ao is the Index of Outside Attraction and represents the total the average number of choices coming into a group from outside. The formula is: $\frac{Ci}{N}$.
- (9) Pa is the Intra-clique Friendship Probability which is derived from the number of girls in the group minus one times the %U. The complete formula is: $N-1 (Ca/N(N-1))$.
- (10) Pai is the Total Friendship Probability and is the sum of the Index of Outside Attraction and the Intra-clique Friendship Probability.

(11) Op. cit.

Stephens is a junior college with only a two year college course for its students. Therefore, there was, at most, less than two years of interaction going into the formation of the Stephens sub-groupal structures. All but three of the girls in Clique 1 have lived in the dormitory since it opened, so they have had almost three years in which to form and strengthen their network. This bears out the statement made by Moreno and Jennings which was quoted at the beginning of this chapter that there is an increasing number of pair relations with increasing maturing of the participants and the age of the configuration.

In contrast to Clique 1 is the even larger structure, Clique 6, which has 13 members. None of the girls in this clique has lived in the dormitory three years. All but four entered in the Fall of 1946, and the others, two of them Freshmen and two Sophomore transfers, entered in the Fall of 1947. This clique, then, with a little less than two years in which to develop their group before the sociographic picture was made, more closely equals the Stephens clique conditions. There was only 42.3% unanimity of intra-clique friendship choice in Clique 6. That it has the lowest unanimity percentage of all the sub-groups in the dormitory is not surprising in view of its size. However, this clique had a 5.60 index of cohesion, fourth highest among the groups analysed.

An examination of the columns in Table 4 representing Closed-clique Exclusiveness, CCE, and Outside Attraction, Ao, bears out only slightly
(1)
the suggestion of Lundberg and Steele that there is probably a negative correlation between the two. In the cases of the two triangles, whose members as explained earlier were originally near-isolates, it is understandable that their lack of closed-clique exclusiveness is not rewarded by a high outside attraction. The Square, however, has the second low-

(1) Op. cit.

est percent of exclusiveness and the highest outside attraction. Clique 1 which had half of its members on the highly chosen list has only a 1.3 outside attraction percapits, but it was fourth highest in this category and first (96%) in the closed-clique exclusiveness category. Clique 6 was third highest in the exclusiveness category and second highest (with 1.53) in the outside attraction percapita.

Table 3 which showed that 232 mutual choices and 54 single choices, or 72.6% of the total number of friendship choices, were intra-clique choices of the ten groups, suggested to the writer a possible high correlation between friendship choices received and the size and the friendship choice unanimity of the group to which a given individual belonged. The Intra-clique Friendship Probability, P_a , was calculated for each group by the formula, $N-1 (ca/N(N-1))$. The Pearsonian correlation "r" between this probability and the actual choices received was .66 with a Co-efficient of Contingency of .45 or 45% and an Index of Efficiency of 26%. The latter index shows that knowing the intra-clique friendship probability has a 26% advantage over simply knowing the friendship choice mean for the entire dormitory. The Total Friendship Probability, P_{ai} , which is the sum of the intra-clique friendship probability and the index of outside attraction, has a higher correlation of .74. The .55 co-efficient of contingency derived from this relationship reveals that more than half the time the total friendship probability would be the same as the actual friendship choices received. The index of efficiency is 35%.

Indeterminants and Near-isolates Not all the girls in North Hall could be placed with a reasonable degree of certainty in one of the subgroups. Some were near-isolates who either showed desire for acceptance in a given group and were not accepted or showed no desire for acceptance in a group and were not accepted. Number 28, for example, showed

no desire for acceptance in to a clique. She chose only her roommate, Number 7. Five girls in Clique 7, however, chose her, so she was placed in that clique. Her roommate, besides choosing her, chose as friends three girls in Clique 5 and one other girl in Clique 7, but no one except her roommate chose her. Number 7 is therefore classed as a near-isolate. Number 58 did not reveal in her one friendship choice an attraction for any special clique. She chose an ex-roommate, Number 16. Her present roommate, Number 1, was the only one who chose her. So, Number 58 is also a near-isolate even though it may be by preference. Number 34 has one mutual choice with Number 18 of Clique 4 and she is chosen by Number 6 of the S.W. Triangle, a choice which she does not reciprocate. Number 34's other 5 choices are unreciprocated, and four of these are directed into Clique 6 from which she gets no choices. Number 47 is chosen only once by a girl in Clique 1, although she makes four choices into the group and two choices to Indeterminants 36 and 44 which are unreciprocated. She is also the most highly rejected girl in the dormitory. Number 22 chooses no one although she is chosen once by a girl in Clique 2 and once by a girl from the S.W. Triangle. She would not have to remain a near-isolate if she didn't want to; she has entry into Clique 2 because she lives among them in their isolated corridor. New to the dormitory the Winter term of 1948, she had made one close friend who left the dormitory when she married at the beginning of Spring term. The questionnaire caught her before she had had a chance to make a friendship adjustment to changed conditions. The reason for Number 25's isolation was explained on page 15. Her temporary isolation is an example of Mrs. Dewey's practical observation that it is unfortunate for a new girl to enter a dormitory late in the school year unless there is another new girl with whom she can tie up in the

period of loneliness before she is accepted into an established group.

The indeterminants are differentiated from the near-isolates by the fact that they do not seek acceptance from a single group and their acceptances are not received from members of a single group. In some cases it was difficult to make the distinction between near-isolate and indeterminate. Number 26, for example, is the graduate student counselor for the dormitory who gave splendid assistance to the co-workers in this study. She made two choices which were unreciprocated and received two which she did not reciprocate. All four choices came from or went into different groups. Her position does not permit her to show special attraction to girls whom she might like to befriend. Neither would she be able to participate as a member of a sub-group. Number 8 made six choices, two of which went to Clique 3, two into the Square, one into the S.W. Triangle, and one to indeterminate Number 36. All but one of these choices were reciprocated and she received two other choices as well: one from indeterminate Number 44 and one from another member of the Square. Numbers 36 and 44 are roommates who choose each other and Number 8. They also choose Number 12 of Clique 5 and Number 33 of Clique 4 who do not reciprocate. Number 44 makes an unreciprocated choice of Number 38 in the Square and Number 36 makes an unreciprocated choice of Number 62 of the N.E. Triangle. Both girls receive choices which they do not reciprocate from the near-isolate, Number 47, and Number 44 receives a single choice from Number 60 of Clique 3. Both girls are Freshmen and Mrs. Dewey says that their friendship interaction does not show a group orientation. Number 55 was the president of the dormitory at the time the questionnaire was filled out. She made seven choices which showed no special group preference: two went to Clique 1,

two went to Clique 6, one of which was reciprocated, two went to Clique 7, and a reciprocated choice went to her roommate in Clique 4. A choice from Number 6 of the S.W. Triangle she did not reciprocate. She does not display group orientation in friendship relations as indicated by her friendship choices.

Inter- The friendship interaction of the North Hall sub-groups
 clique
 Choices has been described as well as that of the eleven individuals who do not fit into those structures. The description of the total friendship pattern of the dormitory would not be complete, however, if mention were not made of the inter-clique friendship interaction. Table 3 reveals that 14 of the mutual choices and 28 of the single choices, or 10.7% of the total choices, are inter-clique choices. Compared with the number of intra-clique choices, inter-clique activity appears to be little developed. Yet the sociogram proves that there is not a single closed structure. There are friendship choices going out and choices going in to every group. Although the girls clearly reveal sub-group orientation in their friendship choices, unsolicited remarks from the girls betray a consciousness of cohesion of the total dormitory structure. They praise their dormitory because of its friendliness, because everybody here knows everybody else.

"It's not like that in other dormitories", they say. "They are so large that you don't know anybody outside your own corridor. With a small dormitory like this, it's different. We'll hate to leave North Hall next year, but we're all getting rooms near each other in the new dormitory, so maybe we'll have a little North Hall there, too."

Chapter 3

Correlates of Friendship Choice

In the last chapter the structure of the friendship groupings was analysed. No attempt was made to explain the why of the particular formations. The "why" of friendship choice and the groups which are the sociometric manifestations of these choices will be probed in this chapter. The co-workers considered many possible correlates to friendship choice: whether or not a given pair were roommates, propinquity in the dormitory, age, academic year, the year the girls entered the dormitory, major or vocational choice, dating habits, scholarship, leisure time activities, home environment, class, religion, certain behavior and idealistic attitudes, outside activities and organizations, and whether or not the girls worked part time to defray a portion of their total college expenses.

There was some difficulty in arriving at a measure of social class, since stratification criteria vary with every community. College groups which draw their members from many communities usually build up their own stratification systems. Whether or not a student's social class position in college is a reflection of her social class position in her community is an interesting speculation, but the impossibility of devising sets of class criteria adaptable to the questionnaire method and on a state or national level makes it impractical. Smucker made an effort to class the girls at Stephens according to their parents' economic positions by having them state their fathers' occupations and an approximation of their annual salaries. He found a lot of antagonism to this question and his returns were so inadequate that he considered his findings of doubtful value.⁽¹⁾ For the North Hall study, Smucker and

(1) Op.cit.

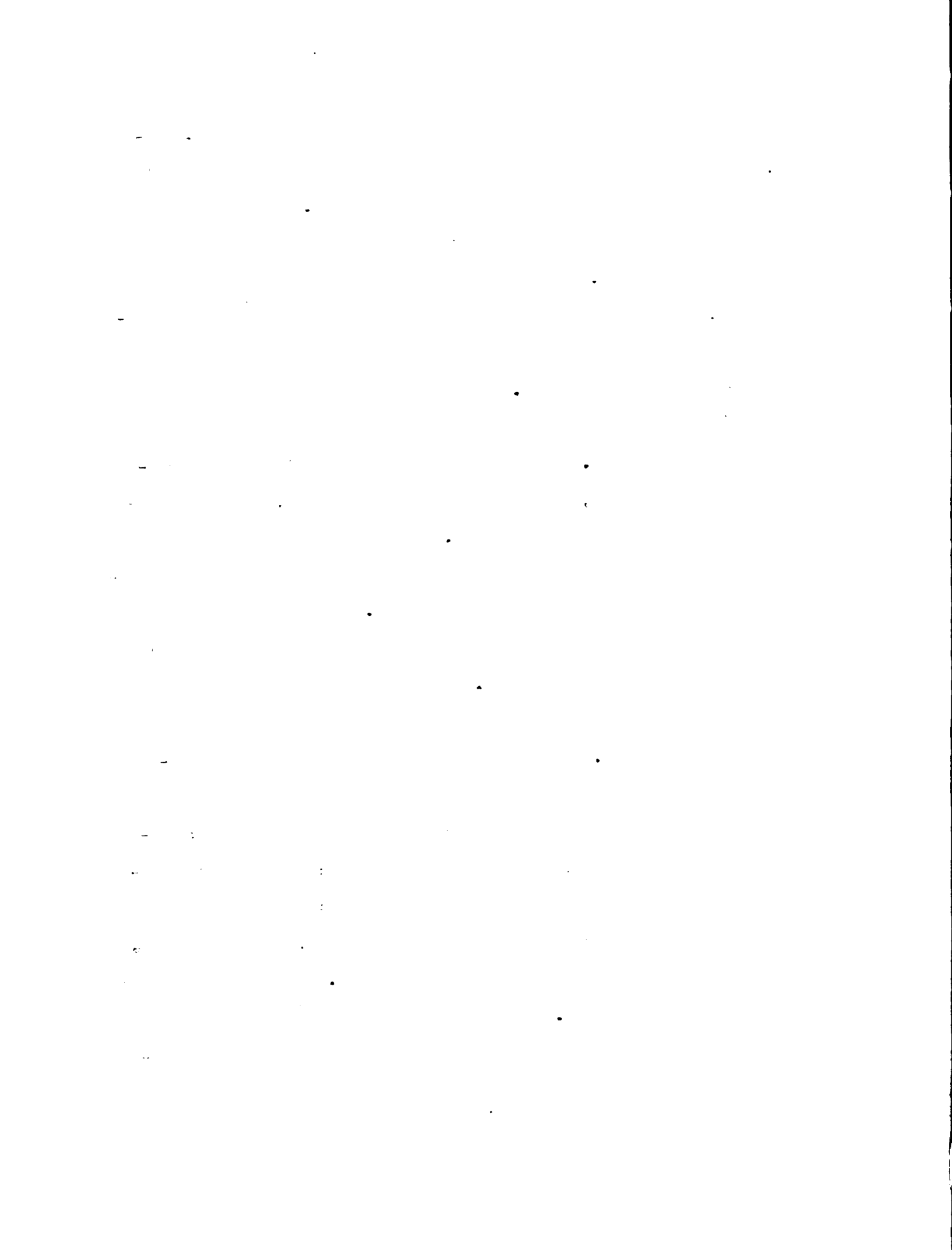
the writer decided to dispense with an analysis of class as such. Instead, it was decided to substitute information regarding the parent's occupation and the educational status of the parents.

The information activities and organizations was not drawn from the dormitory questionnaire. In an effort to make the questionnaire as brief as possible, it was decided to get the information from the college Student Activity Record ⁽¹⁾ cards which every student was supposed to fill out during Spring term registration. This proved to be a poor economy for several of the North Hall cards were missing from the files and more of them were not filled out. Since the information on this possible correlate was so inadequate, it does not appear in Table 5, but is considered briefly at the end of the chapter. The information on moral and idealistic attitudes which was obtained from question 13 of the questionnaire will be considered in a separate chapter.

All the other correlates are analysed according to the friendship group frame of reference in Table 5. Four of the possible correlates have been considered separately for the group as a whole by means of the chi square analysis. This analysis which measures cleavage between groups as determined by their friendship choices has been used to measure cleavage between girls from rural and urban environments; between girls in four levels of scholastic achievement; between girls living in the five separate corridors of the dormitory; and between girls who first entered the dormitory during the first year, the second year, and the third year of its existence as a dormitory. These analyses follow in the succeeding pages.

Any chi square total of more than five may be considered signifi-

(1, See sample card in Appendix B.



Scholastic Average

Computations for Chi Square measures of Cleavages between girls having different Scholastic Averages, based on choices for Friendship.

Four Scholastic groups: Excellent, 2.0-3; Good, 1.5-1.99; Average, 1-1.49; Poor, .5-.99. (1)

Direction of Choice	Actual No. Choices, f	Expected No. Choices, f'	Chi Squares $(f-f')^2/f'$	(2) p
Poor: 15 girls, 90 choices				
1. Poor to poor	28	18	5.55	
2. poor to Average	40	43	.21	
3. Poor to Good	21	23	.17	
4. Poor to Excellent	1	6	4.17	
a. Poor choices to Av., Good, Excel.	62	72	1.37	
A. Total Poor Chi Squares sum of 1,2,3,4. 3 df			10.10	.02
B. Sum of Chi Square items (1+a), 1 df			6.92	.01
Average: 35 girls, 189 choices				
5. Average to Poor	31	38	1.29	
6. Average to Average	102	89	1.90	
7. Average to Good	45	49	.33	
8. Average to Excellent	11	13	.31	
b. Average choices to Poor, Good, Excel.	87	100	1.69	
C. Total Average Chi Squares Sum of 5,6,7,8. 3 df			3.83	.30
D. Sum of Chi Square items (6+b), 1 df			3.59	.02

con't next page

(1) These scholastic averages represent the girls' own evaluation and were taken from the answers to question 5 in the questionnaire. See Appendix A.

(2) In every case, P is greater than the probability. The P for D. means that less than two times out of 100 would this cleavage be due (to chance).

Direction of Choice	Actual No. Choices, f	Expected No. Choices, f'	Chi Squares $(f-f')^2/f'$	P
<u>Good: 19 girls, 89 choices</u>				
9. Good to Poor	19	18	.06	
10. Good to Average	43	42	.03	
11. Good to Good	23	23	.00	
12. Good to Excellent	4	6	.67	
c. Good choices to Poor, Av., Excel.	66	66	.00	
E. Total Good Chi Squares: items 9,10,11,12. 3 df			.76	.90
F. Sum of Chi Square items (11+c)			.00	.99
<u>Excellent: 5 girls, 24 choices</u>				
13. Excellent to Poor	1	5	3.20	
14. Excellent to Average	13	11	.36	
15. Excellent to Good	8	6	.67	
16. Excellent to Excellent	2	2	.00	
d. Excellent choices to Poor, Av., Good	22	22	.00	
G. Total Excellent choices Chi Square items 13, 14, 15, 16. 3 df			4.23	.30
H. Sum of Chi Square items (16+d) 1 df			.00	.99
I. Sum of Chi Square items B, D, F, H. 3 df			10.51	.02
J. Total Chi Square items A, C, E, G. 12 df			18.92	.10

Home Environment: Urban or Rural

Computation for Chi Square measures of Cleavages between Girls coming from Urban and Rural Environments, based on choices for Friendship

Direction of Choice	Actual No. Choices, f	Expected No. Choices, f'	Chi Squares $(f-f')^2/f'$	P*
<u>Urban: 54 girls, 289 choices</u>				
1. Urban to Urban	226	209	1.38	
2. Urban to Rural	63	80	4.59	
A. Total Urban Chi Squares Sum of items (1+2) 1 df			5.97	.02
<u>Rural: 21 girls, 103 choices</u>				
3. Rural to Urban	69	74	.34	
4. Rural to Rural	34	29	.86	
B. Total Rural Chi Squares Sum of items (3+4) 1 df			1.20	.30
C. Sum of Chi Square items A and B, 1 df			7.17	.01

* Less than P percent of the time would these cleavages occur by chance.

Year of Dormitory Entrance

Computations for Chi Square measure of Cleavage between
Girls who entered the Dormitory the first, second, or third year.

(1945-'46, first year; 1946-'47, second year; 1947-'48, third year)

Direction of Choice	Actual No. Choices, f	Expected No. Choices, f'	Chi Squares (f-f') ² /f'	P *
<u>First: 18 girls, 115 choices</u>				
1. First to First	76	28	75.57	
2. First to Second	27	32	.78	
3. First to Third	12	55	33.62	
a. First choices to Second and Third	39	87	26.48	
A. Total First Chi Squares: Sum of 1, 2, 3. 2 df			109.97	.01
B. Sum of Chi Square items (1+a) 1 df			102.05	.01
<u>Second: 21 girls, 97 choices</u>				
4. Second to First	29	23	1.56	
b. Second to Second	42	27	8.33	
6. Second to Third	26	47	9.38	
b. Second choices to First and Third	55	70	3.21	
C. Total Second Chi Squares: Sum of 4, b, 6. 2 df			19.17	.01
D. Sum of Chi Square items (5+b) 1 df			11.54	.01
<u>Third: 36 girls, 180 choices</u>				
7. Third to First	23	43	9.30	
8. Third to Second	24	50	13.52	
9. Third to Third	133	87	24.25	
c. Third choices to First and Second	47	93	22.75	
E. Total Third Chi Squares: Sum of 7, 8, 9. 2 df			47.14	.01
F. Sum of Chi Square items (9+c) 1 df			47.07	.01
G. Sum of Chi Square items B, D, F. 2 df			160.66	.01
H. Total Chi Square items A, C, E. 6 df			176.28	.01

* Less than P percent of the time would the above cleavages be due to chance.

Propinquity in the Dormitory

Computations for Chi Square measures of Cleavage between
Girls living in Corridors A, B, C, D, and E of North Hall.

Direction of Choice	Actual No. Choices, f	Expected No. Choices, f'	Chi Squares (f-f') ² /f'	P
A: 14 girls, 93 choices				
1. A to A	82	18	227.55	
2. A to B	7	22	10.23	
3. A to C	3	22	11.86	
4. A to D	1	22	20.05	
5. A to E	0	9	9.00	
a. A choices to B,C,D,E.	11	75	54.61	
A. Total A Chi Squares: Sum of 1,2,3,4,5. 4 df			278.69	.01
B. Sum of Chi Square items (1+a) 1 df			282.16	.01
B: 18 girls, 86 choices				
6. B to A	4	16	9.00	
7. B to B	60	20.6*	75.36	
8. B to C	2	20.6	16.80	
9. B to D	19	20.6	.12	
10. B to E	1	9	7.11	
b. B choices to A,C,D,E.	26	66.2	24.41	
C. Total B Chi Squares: Sum of 6,7,8,9,10. 4 df			108.39	.01
D. Sum of Chi Square items (7+b) 1 df			99.77	.01
C: 18 girls, 85 choices				
11. C to A	2	16	12.24	
12. C to B	6	20.3	10.07	
13. C to C	74	20.3	142.05	
14. C to D	1	20.3	18.35	
15. C to E	2	8	4.50	
c. C choices to A,B,D,E	11	64.6	44.47	
E. Total C Chi Squares: Sum of 11,12,13,14,15. 4 df			187.21	.01
F. Sum of Chi Square items (13+c) 1 df			186.52	.01

con't. on next page

* Contrary to orthodox procedure, decimals were used in f' because of difficulties presented by three of the groups being analysed having the same number.

Direction of Choice	Actual No. Choices, f	Expected No. Choices, f'	Chi Squares $(f-f')^2/f'$	P *
<u>D: 18 girls, 94 choices</u>				
16. D to A	3	17	11.63	
17. D to B	21	23	.17	
18. D to C	0	23	23.00	
19. D to D	70	23	96.04	
20. D to E	0	8	8.00	
d. D to A,B,C,E.	24	71	31.13	
G. Total D Chi Squares: Sum of 16,17,18,19,20. 4 df			138.74	.01
H. Sum of Chi Square items (19+d) 1 df			127.17	.01
<u>E. 7 girls, 34 choices</u>				
21. E to A	2	7	3.59	
22. E to B	3	8	4.13	
23. E to C	5	8	1.13	
24. E to D	0	8	8.00	
25. E to E	24	3	147.00	
e. E choices to A,B,C,D. 10		31	14.23	
i. Total E Chi Squares: Sum of 21,22,23,24,25. 4 df			163.85	.01
J. Sum of Chi Square items (25+e) 1 df			161.23	.01
<hr/>				
K. Sum of Chi Square items B,D,F,H,J. 4 df			856.85	.01
L. Total Chi Square items A,C,E,G,I. 20 df			876.85	.01

* Less than P percent of the time would these cleavages occur by chance.

(1) icant and the greater the total chi square, the greater the cleavage for the correlate being analysed and the greater significance may be attached to that correlate as an answer to the "why" of friendship choice.

Scholastic Average The chi square computations on cleavage between girls having different scholastic averages do reveal a significant cleavage. The sum of the chi squares B, D, F, and H (each of which tested the hypothesis that a given scholastic average group made its friendship choices without reference to whether the girls chosen were of the same scholastic average group or not) tests the hypothesis that North Hall friendship choices are not affected by similarities in scholastic averages. For North Hall this chi square sum is 10.51 (with three degrees of freedom). Since the measure is statistically significant, the probability (P) indicating that less than two times out of a hundred would such a cleavage occur by chance, the hypothesis is disproved, and it may be concluded that friendship choice in North Hall is more frequent between girls having similar scholastic averages than between girls having different scholastic averages. The sum of chi squares for A, C., E, and G test the hypothesis that friendship choices are independent of the scholastic rating of the girls chosen. The sum of these chi squares is 18.92 (with 12 degrees of freedom). This is also statistically significant although the cleavage might occur by chance up to 10 times out of a hundred. Even so, the hypothesis is disproved.

Although the above analysis does prove that friendship choice in

(1) According to Croxton and Cowden, Applied General Statistics, Prentice Hall, Inc., New York, 1941. Pp. 286-287.

North Hall is more likely to be a function of similarities in scholastic averages than not, a careful comparison of the chi square analysis of the four scholastic average groups reveals an interesting fact. Do the girls with good and excellent averages display a greater cleavage in their selection of friends than the girls with only average or poor scholastic averages? They do not! Both groups showed no cleavage at all in their friendship choices. The girls with poor averages and the girls with only mean averages have chi square totals of 10.10 and 3.83 respectively. This reveals for North Hall an inverse relationship between scholastic average and the tendency toward cleavage in friendship choice.

The analysis of scholastic averages among friendship groups in Table b shows some variations within cliques, but there is a tendency toward similarity.

The answers to question 1 of the questionnaire
 Home Environment:
 Urban or Rural allowed for a comparison not only of the type of environment, i.e., whether it was rural farm, rural non-farm, or urban, but also for a comparison of the size of the community with which each girl was associated. Although the complete information is tabulated for a comparison by friendship groups in table 5, the simpler comparison of rural and urban cleavages was the only one suited to the requirements for chi square analysis. The sum of the chi squares for the urban and rural (rural farm and rural non-farm) groups was 7.17 which is significant, although not highly so, at the one percent level. Comparison of the total urban chi squares with the total rural chi squares (5.97 and 1.20 respectively, reveals a greater tendency toward cleavage on the part of the urban girls. This is shown to some extent

in Table 5 where it is revealed that four groups totalling 23 girls are completely urban in their membership.

Year of First Dormitory Entrance Do girls in dormitories choose their friends from among those who entered the dormitory at the same time they did, or do they reorganize their friendship relationships with each arrival of newcomers into the dormitory? The chi square analysis on page 33 proves that the former practice is far more likely to be true. The hypothesis that friendship choices are made without reference to whether or not the friends chosen entered the dormitory about the same time as the chooser is disproved by the sum of the chi squares for those who entered the dormitory in the school years 1945-'46, 1946-'47, and 1947-'48. The sum of the chi squares for these groups is 160.66 which is significant at the one percent level. Similarly the hypothesis that friendship choices in North Hall are independent of considerations regarding the time the girls entered the dormitory is disproved by the total of chi square items A, C, and E which is 176.28 and significant at the one percent level. Comparison of the chi square totals of the girls who entered the dormitory the first, second, and third years of its existence reveals a much greater cleavage in the group which entered the dormitory the first year, most of the members of which have lived in the dormitory the three full years. This group, totalling 24% of the dormitory membership, made choices responsible for 62.5% of the total dormitory cleavage. It does not follow, however, that the second year girls showed more cleavage than the third. On the contrary, the total of chi square items for the second year group was 19.17 as compared with the third year total of 47.14.

The column on year of dormitory entrance in Table 5 gives visual evidence of the validity of the chi square analysis. There are variations in year of dormitory entrance within the cliques, but they are few.

Propinquity The height of propinquity in the dormitory would be that
within the
Dormitory of the roommate relationship. Table 3 revealed that 54
roommates chose each other and five others chose their roommates as
friends even though their choices were not reciprocated. Since there
were three girls who had no roommates to choose, the unanimity of friend-
ship choice among roommates at North Hall was 81.9%⁽¹⁾

Probably the next degree of propinquity in a dormitory would be residence in the same corridor. Chart 1 which shows the floor plan of North Hall reveals five corridors. The rooms across the front of the dormitory on the second floor and the rooms adjoining each corner have been designated as Corridor A. These are the choicest rooms in the dormitory and are usually rated by upperclassmen. The rooms in the North corridor of the second floor belong to Corridor B; the rooms in the South corridor of that floor belong to Corridor C. The first floor corridors, D and E, are on the North and South sides of the dormitory respectively. Do the friendship choices reveal cleavages between girls living in different corridors?

The chi square analysis on pages 34 and 35 indicates that they do in a very significant manner. The total of the chi squares for Corridor A is 278.69; for Corridor B, it is 108.39; for Corridor C, it is 187.21; for Corridor D, it is 138.74; for Corridor E, it is 163.85. The sum of these chi squares is 876.85, giving indisputable evidence to the fact that friendship choices in North Hall are not independent of place of

(1) Dr. Smucker found that the Stephens girls chose their roommates 63.2% of the time.

residence in the dormitory. The sum of chi squares B, D, F, H, and J which is 856.85 proves that friendship choices between girls living in the same corridor are more frequent than friendship choices between girls living in different corridors. All these totals are significant at the one percent level.

Corridors B and D revealed the least amount of cleavage in their friendship choices in the dormitory. The reason for this is interesting and can be deduced by examining the chi square items in each of these groups. It will be seen that the B choices of D girls and the D choices of B girls almost equal the expected number of choices, and the chi squares representing the cleavage in these choices is the lowest in the entire set of computations. Therefore the comparatively low cleavage ratings for the girls in these corridors is accounted for by the fact that they choose each other. ⁽¹⁾

What does this astounding cleavage of girls in the same corridor mean? Does propinquity in the dormitory make for friendship choices or do the friendship choices determine the propinquity of girls who choose each other? Arguments could be made for both opinions. At North Hall, upperclassmen who lived in the dormitory the year before have first choice of the rooms and may choose their roommates. Entering Freshmen and transfer students are assigned to the remainder of the rooms at random unless a pair of girls from the same hometown makes a special request to room together. One month after the opening of the school year and at the beginning of each term thereafter, the girls are permitted to change their rooms and their roommates if agreements are made with all parties concerned. "Seldom", says Mrs. Dewey,

(1) A convenient fire escape connects these two corridors at their western ends.

Chart 1

North Hall Room Plan

54 & 6b	C	3 & 61		41 & 51	C	2 & 23	
	o				o		
21 & 66	r	30 & 56	Court	37 & 57	r	5 & 48	
	r					r	
7 & 28	i	1 & 58			12 & 33	i	36 & 44
	d				d		
	o				o		
	r				r		
27 & 75	C	31 & 73		62 & 69	B	8 & 38	
	'				'		
6 & 43	'	Bath	Smoker	Bath	'	35 & 39	
	'				'		
14 & 40	----- Corridor A -----					70 & 74	
16 & 55	'	10 & 64	46 & 53	26	'	47	
	'				'	9 & 63	
	'				'		

Second Floor

49 & 72	52		29 & 59	19 & 67
		Court		
empty	71 & 20		18 & 34	13 & 25
11 & 22	Cook		4 & 15	42 & 45
Kitchen	Dietitian		17 & 24	50 & 68
	Bath	Small Parlor	Switch Board	Bath
				32 & 60
				'
Dining Room		Living Room, Lobby		'
			--- Housemother	'
				'

First Floor

"does a move involve only two changes. One move brings about a chain of changes which affect maybe eight or 10 people." There were many such changes in North Hall during the school year 1947-1948, but only 15 of the 75 girls changed from one corridor to another. And it cannot be maintained that all of these 15 changes were occasioned by friendship preferences in another corridor. Often it was necessary for one girl to make an "accommodation" move in order to let her roommate have another roommate of her choice in with her. Sometimes two girls wanting to room together would take any empty room available regardless of its position. Sometimes a girl would move anywhere to room with any one who had no roommate in order to get away from an undesirable roommate.

Among the 18 girls who have lived in the dormitory three years, are three pairs of roommates who were assigned to each other as entering Freshmen and have lived together ever since. Two other pairs were assigned to the same corridor, became roommates after the first month, and have lived together ever since. Among the 21 girls who have lived in the dormitory two years are three pairs who have lived together since their first assignment in the dormitory. Among the 36 girls who entered the dormitory this year, there were five pairs who finished out the year with their originally assigned roommates. The remainder of the girls did not necessarily make changes because of personal inclination. Every term there are changes in dormitory membership. Girls leave the dormitory to go home, to marry, to go to a sorority house, or to go to another school. Other girls take their places. Obviously, a girl left without a roommate must make some adjustment. Either she teams up with another girl in the same circumstances with whom she has either a friendly or neutral relationship, or she takes her chances on

a new girl assigned to her. Some of the roommate friendship pairs of Clique 1 are examples of the former situation. Number 70, a member of one such pair, also explained how a few second year girls became members of their predominantly third year clique.

"Oh, those girls lived next door or across the hall from one of us. They'd stop in to talk and maybe sometime they'd be invited to one of our parties if we liked them. Pretty soon we'd be borrowing clothes from each other. Little by little they became more accepted until finally they were members of the gang just as much as the rest of us."

The evidence does not show that it is friendship which causes propinquity exclusively; nor does it uphold the opposite. Only a long-time, close study of dormitory relationships could determine the precedence of either factor. Although Mrs. Dewey has had to approve and make arrangements for all the many changes from original assignments during the three years of the dormitory's existence, she is convinced of the importance of propinquity in friendship choice.

"It almost frightens me", she says, "when I think of the importance of a chance assignment in the dormitory. That chance assignment may result in friendships which will make or break a girl's career in college. I am enough convinced of this that when my daughter enters a dormitory a year from next Fall, I'd like to make certain that she won't be a victim of chance."

The analysis of other possible determinants of friendship is found in Table 5 where visual comparisons can be made between members of the different sub-groups.

Differences in age are related to differences in academic year
Age and the year of first entrance to the dormitory. The age given in Table 5 is the age at the time that the Personal Data Blank (from which this item was taken) was filled out. This was during the month of October, 1947, shortly after the opening of Fall term. For the

Num-ber	Age	Parent's Occupation	Parents' Education	Leisure Time Activities	Dating Habits	Academic Year
Clique 1						
9	19	1	4	2,3,6,7	4	J
14	21	3	4	3,4,5,8	2	S
10	20	3	4	3,4,7	4	J
46	20	3	4	3,5,7,9	1	J
74	20	2	6	2,4,7	2	J
40	19	1	2	2,3,4,7,8	2	So
64	19	2	4	1,4,6,11	2	So
53	20	3	3	9,10	2	J
70	20	7	9		4	J
63	20	1	2	2,4	3	J
Clique 2						
20	17	1	4	7	3	F
52	18	3	7	4,5,7	3	F
71	19	2	3	4,7	1	F
72	18	1	2	2,4,7	3	F
49	17	2	4	1,3,4	3	F
Clique 3						
17	18	3	2	5,12,13	4	F
50	17	2	5	4,5	1	F
60	18	4	4	4	1	So t
24	17	4	7	2,6,7	2	F
32	17	4	2	3,4,5	2	F
68	19	3	2	3,4,5,14	2	So t
Clique 4						
16	20	5	5	3,4	2	J
57	20	3	3	2,4,7	5	J
18	20	5	3	5,6,7,13	3	J
37	20	1	1	1,3,4,6,7	3	J
33	20	3	3	2,3,4,5,7	5	S
Clique 5						
12	20	2	2	3,4,6,7,9	2	J
30	19	3	5	3,5,7	2	F
66	19	3	3	4,5,7,8	4	J
21	20	1	6	5,11	3	J
75	20	2	6	3,4,5	4	J
65	19	4	4	3,4,7,9	3	J
27	19	5	6	3,4,5	3	J
1	19	4	2	4	4	F
Clique 7 (Seven)						
54	19	2	5	3,4,5,6,16	4	F
73	18	2	2	1,4,5	4	F
3	20	4	4	2,4,7	3	J t
28	20	3	4	3,6,7,11	2	J
61	19	3	7	4,5,6	4	So
56	17	3	4	2,4,5,6	2	F
31	17	3	3	4,7	2	F

Table 5

Analysis of 14 Possible Friendship Correlates

Number	Scholastic Average	Religion	Major	Sorority	Proximity	Entered Dorm.	Part-time Work	Home Res.
Clique 1								
9	1-1.49	Catholic	Sociol.		A	F '45	Swbd.	U-5
14	1-1.49	Methodist	Sociol.		A	F '45		U-7
10	1-1.49	Methodist	Elem.Ed.		A	F '46	Kitch.	U-4
46	1.5-1.99	None	Art	GamPhiB	A	F '45	Swbd.	U-7
74	1-1.49	Methodist	Bus.Ad.	GamPhiB	A	F '45	Kit.pt	U-5
40	1-1.49	Presbyter.	Journal.	SigKap	A	W '47		U-7
64	.5-.99	Episcopal	Art		A	F '46	Swbd.	U-4
53	1-1.49	Methodist	Phys.Ed.	GamPhiB	A	F '45	Swbd.pt	U-7
70	.5-.99	Catholic	Elem.Ed.		A	F '45	Kit.pt	U-7
63	1.5-1.99	Lutheran	ChildDev.		A	F '45	Swbd.	U-7
Clique 2								
20	.5-.99	Lutheran	Bus.Ad.		E	F '47		RF-2
52	.5-.99	Methodist	Med.Tech.		E	F '47		U-3
71	.5-.99	None			E	F '47		RNF-3
72	.5-.99	Protestant	ChildDev.		E	F '47		U-6
49	1-1.49	Protestant			E	F '47		U-7
Clique 3								
17	.5-.99	Protestant	P.S.Music		D	F '47		U-2
50	.5-.99	Baptist			D	F '47		U-7
60	1.5-1.99	None	HomeEcon.	ZetTauA	D	F '47	Kitch.	RF-1
24	1-1.49	Methodist	HomeEcon.		D	F '47		RF-3
32	1-1.49	Episcopal	ChildDev.	ZetTauA	D	F '47		RF-3
68	1-1.49	Baptist	Voice		D	F '47	OldsHotel	RF-3
Clique 4								
16	1-1.49	ChrisScien.			A	F '45	Kit.pt	RNF-2
57	1-1.49	Ch of Chri.	Phys.Ed.		B	F '45	Kitch.	U-3
18	1-1.49	Protestant	Inst.Mgt.		D	F '45	Kitch.	U-7
37	1.5-1.99	Methodist	Dietetics		B	F '45	Kitch.	RF-3
33	2-2.49	Congregat.	FoodNutri.		B	F '45	Kitch	RNF-2
Clique 5								
12	1-1.49	Protestant	Spanish	KapDelta	B	F '45	Kit.pt	U-5
30	.5-.99	Presbyter.	HomeEcon.		C	W '48		U-3
66	1-1.49	Episcopal		KapKapGam	C	F '46		U-4
21	1-1.49	Evangel.	Soc.Anth.		C	F '45		U-4
75	1-1.49	Presbyter.	Elem.Ed.		C	F '45		U-7
65	1-1.49	Methodist	Voc. H.E.		C	F '45		RF-3
27	1-1.49	Presbyter.	Voc. H.E.		C	F '45		U-7
1	1-1.49	Protestant	ClothTex.		C	F '47		RNF-2
Clique 7 (Seven)								
54	1-1.49	Presbyter.	P.S.Music		C	F '47		U-7
73	1.5-1.99	Presbyter.	P.S.Music		C	F '47		U-7
3	1-1.49	Catholic	Radio		C	W '48		U-4
28	1.5-1.99	Episcopal	Accounting		C	F '45	Registrar	U-4
61	.5-.99	Presbyter.	SocialSer.		C	F '46		U-4
56	.5-.99	Presbyter.	SocialSer.		C	F '47		U-7
31	1.5-1.99	Presbyter.	Int.Decor.	AlChio	C	F '47		U-3

Number	Age	Parent's Occupation	Parents' Education	Leisure Time Activities	Dating Habits	Academic year
Clique 6 (Six)						
29	19	4	1	9	3	J
59	18	1	2		3	J
2	23	3	3		3	So t
19	18	1	2	3,4,5	1	SO
42	19	3	2	3,6,7	2	So
23	27	3	4		4	So t
67	20	2	2	3,4,5,6,10	1	J
4	18	3	2	2,6,7	1	F
15	18	3	5	2,6,7	4	F
45	19	3	4	7	2	So
13	18	3	2		3	So
41	19	2	4	2,4,5	3	So
51	19	3	3	7,9,15	5	So
The Square						
39	18	3	2	3,7	2	F
38	17	3	5	7	2	F
69	17	3	5	3,4,8,10	1	F
35	18	3	7	6,7	1	F
S.W. Triangle						
43	17		6	4,5,7	6	F
11	17				6	F
6	19	5	6	7	1	F
N.E. Triangle						
48	20	3	3	2,4,5,6,7,12	2	J
62	21	3	5	6,7	3	So
5	21	3	2		1	J
Indeterminants						
55	19	2	5	2,4,7	6	So
44	17	2	5	5,7	5	F
36	17	4	4	3,4	4	F
8	17	4	6	3,7	1	F
26	26	4	2	2,3,6,7	3	G
Near-isolates						
22	18	3	3	2,7,8,16	1	F
7	19	2	4	3,4,5,7	2	J
34	25			5,6,7	4	So
47	19	4	4	2,3,5	4	So
58	20	1	6	7	6	J
25	28	3	9	3	4	F

Parent's Occupation: 1, Professional; 2, Semi-professional and Managerial; 3, Clerical, Skilled trades, Retail Business; 4, Farmers, Animal husbandry, Horticulture; 5, semi-skilled, Minor Clerical and Minor Business; 6, slightly skilled trades and other occupations requiring little training or ability; 7, Day laborers, all classes including factory workers not listed in other groups.

Parents' Education: 1, Both parents college graduates or better; 2, one parent college graduate or better; 3, Both parents attended college; 4, One parent attended college; 5, Both parents high school graduates; 6, one parent high school graduate; 7, Both parents attended high school; 8, One parent attended high school; 9, Neither attended high school.

Table 5 Con't.

Num-ber	Scholastic Average	Religion	Major	Sorority	Propin-quity	Entered Dorm.	Part-time Work	Home Res.
Clique 6 (Six)								
29	1-1.49	Presbyter.	Ret.Buy.	ChiO	D	F '46	Kitch.	RF-3
59	1-1.49	Presbyter.	Bus.Ad.		D	F '46	Kitch.	U-4
2	1.5-1.99	Chris.Sci.	Elem.Ed.	ChiO	B	F '47	Kit.pt	U-7
19	.5-.99	Chris.Sci.	2yr ter.		D	F '46	Kitch.	RNF-1
42	1-1.49	Methodist	Elem.Ed.	SigKap	D	F '46		U-7
23	1.5-1.99	Methodist	Bus.Ad.		B	F '47		U-5
67	1-1.49	Lutheran	Ret.Buy.		D	F '46	Kit.pt	U-4
4	1.5-1.99	Lutheran	Art		D	F '47	Kitch.	U-6
15	1-1.49	Lutheran	Art		D	F '47	Kitch.	U-7
45	1-1.49	Catholic			D	F '46	Kit.pt	RNF-2
13	1-1.49	Methodist	PreLaw	SigKap	D	F '46	Kit.pt	U-5
41	2-2.49	Chris.Sci.	Ret.Buy	SigKap	B	F '46		U-5
51	1-1.49	Methodist	Elem.Ed.	SigKap	B	F '46		RNF-3
The Square								
39	.5-.99	None	Med.Tech.		B	F '47		U-3
38	.5-.99	Episcopal	Vet.Med.		B	F '47		RNF-1
69	1-1.49	Presbyter.			B	F '47		U-5
35	.5-.99	Lutheran	Art		B	F '47		U-2
S.W. Triangle								
43	1.5-1.99	Catholic			C	F '47		U-5
11	1-1.49	Protestant			E	W '48		U-3
6	2-2.49	Catholic	2yr Ter.		C	W '48		U-7
N.E. Triangle								
48	1-1.49	Methodist	Ret.Buy.		B	F '45		U-7
62	1.5-1.99	Catholic	Chemistry	ZetTauA	B	F '47		U-5
5	1.5-1.99	None	Soc&Jour.		B	F '45		U-5
Indeterminants								
55	1.5-1.99	Methodist	HomeEcon.	GamPhiB	A	F '46	Kitch.	U-7
44	1.5-1.99	Presbyter.	Med.Tech.		B	F '47		U-7
36	1-1.49	Protestant	Voc. H.E.		B	F '47		RF-1
8	1.5-1.99	Methodist	Math Ed.		B	F '47	Hospital	RF-2
26	2.5-3	Congregat.	Hist.Coun.		A	F '47	Counselor	RF-4
Near-isolates								
22	1.5-1.99	None	Art		E	W '48		RNF-3
7	1.5-1.99	Methodist	Elem.Ed.		C	F '45	Registrar	RNF-4
34	2-2.49	Protestant	Zoology		D	F '47		U-2
47	1-1.49	Methodist	Flor-Soil		A	F '46	Swbd.	U-2
58	1.5-1.99	Catholic	Med.Tech.	AlDelThe	C	F '46	VetClinic	U-7
25		Jewish			D	S '48		U-7

Leisure time Activities: 1, Art; 2, Cards; 3, Literature; 4, Handwork; 5, Music; 6, Dancing; 7, Sports; 8, Dating; 9, Committee work; 10, Social activities; 11, Movies; 12, Radio; 13, Photography; 14, Religious activities; 15, Journalism; 16, "Gabbing".

Dating Habits: See question 12, Questionnaire, Appendix A for key.

Propinquity: Corridors within the dormitory. See Chart 1, p. 41.

most part, Freshman girls were 17 or 18; Sophomore girls were 18 or 19; Junior girls were 19 or 20; and Senior girls were 20 or 21. There were only five girls whose ages were over 21: Number 2, an ex-Wave, was 23; Number 34, an ex-Army Nurse, was 25; Number 26, the graduate student counselor and an ex-Red Cross worker in Europe, was 26; Number 23, previously employed by a government agency, was 27; and Number 25, an ex-Wac, was 28. Numbers 2 and 23 made excellent group adjustments in Clique 6, the former receiving six total friendship choices and the latter 10. While Number 34's comparatively poor group adjustment might conceivably be due to her difference in age, Mrs. Sweeney says the more probable reason is the rigidity of her personal ideals and her intolerance of others who do not measure up to them. The fact that it was Clique 6, the same clique which accepted Numbers 2 and 23, which did not reciprocate her choices lends credence to the opinion that age was not the important factor in her near-isolation. Number 25 received no friendship choices, but she was new to the dormitory at the time the questionnaire was answered. She later made friends according to the housemother. Number 26, the graduate counselor, was in no position to single out girls of a particular group for her friendship relations.

Because they are college girls and for the most part fall within the college age group limits, there are few great differences in age at North Hall. Differences of one, two, three, and (for Clique 6, four and seven years in the ages of all the individual sub-group members excepting those in Clique 4, lead one to the conclusion that exact similarity in age is not one of the more important factors in dormitory friendship choice.

Academic Year Academic year and the year of first dormitory entrance go hand in hand for most girls, and the correlation between the two categories would undoubtedly be very high. In North Hall the difference was accentuated by the fact that the dormitory had been in existence for only three years. Therefore the Senior girls entered the dormitory the same year the Juniors did. Transfer students probably account for a large share of the difference in any dormitory. The chi square analysis for cleavages among girls of different academic years would be almost as high as that for the year of first dormitory entrance, but a close comparison of the two columns in table 5 will reveal a justification for choosing the latter category and uphold its slight edge over the academic year as a correlate of friendship choice. This is true for North Hall; in other dormitories the two categories might easily be synonymous.

Religion Bogardus and Otto in their study of the similarities and dissimilarities of chums found that girls placed religion first as a dissimilarity between themselves and their chums. ⁽¹⁾ But Helen Richardson's study of community of values as a factor in friendships of college and adult women indicated more evidence for resemblance between friends in religious values than in other values. ⁽²⁾ Answers to question 4 in the questionnaire ⁽³⁾ furnished the information regarding particular religious affiliation and the regularity or irregularity of attending church. The column for religion in Table 5

(1) Bogardus, E.S. and Otto, P., "The Social Psychology of Chums", Sociol. and Soc. Res., 14, 1940, pp. 456-460.

(2) Richardson, Helen, "Community of Values as a Factor in Friendships of College and Adult Women", Jour. Soc. Psych. 11, 1940, pp.

(3) See Appendix A. (303-312)

Table 6

Analysis of Religious Affiliation and Regularity of Attendance

Denomination	Number Affiliated	Attend Regularly	Attend Sometimes	Attend Not at all
Methodist	17	3	14	
Presbyterian	13	5	7	1
Protestant	9	2	6	1
Catholic	8	8		
Lutheran	6	1	5	
None	6		1	5
Episcopal	5	2	3	
Christian Science	4	1	3	
Congregational	2	1	1	
Baptist	2	1	1	
Church of Christ	1	1		
Evangelical	1			
Jewish	1			1
Totals	75	26	41	8

reveals the many differences of religious affiliation within the friendship groups. Altogether, there were 13 religious denominations listed in North Hall. ⁽¹⁾ Table 6 above shows the number of girls affiliated with each of these religious denominations and the regularity or irregularity of church attendance. The influence of religion as a factor in friendship choice would logically be greater for those who attended church regularly. Of all the denominations listed above, the only one which received regular attendance from all its affiliates was the Catholic.

The friendship choices of the eight Catholic girls, each of whom attended church regularly, were examined to see if they chose each other as friends. Between these eight girls, there were two pairs of mutual choices, each pair coming from a common friendship group. There were, then, four choices between these Catholic girls out of a possible 56. The unanimity of friendship choice among this group of Catholic girls who attend their church regularly was .07 or seven percent which is almost exactly the same as the unanimity of friendship choice for

(1) Actually there were only 11 bona fide denominations. The "nones" and the "Protestants" were used as religious categories in analysis.

the dormitory as a whole. The importance of religion as a correlate of friendship choice was not demonstrated in North Hall. (1)

Major or Vocational Choice Table 5 does not reveal great similarities in major or vocational interest among the several friendship groups. This is quite easily explainable for groups at Michigan State College where all Freshmen and most Sophomores are enrolled in the Basic College where the majority of course selection is either prescribed or limited to a choice between two or three Basic College courses. Choice of a major is not usually made until the beginning of the Junior year. By that time friendship groups in dormitories have already been established. The information regarding the major or vocational interest was taken from the Personal Data Blanks. (2)

Sorority Does membership in the same sorority influence friendship choices? Only 18 out of the 75 girls indicated that they belonged to a sorority. There were three Gamma Phi Betas in Clique 1 and one Sigma Kappa. However, the three former did not choose their sorority sister, Number 55, who also lives in the same corridor with them. Number 55 chose two of her three sorority sisters in Clique 1. Although two of the four Sigma Kappas in Clique 6 chose their sorority sister, Number 40 of Clique 1, she chose only one of them. Even the four Sigma Kappas in Clique 6 itself were three choices short of unanimity of friendship choice. There were also in Clique 6 two Chi Omegas who chose each other. In Clique 3 a pair of roommates are Zeta Tau Alphas, but four other girls belong to no sorority. One of the two Zeta Tau roommates chooses her sorority sister

(1) For unanimity comparisons see that of sub-groups on page 22. The unanimity of choice for the five corridors whose cleavage was measured on pages 34 and 35 was: A, .44; B, .20; C, .24; D, .23; E, .57.

Number 62 of the N.E. Triangle, and Number 62 chooses only the sorority sister who did not choose her. Among Clique 5's eight members are one Kappa Delta and one Kappa Kappa Gamma. An outsider said that this clique had dropped the Kappa Delta since she became so immersed in her sorority, because as a group they attach little importance to sororities. However, the friendship choices belie this observation; five of the girls in the clique chose her, and she chose no one. There is only one sorority member in Clique 7, and she is the dormitory's only Alpha Chi Omega.

Altogether, sorority membership is responsible for very few of the friendship choices in North Hall although sorority sisters do choose each other more often than not. It is the opinion of Mrs. Dewey and the graduate counselor that sorority membership is more greatly influenced by the friendships which are made in North Hall. In the dormitory history there have been several instances in which one girl in a given group will be asked to join a sorority, and she later will succeed in having her roommate or another member of her group asked to join.

Part-Time Work Michigan State College offers opportunities in part-time employment for some of its students who would themselves defray part of the cost of their college expenses. The dormitories in particular have openings for their residents to help in the kitchen and dining room or on the switchboard. Is there a cleavage in friendship choice between girls who work part-time and those who do not? The part-time work column in Table 5 shows that working or not working is predominantly a friendship group division. The informa-

tion regarding part-time work was taken first from the Personal Data records which were filled out in October of 1947. To bring these records up to date, Mrs. Dewey, the housemother, supplemented that information from her own knowledge of the girls' employment since the records were filled out. For the most part, work opportunities were reserved for those of upperclassman status. These girls have first chance at the jobs, and Freshman girls are advised to keep their time for their studies until their adjustment to college work permits them to take on extra responsibilities.

All but two of the members of Clique 1 work either on the switchboard or in the kitchen. In the Freshman Clique 2, no one works. Clique 3 which is composed of four Freshmen and two Sophomore transfers records part-time work only for the two latter. The four Juniors and one Senior in Clique 4 all work in the kitchen although one only works part time. No work was reported for the six Juniors and two Freshmen of Clique 5. All but four of the 13 girls in Clique 6 work in the dormitory kitchen, although four of them work only when they're needed or to take someone's place. In the predominantly Freshman Clique 7, only a Junior, Number 28 works. She works in the Registrar's office as does her near-isolate roommate, Number 7. No one in the Square or the S.W. Triangle works; these are Freshman friendship groups exclusively. Only the Sophomore member of the N.E. Triangle works, and she in the kitchen. Among the indeterminants and near-isolates, one works in the kitchen, one at the college hospital, one in the Registrar's office, one on the switchboard, one in the college veterinary clinic, and one is dormitory counselor.

Although there is an obvious cleavage of friendship choices between those who work and those who do not, it is doubtful if working or

not working is the primary factor in the cleavage. Working in the dormitory is largely an upperclassman opportunity, and it is likely that members of already formed groups influence each other to take advantage of it. In practice, girls "work in to jobs" by acting as substitutes for their friends when called upon to do so.

For the classification of parent's occupation, use was
 Parent's Occupation made of the Goodenough-Anderson scale ⁽¹⁾ which adopts the occupational divisions of the 1920 U.S. Census. Lundberg and Steele ⁽²⁾ used this census scale in their village study, and their practice of using the higher occupational status in cases where both parents worked was also followed here. The Goodenough-Anderson scale is composed of seven groups: 1, Professional; 2, Semi-professional and Managerial; 3, Clerical, Skilled trades, Retail business; 4, Farmers, Animal Husbandry, Horticulture; 5, Semi-skilled, Minor clerical, and Minor business; 6, Slightly skilled trades and other occupations requiring little training or ability; 7, Day laborers and all classes, including Factory workers, not listed in other groups.

The information used for the parent's occupational classification was taken from the Personal Data records which the girls had filled out themselves. There were a few cases in which the description of the parental occupation necessitated what the writer considered an obvious overrating, but in every case, the girls' interpretations were strictly adhered to. Number 70 might have provided her father with a higher rating if she had specified as did all other girls whose fathers worked in factories the particular type of work he did.

(1) Goodenough, Florence and Anderson, John, Experimental Child Study The Century Co., New York and London, 1931, pp. 501-503.

(2) Op. cit.

It can be seen in Table 5 that there is no concentration within the cliques of a particular parental occupation group except in the case of the Square. The parental occupations for these four girls all fell in group 3, which fact is not too significant because over 40% of all the North Hall parental occupations fell in this group. For the most part, similarities in parent's occupational status seemed to have little bearing on friendship group membership. But since occupation is such an important determinant of class, a further analysis was made to determine the unanimity of friendship choice within the parental occupation groups. Occupation groups 7, 5, and 6 were combined for this analysis since there were only five in the combined grouping. Further combinations would have rendered the frame of reference meaningless. Table 7 below records this analysis and reveals that the average unanimity of choice on the basis of parental occupation groups was only .076 or 7.6%. Comparison with the unanimity of choice for the dormitory as a whole (.071 or 7.1%) indicates the insignificance of the parental occupation factor as a determinant of friendship choice.

Table 7

Unanimity of Choice According to Parental Occupation Groups							
Group	No. Girls	Intra-G Choices	Total Choices	Expected Choices	Total Possible Chs.	U	N(U)
1	10	10	56	8	90	.11	1.100
2	13	9	77	13	156	.058	.754
3	32	73	157	67	992	.074	2.368
4	11	11	56	8	110	.10	1.100
5,6,7	5	0	29	2	20	.000	.000
Totals	71	103	375	98			5.322

$\frac{N(U)}{N}$ equals $\frac{5.322}{71}$ equals .076 or 7.6%, which is the average unanimity of choice on the basis of parental occupation groups.

Unanimity of choice for the dormitory as a whole: U equals $\frac{C}{N(N-1)}$,

$\frac{392}{75(74)}$ equals $\frac{392}{5550}$ equals .071 or 7.1%

The Personal Data records furnished the information regarding the educational attainments of both parents. For purposes of classification, a scale was devised to provide the information on the parents' joint educational status: Group 1, both parents college graduates or better; Group 2, one parent college graduate or better; Group 3, both parents attended college; Group 4, one parent attended college; Group 5, both parents high school graduates; Group 6, one parent high school graduate; Group 7, both parents attended high school; Group 8, one parent attended high school; Group 9, neither parent attended high school.

Forty-nine or about two thirds of the 73 girls who gave information regarding their parents' education reported that there had been some college training in the parental background: in two cases, both parents were college graduates or better; in 18 cases, one parent was a college graduate or better; in 11 cases, both parents had attended college; and in 18 cases, one parent had attended college. Of the remaining 24 girls, 10 reported that both parents were high school graduates; eight said that one parent was a high school graduate; four said that both their parents had attended high school; and only two said that neither parent had attended high school. All four of the latter parents were born and educated in "the old country".

The column listing the parents' educational status group in Table 5 shows that no friendship group represents a cleavage based on that category. Moreover, comparison with the parental occupation column indicates more dissimilarities in parental education status than in parental occupation status within the individual friendship groups.

Liking for and participation in the same leisure time
 Leisure Time
 Activities activities seemed to the co-workers a highly probable
 correlate to friendship choice when the dormitory study was first be-
 gun. The information regarding these activities was taken from the
 Personal Data records which asked the girls to list their hobbies as
 well as their leisure time activities. Since some girls listed the
 same interests in both categories and others listed the same interest
 under either category, both categories were incorporated in the lei-
 sure time activities column in Table 5. In all, there were more par-
 ticularized activities than there were girls, so for easier compari-
 son, several related activities were combined under one heading.

There remained 16 types of leisure time activity: 1, Art; 2, Cards;
 3, Literature; 4, Handwork; 5, Music; 6, Dancing; 7, Sports; 8, Dat-
 ing; 9, Committee work; 10, Social activities; 11, Movies; 12, Radio;
 13, Photography; 14, Religious activities; 15, Journalism; 16, "Gab-
 bing".

For almost half of the girls, i.e., the 36 newcomers in the Fall
 of 1947, the listing of the above activities was made before the
 friendship groups had formed. Nevertheless, for all the friendship
 groups, upperclassman or Freshman, the fact that there appears to be
 some similarity of interests within a given clique is balanced by the
 observation of similarities between the cliques as well. For instance,
 some members of every group except the Square and the S.W. Triangle re-
 cord an interest in playing cards. In all the groups except Clique 2
 and the two triangles, there are two or more girls who like to read.
 Similar generalizations can be made for handwork, dancing, and sports.
 The remaining activities are personal interests which have little or no
 group backing. From all this it would seem that similarity of leisure

time activities as recorded cannot be a leading determinant of friendship choice in North Hall. In a later chapter it will be shown that most of the sub-groups develop a "gestalt" or configuration of attributes which differentiate it from the others, but it will be seen that this is a product of group development, of the molding of individual interests to those of the group. Number 70 said of her Clique 1 that the girls in it had no particular interests in common, yet the dormitory housemother has observed that this same clique stands out as a "talking it over" group.

Dating Habits It also seemed possible to the co-workers that girls who dated a great deal might be more likely to choose each other than girls who never dated at all. Girls remaining faithful to boy friends back home or in another school might keep each other company on week end nights when other girls are out having a good time with the opposite sex. Question 11 of the questionnaire ⁽¹⁾ was designed for the purpose of classifying girls according to their dating habits:

- 1, Date two or more men regularly;
- 2, Date one man steady, others occasionally;
- 3, Date 1 man steady;
- 4, date one or more men occasionally;
- 5, Date men rarely;
- 6, Other (specify).

No friendship group showed exactly the same type of dating habits for all its members although Clique 2 comes the closest to complete similarity. Four of the five girls stated that they date one man steady, and the other claimed that she dated two or more men regularly. From the self-ratings, it would appear that the great majority of North Hall girls date quite regularly. ⁽²⁾ Only 14 girls said that they dated

(1) See questionnaire, Appendix A

(2) Mrs. Dewey corroborated this. She believes that there is more dating at North Hall than at any other dormitory. She explains this by pointing out the small size and the consequently primary nature of the relationships which favor girls getting dates for each other.

occasionally one or more men. Only four admitted that they dated rarely. Of the three who checked "6", two had boy friends at home or in another school, and one very frank girl said she never dated. But these girls who date occasionally, rarely, or not at all are found in almost every friendship group among girls who date regularly. Clique 2, the Square and the N.E. Triangle are the only exceptions according to the self-ratings; according to Mrs. Dewey's observations even these three sub-groups are not exceptions. If similarity in dating habits is a determining factor in friendship choice, more information than that available from self-ratings would be necessary to substantiate it. If the information were available, dating men from the same sub-groups or fraternities might be a possible determinant. There are a few individual instances of this factor in North Hall as well as the dating habits factor. Number 30, a Freshman in the predominantly Junior Clique 5, became associated with that sub-group originally because she and a Junior member double dated with a pair of men friends. Number 55's choice of friends from several sub-groups was explained by Mrs. Dewey: "She has a boy friend at a school in the East, so she doesn't date here. Week-end nights she'll go out with any girl in the dormitory who hasn't got a date."

Chapter 6 will reveal a difference between the self-rating of dating habits and the girls' rating of each other in regard to popularity with men.

Organizations and Special Activities As noted at the beginning of the chapter, the information gathered from the Student Activity Records which were supposed to have been filled out by all Spring term students of the college was disappointingly "spotty". However, an analysis was

made of the friendship choices of the members of any organization or activity group in which more than one North Hall girl indicated participation. Table 8 below shows that out of a possible total of 86 friendship choices based on common participation in an organization or activity, there were 12 friendship choices made. All of these choices were either for roommates or common sub-group friends, indicating a possibility that established friends might have influenced each other to participate in the organization or activity. The total unanimity of choice for common participation was .14 or 14%. Although this represents a higher unanimity of friendship choice than was found in the parental occupation or religious groups, it is much less than the unanimity of choice within the separate North Hall corridors.

Table 8

Friendship Choices Between Girls Participating in Common Activities.

Organizations or Activity	Number Participating	Possible Number Friendship Chs.	Actual Number Friendship Chs.
Jazz Club	3	6	0
Big Sister Cl.	2	2	0
AWS Council	3	6	0
Intra-Mural			
Sports	5	20	2
Home Ec. Club	7	42	8
U.N. Committee	2	2	0
Glee Club	2	2	0
"The Spartan"	2	2	0
"Wolverine"	2	2	2
P.E.M. Club	2	2	0
Totals	30	86	12

Chapter 4

The Rejection Pattern

Although many workers have used the sociometric method to secure positive choices for friendship or work groups, few have completed the sociometric picture of a community by securing the negative choices. Moreno and Jennings found such data valuable in locating tension within a community.⁽¹⁾ Smucker found that it not only focused attention on tension areas, but spotted individuals in need of personal guidance and situations which would benefit by counselling on a group basis.⁽²⁾ However, the fear of antagonizing those questioned by asking them to list their negative choices is undoubtedly responsible for the non-inclusion⁽³⁾ of this valuable data in many cases. Lundberg and Steele specifically note that they did not ask for negative choices in their village study for fear of jeopardizing the entire study. Smucker who did ask for the negative choices in his dormitory study at Stephens mentions the antagonism that the question created toward him and toward the study. He says that he could scarcely walk across the campus without being upbraided for requesting such information.

The determination to include question seven in the questionnaire for the North Hall study was matched with many misgivings. The question was approximately the same as the one used at Stephens:

"It is an obvious fact that we do not like everyone equally well. List here the names of dormitory girls whom you don't like so well, wouldn't like to run around with, or feel that your personalities clash. List one, two, or more as you wish. If there is no acquaintance distasteful to you, write no name."

(1) Jennings, H. H. "Leadership and Sociometric Choice", pp. 408-10, Readings in Social Psychology by Newcomb, Hartley and Others, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1947.

(2) Op. cit., p. 108

(3) Op. cit.

Six spaces were allowed for the negative choices, the same as for the friendship choices. The girls were prepared for the question by Smucker in his dinner-time explanation of the study which preceded the filling out of the questionnaires. He showed them a negative sociogram and pointed out its usefulness. Nevertheless, it was with great surprise that the co-workers learned that there were no overt protests or evidences of antipathy over the inclusion of the question. The housemother and the graduate counselor were asked to be on the alert for reactions against the question, but they reported none.

One third of the North Hall girls made no rejections. This was exactly the same negative response which Smucker found at Stephens. However, the North Hall girls made more rejections than did the girls at Stephens. One hundred and fifty-nine rejections were made at North Hall. This was an average of 2.12 rejections per capita. The Stephens average within a single dormitory was .93. Table 9 shows the number of rejections made by each of the

75 girls. Comparing the number who failed to make a negative choice (25) with the number who failed to make a positive friendship choice (3), the ratio of 5.23 friendship choices to 2.12 rejections is more understandable. Even so, this ratio of about two to one is pract-

----- Table 9 -----

	Number of Rejections Made		
	No. Girls	No. Rejects	Total
	25	0	0
	7	1	7
	10	2	20
	13	3	39
	11	4	44
	5	5	25
	6	4	24
	<u>75</u>	Totals	<u>159</u>

ically the same as that Jennings found. Comparison of Table 9 with Table 1 indicates greater frequency of friendship choice than rejection.

(1) Op. cit.

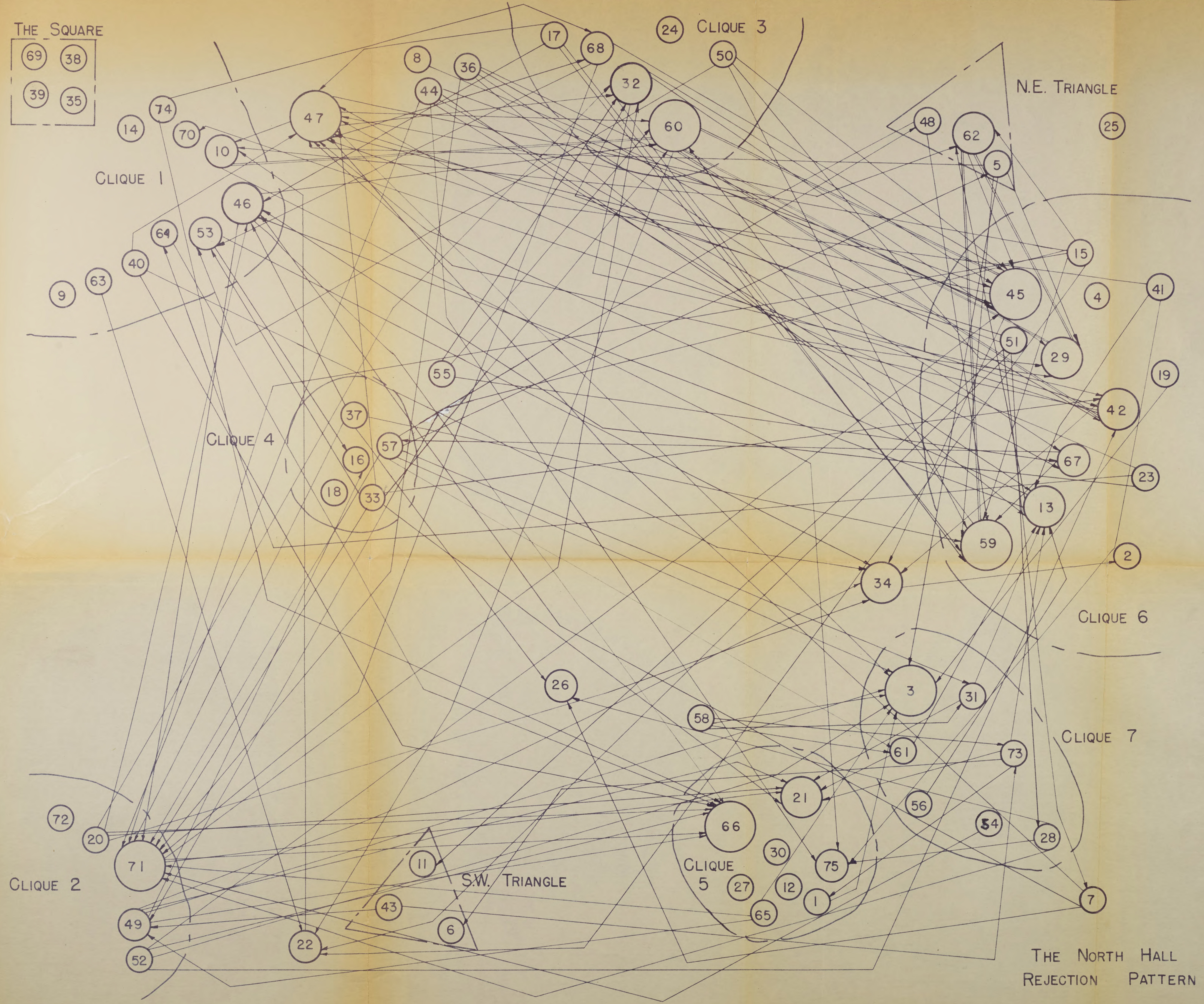
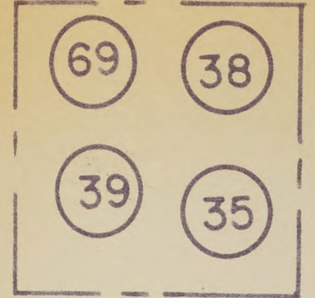
(2) Op. cit., Leadership and Isolation, pp. 58-9.

Comparison of the distribution of rejections with that of friendship choices discloses even greater contrasts. Although Table 10 shows that the two most highly rejected received the same number of rejections as the two most highly chosen received friendship choices, the number receiving no rejections constitutes almost one half of the total population. Just one less than two thirds of the girls at North Hall received no rejections or no more than one rejection. One hundred and seven or 67.3% of the total rejections were for 15 or 20% of the North Hall girls who received more than four rejections.

In contrast to the large percent of mutual friendship choices, there were only 12 rejections which were reciprocal--less than eight percent of the total. Of these six pairs of mutual rejections, four claimed one girl, Number 60, as a member. Three of the four girls who reciprocated her rejections worked with her in the kitchen, and the fourth was a roommate of one of the three. Three of the four also lived in the same corridor with her. Five other girls rejected her, too, of whom four worked in the kitchen with her. Only one of the five lived in the same corridor. Number 60, the housemother says, is quite bossy in the kitchen.

		----- Table 10 -----		
The Rejection Sociogram	To facilitate the in- teresting comparison	Distribution of Rejections		
		No.Girls	No.Rejects	Total
		36	0	0
of friendship choices with rejections,		13	1	13
the rejection pattern sociogram on		4	2	8
page 62 arranges the girls in their		5	3	15
friendship group positions. Except		2	4	8
for the Square, the friendship groups,		2	5	10
the indeterminants, and the near-iso-		4	6	24
lates are found in approximately the		2	7	14
		1	8	8
		4	9	36
		1	11	11
		1	12	12
		75	Totals	159

THE SQUARE



THE NORTH HALL REJECTION PATTERN

same position they occupied in the friendship sociogram. The members of the Square have been placed out of the line of fire in the upper left hand corner because they are non-combatants: they reject no one and no one rejects them. The positions of the individual girls within a friendship group are not the same as in the friendship choice sociogram. The girls with the higher number of rejections were placed in positions more vulnerable to outside rejections.

Probably the most striking contrast which the rejection sociogram reveals when compared with the friendship sociogram is the centripetal-centrifugal one. In the latter sociogram the friendship choices go from members of the group to within the group whereas in the former sociogram, the rejections are directed almost entirely outside the group. There are only three intra-clique rejections, and all are found in Clique 6. One of these intra-clique rejections was reciprocated by a friendship choice.

Another interesting observation which can be made of the total sociogram is the comparatively uniform direction of flow of rejections from one group to another. The tension areas within the dormitory are bared in their naked relief.

If the tension areas are immediately observable in the rejection sociogram, a second inspection reveals the presence of a number of unpopular "stars" upon whom the rejections leading to a group are focused. In Chapter 2, it was noted that there were no particularly powerful friendship stars who stood out among their peers. Although one girl in Clique 1 received 12 choices, another in the same group received 11 choices, two others received 10 choices, and two received nine choices. But there is little doubt about the unpopularity of the unpopular stars. However, none in North Hall was as unpopular

as the most rejected girl Smucker found at Stephens. This girl received 22 rejections from girls in the dormitory where she lived. There were 110 girls living in the dormitory. She also received 32 more rejections from the four other dormitories participating in the Stephens study.⁽¹⁾

The circles in the rejection sociogram represent four classes of rejected or not rejected girls. Those who received no rejections or no more than one are represented by the smallest circles. These are the low rejects. As Smucker pointed out, a lone rejection is based on a personality clash of two individuals without reference to the larger pattern.⁽²⁾ The second smallest circles represent girls having two, three, or four rejections. They are referred to as the average rejects. The next larger circle represents girls having five, six, or seven rejections. These girls are the higher-than-average rejects. The largest circles were reserved for girls having eight or more rejections. They are called the high rejects. This is a purely arbitrary classification made to fit the data. The stratification procedure which places one division line one standard deviation below the mean and another one standard deviation above the mean⁽³⁾ did not adapt itself to the skewed nature of the rejection data.

The highly rejected girls including both the higher than average rejects and the high rejects numbered 15, or 20% of all the North Hall girls. They received 67.3% of the total rejections. All but two of these highly rejected girls were members of well organized cliques. The two others were classified as near-isolates. One of these near-

(1) Op. cit., p. 115

(2) Op. cit., p. 108

(3) Helen Jennings who used that procedure says that any stratification procedure is necessarily arbitrary. Leadership and Isolation, p. 67.

isolates, Number 47, received 12 rejections--the highest number in the dormitory. She received only one friendship choice although she made six choices. Number 34, the other near-isolate, received six rejections. She was chosen as friend twice, but received no choices from the group into which she directed four of her six choices. Two of her rejections came from this same group. For these girls there is no haven from their unpopularity within the dormitory except, perhaps, from the individuals who choose them. The other girls all have havens within well organized groups which accept them. Number 71 who received 11 rejections was chosen as friend by the other four members of Clique 2. Numbers 3, 45, 59, and 60 all received nine rejections. Number 3 was chosen as friend by four members of her Clique 7. Number 45 was chosen by eight members of her Clique 6, thus meriting the double distinction of being one of the highly chosen girls as well as one of the high rejects. Number 59 of the same clique received four friendship choices from the group. Number 60, the bossy girl in the kitchen, received seven friendship choices: five from her Clique 3 and two from outside the group. Number 66 received eight rejections and her roommate, Number 21, received seven rejections. They received five and six friendship choices respectively from members of Clique 5. Number 13 also received seven rejections; she received five friendship choices from Clique 6. Three girls besides Number 34 received six rejections: Number 46 who received five friendship choices from Clique 1 and two from outside; Number 29 who received three friendship choices from Clique 6; and Number 42 who received seven friendship choices from Clique 6. Number 32 who received five rejections was chosen friend by the other five members of Clique 3, and Num-

ber 62, who was also rejected five times, was chosen by the two other members of the N.E. Triangle and by two outside the group.

Altogether, the thirteen highly rejected girls who were also members of well organized cliques totalled 69 friendship choices or an average of 5.3 friendship choices per person. The average for the dormitory as a whole was 5.23, so it cannot be said that these girls are underchosen. Even adding the two rejects who were not members of organized groups, the highly chosen average 5.1 friendship choices. However, the source of their friendship choices is almost exclusively from within their own sub-groups. Only three of the highly rejected clique members received choices from outside their groups, and the total of outside choices for the 13 girls was only six. Therefore, their friendship choices may reflect popularity within their sub-groups but not power within the total dormitory community. The prestige status of these highly rejected girls will be considered in a later chapter.

The Average Rejects Among the 11 average there were also two rejects who did not belong to organized sub-groups. One of these, the graduate counselor, received three rejections. Number 22, a near-isolate, received four rejections. These girls rated two friendship choices each. The other nine girls--Number 75 with four rejections, Numbers 10, 49, 53, and 67 with three rejections each, and Numbers 16, 61, 68, and 73 who received two rejections each--received friendship choices ranging between four and nine. Their friendship choices totalled 54, or an average of six per person. Only four of the total friendship choices were from outside their own sub-groups, so the average rejects had little more outside power than did the highly rejected. The average number of friendship choices for the 11 average

rejects, including the two who did not belong to cliques, was again 5.3, approximately the dormitory average.

The 13 lone rejects, girls who received only one rejection, The Low Rejects were classified with the girls who received none. A lone rejection is usually a reflection of a personality clash between two persons and is not a group problem. And yet, even though this group of lone rejects claims two of the highly chosen for friendship--Number 23 with 10 choices and Number 28 with eight--it has only a 4.7 average of friendship choices. This is lower than the average for either the highly rejected girls or the average rejects. Their 12 friendship choices from outside their own sub-groups, however, are more than the combined total of the other two reject groups.

To round out the comparison, the total number of friendship choices received by the 36 girls who received no rejections was 204. This is an average of 5.7 friendship choices per person. Four of the no-reject group were indeterminants and two were isolates. The remaining 30 received 50 friendship choices from outside their own sub-groups for an average of 1.67.

From this rather tedious analysis, it should be apparent that for North Hall being highly rejected has little correlation with being underchosen. The important finding is that the highly rejected are not chosen as often as friends by members outside their own sub-groups as the low rejects. The lone rejects and the no-rejects who belonged to organized sub-groups averaged 1.48 outside friends as determined by choices they received. The highly rejected belonging to sub-groups averaged only .46 outside friends--less than one third

as many as the low rejects. Their friendship relationships are restricted to narrow orbits in which their potential power as participating members of the larger total group remains undeveloped.

Inter-clique
Antagonism

It has been observed that all but five of the highly rejected girls, the average rejects, and the lone rejects were members of sub-groups. Is it possible that rejections might be a reflection of inter-clique antagonisms rather than inter-personal repulsions? Table 11 compares the sub-group standings on rejections made and received. It also compares the number making and receiving rejections within each group with the total number composing the group. Theoretically, if there were no differences between the sub-groups in regard to rejections made and rejections received, each group would have the same percent of the total rejections made and received as its membership's percent of the total population. In other words, Clique X with 10% of a total population should make 10% of the rejections and receive 10%. By comparing these three percentage columns in Table 11, one learns that Clique 1 made 3.3% less rejections than expected and received 4.5% less than expected. Clique 2 made 4% more rejections than expected and received 2.1% more rejections than expected. Clique 3 made 4.3% more rejections than expected and received 2.3% more. Clique 4 made 2.7% more rejections than expected and received 4.8% less than expected. Clique 5 made 8.2% less rejections than expected and received 1.6% more than expected. Clique 6 made 4.7% more rejections than expected and received 9.1% more than expected. Clique 7 made 1.8% less rejections than expected and received a trifling .1% more than expected. The Square which made no

Table II

Rejection Analysis by Sub-groups .

Sub-group	Number of Girls	% of Total Pop.	No. Rejecting	No. Rejections Made	% of Total Rejections	No. Persons Rejected			% of Total Rejects		
						1	2-4	5-7			
Clique 1	10	13.3	7	16	10.	14	2	2	1	8.3	
Clique 2	5	6.7	4	17	10.7	14	1	1	1	8.3	
Clique 3	6	8.	5	20	12.3	16	1	1	1	10.3	
Clique 4	5	6.7	3	15	9.4	3	1	1	1	1.9	
Clique 5	8	10.7	2	4	2.5	20	1	1	1	12.3	
Clique 6	13	17.3	11	35	22.	42	2	1	3	26.4	
Clique 7	7	9.3	5	12	7.5	15	2	2	1	9.4	
Square	4	5.3	0	0	0.	0	2	2		0.	
S.W. Tri.	3	4.	1	2	1.2	2	2	2		1.3	
N.E. Tri	3	4.	3	9	5.6	7	2	2	1	4.4	
Indeterminants											
No. 26				0		3	1				
No. 55				3		0					
No. 8				1		0					
No. 36				5		0					
No. 44				6		0					
Total Indet.	5	6.7	4		9.4					1.9	
Near-isolates											
No. 47				4		12			1		
No. 34				2		6			1		
No. 22				1		4		1			
No. 7				3		1	1				
No. 53				4		0					
No. 25				0		0					
Total N-iso	6	8.0	5		9.4					14.5	
Dorm Totals	75	100.	50	159	100.	159	13	11	8	7	100.

rejections and received none accordingly made 5.3 less than expected and received 5.3 less than expected. The S.W. Triangle made 2.8% less and received 2.7% less rejections than expected; and the N.E. Triangle made 1.6% more and received .4% more rejections than expected. As for the indeterminants as a whole, they made 2.7% more rejections than expected but received 4.8% less than expected. The near-isolates as a group made 1.4% more and received 6.5% more rejections than expected.

From the above analysis it is possible to pick out groups which feel antagonistic toward others and groups whose behavior creates antagonism. This is of major significance for those interested in managing the group process. Of all the groups, Clique 6 and the near-isolates, with 9.1% and 6.5% more rejections received than expected, stand out as the groups whose behavior creates antagonism. But the near-isolates are not a group in fact; they are near isolated individuals. They could create antagonism only as individuals. Clique 6, however, is an interacting group in fact. By looking in the persons rejected column of Table 11, one finds that eight of its 13 members were rejected: two by one individual, one by 2-4 individuals, three by 5-7 individuals, and two by eight or more persons. Here is one group with enough rejected individuals to warrant a question as to whether the rejections coming into it are reflections of inter-personal repulsion or group repulsion. True, there are five in the group who received no rejections and two who received only one, but it is possible that the rejected are guilty merely of over-emphasis of group characteristics which repel and thus become symbolic of their subgroup. The data available here are not sufficient to prove or disprove either theory. Close observation is needed to supplement the sociometric findings. Similar examinations of the foci of repulsions

going into other groups reveal that one or two persons are responsible for most of the rejections received, and in some of these cases the inter-personal antagonism is clearly apparent, according to the house-mother.

Although it is possible that there is no such thing as antagonism against a sub-group as a whole, group dislike of an individual or one or more individuals in a different sub-group cannot be dismissed. Smucker found many examples at Stephens of two or more members of a group rejecting the same person or persons. The rejection sociogram with its fairly uniform flow of rejection lines from one group to another is an objective verification of this tendency. Number 47, for example, receives her 12 rejections from five different groups and one near-isolate, but seven of those rejections come from Clique 6. Number 71 in Clique 2 was rejected by three of the five girls in Clique 4 and by a pair of roommate indeterminants. Number 60 received four of her nine rejections from members of Clique 6 and all but two of them from girls with whom she worked in the kitchen. Number 66 received four rejections from Clique 2 and four from Clique 1. Her roommate, Number 21 received three of her seven rejections from Clique 2 and three from Clique 7. Four girls from Clique 3 and two from the N.E. Triangle rejected Number 29 of Clique 6. Her roommate, Number 59, was rejected unanimously by the N.E. Triangle and by three members of Clique 3. Another girl from Clique 6, Number 45, was rejected by four girls from Clique 3 and by two indeterminate roommates. Number 13, also from Clique 6, received four rejections from Clique 7 and two from the same pair of roommate indeterminants.

It is apparent that a great deal of the tension created by repul-

sions or antagonisms are products of group interaction, and personal guidance for the highly rejected might well be supplemented by group therapy in cooperative efforts to achieve harmony and understanding.⁽¹⁾

Smucker noted several factors entering into the rejection process at Stephens. He found in particular that high skill in attracting friends was matched with skill in avoiding antagonism.⁽²⁾ This finding was repeated at North Hall. Of the 11 girls composing the highly chosen group,⁽³⁾ only three received any rejections. One of the three received one rejection, one received three rejections, and one received nine rejections. Smucker's related finding that average chosen girls were rejected more often than low chosen girls was found to be only slightly true of North Hall; the difference was not great. The 17 underchosen girls received 2.12 rejections each while the 47 average chosen girls received 2.36 rejections each.

Smucker also found that propinquity was almost as important in the rejection process as it was in friendship choice. This tendency was noticed in only two of the North Hall corridors, C and D. In corridor C live the great majority of the members of Cliques 5 and 7 and the S.W. Triangle. Out of 37 rejections which went into Corridor C which includes 18 girls or 24% of the total dormitory population, 14 rejections

Table 12
Rejections by Corridors

Corridor	No. Girls	Intra-cor. Rejects*	Outside Rejects*	Total R.
A	14	2	29	31
B	18	2	7	9
C	18	14	23	37
D	18	21	42	63
E	7	0	19	19
Totals	75	39	120	159

* Rejections received

- (1) Interesting endeavor along this line by L.A. Cook, Op. cit.
 (2) Op. cit. pp. 202-5.
 (3) See page 16, this study.

or 35% of the total 37 came from within the corridor. Near-isolate Number 58 of Corridor C placed all four of her rejections within one clique which also lived in Corridor C. Corridor D is occupied largely by girls from Cliques 3 and 6 who were found to reject each other. Sixty-three rejections went to the 18 girls of Corridor D who make up 24% of the dormitory population. Twenty-one or one third of these rejections came from within the corridor. Corridors A and E are each occupied almost exclusively by members of one clique, so it is not surprising that there are few intra-corridor rejections in them. The seven girls in Corridor E made no rejections among themselves although they received 19 rejections from outside. Corridor A has 14 members, 10 of whom belong to Clique 1. Among the 31 rejections received by girls in this corridor, two were from within. Three others came from a girl who had lived in Corridor A until the beginning of Spring term. Corridor B which has 18 girls proved an interesting contrast to Corridors C and D which include the same number of girls. Three of the five members of Clique 4, four members of Clique 6, the Square, the N.E. Triangle, and three of the indeterminants apparently live together in this corridor in harmony. There were only two rejections within the group, both going into the triangle, and there were only seven rejections from outside.

For another type of propinquity, that of working together, there appeared to be some correlation with rejection. Twenty girls in North Hall help in the kitchen either full or part time. Full time is considered as 14 hours weekly. These 20 girls received 57 rejections, and 24 or 42% of them were rejections among themselves. A random distribution of their rejections received would have found only 15 coming from among themselves. Therefore, there is evidence of antagonism

based on the propinquity of working relationships. This antagonism is centered on two girls, Numbers 60 and 62, who are responsible for 17 of the 24 intra-kitchen rejections. Number 60 received seven of the kitchen rejections and made two; Number 62 received four and made three.

Another factor which Smucker found in the rejection process at Stephens was that of rejected girls rejecting each other. That factor received such slight corroboration in the North Hall study that it is deemed insignificant. Out of the 115 rejections received by the highly rejected, 26 were rejections of each other. Chance distribution would have been responsible for 23 of these rejections of each other. Smucker also found that rejected girls reject each other more often than they choose each other for friend. North Hall highly rejected girls chose each other as friends 21 times as compared with their 26 rejections of each other. It was found at North Hall as at Stephens that some highly rejected girls make no rejections themselves. Four of the highly rejected girls made no rejections. These number less than one third of the highly rejected group. It will be remembered that exactly one third of the girls in the entire dormitory also made no rejections, so little significance may be attached to this rejection phenomenon.

One other factor which the co-workers thought might be important in the rejection process will be considered by itself in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

Moral and Idealistic Attitudes

(1)
Question 13 in the questionnaire was really an afterthought. With the completion of the first draft of twelve questions, it seemed that one vital factor in the friendship choice and rejection process had not been covered. There was nothing which would reveal overt or covert attitudes toward problems vital to college-age girls. Surely these attitudes toward things were as important correlates to friendship and rejection as the background factors already included.

Construction of the Attitude Scale With the decision made to include a question on attitudes, the choice of a scale suitable for the subjects to be tested proved a difficult one. Newcomb's F.E.P. scale (2) used a decade or more ago was excellent for a community like Bennington College where the orientation favored intense interest in and non-conservative attitudes toward national and international issues. But for a state supported institution where such issues and attitudes are politically explosive, it did not seem too well adapted. Attitude tests for prejudice such as Allport's and Kramer's (3) were considered, but most of the girls had been subjected to such scales in their Basic College courses and had probably learned the answers prescribed by the "correct social attitude". The Allport-Vernon test for personal values (4) was closer to what the co-workers had in mind, but their search was really for a scale of attitudes covering personal problems confronting college girls in their day to day lives in the dormitory and on the campus.

(1) See Appendix A

(2) Op. cit.

(3) Allport, G.W. and Kramer, B.M. "Some Roots of Prejudice", Jour. of Psych. 22, 1946. pp. 9-39.

(4) Allport, G.W. and Vernon, P.E. "A Test for Personal Values", Jour. Abn. & Soc. Psych. 26, 1931. pp. 231-248.

Their attitudes toward smoking, drinking, sex relations, and official restrictions are reflected in gossip and hashing-it-over sessions several times a week. Might not these same attitudes be reflected in friendship relations and avoidances? It also seemed possible to the writer that the attitudes of girls toward woman's social status might be a factor in cleavage. Smucker wondered if overstrict adherence to truth or complete disregard for truth might not be factors compatible with rejection. Counselor Gonon was interested in learning whether the attitudes toward public "smooching" had group or individual orientation. Altogether, here were seven factors of particular and personal importance to the college girl which could help determine whether friendship choices or rejections were correlated with attitudes toward them.

(1)

At first a Likert-type⁽¹⁾ scale of questions was drawn up, but five variations for a single answer would have made analysis difficult for the small number of subjects involved in the experiment. At the suggestion of Dr. Edgar Schuler of the Michigan State College Social Research Service, a method was evolved whereby three main types of attitude toward a given factor would be open to choice by the subjects: a somewhat ultra ultra-conservative attitude with overtones of an intolerant, authoritative tendency;⁽²⁾ a fairly liberal, conventional attitude with overtones of a tolerant, democratic tendency; and a definitely non-conservative attitude with overtones of intolerant tendency. Statements were designed to fit the above three attitudes toward all seven factors chosen. The statements concerning

(1) The Likert scale was used by Newcomb, op. cit.. To every statement, the subject may agree, slightly agree, be in doubt, slightly disagree or disagree.

(2) This tendency has been described for the anti-democratic personality by Frenkel-Bruswik, Levinson, and Sanford, "The Antidemocratic Personality", pp 531-541 Readings in Social Psychology, Newcomb, Hartley and Others, Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1947.

pre-marital sex experience were suggested by one of Seeman's moral
 judgment questions; and the statements concerning woman's status were
 suggested by an unpublished manuscript of the writer and by an article
 by Nottingham.

Response The entire questionnaire was given as a pre-test to the
 to the
 Attitude six dormitory counselors of Mary Mayo Hall. They expres-
 Question sed satisfaction with all attitude statements excepting
 those concerning pre-marital sex activity. In the original question-
 naire, the three choices of attitude on that factor were:

 I don't care to be associated with girls who engage in
 pre-marital sexual intercourse.

 I see nothing wrong in an engaged couple having pre-
 marital sexual relations providing they are free of guilt
 feelings.

 I see no reason why any young people should be restricted
 in something as natural as sexual expression.

The six counselors were almost unanimous in their insistence that none
 of the attitudes given resembled their attitude toward the subject.
 They insisted that they could not choose the second statement unless
 their disapproval of pre-marital sex experience for themselves was def-
 initely established. After the co-workers and the counselors had dis-
 cussed the question at some length, it was decided to reframe the first
 two statements as follows:

 I avoid association with girls who engage in pre-marital
 sexual intercourse because I don't care to be identified with them.

 I don't approve of pre-marital sex experience generally, but
 I certainly wouldn't condemn an engaged couple for such practice.

(1) Seeman, Melvin, "Moral Judgment: A Study in Racial Frames of Ref-
 erence", Amer. So. Rev., 12, Aug. 1947, p. 405.

(2) Mick, Lucille Kennedy, "Toward Democracy in the Family", unpub. Ms.

(3) Nottingham, Elizabeth K., "Effects of Two World Wars on Middle-
 class Women", Amer. Soc. Rev., 12, Dec, 1947, pp. 666-675.

The third statement was left as it appeared in the original. Precedence for the three different types of attitude was alternated in the seven series of statements so that each set of attitudes would be considered independently without the "halo" foreknowledge that the second one was probably the safer choice.

But even with part C of question 13 reframed, it still puzzled many of the North Hall girls when they came to it. Several of them questioned the writer to make certain that their checking of a particular attitude statement would not imply that they approved of pre-marital sexual intercourse. A few checked the fairly liberal statement and then added in pencil, "I wouldn't condemn, but I still wouldn't approve." A few others doctored up the statement to suit themselves. Most of these were classed as "didn't answer" in the analysis. The few who didn't change the spirit of the attitude were allowed. There were no apparent difficulties with the other attitude questions although a few were not answered.

For the most part, the North Hall girls regarded question 13 with open minds. They had been told that the attitude question was purely experimental to see if these attitudes were important in friendship. A few girls stopped afterward to have the writer explain exactly how the attitude questions might be useful in a study of friendship. Only one girl was heard to mutter "silly questions" as she returned to her room.

Findings from the Attitude Question

If the co-workers had entertained any illusions about finding definite differences in attitude to account for the several groupings of friends, they were quickly disillusioned after a quick glance through the answers checked. Only

rarely were the conservative attitudes found checked, and almost never were the definitely non-conservative attitudes checked. Eighty-one and five tenths percent of the answers checked were for the liberal, conventional attitude.

In the case of smoking, all 75 girls thought that "smoking is not a moral issue, but is a matter of personal taste on a par with eating chocolates and chewing gum." A little difference in opinion on the question of liquor resulted in only 58 agreeing that "drinking intoxicating liquors is a matter of personal inclination; abolitionists have no right to impose their will on those who disagree with them." Fourteen thought "the legal prohibition of the sale and consumption of liquor is desirable because the use of such beverages is physically and morally harmful". Two thought that "if people would forget their outmoded inhibitions and take a drink now and then, this world would be a happier place". One didn't answer.

Fifty-seven agreed with the statement, "I don't approve of pre-marital sex experience generally, but I certainly wouldn't condemn an engaged couple for such practice." Fifteen would avoid association with girls who engage in pre-marital sexual intercourse "because I don't care to be identified with them". Not one checked the alternative, "I see no reason why any young people should be restricted in something as natural as sexual expression". Three were classed as "didn't answer".

The question of smooching revealed the most difference in attitude of all the seven factors. Thirty-two felt that "something should be done about the public "smooching" on the campus because "it is disgusting and reflects on the college". Thirty-three thought that pub-

lic "smooching" was a matter of personal feeling affecting only the people involved. Five thought that "Public 'smooching' is all right; it is natural and nothing to be ashamed of". Five did not answer.

"Certain circumstances such as protecting individuals from shock or unnecessary grief justify slight alterations of the truth", agreed 73 of the total 75. Only one thought it sinful and wrong to tell falsehoods under any or all circumstances. One also thought that this is a rough, competitive society and the important thing is the end to be gained rather than adherence to truth.

It was suprising that only eight of these college women thought that women have as much right to a job outside the home as men and the care of children and household duties should be a co-operative enterprise. Sixty-six agreed that a woman is entitled to work outside the home if her husband doesn't object and she doesn't neglect her children and the care of the home. Only one, however, agreed with the statement, "Woman's place is in the home; if she wants to work, she shouldn't marry."

Sixty-four realized that there were certain restrictions in our society today, but didn't find them particularly disturbing. Six thought there were too many restrictions, and three thought there should be more restrictions on behavior.

(1) Dr. Duane Gibson of the Michigan State College Sociology and Anthropology department insisted that the non-conservative alternative on smooching wasn't consistent with the other non-conservative attitudes. He said that there wasn't much difference between the liberal and the non-conservative statements. A consistent non-conservative statement, Gibson said, would have read, "I'm proud to smooch in public. It's hypocritical to be ashamed to show your own true feelings." The writer agrees with Gibson, but never thought of such an attitude until it was pointed out.

With the exception of the smooching question, the response was so overwhelmingly in accord with "the correct social attitude" that its validity as an indication of individual attitudes was doubted. The smooching question involved a conflict between two attitudes: the attitude of college level youth that smooching is a natural and acceptable sexual outlet and the attitude of taste which reflects concern for the embarrassment of outsiders. The former is almost a cultural imperative of college youth. Despite the promise of anonymity, the girls might have feared to indicate their own personal attitudes on a questionnaire bearing their names. These fears might have been responsible for such an unusual conformity.

Mrs. Dewey, the housemother, made a more positive suggestion as the reason for North Hall conformity. North Hall girls, she said, because the dormitory is so small, are allowed a maximum of self-discipline and a minimum of official restrictions. Whereas girls in other dormitories are given late minutes ⁽¹⁾ for infractions of the imposed rules, North Hall girls elect their own Standards Chairman and committee who determine the standards necessary for the smooth functioning of the dormitory. Once these standards are decided upon, the girls are placed on an honor system of maintaining them. In the individual cases involving repeated disregard of the standards, the committee steps in to remind and counsel. Since the girls have been allowed so much freedom, Mrs. Dewey says, they have become more conservative and tend to adopt the conventional mores.

The Re-test of Attitudes Nevertheless, in order to determine the validity of the attitude response, a re-test of question 13 on attitudes was found desirable. This time, it was decided to omit the

(1) Accumulation of 15 late minutes brings forfeit of a week-end night with late permission.

names from the questionnaire so that there would be no question of anonymity. In that way, the validity of the previous test could be established only through the total responses to the individual attitude series.

Again during the dinner hour, the North Hall girls were told the reasons necessitating another test on the attitude question. They were also invited to inspect the completed friendship choice sociogram as soon as they had answered their questionnaires. As each girl handed in her completed questionnaire, she was asked to check off her name from the list of dormitory girls so that it could be certain that every girl who had filled out the previous one had also turned in the second questionnaire. In the meantime one girl had left the dormitory, so there were only 74 questionnaires in the re-test group.

Table 13 in which the total responses for the three attitudes concerning each factor is given for both the original test and the re-test shows that there was almost no deviation from the first set of responses. The absence of any identification made almost no difference. The correlation of the total responses of the first test with those of the second was .995. The responses of the 75th girl who hadn't taken the re-test were, of course, subtracted from the first test totals for the purpose of correlation. Most of the deviations from the first test responses were toward greater conformity with the conventional liberal attitude.

Attitudes as Correlates to Friendship and Rejection	The similarity of the responses in the attitude test made almost impossible the establishment of attitudes as major correlates of either friendship or rejection.
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Even among those who deviated from the conventional attitude, there was little association of girls who had chosen each other as friends.

Table 13

Total Responses to Attitude Questions
in the First test and in the Anonymous re-test

Attitudes	first test	Re-test
Smoking		
1	0	2
2	74	72
3	0	0
Drinking		
1	2	4
2	57	62
3	14	8
DA	1	0
Pre-Marital intercourse		
1	0	0
2	57	62
3	14	11
DA	3	1
Public Smooching		
1	5	0
2	33	43
3	31	29
DA	5	2
Truth		
1	1	2
2	72	71
3	1	1
Woman's Status		
1	8	7
2	65	67
3	1	0
Restrictions		
1	6	4
2	63	69
3	3	1
DA	2	0

1 is for the non-conservative attitude; 2 is for the liberal attitude; 3 is for the ultra-conservative attitude. DA means didn't
(answer)

Among the 14 abolitionists were girls from every sub-group except Clique 4 and the two triangles. One girl from Clique 2 and a high reject of Clique 3 were for everybody taking a drink now and then, but two of the other four members of Clique 2 were among the abolitionists and three of the other five girls in Clique 3 were among them. Among the 15 girls who would avoid girls engaging in pre-marital sex relations were members of every sub-group except Clique 4 and the N.E. Triangle. Members of every sub-group except Clique 1 and all the indeterminants and near-isolates except one thought something should be done about public smooching. The four girls who thought public smooching all right did not choose each other even once. The one girl who thought that the end to be gained was more important than the truth just happened to be the highest reject in the dormitory. The tales she tells about herself are probably the main cause of her rejection, but the suspected absence of truth is a small thing compared with the tremendous boredom of repetition. Among the eight girls believing in equality of marriage partners in regard to working opportunities and home responsibilities are five friendship choices out of a possible 56, giving this group a slight edge over the eight Catholic girls in unanimity of friendship choice. The one girl who believed that woman's place is in the home gets her training by keeping to her room and also keeping it so tidy and spotless that no one would think of stepping inside for fear of messing it up. Even so, she's rejected only once and the two other girls of her triangle like her. There were two friendship choices among the six girls who thought there were too many restrictions in our present day society, but there were none among the three who thought there ought to be more of them.



The Value of
the Attitude
Test

If the attitude test was disappointing as far as the search for a dependable correlate to friendship choice and the rejection process was concerned, it was not without value. It offered some evidence in opposition to the popular idea that college groups are hotbeds of radical ideas and notorious for sexual licentiousness. The response to the question on pre-marital sexual intercourse showing conformity to conventional standards was surprising, but it should not have been too surprising for anyone who (1) had read the Kinsey report.

(1) Kinsey, Alfred C., Sexual Behavior in the Human Male, W.B. Saunders Co., Philadelphia, 1948. Chapter 10.

The Kinsey report is, of course, about the sexual behavior of the male. But chances are that college level women go with college level men, and the heterosexual behavior of the latter probably gives some indication of the heterosexual behavior of the former. Regarding attitudes toward pre-marital intercourse, Kinsey found that 62.5% admitted restraints on moral grounds as compared with 22.8% of males of the high school education level and 18.9% of males of the grade school education level. (p.364) He also found that the frequency of any kind of sexual outlet was lower for the college level male in both the 16-20 and the 21-25 age groups than it was for the other two educational level males. The prevalence of petting and petting to climax among college level males accounts for more of the heterosexual outlet than intercourse. Sixty-one percent of the pre-marital college level males reach orgasm through petting as against 32% of the high school level males and 16% of grade school level males. (p. 346) "Even those who pet to climax (46%), have intercourse (42%), or homosexual experience (11%) derive less than seven percent of total (sexual) outlet from such sources; over 90% is from solitary sources", Kinsey says of the unmarried college level male aged 16-20. (p.695) Of the college level males aged 21-25 and unmarried, hardly more than one half have intercourse and they derive only 15% of their total sexual outlet from it. Sixty-nine percent of the total sexual outlet of college level males in the 21-25 age level depended upon solitary sources. (p. 701)

Only 15% of unmarried college level men have intercourse with weekly regularity. One third to one half have intercourse once or twice or maybe two or three times a year before they marry. Many have intercourse only with one girl whom they subsequently marry. Very few have pre-marital intercourse with more than a half dozen girls. Only two thirds of college level males have any pre-marital intercourse.

(p. 347.)

Chapter 6

Prestige Status

Of particular importance to any study of friendship and personality development is the factor of prestige status. Smucker found a high correlation between friendship choice and prestige status at Stephens, and Newcomb's study at Bennington revealed over and over again the expressed hope of women students to attain prestige in their college relationships. ⁽¹⁾

At Stephens, Smucker derived a prestige status scale through answers to six guess-who items and through choices for representative to a mythical all-college conference. Equal ratings were given the seven criteria. Guess-who items were both positive and negative, and students were invited to name one, two, or more girls to fit each of the following categories:

Best dressed, best groomed
Has few intimate friends
Most likeable, easy to know
Most unapproachable, somewhat snobbish
Outstanding campus leader
Somewhat crude, unpolished

Newcomb used a single prestige status criterion at Bennington. It was a question similar to the one Smucker used asking for choices for the Bennington College representative who would attend a national college conference. ⁽²⁾

Selection of Prestige Status Criteria For the North Hall study it was decided tentatively to use just one prestige status criterion although other criteria were provided for in the questionnaire for purposes of comparison and possible inclusion in the scale if it was deemed advis-

(1) Op. cit.
(2) Op. cit.

able later. Question 8 of the questionnaire provided the choices used in constructing the prestige status scale.

If the United Nations should play host next summer to representatives from every college in the world in an effort to promote worldwide friendship and understanding among the world's leaders of the future, who would best represent the WOMEN of Michigan State College? What four women from your dormitory would you nominate to the panel from which the M.S.C. women student representatives are chosen? Remember that the college will be judged by the appearance, personality, and ability of these women.

The alternative prestige criteria were provided for in questions 9, (1) 10, and 12 of the questionnaire:

What girls in your dormitory would you rate as being most popular with other girls?
 What girls in your dormitory would you rate as being most popular with men?
 Name some girls in your dormitory who, according to your best judgment, have the combination of qualities such as sympathetic understanding, willingness to help, sense of humor, and mature judgment necessary for a good dormitory counselor.

Construction of Prestige-Status Scale The range of choices for the prestige criterion was from 28 for two girls to zero for 32 girls.

Fifteen girls received one choice each. The mean number of choices was 3.5 and the median was one. With such a skewed distribution, it was again difficult to adapt the scale to a division based on the standard deviation from the mean. Newcomb had encountered almost the same type of distribution in answer to his prestige question. Like him, the co-workers decided on fixing arbitrary limits for the prestige status groups which fitted the data at hand. (2)

The girls were divided into four prestige status groups according to the number of choices each had received for the prestige criterion: the zero prestige group for all those who had received no choices; the higher-than-average (HTA) prestige group for those re-

(1) See questionnaire, Appendix A.

(2) Op. cit. p. 46.

ceiving two to seven choices; the average prestige group for all those
(1)
who received one choice ; and the high prestige group for those receiving eight or more choices.

Distribution of choices in the three alternative prestige criteria was similar in all cases to that in the prestige criterion used in the scale. Accordingly, the same limits were imposed on a four group classification for each of the alternative criteria. Table 14 shows the distribution into four groups of the number of girls and the total number of choices for all four prestige categories.

The reliability of the selected prestige status criterion was considered dependent on a correlation of it with the alternative criteria. Moreover, it was decided that friendship choices and rejections should also be considered in establishing the reliability of the single basis for prestige status. Choice for one category might not necessarily mean choice for another, and it was difficult to judge with certainty the importance of each category to the girls concerned. A girl might not be chosen for the United Nations conference representative because she'd never had an opportunity to prove her ability, but she might be very popular with women and with men. Another girl might not have been chosen as popular with men because she had a boy friend back home and eschewed all dates on the campus. Still another might be very popular with men but not with women. Perhaps there might even be one who might be highly respected for her ability but disliked heartily by a large number of her peers. So still another correlation was made between the selected prestige criterion and the total sociometric status. This sociometric status index includes the total of all the choices made for each girl--choices for prestige, popularity with women, popu-

(1) Although the mean for prestige was 3.5, it was deemed advisable to use the median figure, one, for the average criterion because of the skewed distribution.

Table 14

Stratification According to Four Prestige Categories

	Number of Girls	% of To- tal Group	Total No. Choices
Ranked according to number of choices received for U.N. representative.			
High (8-28)	10	13.3	179
*HTA (2-7)	18	24.	68
Average (1)	15	20.	15
<u>Zero (0)</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>42.7</u>	<u>0</u>
Totals	75	100.	262
Ranked according to number of choices received for popularity with women			
High (8-34)	12	16.	202
HTA (2-7)	16	21.7	42
Average (1)	15	20.	15
<u>Zero (0)</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>42.7</u>	<u>0</u>
Totals	75	100.	259
Ranked according to number of choices received for popularity with men.			
High (8-43)	11	14.7	198
HTA (2-7)	09	12.0	25
Average (1)	13	17.3	13
<u>Zero (0)</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>56.</u>	<u>0</u>
Totals	75	100.	236
Ranked according to number of choices received for counselor.			
High (8-32)	08	10.7	130
HTA (2-7)	15	20.	55
Average (1)	22	29.3	22
<u>Zeros (0)</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>40.</u>	<u>0</u>
Totals	75	100.	207

* HTA stands for higher-than-average.

larity with men, for counselor and friendship--minus the rejections. Tables 15, 16, 17, and 18 show these sociometric status indices together with their sources for each of the prestige status groups: High, Higher-than-Average, Average, and Zero. For convenience of reference and comparison each girls' academic year and sub-group membership is indicated.

A comparison of the high prestige group's rating in all the categories reveals that its members may rank comparatively low in certain ones as individuals, but as a group they rank high in the majority of them. Numbers 28 and 46 who tied for the highest prestige score of 28 had to forfeit the highest rank in the sociometric status index to Number 46's roommate, Number 53, who had received only 19 prestige choices. Number 28 received only one choice for popularity with men, and Number 46 received only three choices and a single choice for popularity with women and counselor respectively. Number 53's lower number of choices for counselor was sufficiently offset by the highest number of choices for popularity with women and the second highest number of choices for popularity with men to achieve for her the high sociometric status index. Other high prestige status girls fared less well in the comparison. Number 66 who looked so promising with her 24 choices for prestige has only a 35 sociometric status index. She has eight rejections, only one choice for popularity with men, and only three for popularity with women. Number 34, the near-isolate, with a sociometric status index of only 17, six rejections, only two friendship choices, and zero popularity with women, must really have ability to receive eight choices for prestige and 12 for counselor against such heavy odds.

Table 15

Total Sociometric Analysis of the High Prestige Group
(8-28 choices given them for prestige)

No.	Acad. year	Sub-group	Prestige Choices	PWW Chs.	PWM Chs.	Counselor	Friend Choices	Rejections	SS Score Total
28	J	Cl-7	28	15	1	31	8	- 1	82
46	J	Cl-1	28	3	18	1	7	- 6	51
66	J	Cl-5	24	3	1	10	5	- 8	35
23	So	Cl-6	22	12	0	32	10	0	76
53	J	Cl-1	19	34	32	4	9	- 3	93
55	So	Ind.	19	11	0	8	3	0	41
41	So	Cl-6	12	3	1	1	6	0	25
2	So	Cl-6	10	4	1	14	6	- 1	34
63	J	Cl-1	9	27	8	10	11	0	55
<u>34</u>	<u>So</u>	<u>N-Iso</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>- 6</u>	<u>17</u>
Totals			179	113	64	123	67	-25	510
Random Distribution			(35)	(35)	(31)	(27)	(52)	(-21)	(158)

The High Prestige girls comprise 13.3% of the total community. Since there are 10 girls in the group, the mean for all totals may be found by placing the decimal one digit to the left.

Abbreviations:

PWW: Popularity with Women, choices for.

PWM: Popularity with Men, choices for

Counselor: Choices for counselor

Total SS Score: Sum of choices for prestige, PWW, PWM, Counselor, and Friend minus the rejections.

Table 16

Total Sociometric Analysis of the Higher than Average Prestige Group
(2-7 choices given them for prestige)

No.	Acad. year	Sub-Group	Prestige choices	PWW Chs.	PWM Chs.	Coun-selor	Friend choices	Rejections	Total SS Score
4	F	Cl-6	7	10	43	0	4	-1	63
7	J	N-Is.	7	0	0	5	1	-1	12
13	So	Cl-6	6	0	9	1	5	-7	14
40	So	Cl-1	6	8	1	7	10	0	32
33	S	Cl-4	5	0	0	13	6	0	24
14	S	Cl-1	4	1	0	0	7	0	12
16	J	Cl-4	4	2	0	1	4	-2	9
26	G	Ind.	4	0	0	5	2	-3	8
72	F	Cl-2	4	18	11	0	4	0	37
12	J	Cl-5	3	3	12	2	7	0	27
49	F	Cl-2	3	16	0	1	5	-3	22
18	J	Cl-4	3	2	0	5	4	0	14
5	J	NE-T	2	1	0	1	2	-1	5
20	F	Cl-2	2	4	1	1	5	0	13
21	J	Cl-5	2	2	0	5	6	-7	8
38	F	Square	2	20	0	1	8	0	31
67	J	Cl-6	2	4	2	4	7	-3	16
68	So	Cl-3	2	1	28	4	5	-2	38
Totals			<u>68</u>	<u>92</u>	<u>107</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>92</u>	<u>-30</u>	<u>385</u>
Random Distribution			(63)	(62)	(57)	(50)	(94)	(-38)	(283)
Average scores			3.78	5.11	6	3.11	5.11	-1.67	21.5

The 18 girls in the Higher-than-Average Prestige group comprise 24% of the total community.

For abbreviation key see Table 15

Table 17

Total Sociometric Analysis of the Average Prestige Group
(one choice given each for prestige)

No.	Acad. year	Sub-group	Prestige Choices	PWW Chs.	PWM Chs.	Counselor	Friend Choices	Rejections	Total SS
1	F	Cl-5	1	2	0	0	7	- 1	9
25	F	N-Iso	1	0	0	2	0	0	3
27	J	Cl-5	1	0	0	0	5	0	6
35	F	Square	1	21	0	0	5	0	27
37	J	Cl-4	1	1	0	4	4	0	10
47	J	N-Iso	1	0	0	1	1	-12	- 9
51	So	Cl-6	1	0	8	2	7	0	18
52	F	Cl-2	1	1	2	0	4	0	8
57	J	Cl-4	1	0	0	1	4	- 1	5
58	J	N-Iso	1	1	0	0	1	0	2
59	J	Cl-6	1	1	0	1	4	- 9	- 2
62	So	NE-T	1	0	0	0	4	- 5	0
65	J	Cl-5	1	0	1	0	5	0	7
74	J	Cl-1	1	10	1	2	12	0	26
<u>75</u>	<u>J</u>	<u>Cl-5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>- 4</u>	<u>7</u>
Totals			15	38	13	15	69	-32	118
Random Distribution			(52)	(52)	(47)	(42)	(79)	(-32)	(236)
Average totals			1	2.53	.87	1	4.6	- 2.13	7.87

The 15 girls in the Average Prestige Group comprise 20% of the total community.

(See footnote Table 1b for explanation of abbreviations)

Table 18

Total Sociometric Analysis of the Zero Prestige Group
(No choices given them for prestige)

No.	Acad. year	Sub-Group	Prestige Choices	PWW Chs.	PWM Chs.	Counselor	Friend Choices	Rejections	Total SS Score
3	J	Cl-7	0	2	0	0	4	- 9	- 3
6	F	SW-T	0	0	0	1	2	- 1	2
8	F	Ind.	0	0	2	1	7	0	10
9	J	Cl-1	0	1	0	2	9	0	12
10	J	Cl-1	0	2	0	0	6	- 3	5
11	F	SW-T	0	0	0	0	2	- 1	1
15	F	Cl-6	0	2	0	1	9	0	12
17	F	Cl-3	0	0	2	1	3	0	6
19	So	Cl-6	0	0	0	0	9	0	9
22	F	N-Is.	0	0	1	1	2	- 4	0
24	F	Cl-3	0	0	0	1	3	0	4
29	J	Cl-6	0	0	2	0	3	- 6	- 1
30	F	Cl-5	0	0	2	0	3	0	5
31	F	Cl-7	0	1	1	0	7	- 1	8
32	F	Cl-3	0	0	0	0	5	- 6	- 1
36	F	Ind.	0	0	0	0	4	0	4
39	F	Square	0	0	0	0	5	0	5
42	So	Cl-6	0	2	17	1	7	- 6	21
43	F	SW-T	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
44	F	Ind.	0	0	0	0	4	0	4
45	So	Cl-6	0	0	12	0	8	- 9	11
48	J	NE-T	0	0	0	1	2	- 1	2
50	F	Cl-3	0	0	1	1	6	0	8
54	F	Cl-7	0	1	3	0	5	0	9
56	F	Cl-7	0	0	1	0	4	0	5
60	So	Cl-3	0	0	0	1	7	- 9	- 1
61	So	Cl-7	0	1	0	0	6	- 2	5
64	So	Cl-1	0	1	0	0	6	- 1	6
69	F	Square	0	0	1	0	6	0	7
70	J	Cl-1	0	0	0	1	6	- 1	6
71	F	Cl-2	0	1	7	0	5	-11	2
73	F	Cl-7	0	2	0	0	6	- 2	6
Totals			0	16	52	13	164	-73	172
Random Distribution			(112)	(110)	(101)	(88)	(167)	(-68)	(504)
Average Scores			0	.5	1.63	.41	5.13	- 2.28	5.38

The 32 zero prestige girls comprise 42.7% of the total community.

See Table 15 for abbreviation explanations.

Examination of the lower prestige status groups exposes several cases in which the total sociometric status index surpasses those of several in the high prestige status group. In table 16 Number 4, for example, just misses the high prestige status group by one choice; she has the fourth highest sociometric status index in the dormitory. Of course, 43 of the total score of 63 comes from popularity with men, but her 10 choices for popularity with women place her in the high group for that category, too. This girl is only a Freshman; with only one year of accumulated prestige, she has done well. Three other Freshmen in this group would bear watching as potential leaders: Number 72 with a sociometric status index of 37, of which 11 choices come from popularity with men and 18 from popularity with women; Number 49 whose index of 22 includes 16 choices for popularity with women but none for popularity with men; Number 38 with a sociometric status index of 31, of which 20 choices come from popularity with women.

Among those of average prestige (they received only one choice for prestige) are only two whose sociometric status indices are over 20. One is a Freshman whose 21 choices for popularity with women contributed heavily toward the total. The other, Number 74, with a total index of 26 is the Junior who received the highest number of friendship choices in the dormitory. In her case there is little correlation between friendship choice and prestige; she received only one choice as representative to the U.N. conference, only one choice for popularity with men, and only two choices for counselor. Her ten choices for popularity with women placed her in the high group for that category, but there were nine others who were considered more popular with women by the dormitory as a whole. In this average prestige group are two

negative sociometric status indices. Number 47 with a negative nine rating owes this lowest place in the sociometric status scale to the dubious honor of having the highest number of rejections in the dormitory.

Among the 32 girls in the zero prestige group is only one with a total sociometric status index of more than 20. Seventeen choices for popularity with men contributed heavily toward her total of 21. Her seven friendship choices were offset by six rejections. There are four negative sociometric status indices in this group. As might be expected, all of these girls were among the highly rejected.

Table 19

Correlations between the Prestige Status
Scores and Five other Sociometric and Reputational Ratings

Other Ratings	Correl- ations (1)	Standard Errors	Coefficient of Determ- ination (2)	Index of Forecasting Efficiency (3)
1. PWW	.58	\pm .057	.34	.19
2. PWM	.65	\pm .055	.42	.24
3. Counselor	.57	\pm .057	.32	.18
4. Friend	.64	\pm .055	.41	.23
5. Sociometric Status Index *	.80	\pm .046	.64	.40

(1) Pearsonian correlations, all 373 df and significant at 1% level.

(2) The coefficient of determination tells one the percent of the time one could predict the Y variable from knowledge of the X variable. In the above cases, the X variable is always the prestige choices; The Y variables are numbers 1,2,3,4, and 5.

(3) The index of forecasting efficiency is the percentage of advantage of knowing the X variable over simply knowing the mean of the X variable as a means of predicting Y. If one wanted to predict the sociometric index, knowing the exact number of choices for prestige would have a 40% advantage over knowing the mean for prestige, or 3.5.

* The sociometric status index is the sum of the choices for prestige, PWW (popularity with women), PWM (popularity with men), counselor, and friendship minus the number of rejections.

Despite these variations in rank for the different categories, there is a fairly high positive correlation between the chosen prestige status criterion and the other criteria. Table 19 shows the Pearsonian correlations between the prestige status criterion and popularity with women, popularity with men, choice for counselor, friendship choice, and total sociometric status index. Also shown are the standard errors, the coefficients of determination, and the indices of forecasting efficiency. (1)

It will be noticed that although the single alternative criteria never show over a .65 correlation "r" with the prestige status ratings, the combined totals of all the sociometric ratings show a correlation of .80 with the prestige status ratings. Therefore, it may be concluded that the selected prestige status criterion, i.e., choices for representative to the United Nations conference, is a fairly reliable one for the determination of prestige status rank within the dormitory. Another interesting corroboration of the reliability of the prestige status criterion may be made by a re-examination of Table 15. In this table appear the ratings in all seven sociometric categories for the 10 girls in the high prestige status group. The total scores for the group are also shown for each category. Below the total scores and in parentheses are the expected totals, the expected number of choices in each category which these ten girls would have received if all the choices exceeded the expected number of choices in every case, including rejections. As a group, they had five times as many prestige choices as expected, more than three times as many choices for popularity with women, over twice as many choices for popularity with men,

(1) See notes 1, 2, and 3 on page 96.

over four times as many choices for counselor, and their total sociometric status scores were more than three times higher than the chance distribution would have allowed. Comparison of total friendship choices and rejections with the expected totals do not show such phenomenal variations, but the high prestige girls received more than their chance share of both.

Characteristics of
the Four Prestige
Status Groups

The High Prestige Status Group is made up exclusively of upperclassmen. There are five Juniors and five Sophomores. Three of the latter are older girls who have had working experience of near-professional caliber. Number 2 was a WAVE and Number 34 was an officer of the Army Nurse Corps during World War II. Number 23 had had several years' experience in government service. The two younger Sophomores, Numbers 41 and 55, have reputations as excellent students, and Number 55 was the president of the dormitory at the time the questionnaire was filled out. The other girls all have enviable records of service in positions reflecting leadership in the dormitory. Probably the highest honor and the greatest responsibility is attached to the position of A.W.S. representative. (1) Numbers 66 and 28 have had this position for the 1946-'47 and the 1947-'48 school years respectively, the latter showing unusual ability in that capacity. Positions requiring little less responsibility and carrying almost as much honor are president of the dormitory and standards chairman. Number 53 has been dormitory president twice and standards chairman once. Numbers 46 and 63 have been standards chairmen, the latter for two terms. The social chairman is responsible for all the social activities in the dormitory. Through

(1) The Associated Women Students' Council is made up of one representative from every dormitory and sorority house as well as representatives at large. They make the rules and set the standards by which women students of the college are governed.

her committees, she must work with and gain the support of many girls. Number 46 has served in this capacity twice. Numbers 28, 63, and 53 have been secretary of the dormitory, the two former also having served as treasurer. Numbers 23, 41, and 5b have been vice-presidents of the dormitory.

It is easy to see that high prestige is associated with leadership and service for the total dormitory group. It is also associated with maturity and good judgment. Sixty percent of the total choices for counselor went to the 10 girls in the high prestige group. These girls represent only 13.3% of the total dormitory population yet they were given 68% of the choices for prestige, 44% of the choices for popularity with women, and 27% of the choices for popularity with men. Their total sociometric status score is more than three times the expected one. Although this high prestige group claims four of the highly chosen for friendship girls, their mean number of choices is only 1.4 above that for the entire dormitory. As for rejections, it is strange but true that there were three girls in this group among the highly rejected and the group's rejection average is the highest of any of the prestige status groups. This may be a reflection of the struggle for status.

The Higher-Than-Average Prestige Status Group is made up of 18 girls who represent 24% of the total dormitory membership. Their prestige status ratings ranged from seven to two. Among them were the graduate student, the two Seniors, seven Juniors, three Sophomores, and five Freshmen. For the upper-classmen, membership in this group means that in the competition for prestige status they were in the running, but they failed to make the high prestige grade. But for the five Freshmen, membership means recognition of their high prestige poten-

tialities. The total of the sociometric status scores for this group was 385, about 100 above the expected total. The mean sociometric status score was 21.4 for members of this group, but the mean for the five Freshmen in the group was 33.2. In the three alternative prestige categories, PWW, PWM, and choice for counselor, there was a total of ten high ratings for this group of 18 girls. Four of the five Freshmen were responsible for seven of them. "Of course", the upperclassmen might say, "that's because they're popular with men. Freshman girls are always more popular with men because they're new here and haven't settled down to one man." It is true that three of their high ratings are for PWM, but four of them are for PWW, and in that category the five Freshman girls are responsible for 68 of the total 92 choices received by the group. The most important significance of this higher-than-average group is this dynamic representation of new girls surging ahead to prestige pre-eminence and older girls settling back to second place.

How do these girls earn their higher-than-average prestige ratings? The only dormitory office open to Freshmen the first and second terms is Firewarden. Number 72 held that office. Spring term, after having worked hard on party committees the first two terms, Number 72 was made social chairman. The other Freshmen all worked on committees and were active in dormitory sports. Number 33, a Senior, was once standards chairman for the dormitory and has the reputation for being a good student. Number 7 although chosen only once as friend is roommate of high prestige Number 28 and is also respected as a good student. Numbers 40 and 14, Sophomore and Senior members respectively of Clique 1 are associated in dormitory activities with high prestige Numbers 46, 53, and 63 of the same group.

The Average Prestige Status Group of 15 girls who received a single choice for the prestige status criterion includes nine Juniors, two Sophomores, and four Freshmen. As a group these girls have very few high scores. One Freshman received 21 choices for popularity with women and a Junior received ten choices. These two girls, Numbers 35 and 74 respectively, have the only sociometric status scores over 20. Number 74's single choice for prestige is surprising in view of the fact that she had the highest number of choices for friendship in the dormitory. That she has failed for three terms her Basic College comprehensive examinations may have had some influence on her failure to achieve higher prestige status. She has had opportunities as dormitory treasurer and social chairman to display her ability.

This group's totals in all the sociometric categories except rejection fails to equal the expected totals. The group has exactly as many rejections as one would expect from chance distribution. The total sociometric status score is exactly one half the expected score from chance distribution. In this group are found for the first time negative sociometric status scores. Altogether, it must be admitted that this group's claims for prestige distinction are relatively weak. Just as a single rejection cannot be said to merit the stigma of group disapproval, so a single choice for prestige is insufficient indication of group respect.

The Zero Prestige Status Group includes 32 girls or 42.7% of the entire dormitory population. Twenty of them are Freshmen ; six are Sophomores; and six are Juniors. A quick glance at Table 18 discloses a paucity of choices in all of the prestige categories. There are only two high scores in the lot and both are for popularity with men. One

of these girls with 17 choices for PWM has the only total sociometric score over 20, and her nearest competitors in the group have total sociometric scores of only 12. If the Average Prestige group totals in the various categories were short of the expected totals, those of the Zero group are even shorter except in the case of friendship choices. The fifteen girls in the Average group were 10 choices short of the expected number of friendship choices, but the 32 girls in the Zero group were only three choices short of the expected number. Two of the girls who were among the highly chosen for friendship are in this group. As for rejections, the Zero group resembles the High Prestige group in that they were the only ones which had more rejections than would have been expected by chance distribution. The 10 high prestige girls had four more rejections than expected, and the 32 zero prestige girls had only five more rejections than expected. Seven of the 15 highly rejected--no more than the expected number--belong to the Zero Prestige group.

There were five negative total sociometric status scores among the zero prestige totals. The group as a whole could claim little more than one third the expected total sociometric status score. Failure to achieve prestige recognition is by no means conclusive for the 20 Freshmen. For the upperclassmen, failure to achieve recognition is more conclusive; the Sophomores have half of their college life behind them and the Juniors have only one more year in which to change their more established patterns of interaction.

Prestige and Social Class Criteria	Is high prestige on the college campus or in the dormitory a reflection of social class position in the home town?
--	--

This question was pondered when the study was first

undertaken. Although it was impractical to try to determine the class status of each girl, the parental occupation is considered an important determinant of social class.

Table 20 compares the parental occupations of the eight girls who had either negative or zero sociometric status scores with the eight girls who had the highest sociometric status scores. ⁽¹⁾ It would be hard to say that the parental occupations of either group suggest slightly higher social status than the other. The parental occupations of the low prestige girls suggest rural influences in all but three of the cases while the high prestige parental occupations are almost exclusively associated with urban culture. In many cases the girls' description of the parental occupation is inadequate and indefinite for class considerations. The addition of the working parent's educational status reveals almost no difference between the two groups. The available data do not suggest that criteria important in determining social class are also determining factors in prestige stratification at North Hall.

High prestige seems to be a function of upperclass-
 Conclusions on Prestige Status man rank, yet that rank itself does not confer high prestige on its possessors. On the contrary, many aspire but few succeed. High prestige is reserved mainly for those who serve the whole and develop leadership through their efforts.

In North Hall ability to attract friends does not necessarily guarantee high prestige. It is true that a positive correlation of .64 was found between choices for prestige and choices for friendship, but a slightly larger correlation coefficient was found in the relationship between friendship choices received and the size and unanimity of

(1) The SS scores were used rather than the prestige scores because there were 32 who had zero prestige. It will be remembered that there was a correlation of .80 between the two criteria.

Table 20

Prestige Status and Social Class Criteria

(Comparison of 8 Lowest Sociometric Status Girls with the 8 Highest
in regard to Parental Occupation & Education)

In descending order of S.S. Score

Number of Girl	Sociometric Status Score	Parental Occupation	Working Parent's Educational Status
53	93	Electrical Engineer	3 yrs. college
28	82	City Treasurer	High School grad.
23	76	Train Dispatcher	2 yrs. college
4	63	Medical Service Rep- resentative	4 yrs. college
63	55	Lutheran Minister	4 yrs. college
46	51	Salesman	2 yrs. college
55	41	Draftsman	High School grad.
68	38	Tool and machine	4 yrs. college
22	0	Salesman	2 yrs. college
62	0	Buyer	High School grad.
60	- 1	Farmer	9th grade
32	- 1	Farmer	4 yrs. college
29	- 1	Dairy	4 yrs. college
59	- 2	Engineer	4 yrs. college
3	- 3	Lumberman	2 yrs. college
47	- 9	Farm Manager	2 yrs. college

choice of the sub-group to which a girl belongs. The difference between the four prestige status groups for the average number of friendship choices is not phenomenal. Nor is the decline in average number of friendship choices consistent with the decline in prestige status: the High Prestige group had an average of 6.7 friendship choices; the Higher-Than-Average Prestige group had an average of 5.11 friendship choices; the Average Prestige group had an average of 4.60 friendship choices; and the Zero Prestige group had an average of 5.13 friendship choices.

High prestige does not confer immunity to rejection. Three of the highly rejected girls are found in the high prestige group. They apparently had not mastered the ability to lead without creating antagonism. Although rejection might be associated theoretically with low prestige, the 32 zero prestige girls received only five more rejections than might have been expected in chance distribution of the total number of rejections. There is little difference in the rejection averages for the four prestige groups, but the High Prestige group led even in this category. The High Prestige group had an average of 2.5 rejections; the Higher-than-Average group had an average of 1.67 rejections; the Average Prestige group had an average of 2.14 rejections; and the average for the Zero Prestige group was 2.28.

The available data did not show that prestige stratification in North Hall was a function of social class or important determinants of that factor.

Chapter 7

Sociometry and Personality Development

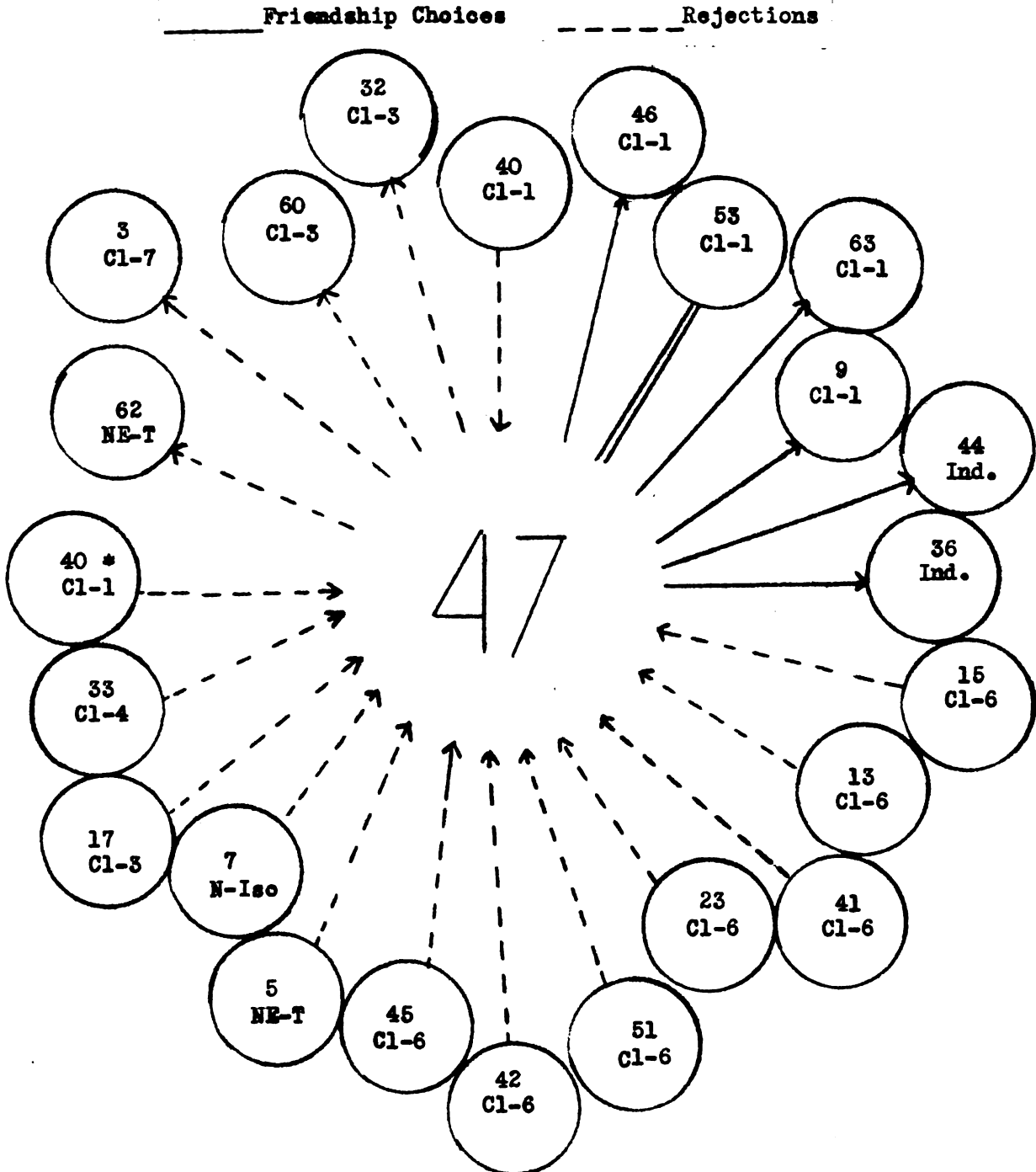
Sociometry can well provide the counselor or the person interested in group management and individual guidance with objective tools for measurement of criteria upon which such guidance depends. Methods have been devised to spot weakness and strength in the individual's personal adjustment to community life and in the sub-group pattern of behavior which molds the individual's personality to it. From the identification of characteristics calling for correction or those worthy of emulation in terms of ideal types, it is just a step to the control of individual adjustment and the group on which that adjustment depends.

The friendship choices and rejections directed to an Individual Adjustment individual are means of showing how an individual rates with her peers. Comparison of the individual's rating in both respects with that of others in the community gives insight into that part of the personality which attracts or repels. The individual's conception of her own adjustment to her community may be inferred from her choices and rejections of others within the community. After that, a comparison of the individual's ideas of her own adjustment with that of the group verdict on her adjustment not only reflects the girl's insight into her community adjustment but suggests goals to work toward and means of arriving at them.

One means of portraying an individual's adjustment to her community is through the individual sociogram. Chart 2 on page 107 shows such a sociogram of the adjustment--or rather, maladjustment--of Number 47 to the dormitory community. The single, unbroken lines going

Chart 2

Individual Sociogram of Number 47



*Number 40's rejection is repeated, showing her first with her sub-group and then with the rejectors.

out from the center of the circle are her friendship choices. The broken lines going out from the center of the circle are her rejections of others, and are the sources of the tension she feels, the foci of her feelings of dislike and personality clash. The single line coming into the circle forms a double one with one of Number 47's outgoing lines, showing mutuality of choice. There are six lines going out and only one coming in, so Number 47's conception of her adjustment to the group is at considerable variance with the group's acceptance of her. The intensity of the total group's non-acceptance of her is demonstrated not merely by the absence of single, unbroken lines coming into the circle but also by the mass of broken lines of rejection and dislike directed from the outside to her. The absence of lines reveals indifference; the broken lines reveal hostility. The identification by number and sub-group of the foci and sources of the choices and rejections further discloses that the group to which she aspires is for the most part indifferent to her: one accepts and one rejects her. Most of the hostility is from outside the sphere of her attraction. But the absence of mutual rejections shows that she is unconscious of or indifferent to dislike directed to her, and the same is true of those toward whom she directs her feelings of dislike.

The individual sociogram is an excellent instrument for showing an individual's adjustment to her community, but comparison with others in the community entails reference to other sociograms. Zeleny has worked out methods of comparison through the determination of individual social adjustment ratios and morale quotients.⁽¹⁾ He has also devised formulae for the interpretation of sociometric data which reveal

(1) Op. cit. See footnote 4, page 2.

(2)
 individual characteristics of interaction. Smucker has utilized some of these formulae and devised others of his own for use in an instrument which not only measures the intensity of all these interaction traits at a glance but also compares it with the community average of each and every trait considered. This instrument is the Sociometric Index Profile. It measures the following interaction characteristics according to index numbers provided by the given formulae:

1. Social Intensity which measures the volume of positive and negative interaction.
 S.I. equals the sum of the acceptances and rejections divided by the number of cases in the community minus one.
2. Compatibility which is the index of the volume of mutual friendship choices.
 C. equals the number of mutual friendship choices divided by the number of cases in the community minus one.
3. Sociality is determined by the number of friendship choices the subject makes toward other subjects.
 S. equals the number of positive choices made by the subject divided by the number of cases in the community minus one.
4. Social Acceptance is a measure of the subject's acceptance by other members of the community.
 S.A. equals the total of the friendship choices received by the subject (single and mutual) divided by the number of cases in the community minus one.
5. Social Rejection is an index of the volume of rejections received by the subject.
 S.R. equals the number of rejections received by the subject divided by the number of cases in the community minus one.
6. Negative Sociality measures the volume of rejections made by the subject toward other subjects.
 N.S. equals the number of rejections made by the subject divided by the number of cases minus one.
7. Prestige Status is an index of the individual's prestige status within the community.
 P.S. equals the prestige status score divided by the number of cases in the community minus one.

(2) Op. cit. See footnote 4, page 2 regarding compatible flying parts.
 (ners.

8. Popularity with Men is an index of community opinion regarding a subject's popularity with men.
P.M. equals the total number of choices received for PWM divided by the number of cases in the community minus one.
9. Popularity with Women is an index of community opinion regarding a subject's popularity with women.
P.W. equals the total number of choices received for PWW divided by the number of cases in the community minus one.
10. Counselor Preference is an index of community attitude toward a subject in the role of counselor.
C.P. equals the number of choices received for counselor divided by the number of cases in the community minus one.

With the calculation of each interaction or reputational index for every individual in a given community, the mean index for each may be determined for the community as a whole. It follows that the plotting of the mean interaction indices together with the individual interaction indices on a scale offers a visual means of comparing the individual pattern or profile with that of the community average. Individual guidance directed toward the improvement of individual performance in approaching or surpassing the mean performance will not only help improve on the individual's adjustment to the community but will raise the level of the total group adjustment as well.

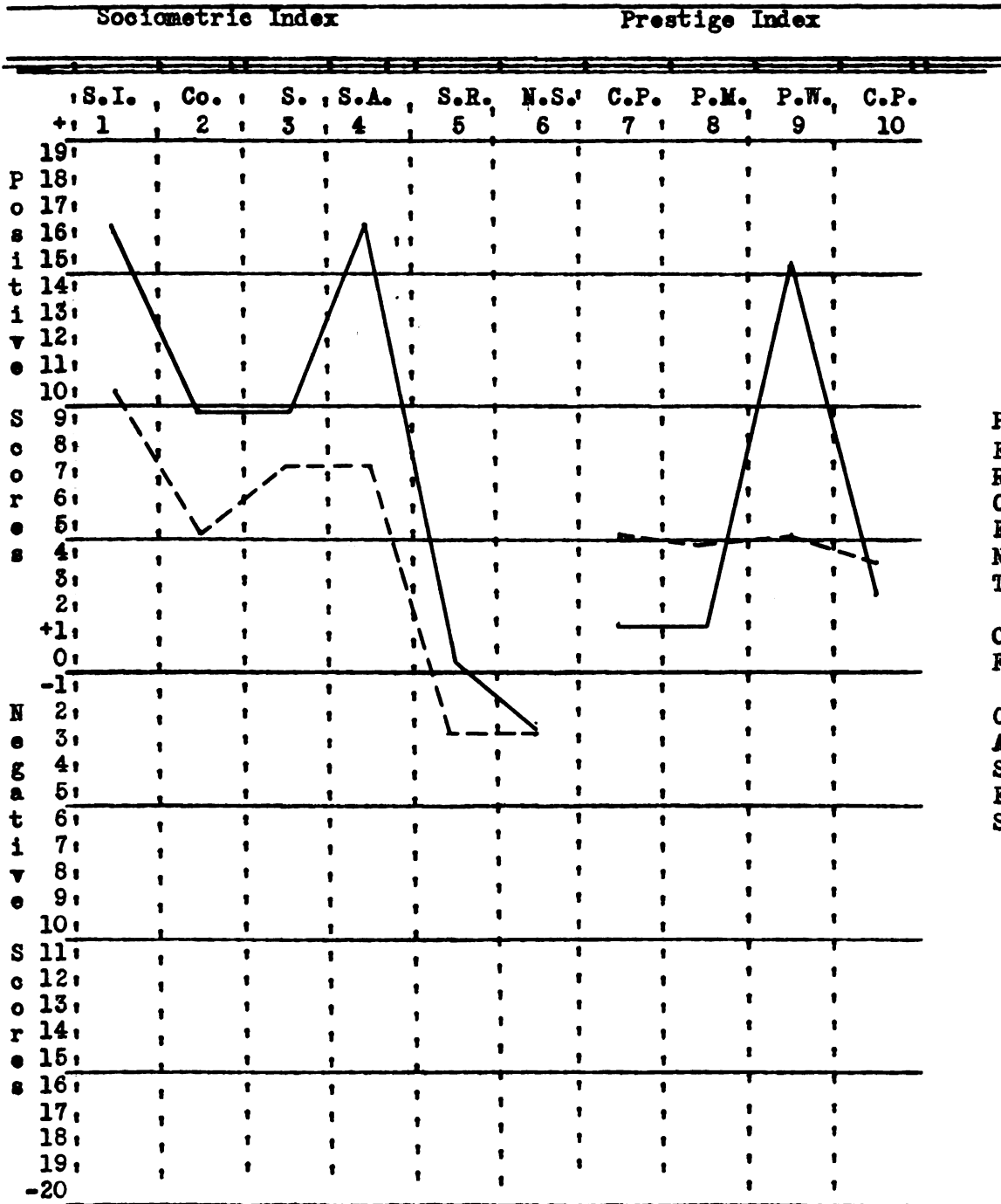
Chart 3 is a sociometric profile. It shows the interaction performance of Number 74, the most highly chosen girl for friendship in the dormitory. The unbroken line compares her performance with that of the dormitory average which is indicated by the broken line. It can easily be seen that she is far above the average in social intensity, compatibility, social acceptance, and social rejection. Social rejection and negative sociality are negative indices, so a zero performance on either indicates a better performance than a negative score.

Chart 3

Diagnostic Profile Depicting Inter-personal and Reputational Performances Based on Six Sociometric and Four Prestige Status Indices.

Student _____ No. 74 Dormitory North Hall Date May '48

----- Mean index for dorm. - - - - Individual student index.



S.I.: Social Intensity Co.: Compatibility S.: Sociality
 S.A.: Social Acceptance S.R.: Social Rejection N.S.: Negative Sociality
 C.P.: Community Prestige P.M.: Popularity with Men
 P.W.: Popularity with Women C.P.: Counselor Preference.

As for the therapy needed to achieve an improved individual adjustment, that is the problem for the counselor or the worker trained in guidance. To complete the sociometric x-ray diagnosis, trained observation should be used as a guide to the identification of behavior characteristics responsible for poor or only average adjustment. Other, more objective guides might be implemented to supplement or corroborate the observations. Guess-who items such as those which follow permit the members of the community themselves to indicate the exact reasons for their approval, disapproval, or indifference.

The least friendly girl in the dormitory _____
 The girl who always talks about herself _____
 The girl most interested in the problems of others _____
 The girl most careless in habits of personal cleanliness _____
 The girl who always looks like "a million" _____
 Most interesting conversationalist _____

Mrs. Dewey, the housemother who is interested in guidance and is taking graduate work in that field, has often used her observations in the dormitory to help girls who want to be helped and come to her with their problems. One of near-isolate Number 58's main difficulties as far as attractiveness to others was concerned was an exceedingly offensive body odor of which she herself was quite unconscious. When effective measures for control of this difficulty were suggested, Number 58 was very grateful and put them into effect immediately. Number 41, a brilliant student with about a 2.5 average, was at first resented by the other girls because she didn't mix and was apt to sit in judgment. When she came to Mrs. Dewey to ask her what she could do to make the girls like her more, she was urged to expand her interrelationships, to relax in the company of other girls, and to offer help. She has shown a lot of improvement in her two years at school although there is room

for much more. She seldom offers to help unless she is asked; even so, her initiative is improving. None of the North Hall girls rejected her; she received 12 choices for prestige, but she received only three choices for popularity with women and one for counselor. If Number 41's ability as a student is to be matched by equal ability as a leader, she will need guidance and encouragement to better her interpersonal relationships.

Number 47's displeasing personality and inability to effect a good adjustment in the dormitory are understandable products of unhappy home experiences which channeled her interests into too great a concentration on herself. Although she craves affection and prestige, she is unconscious of or has failed to master the techniques necessary for the fulfillment of her desires. She is unable to keep a roommate. She quarrels and fights with them. She is known as the most boring girl in the dormitory. She talks about her family, about her farm, about the family Packard. She doesn't talk about these things just once; she talks about them over and over and over again. This irritating habit has been pointed out to her, and she sincerely wants to improve. One night she came into Mrs. Dewey's apartment all smiles after a blind date.

"Oh, Mrs. Dewey", she cried, "I had the most wonderful time tonight! And do you know what? I didn't talk about myself once all evening!"

But however sincere her intentions, she eventually regresses back to her old irritating pattern. This year, Mrs. Dewey, sensing her desire to belong and to rate, placed her among the girls of Clique 1 right next door to Numbers 46 and 53 whose support was enlisted. This was an effective move because these girls had high prestige! They had what Number 47 admired and what she sought for herself. In her attempts to em-

ulate them and become accepted by the members of the clique, Number 47 has shown much improvement this year. Number 53 who had the most choices for popularity with women and the highest sociometric status index in the dormitory chose her as a friend. Only one member of the clique rejected her. All year she has been included in the informal parties which the clique gave. Mrs. Dewey, who observed the same process culminate in the once-rejected Number 70 being accepted finally as a full-fledged member of Clique 1, thinks that given another year of close association with this group, Number 47, too, would become accepted.

Personality Development within the Sub-group Structure Objective means of revealing sub-groupal patterns of interaction have been discussed before in Chapters two and four. The size of the sub-group, the unanimity of choice within the group, the extent to which it is exclusively a closed clique, the cohesiveness, and the out-clique attraction--all of these characteristics of sub-group interaction may be determined through the utilization of friendship choices. Likewise, areas of tension and evidences of group dislike of an individual or individuals in other groups are revealed through the sociometric rejections.

The recognition of individual sub-groups and the acceptance of them as a most important agent in the college socialization process are in themselves important steps in the group management process. Utilization of the sub-groupal socialization machinery in therapeutic programs for improving community morale and replacing tension with harmony is an interesting and fruitful possibility. Cook tried some experiments along this line in a tenth grade class. One strong, recalcitrant sub-group

was in the process of disintegration by the time the initial experiment had been completed. In the same class a potential leader was spotted. With the help of her sub-group allies, these potentialities were so developed that she threatened the hitherto uncontested queen position held by a dominating and somewhat self-satisfied girl.⁽¹⁾

Within and among the various sub-groups of North Hall there are differences in morale and in the social adjustment of the group. Sociograms like the friendship sociogram on page 9 reveal clearly that some girls are not as well adjusted to a given group as others. Also observable are differences in compatibility among the different sub-groups. These differences reflect variations in adjustment of individual group members to each other. Zeleny showed that group adjustment could be controlled by means of shifts of some of a given group's more maladjusted members to other groups where they might find more acceptance.⁽²⁾

Such therapy within a dormitory would of necessity have to be accomplished with the consent and understanding of the individual concerned. In North Hall, Mrs. Dewey believes that there are girls who would like to break away from their sub-groups, from the sub-group behavior patterns with which they are associated and to which they are more or less bound if they want "to belong". Each sub-group has its own gestalt, its configuration of behavior patterns. Group acceptance demands that the individual conform to its configuration. In the process of conforming, the individual is molded by the group.

As an aspect of the above process, it was found that every clique had a central behavior pattern, a common core of interest by which it

(1) Op. cit.

(2) Op. cit. See footnote 4, page 2 re: Morale.

could be identified. For example:

The girls in Clique 1 are known as "society girls". They "go out" a great deal and some of them are prominent socially on the campus. They manage to get their work done without much study, so they have parties, play a lot of bridge, and are inveterate night hawks. Although they have few particular interests in common, they like to talk and "hash things over". All the girls are quite self-sufficient so there is no group leader as such. Number 46 has great prestige and plenty of ability. But the sub-group and the dormitory itself are only a part of her busy campus life. She spreads herself thin among such varied activities as the Pan-Hellenic Council (whose delegate she was to the national convention) and wholehearted assistance in a fringe area community project.

The girls in Freshman Clique 2 are often referred to as the "Rah-rah girls". They go around with boys who drive convertibles and they swoosh up to the dormitory entrance with all horns tooting. As a group they are noisy, do not respect the rules, lack cooperation, and have untidy rooms. They, too, are society girls and sophisticates. They are extravagant in their spending of money. Most of them have beer on their breaths when they come in at night although they are under age. They do not study and they do not get their school work done. Instead they play bridge. At least one of them, Number 72, was reportedly "flunking out" at the end of Spring term. And yet, this girl displayed exceptional potentialities for prestige and leadership. Mrs. Dewey was convinced of her general ability, and she had a few talents in which she was exceptional. Another member of the group, Number 49, told the housemother that she thought she would try to get

away from the gang when she entered the new dormitory next Fall so she could get her work done. She was the only member of the clique who had a scholastic average of one or better. Both of these girls deliberately joined the group, however.

"We were living upstairs at first, but we didn't like it there", Number 49 told the writer. "Those girls up there, they were too serious. They didn't want to do anything except study. We thought the girls down here had a lot more fun, so as soon as we had a chance, we moved in here.

Clique 3 is in Corridor D of the first floor. Members are mostly Freshmen although two of them are new, transfer students. These are more serious and quiet girls. With the exception of Number 68, they are not beautiful or even good looking and they don't date very much. Number 68's rather "sexy" appearance is deceiving although she does attract men. She does not go out with drinking or "fast" men, however. As a group, the girls are quite unsophisticated. They do not play bridge and they spend little money.

The girls in Clique 4 are all three year "old timers". They are serious girls, quiet and dignified. Number 33 is quite self-righteous, having high personal standards by which she judges others. Number 37 is a shy, country girl whose wide family connections made up almost the total of her social interaction before she came to college. None of the girls belongs to a sorority. They date very little.

Originally Clique 5 of Corridor C was made up of old timers, too. Most of them are Juniors, and Mrs. Dewey thought there had been some ill feeling between this group and Clique 1. These girls take life quite seriously. They play little bridge, but they do like to knit as they gather together. Freshmen Numbers 1 and 30 were adopted by the group. Number 30 was assigned to the first floor corridor occupied by

Clique 2, but she didn't like the girls there. Preferring the more serious ones upstairs, she moved up when Numbers 49 and 72 moved down. There are no drinkers among the girls of Clique 5 and they don't smooch--at least not in public.

Most of the Clique 6 girls are second year girls although a few new ones were added to the group this year. They also live in Corridor D for the most part, although four of them live on the floor above in Corridor B. Number 2 once lived in Corridor D but moved upstairs with Number 23 as an accommodation. Communication between the two floors is facilitated by an outside fire escape at the west end of both corridors. Since the four Corridor B girls live in the two west rooms of the corridor, this is very convenient. These girls play bridge sometimes, but not as often as the girls in Cliques 1 and 2. They get their studying done. Outside of these common traits and the fact that many of them work in the kitchen, their observed similarities as a group end. There are a few maladjusted girls in the clique; some of the girls drink; and some of them have common interests in the Sigma Kappa sorority.

The girls in Clique 7 resemble those of Clique 2 in many ways, but they don't like each other. Most of the girls are Freshmen. If Number 28 belongs to the clique, it is because she has been drafted into it through the admiration of the younger girls. She joins in with them as they sit around and eat popcorn. They talk and knit and play pinochle. Although these girls don't "go out" much, they "fool around" in Corridor C and stay up until very late at night. Two of the girls have serious emotional problems. Both of them drink too much. One has quite frequent temper tantrums and once drew a knife

on another girl. The other girl is a grand stand player; she'll do anything for effect.

The four Freshman girls of the Square are the complete opposites of the Clique 2 girls. They are shy and very unsophisticated. Despite their shyness, they are friendly with many girls outside their own group. They are particularly active in dormitory sports. They have made excellent adjustments to dormitory life in one year. At the beginning of the year, Number 38 threatened to be a serious emotional problem. Probably to please her father, of whom she is very fond, she tried to take the reputedly "tough" veterinary course. It was too hard for her. When she "flunked" chemistry and her boy friend was killed in an accident, she suffered a breakdown. Since then she has developed a keen interest in sports and is considering majoring in physical education. Her first year prestige score and her membership in the highly chosen for friendship group are testimonials of a fine group adjustment.

The two triangles, as mentioned before in the second chapter, are somewhat rejected girls who found each other. The N.E. Triangle consists of two Juniors (who have been in the dormitory since it opened and have roomed together all that time except for the first month) and a Sophomore new this year. They do not mix very much with the other girls. Number 48 in particular goes to bed early and is so meticulous about her room that no one feels comfortable in it. The girls are all hard workers. They concentrate largely on their studies and do a minimum of "fooling around". Number 62, the Sophomore, is the more colorful character. She is proudly--almost fiercely--independent. She pays her own way and she does her share--no more. Every morning she pulls up one of the two window shades in the room which is shared by a member

of the Square. When she cleans the room, she cleans her side exactly to the center--and no further. The Freshman Triangle is a counterpart of the upperclassman one in many respects. Number 6 is a very good student. Her choices as friend of four upperclassman girls with some measure of prestige reflect aspirations outside her narrow sub-group sphere.

It can be seen that there are differences between the cliques in their behavior patterns. The above descriptions of sub-group behavior were obtained from the housemother and the graduate counselor. Mrs. Dewey's ideas of clique membership coincided almost exactly with that which appears in the sociogram as a result of the sociometric friendship choices, thus providing validation for the findings. The few exceptions might be noted here for reference. Number 8 was classed in the sociogram as an indeterminant; Mrs. Dewey still considered her as a member of Clique 3 among whose members she had lived for the first half of the school year. Her friendship choices show that she still interacts with the group, but there are so many choices into and from other groups that she must have established a different pattern of relationships when she moved from Corridor D to Corridor B. Mrs. Dewey didn't feel that Number 28 really belonged to Clique 7, although she corroborated fully the circumstances leading to her inclusion. Nor did she think that Number 16 really belonged to Clique 4. She had once belonged, but her stay in the dormitory has been interrupted periodically so that she could earn money to continue her education. Two of the old gang come to see her in her very pleasant room at the front of the building, but she doesn't interact with the clique in their principal locale. Although she admitted that Number 58 was a very self-sufficient girl "who walks alone", Mrs. Dewey had considered her as a mem-

ber of Clique 5. However, the only objective evidence of friendships with the group is the single choice of Number 58's roommate for her.

Discussing the influence of propinquity on clique organization and the attendant molding of personality and behavior patterns of the girls involved, the housemother and the graduate counselor speculated about what might have been had clique membership and interaction been controlled through effective group guidance.

"That Number 72 case is really a tragedy", Mrs. Dewey said. "Had she been assigned to Corridor B or even to Corridor D, it would have made a lot of difference in her development. I'm sure she wouldn't be flunking out. That girl had talent, and I'm certain she had loads of ability--if only she had used it instead of concentrating on a good time."

But if there are a few cases in which membership in a certain clique results in unfortunate personality development, there are many others for whom membership in a sub-group has meant the realization of latent and unsuspected potentialities. As an example of what a clique can do for a girl, the housemother likes to cite the case of Number 70.

"When Number 70 first came to North Hall in the Fall of 1945, she was so different from most of the other girls that she was quite isolated. She roomed with another Catholic girl who was also isolated for the same reasons. Number 70 is the daughter of Polish immigrants; her father works in a Detroit factory. Number 70's English was poor. When poor grades resulted in a check-up on her reading ability, it was found that she couldn't even read a paragraph and get the correct meaning from it. She was untidy in appearance; she displayed little knowledge of the elements of personal cleanliness and taste. The room was a hovel.

"When her roommate failed to return the second year, Number 70 was placed in a room among the girls of Clique 1. Number 74 of that clique had lost her roommate, too, and they were assigned together. For almost a year, Number 70 occupied the same satellite position which Number 47 had this year. Out of kindness, she was included in the parties. Gradually she made changes in her habits and in her appearance as she tried to

emulate these girls whom she admired. This year she has been accepted as a full-fledged member of the group and although she is not as outstanding as a few of the others, she has developed the same configuration of traits which distinguish Clique 1 girls from the others. Her scholarship still shows need for improvement. (The writer noticed that she still spells like she must have pronounced her words when she entered the dormitory.) However, she has made remarkable progress considering her relatively poor background."

Personality Development within the Total Community Structure In Chapter 2 a distinction was made between popularity and power in friendship relations. It was pointed out that girls with power do not limit their interaction to a small, intimate sub-group, but extend it to members of the larger community group as well. If the state and the nation have a right to expect leadership and service from those who have had the advantages of higher education (particularly those in state institutions supported largely by public appropriations), it seems logical that they should expect their institutions of higher learning to develop in their students attitudes and habits commensurate with those expected of them. The dormitory offers almost unlimited opportunities for the development of leadership and service. Sociometric analysis offers an objective measurement of the development of the desired traits.

Through the choices received from the different prestige status criteria, each girl is judged according to the power, the leadership, and the service she has rendered by those who are in the best position to judge--her dormitory associates. No doubt, there are some whose attitudes are isolationist, for whom participation in a common world even in a leadership capacity is frightfully bourgeois and too, too de trop. But these are negative attitudes. Moreover, they are acquired like any other attitudes, and can be replaced through community em-

phasis on more positive values. However, it is apparent from such studies as Newcomb's ⁽¹⁾ that most girls aspire to the leadership role, and yearn for recognition and the opportunities which foster it. For many girls failure to achieve prestige and power is due to lack of confidence, hesitancy in taking the initiative, and--above all--in procrastination. Surely, these are failings which would profit by effective guidance--not only individual guidance but sub-group guidance as well. Exploitation of existing sub-group forces would reinforce ⁽²⁾ the individual member's efforts to help herself.

Sociometry provides the tools of measurement on which such guidance depends. Tables 15, 16, 17, 18 in the preceding chapter demonstrated vividly the need of the great majority for help and encouragement. Even in the high prestige group there is need for able guidance if its members would realize their full potentialities. This group incurred the highest average of rejections of all the prestige groups. During the Freshman year, it is possible to spot the girls who are developing power on their own initiatives. New avenues of development should be encouraged on them. As for their less effective sisters, guidance should be directed immediately toward the development of initiative and power. The same is true of the upperclassmen who are still holding back and drifting into the mire of apathy.

The sociometric data found in the tables mentioned above could be transferred to more manipulable tools for individual guidance. Individual prestige sociograms could be devised which would reveal improvement between successive utilization of the sociometric questionnaire.

(1) Op. cit.

(2) For further development of this point see: Smucker, Orden C., "The Campus Clique as an Agency of Socialization", Jour. Educational Sociol., Nov. 1947, pp. 163-169.

The second half of Smucker's Sociometric Status Profile (see Chart 3, page 111), would show the same progress and would also compare it with that of the dormitory as a group.

The reputational half of Number 74's profile shows that she needs to develop her facility for making friends into leadership channels. Chart 3 shows that although she is a Junior, she has only one choice for prestige. She did excel in popularity for women, but her relatively poor showing in the PWM and choices for counselor categories indicate goals to work toward.

(1)

With the periodic use of the sociometric questionnaire, the writer concludes with Zeleny "that morale in both its group and individual as-
(2)
pects can, within limits, be measured and controlled". The writer further concludes that with this same instrument, individual personality development may also be measured and analyzed for guidance purposes in terms of socially desirable goals.

(1) Successive applications of the sociometric questionnaire would undoubtedly necessitate the construction of new questionnaires, preferably geared to specific dormitory criteria for judging.

(2) Op. cit. See footnote 4, page 2 re: Morale.

Chapter 8

Conclusions and Implications

In the foregoing sociometric study of North Hall, a small girls' dormitory in one of the largest colleges in the country, the findings seem to organize themselves into three distinct classes: those regarding the structure of dormitory interaction; those revealing individual and group differences in interaction patterns; and the usefulness of sociometry in portraying these patterns and in measuring personality development as well. Outside of these three groups of findings, there are certain implications important in the field of higher education.

The Structure of Dormitory Interaction The sociometric friendship choices as portrayed on the friendship sociogram revealed conclusively that the total dormitory friendship pattern is the sum of interaction within the several sub-group structures and interaction outside these structures. Seventy-two and six tenths percent of the friendship choices were intra-clique choices. The remainder were divided between inter-clique choices and choices involving the 11 girls out of the total 75 who could not with certainty be placed in a particular sub-group.

The sub-group structures were found to differ in size, unanimity of choice within the individual sub-group, in closed-clique exclusiveness, in cohesion, and outside attraction. There was some evidence indicating that the more complex and cohesive structures are functions of long and continued residence in the dormitory. In other words, there is a positive correlation between complexity and cohesiveness on

the one hand and age of the configuration on the other. Also found was a significant relationship indicated by a correlation co-efficient of .66 between the number of friendship choices received and the size and unanimity of choice of the sub-group to which an individual belonged.

In the search for correlates of friendship choice, the influence of time of entrance to the dormitory (which in the majority of cases would coincide with the academic year, and propinquity were found to be the greatest. The cleavage due to propinquity (as measured by a total of 856.85 chi squares, significant at the one percent level, is greater than that due to time of dormitory entrance (as measured by a total of 160.66 chi squares, significant at the one percent level) but shifts within the dormitory detract from some but by no means all of the influence of propinquity.

Other factors found to influence the sub-group structure to a much smaller degree included environment (a cleavage represented by 7.17 chi squares, significant at the one percent level), scholastic averages (a total dormitory cleavage represented by 10.51 chi squares, significant at the two percent level), and perhaps part-time work within the dormitory. As far as the latter factor is concerned, it is more probable that girls within existing sub-groups influence each other to take these part-time jobs. Although not submitted to chi square analysis, it appears that such factors as religion, major or vocational choice, parent's occupation, parents' education, leisure time activities, dating habits (as estimated by the girls themselves), and organizations and outside activities have little influence on sub-group membership or on friendship choice itself. The corollary to this con-

clusion, therefore, is that the individual's performance and behavior in the immediate social milieu is the significant factor in friendship choice. Although the 18 girls who said they belonged to a sorority chose their sorority sisters more often than not, the influence of the sororities on the total sub-group structure in North Hall was not great. In fact, there is some basis for the belief that in North Hall, at least, the dormitory sub-groups have more influence on sorority membership than the sorority has on sub-group membership.

The absence of data on the larger dormitories made impossible an objective comparison between the structures of interaction in large and small dormitories. Subjective observations of the housemother and girls in North Hall claimed a greater average amount of total dormitory interaction for the smaller unit. Claims that "It's much friendlier here", that "We all know each other in North Hall", that "I'd much rather live here than in one of the bigger dormitories", and that "The girls of North Hall have more dates than girls in other dormitories" seem to indicate advantages in smaller housing units. This suggests again the importance of primary group relationships in personality development.

Individual and
Group Differences
in Interaction
Patterns

Along with variations from zero to ten in number of friends chosen, there were similar variations in friendship choices received. The most highly chosen girl received 12 choices and the most underchosen girl received none. Four, five, six, or seven friendship choices were received by 62.66% of the girls; 14.67% of them received between eight and twelve choices; and 22.67% received less than four choices. It was signifi-

cant, however, that even among the highly chosen girls, the great majority of the friendship choices were intra-clique ones. Their power outside their individual sub-groups was higher than the average, but it was not phenomenal. These girls representing 14.67% of the population received 21.7% of the choices which were not intra-clique. From this analysis, it was concluded that no great concentration of power existed in North Hall.

The ratio of rejections to friendship choices in North Hall was approximately the one to two ratio found by Jennings and also by Smucker at Stephens. There was an average of 5.23 friendship choices made as compared with an average 2.12 rejections made, with one third of the population failing to make any rejections. The range of the rejections received was from zero for 36 girls (48% of the population) to twelve rejections for one girl. As at Stephens, few of the rejections were reciprocated. Out of a total of 159 rejections, only six pairs of mutual rejections were found. Although it was not definitely established that there was inter-clique rejection as such, the sociogram and the detailed analysis revealed a tendency toward group rejection of an individual or more than one individual in a different sub-group. Rejections received by a highly rejected individual might come from several sub-groups, but a disproportionate share of them would come from a single sub-group. Differences between cliques in the average number of rejections made and received were very apparent in the sociogram. Of the three corridors housing more than one sub-group, two of them furnished evidence supporting the theory that propinquity is a factor in rejection, too, although not as important as in friendship. The high number of rejections among girls working in the kitchen sug-

gested that working propinquity was indeed an important factor, but further analysis showed that two of the 18 individuals involved were responsible for almost three fourths of the total kitchen rejections.

It was not demonstrated at North Hall as it was at Stephens that rejected girls are underchosen girls. All but two of the fifteen highly rejected girls (they had from 5 to 12 rejections), belonged to organized sub-groups whose members accepted them. The 13 highly rejected sub-group members had the same average of friendship choices as the dormitory average. Including the two non-sub-group members, the friendship choices of the highly rejected averaged 5.1 as against the 5.3 dormitory average. One girl in the highly rejected group was also a member of the highly chosen for friendship group. However, eight of the 11 highly chosen for friendship girls received no rejections at all, the two others receiving one and three rejections. On the other hand, the 17 underchosen girls received the same average number of rejections as the dormitory as a whole. The average chosen girls received a slightly higher average of rejections--2.36 as compared with the 2.12 dormitory average.

Question 13 of the questionnaire which concerned attitudes toward smoking, drinking, pre-marital sexual relations, public "smooching", strict adherence to truth, the social status of women, and restrictions proved disappointing as a possible correlate to rejections and even to friendship choice. However, it was established fairly conclusively through an anonymous re-test which showed a .99.5 correlation with the original that the overwhelming majority of North Hall girls (assuredly an insignificant segment of the total feminine college population) held professed conventional attitudes toward these values which were in accord with the "socially approved" attitudes.

High prestige status was not shown to be reserved for the highly chosen for friendship. Nor were the highly rejected barred from membership in the high prestige group. Although they received an average of 6.7 friendship choices each, two of the ten members of the high prestige group were among the underchosen for friendship. Only four were highly chosen for friendship. Three of the high prestige status group were among the highly rejected; only four were not rejected at all. These high prestige status girls had the highest average of rejections of the four prestige groups in the dormitory.

(1)

The single prestige criterion as used by Newcomb was found to have a positive relationship with three alternate prestige criteria as indicated by correlation co-efficients ranging from .54 to .65, but it registered a correlation co-efficient of .80 with the total sociometric status index which was the sum of the choices for the prestige status criterion, the three alternate prestige status criteria, and friendship minus the rejections. Thus, it was concluded that it was a fairly reliable indicator of prestige status in the dormitory.

Although high prestige was found to be reserved for upperclassmen, the Freshman members of the next high prestige status group were found to make a much better showing in all the sociometric and reputational categories except that of choices for counselor than the upperclassmen of that group. The mean sociometric status index score was 21.4 for members of the total Higher-Than-Average Prestige group; the mean score of the Freshman members of the group was 33.2.

Among the high prestige determinants, recognized leadership in the dormitory as manifested by positions calling for responsibility, service, and ability was most predominant. Other determinants included

high scholarship and relative maturity bolstered by service in World War II and in government service. No definite relationship was found between prestige status and two of the important criteria of social class. Thus it appears that acquired prestige in the dormitory is a function of individual performance there. Runners-up in the HTA prestige group were active on dormitory committees and in dormitory sports.

Sociometry as
a Tool for Re-
vealing Social
Structure, In-
teraction, and
Personality
Development

It was well established in the North Hall study as it has been in numerous other studies that Sociometry is a tool which reveals with x-ray-like exactness the social structure of a group.

Membership and non-membership in the various sub-groups as revealed in the sociometric process corresponded almost exactly with the house-mother's observations over a three year period. The sociometric data on rejections effectively pointed out the high tension areas in the dormitory. Not only did they reveal the areas, but they indicated with measured force the individuals and groups involved.

Sociometric tools including raw data tables, sociograms, individual sociograms and profiles were shown to provide efficient and visual measurement of personality development in many of its aspects. The original use of the sociometric questionnaire pointed out each individual's ability to make friends, her liabilities in inspiring antagonism, and her prestige status. Through comparison with the performance of others in the same personality aspects and with that of the dormitory average, personalities deficient in certain qualities are exposed and needed guidance therapy is indicated. Successive applications of the sociometric questionnaire--although preferably not the same, identical questionnaire--might reasonably be expected to show progress in personality development throughout an individual's college career.

(1) Op. cit.

The implications of this study are few but pointed.

Implications

First is the great need for guidance in personality development if the leadership and service expectations are to be realized appreciably. Great universities provide distinguished faculties and expensive classroom and laboratory facilities so that students need not flounder in an unguided wilderness in their search for knowledge. How unfortunate and how wasteful is the ineffective utilization of that knowledge! Is it not equally important that these universities provide guidance in the techniques necessary for the greatest returns on the higher educational investment?

The second implication is that the college dormitory or other housing units provide an already existing and most effective laboratory for guidance in personality development and training for future community leadership and service. The third implication confirms the hypothesis upon which this study is based, namely, that sociometric tools for the identification of social structure within a community and for the measurement and diagnosis of individual personality development are reliable and objective ones.

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This is a study to determine the importance of dormitory associations in the personality development of college women. Please answer each question with care. Put the questionnaire in the envelope, seal, and return it only to the graduate student who brought it to you. All parts of it will be kept in confidence. The study is part of a research project sponsored by the social research service of this college. We are grateful for your cooperation.--Ordern Saucker, project Director

1. Name _____ Home community (where you spent the longest time in the 5 years prior to college entrance) _____ State _____

Check the type of residence and size of your home community as defined above:

Type	Community size	
(1) rural farm _____	(1) less than 1000 _____	(4) 10,000 - 50,000 _____
(2) rural non-farm _____	(2) 1000 - 2500 _____	(5) 50,000 - 250,000 _____
(3) urban _____	(3) 2500 - 10,000 _____	(6) 250,000 - 1,000,000 _____
		(7) over 1,000,000 _____

2. Dormitory room number _____ Roommates _____ Your sorority, if any _____

3. Check your class: (1) Freshman ___; (2) Soph. ___; (3) Junior ___; (4) Senior ___; (5) Grad. ___

4. Religious affiliation _____ Attend regularly ___; Sometimes ___; Not at all ___

5. In which category would you say your present scholastic average falls? Check one.
.5 - .99 ___; 1 - 1.49 ___; 1.5 - 1.99 ___; 2 - 2.49 ___; 2.5 - 3 ___.

6. Who are your best girl friends in the dormitory? List one, two, three or more as you like. If you don't feel really close to any women in the dorm, write no name.

(1) _____ (3) _____ (5) _____
(2) _____ (4) _____ (6) _____

7. It is an obvious fact that we do not like everyone equally well. List here the names of dormitory girls whom you don't like so well, wouldn't like to run around with, or feel that your personalities clash. List one, two, or more as you wish. If there is no acquaintance distasteful to you, write no name.

(1) _____ (3) _____ (5) _____
(2) _____ (4) _____ (6) _____

8. If the United Nations should play host next summer to representatives from every college in the world in an effort to promote worldwide friendship and understanding among the world's leaders of the future, who would best represent the WOMEN of Michigan State College? What four women from your dormitory would you nominate to the panel from which the M.S.C. women student representatives are chosen? Remember that the college will be judged by the appearance, personality, and the ability of these women.

(1) _____ (3) _____
(2) _____ (4) _____

9. What girls in your dormitory would you rate as being most popular with other girls?

(1) _____ (3) _____
(2) _____ (4) _____

What makes these girls popular? _____

10. What girls in your dormitory would you rate as being most popular with men?

(1) _____ (3) _____
(2) _____ (4) _____

- (1) _____
 (2) _____
 (3) _____
 (4) _____

12. Have some girls in your dormitory who, according to your best judgment, have a combination of qualities such as sympathetic understanding, willingness to help, sense of humor, and mature judgment necessary for a good dormitory committee. List one, two, three, or more as you wish, disregarding their plans for next year.

(1) _____ (3) _____
 (2) _____ (4) _____

13. In the following groups of statements, choose the statement in each group which most nearly represents your attitude on the subject being discussed.

- A. _____ The girl who smokes reveals lack of moral training and/or stamina.
 _____ The girl who doesn't smoke is an unenlightened prude and/or a moral snob.
 _____ Smoking is not a moral issue, but is a matter of personal taste of a girl with eating chocolates and chewing gum.
- B. _____ Drinking intoxicating liquors is a matter of personal inclination; if I don't have no right to impose their will on those who disagree with them.
 _____ If people would forget their outmoded inhibitions and take a drink now and then, this world would be a happier place.
 _____ The legal prohibition of the sale and consumption of liquor is desirable because the use of such beverages is physically and morally harmful.
- C. _____ I don't approve of pre-marital sex experience generally, but I couldn't condemn an engaged couple for such practice.
 _____ I avoid association with girls who engage in pre-marital sexual intercourse because I don't care to be identified with them.
 _____ I see no reason why our young people should be restricted in something as natural as sexual experience.
- D. _____ I feel that something should be done about the public "smooching" on the campus because it is disgusting and reflects on the college.
 _____ I think public "smooching" is a matter of personal feeling and affects only the people involved.
 _____ Public "smooching" is all right; it is natural and nothing to be ashamed of.
- E. _____ Certain circumstances such as protecting individuals from shock or undue grief justify slight alterations of the truth.
 _____ It is sinful and wrong to tell falsehoods under any or all circumstances.
 _____ This is a rough, competitive society and the important thing is to get on one's feet rather than adherence to truth.
- F. _____ Women's place is in the home; if she wants to work, she shouldn't marry.
 _____ Women have as much right to a job outside the home as men and the care of children and household duties should be a co-operative enterprise.
 _____ A woman is entitled to work outside the home if her husband doesn't object and she doesn't neglect her children and the care of the house.
- G. _____ In general, I believe that we live under too such restriction today.
 _____ I realize there are certain restrictions in our society, but I don't think them particularly disturbing.
 _____ In general, I believe that we should have more restrictions on behavior.

PERSONAL DATA BLANK
Michigan State Coeds

APPENDIX B

Name _____ Student No. _____ Year in school: Fr. So. Jr. Sr.

Home Address _____ Tel. No. _____

Age _____ Year graduated from high school _____

Faculty counselor (if no preference) _____ Major field _____

Enrollment officer (if preference) _____ Minor field _____

Mother _____ Student Counselor _____

Father's name _____ Country of birth _____ Age _____

Father's occupation _____ Education: Grade School High School College
8 or below 9-10-11-12 1-2-3-4

Mother's name _____ Country of birth _____ Age _____

Mother's occupation _____ Education: Grade School High School College
8 or below 9-10-11-12 1-2-3-4

Number of brothers _____ Ages _____ Number of sisters _____ Ages _____

EDUCATIONAL PLANS

What do you expect to get out of college? _____

College experience elsewhere and for how long? _____ Why did you transfer? _____

Are you planning to take a four year program toward a degree? _____ Two year terminal? _____
One year? _____ "Special student"? _____ Do you wish to work toward an advanced degree? _____

VOCATIONAL PLANS

Have you already made a vocational choice? _____

Is your family in sympathy with your ambitions? _____

Whom do you feel helped you most in making your present and future plans? (check)

Family _____ Teacher _____
Friends _____ Counselor _____
High school principal _____ Others (list) _____

Do you feel you need help in choosing a vocation? _____ In planning your school program? _____

STUDY HABITS

Do you usually need to study hard? _____ Does your work usually come easily to you? _____

Do you worry about not being able to complete assignments? _____

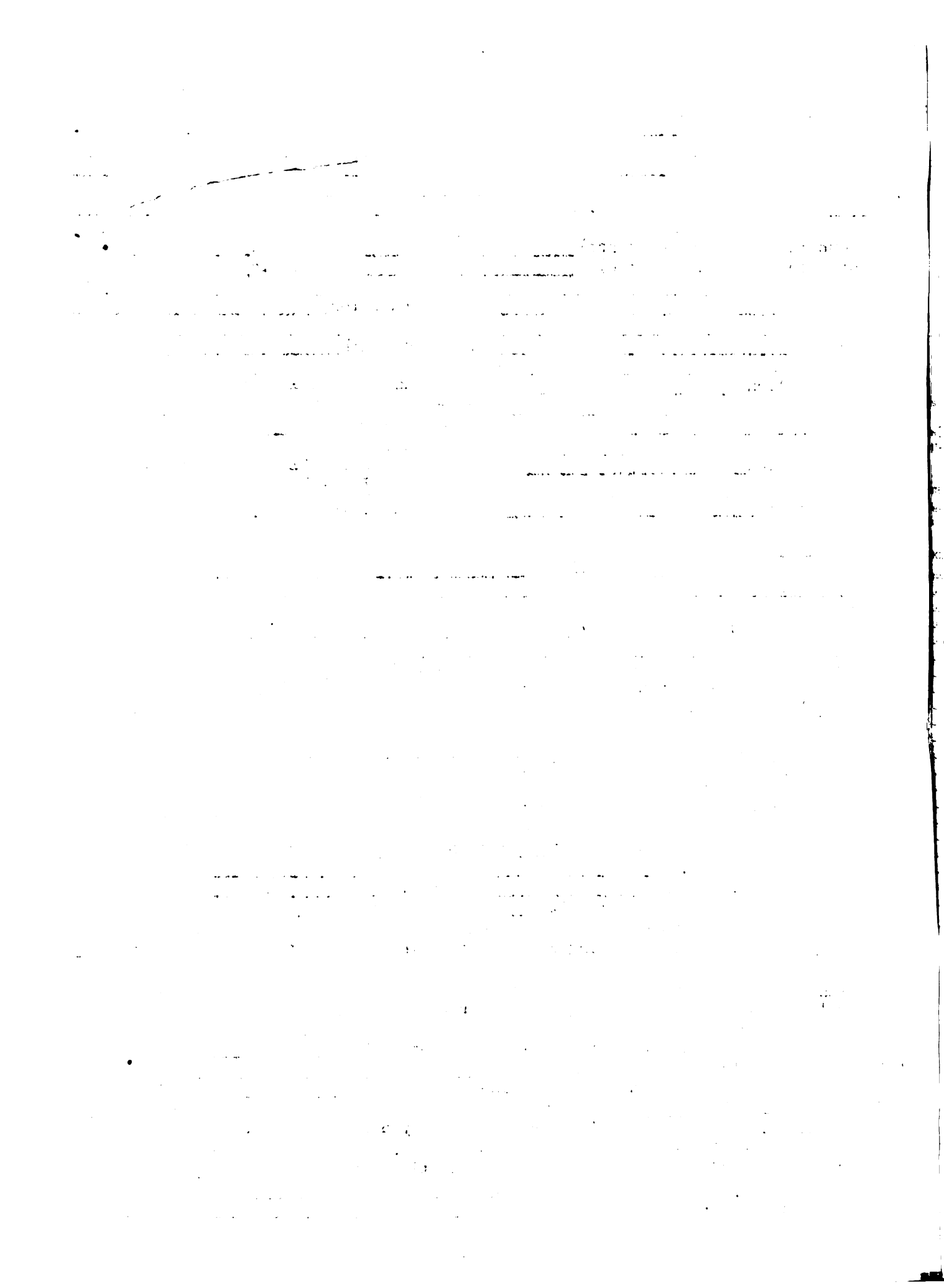
Do you find it hard to settle down to studying? _____

Do you like to work alone? _____ or with others? _____ Can you study with the radio on? _____

Can you arrange your time to study adequately and still have time for fun? _____

Do you want help in planning a time schedule? _____

Do you encourage others when they need help? _____



M. S. C. Student Activity Record 1947-48

Fr So Jr Sr Grad

Circle One

Female
 Full Time Student Part Time

Veteran Non-Veteran

Religious Pref. _____

Married: Yes No

Student No. _____

Place a check (V) before the following organizations of which you are a member, also activities in which you have or will be participating in or, if an officer place an X before name of organization.)

TO BE FILLED OUT BEFORE GOING TO AUDITORIUM

PLS:

Agriculture
 Ed. Club
 Eng. Club
 Council
 Phi Zeta
 Soc. of Agron.
 Alpha Sigma
 Saddle and Bridle
 Club
 Sem. Club
 Tech. Club
 Veterinary Club
 Club
 Art Club
 Farm Bureau
 Alpha Sigma
 Landscape Club
 S.C. Entomology
 Alpha Xi
 Veterinary Club
 Gamma Gamma Epsilon

Agriculture (Cont'd)
 ___ Wildlife Cons. Club
 ___ Xi Sigma Pi

Bus. & Public Service
 ___ Hotel Assoc.
 ___ Police Sc. Assoc.
 ___ Public Adm. Club
 ___ Scabbard & Blade
 ___ Sigma Delta Chi
 ___ Sigma Epsilon
 ___ Sigma Gamma Upsilon
 ___ Signal Corps ROTC
 ___ Spartan Guard
 ___ Theta Sigma Phi

Home Economics
 ___ Home Ec. Club
 ___ Home Ec. Club Bd.
 ___ Home Mgt. House
 ___ Omicron Nu

Engineering
 ___ Alpha Chi Sigma
 ___ Am. In. Chem. Eng.
 ___ Am. In. Elec. Eng.
 ___ Am. Soc. Civil Eng.
 ___ Am. Soc. Mech. Eng.
 ___ Eng. Assoc.
 ___ Met. Eng. Society
 ___ Tau Beta Pi

Vet. Medicine
 ___ Alpha Psi
 ___ Am. Vet. Med. Assoc.
 ___ Gamma Phi
 ___ Vet. Council

Science & Arts
 ___ Alpha Delta Pheta
 ___ Alpha Epsilon Rho
 ___ Delta Phi Delta

Science & Arts (Cont'd)
 ___ Dionysians
 ___ Junto
 ___ Kappa Alpha Mu
 ___ Kappa Delta Pi
 ___ Le Tricolore
 ___ Phi Alpha Theta
 ___ Pi Kappa Delta
 ___ Pi Mu Epsilon
 ___ Pre-law Club
 ___ Psych. Society
 ___ Radio Guild
 ___ Sigma Chi Gamma
 ___ Sigma Delta Pi
 ___ Sigma Pi Sigma
 ___ Sigma Xi
 ___ Sinfonia
 ___ Speech Majors Club
 ___ Studio Theater
 ___ Tau Sigma
 ___ Theta Alpha Phi

(Over)

ALL COLLEGE:

Governing Groups

- A.W.S.
- Bd. of Publications
- Inter-frat. Council
- Men's Council
- Off Campus Council
- Pan-Hellenic Council
- Student Council
- Union Board
- Inter-Co-op Council
- Women's Co-op League

Leadership & Service

- Alpha Phi Omega
- Blue Key
- Excalibur
- Green Helmet
- Mortar Board
- Tower Guard
- S.W.L.

Publications

- Agriculture
- Engineering
- Handbook
- Spartan
- State News
- Veterinarian
- Wolverine

Religious

- Canterbury Club
- Christian Sci. Org.
- Christian Std. Found.
- Gamma Delta
- Hillel
- Inter-Faith Council
- Lutheran Student
- Newman Club
- Christian Fellowship
- Y.M.C.A.
- Y.W.C.A.

Activities

Ath.—Var., J.V., Fr.

- Baseball
- Basketball
- Boxing
- Cross Country
- Fencing
- Football
- Golf
- Gymnastics
- Intramural
- Swimming
- Tennis
- Track
- Wrestling

Rec. — Interest

- Delta Gamma Mu
- Delta Psi Kappa
- D.Z.V.
- Green Splash
- Men's Phy. Ed. Mirs.
- Orchesis
- P.E.M. Club
- Porpoise
- Rifle & Pistol Club
- M.S.C. Sailing Club
- Scimitar
- Sigma Delta Psi
- M.S.C. Skating Club
- Ski Club
- Spartan Bowman
- Varsity Club
- Weight Lifting Club
- W.A.A.

Non-Athletics

- An. Husb. Judging
- Dairy Judging
- Debating
- Dramatics
- Farm Crops Judging
- Public Speaking
- Radio Program

Miscellaneous

- Amateur Radio Club
- Am. Red Cross
- Big Sister Council
- Chinese Student Club
- Spartan Citizens Comm.
- Grad. Student Org.
- Indep. Stud. Assn.
- International Club
- Internat. Relations Club
- Jazz Club
- Latin Am. Club
- League Women Voters
- Officers Club
- Phi Kappa Phi
- Students Dem. Action
- Town Girls
- U.P. Club
- Winged Spartans
- W.S.S.F.

Music

- Band
- Men's Glee Club
- Women's Glee Club

Vet. Organizations

- Am. Legion
- Am. Vet. Comm.
- Marine Corps Club
- Parachute Club

If you belong to a Social Fraternity, Sorority or Co-op please state which one _____

If you work for part or all of your expenses please list number of hours per week _____ and place of employment _____

Other Org. & Activities not listed: _____



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