

INVOICE CHECK LIST

MOBILE Subproject 102

As

Date of Original Authorization	Period Covered	Time Extended To	Allotment Number	Amount of Obligation
16 Dec. 59	One yr		0525-1009-4902	\$5,750.

Additional Authorizations	Period Covered	Time Extended To	Allotment Number	Amount of Obligation

Invoice Number	Date	Amount	Balance
# 1	5 Feb 60	\$5,750.00	— 0 —

REMARKS:

102-3

7 December 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR: COMPTROLLER
ATTENTION : Finance Division
SUBJECT : BRUMBA, Subproject 102

Under the authority granted in the Memorandum dated 23 April 1953 from the DCI to the IS/A and the extension of this authority in subsequent memoranda, Subproject 102 has been approved and \$5,750.00 of the over-all Project BRUMBA funds have been obligated to cover the subproject's expenses and should be charged to Allotment 0525-1009-4902.

Chief
TES/Chemical Division

A

APPROVED FOR OBLIGATIONS
OF FUNDS:

[Redacted Signature]

Research Director

I CERTIFY THAT FUNDS ARE AVAILABLE: 17 DEC 1959
OBLIGATION REFERENCE NO. 1322
CHARGE TO ALLOTMENT NO. 0525-1009-4902

AUTHORIZING OFFICER

Date:

Distribution:
Orig & 2 - 13000000
1 - 1300/00
1 - 1300/0000

[Redacted]

102-4

5 February 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHIEF, FINANCE DIVISION

VIA : TSS/Budget Officer

SUBJECT : REQUEST, Subproject 102, Invoice No. 1
Allotment 0525-1009-4902

1. Invoice No. 1 is attached covering the above sub-
project. Payment should be made as follows:

Cashier's Check in the amount of \$5,750.00, drawn
on [redacted], payable to [redacted] B

2. Please forward the check to Chief, TSS/Chemical Division
through TSS/Budget Officer by Friday, 19 February 1960.

3. This is a final invoice. However, since it is anticipated
that additional funds will be obligated for this project, the files
should not be closed.

Attachment:
Invoice & Certifications

Distribution:
Orig & 2 - Addressee
1 - TSS/FASB

[redacted] Chief
TSS/Chemical Division
9 FEB 1960
CHECKED BY [redacted] 1960
CHARGE TO [redacted]

[redacted]
AMOUNT OF \$5,750.00
RECEIVED

12 Feb 57

A

102-5

[Redacted]

B

February 13, 1963

[Redacted]

Treasurer

C

B

Dear [Redacted]

I have your request for an accounting of the grant made to me by [Redacted] in 1959. You did not indicate what sort of an accounting you desired, whether financial or other.

B

As I recall I submitted a budget with the request for the grant, and can say the money was expended as budgeted. One hundred dollars was expended for books and the remainder of \$2,400 was expended for salary to me during the three summer months, supporting my studies in communication theory.

The grant from [Redacted] supported the studies which led to a series of papers presented for various groups, to alterations in the content of my graduate courses at [Redacted] and also to my continuing work in communication theory.

B

I hope that this information will fulfill your needs, and if not that you will let me know what additional information you desire.

Yours sincerely,

[Redacted Signature]

C

Professor [Redacted] I certify that services or materials have been satisfactorily received and the expenditures were incurred on official business.

[Redacted]

C

A

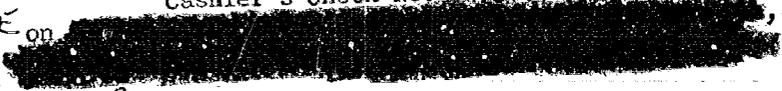
[Redacted]

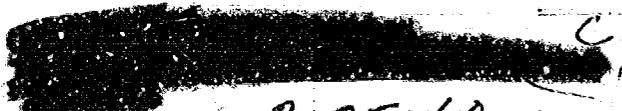
Date: 3/20/63

102-6

RECEIPT

Receipt is hereby acknowledged of the following:

on  Cashier's Check No. IM53077 in the amount of \$5,750.00, drawn
8

 C
Date: 2-25-40

102-7

5 February 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHIEF, FINANCE DIVISION

VIA : TSS/Budget Officer

SUBJECT : MULLER, Subproject 102, Invoice No. 1
Allotment 6685-100-4702

1. Invoice No. 1 is attached covering the above sub-
project. Payment should be made as follows:

← Cashier's Check in the amount of \$5,750.00, drawn
on [redacted], payable to [redacted] B

2. Please forward the check to Chief, TSS/Chemical Division
through TSS/Budget Officer by Friday, 19 February 1960.

3. This is a final invoice. However, since it is anticipated
that additional funds will be obligated for this project, the files
should not be closed.

[redacted] A
Chief
TSS/Chemical Division

Attachment:
Invoice & Certifications

Distribution:
Orig & 2 - Addressee
1 - TSS/FASB
2 - TSS/CD

TSS/CD/[redacted] (5 Feb. 60)

A

[redacted]

INVOICE

For services

\$5,750.00

CERTIFICATIONS

(1) It is hereby certified that this is Invoice No. 1 applying to Subproject No. 102 of INHERRA, that performance is satisfactory, that services are being accomplished in accordance with mutual agreements, that a detailed agenda of the payments and receipts is on file in WSS/CH, that this bill is just and correct and that payment thereof has not yet been made.

Chief, WSS/Chemical Division

Date:

(2) It is hereby certified that this invoice applies to Subproject No. 102 of INHERRA which was duly approved, and that the project is being carried out in accordance with the memorandum of 13 April 1953 from the DCI to the DD/A, and the extension of this authority in subsequent memoranda.

Research Director

Date:

102-8

102F

January 11, 1960

[Redacted]

B/C

Dear Mr. [Redacted]

B

As you know the [Redacted] Directors have approved a grant to the [Redacted] in the amount of \$5,750.00 for research on natural groups under the direction of Professor [Redacted]. In accordance with Professor [Redacted]'s wishes, we are wiring the grant payment on the grant in the amount of \$3,500.00. Please find the [Redacted]'s check for this amount attached.

C

The following conditions apply in the utilization of these funds:

1. A terminal report is to be submitted after the completion of the phase of research covered by this grant.
2. A terminal accounting of funds expended in obtaining, processing and reporting data shall be provided for our records.
3. Equipment purchased with these funds shall be conveyed to the [Redacted] in lieu of overhead. B
4. Any technical reports or papers which grow out of the study supported under this grant shall contain the following notice: "This study was supported in part by a grant from the [Redacted]". B

Other than the above conditions, it is required that the funds be expended equitably for the research designated and that no profits accrue to any individual.

The Board of Directors and the scientific advisors to the [Redacted] join me in wishing you all in this endeavor. Please call upon us for any information that may be able to provide. B

Sincerely,

[Redacted]

C

[Redacted]

102-9

102F

December 24, 1959



C

B

Dear Dr. [REDACTED]

C

I am pleased to announce that our Board has approved your grant in the amount of \$5,750.00. The Finance Committee has appropriated the funds so we are prepared to transmit the first payment in January. Would you please provide instructions for the funding procedures.

Best regards,

Sincerely yours,

[REDACTED]
Executive Secretary

C

102-10

7 December 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR: COMPTROLLER

ATTENTION : Finance Division

RE: MURKIN, Subproject 102

Under the authority granted in the Memorandum dated 13 April 1953 from the DCI to the IB/A and the extension of this authority in subsequent memoranda, Subproject 102 has been approved and \$5,750.00 of the over-all Project MURKIN funds have been obligated to cover the subproject's expenses and should be charged to Allotment OMB-100-4902.

[Redacted]
Chief
TSS/Chemical Division

APPROVED FOR CIRCULATION
(87 7000)

[Redacted]
[Redacted]

Date: [Redacted]

- Distribution:
- Orig & 2 - Administration
 - 1 - TSS/OP
 - 1 - TSS/INCO
 - 2 - TSS/CD

TSS/CD/ [Redacted] (7 Dec 59)

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

A

C

102-11
A
DRAFT
3 December 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD

SUBJECT : MKULTRA, Subproject 102

1. It is requested that Subproject 102 be approved to support the research program of Dr. [REDACTED] C' [REDACTED] in his study of behavior of members of naturally formed groups as a function of group membership in accordance with the attached proposal.

2. This project will be funded through [REDACTED] B [REDACTED] for security and cover purposes and the accountings for funds expended in it shall conform to the established procedures of that organization. Any permanent equipment required for the project will become the property of the University in lieu of higher overhead charges.

3. The total cost of this project for a period of one year is estimated to be \$5,750.00 as indicated in the attached budget. Charges should be made against Allotment 0525-1009-4902.

[REDACTED]

102-11

4. No cleared or witting persons are concerned with the
conduct of this project.

[Redacted]

A

Chief
TSS/Chemical Division

Approved for Obligation of
Funds:

[Redacted]

A

Research Director

Date: _____

Attached:
Proposal

Distribution:
Original only

[Redacted]

102-12

[REDACTED]

B

September 26, 1959

[REDACTED]

B/C

Dear Mr. [REDACTED]

Thanks for your note of September 10. I too enjoyed our meeting in [REDACTED]. I was delighted by your interest in the research on natural groups that I directed last year with the support of the [REDACTED] while I was Visiting Professor at [REDACTED] on a research appointment. Both in our conversations and in the printed report you gave me, I was glad to note that the interest in the nature of our research and its focus on relating the ecological setting to the behavior of individuals participating in group activities are in line with the basic orientation of your [REDACTED].

C

B

Therefore I am proceeding through this letter and the enclosed material on research plan for this year with the requested consent of your [REDACTED]. If you or [REDACTED] find the plan as outlined here within the scope of your major interests and approve it, I will be glad to make a more formalized statement through the University authorities here, who have indicated their support of the project to me.

B

The objective of the research is the study of behavior of groups of naturally formed groups as a function of (a) group membership and (b) differentiated ecological settings in urban areas of the [REDACTED]. The research this year will be carried out in the differentiated areas in [REDACTED] and will extend and refine procedures carried out last year under my direction in [REDACTED]. Not only is [REDACTED] at hand, this permitting of close and continuous supervision of some cases, but as center in center it clearly differs from the more diffuse and less continuous [REDACTED] cities mentioned.

B

It seems to me that an efficient means of informing the [REDACTED] regarding this problem, objectively and without bias is to provide you with the enclosed report which I prepared for the [REDACTED].

B

- (a) Data related to specified ecological settings in [redacted]
- (b) Data related to the structure, practices, and norms, and natural history of small informal groups within each area.
- (c) Data concerning self-attitudes, aspirations and goals of age-mates of group members living in the city (questionnaire data).

On a separate sheet I attach a proposed budget adequate to supplement available facilities for this work this year. The importance of extending the work in [redacted] is enhanced by the fact that the officials of the [redacted] have expressed their desire to continue the work in [redacted] this year on a limited scale under my direction, even though I have returned to my duties at the [redacted]. Implementation of the project in [redacted] would merit consideration, involving the top institutions, since the regulations of the [redacted] do not allow support of institutions outside of [redacted]. Because of last year's experiences in procedures and the splendid collaboration of individuals in the localities in [redacted], my direction of the continuation of this research there would seem feasible.

B

The long-range objective is to secure necessary data in as many differentiated cities in the [redacted] as possible, thus permitting statistical comparisons among groups situated in similar and different urban areas, as well as groups with contrasting preoccupations and goals (e.g. "delinquent" and "non-delinquent") within similar areas. Obviously this comparison requires research tactics, procedures and measurement units which are appropriate to field conditions without substantially altering the situation being studied, which yield the necessary information, and which are comparable from one setting to another. On the basis of the work done this year, the eventual aim is a long-range project to secure comparable data in a respectable number of cities at the same time, for which support will be requested from one of the national foundations. The project envisaged would have the benefit of 1946 census data, since census tract statistics are one major source of data on the ecological setting, supplemented by block surveys of specific areas especially to check on their homogeneity and to obtain more detailed data of a social psychological nature not included in the census.

Sincerely,

[Redacted signature block]

C

Enclosure: Summary report

102-12

Estimated Budget for Research on Behavior and Group Process in

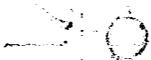
Differentiated Ecological Settings:

_____ aspect

B

Principal Investigator (½ time, Sept.-June; full time, June-Aug.)	Provided by the University
Research Associate (near Ph.D.; ½ time for 9 months)	\$1,250.00
Two Observers for intensive study of groups (part-time basis, 6 months each)	1,800.00
Securing sociocultural data from census statistics and block surveys (work on hourly basis)	600.00
Secretarial and tabulation assistance	1,200.00
Equipment (to supplement available means of photography and recording in the field with small portable units)	600.00
Travel in area	<u>300.00</u>
Total	\$5,750.00

102-13



[REDACTED]

B 109 ✓

November 6, 1937

MEMORANDUM TO: The Directors

SUBJECT: Project Proposal, Category B - Dr. [REDACTED] C

At the [REDACTED] meeting in [REDACTED] I invited B
the enclosed proposal. Dr. [REDACTED] has demonstrated a high degree of productivity
in his work and has concerned himself with an extremely interesting cross-
cultural adjustment problem which fits nicely with the current programs of the
[REDACTED] The small grant of \$5,750 requested by Dr. [REDACTED] will contribute also C
to the [REDACTED] interest in accomplishing greater geographic dispersion in its
grants.

[REDACTED] B
Executive Secretary

Enc 5

102-14

October 2, 1959

C

MEMORANDUM TO: [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: Project Proposal - Dr. [REDACTED]

Enclosed is the proposal from [REDACTED] that I described on the telephone to you. Do you feel that it should be transmitted to the Board as a Category B or a Category C proposal?

[REDACTED]

102-15

October 26, 1959

Memo to [redacted] C

Subject: [redacted] Proposal C

We are still waiting your reply to [redacted] s memo C
on [redacted] s proposal.

Attached is a letter from the [redacted] B
[redacted] about [redacted] that may help you in coming to a C
decision.

[redacted] C

102-15

B

October 19, 1959

Dear Mr. [REDACTED] C

Dr. [REDACTED] has informed me that you are interested in the research program he has underway on [REDACTED]. " As he may have told you, the [REDACTED] supported this work last year, and we are looking forward to extending this support through the current year. Because our [REDACTED] is limited to research projects in the [REDACTED], we are unable to support those portions of his project which include [REDACTED]. B

In my opinion, Dr. [REDACTED]'s project is highly significant because of its concentration upon group behavior in a natural setting with a very minimum of interference or artificiality. It may not be apparent from your correspondence with Dr. [REDACTED] that his wife will be a very active participant also. Mrs. [REDACTED] [REDACTED] in the near future. The two of them constitute a most able team of field investigators. C

Dr. [REDACTED] made an unusually good impression upon community workers in [REDACTED], where he worked last year. More than any other investigator that I have seen in recent years, he was able to obtain the confidence of [REDACTED] minority groups in getting their full support of his research activities. He uses relatively naive but highly motivated observers who are given special training for this purpose. As a result his data are quite fresh and most revealing of things that are often hidden from the individual in a more professional observer role. C

If you or your consultants have any questions concerning this project or [REDACTED]'s role in supporting it, please do not hesitate to call upon us for further information. B

Cordially yours,

[REDACTED] C

[REDACTED] C

Operational Report to the [redacted]

B

Description of Research Work on Natural Groups (1958-59)

[redacted]

C

[redacted]

This report describes social-psychological research on natural groups in differentiated socio-cultural settings in several [redacted] cities during the period of October, 1958 -- August 15, 1959 while the writer was [redacted]. The writer is grateful

C

to the [redacted] for implementing this research and to Dr. [redacted] for his understanding interest in the project, efficient support and for frequent stimulating discussions while the work was in progress. It is also a pleasure to acknowledge the sympathetic interest and encouragement received from Dr. [redacted]

C

The problem of the study was the behavior of members of informally organized groups as a function of (a) group membership and (b) differentiated social stimulus situations constituting their particular settings. In order to interrelate the behavior of individuals to the socio-cultural setting and significant items of the setting to the behavior of individuals, three kinds of data were collected:

- (1) Data related to specified settings (e.g. living conditions, family size and stability, income, education, nobility).
- (2) Data related to group structure (organization) and to group products (e.g. shared practices, values or norms, reactions to

deviation), based on the actual behaviors of individual members in the course of their interaction.

- (3) Data related to the self-attitudes, aspirations and goals of the age-mates of group members living in areas representing the same and different settings.

The latter aspect of the study was strategic in linking ecological data mentioned under (1) and group behavior mentioned under (2).

In the period of the project described here, we were able to collect data dealing with all the three aspects of the study in ~~██████████~~ which city was our main concentration during the period. Substantial progress has been made in the analysis of behavior data obtained from interaction processes of groups, in background material, in tabulation and analysis of sociocultural data, and the responses to the Self-Radius-Goals Schedules (see 3 above). The results and a discussion of the implications of this study for pulling together experimental and field approaches in the study of small groups will be incorporated in fuller technical reports. The present report includes a statement of the underlying rationale and principal hypotheses which determined the choice of cities, areas within them, and groups, and a description of what was done in regard to the three aspects of the study mentioned.

Statement of the Rationale

The project represents a stage of development in our efforts toward integrating the approaches of the field study and laboratory techniques in the investigation of small groups. Our basic methodological strategy followed in the present research as well can be summarized briefly: (a) start with empirical findings from studies of actual groups and their socio-cultural settings, (b) formulate hypotheses for experimental units

on this basis, (c) attempt to apply indices developed in experimentation to actual interaction situations. The strategy requires reliance on findings and techniques of sociology and cultural anthropology as well as experimental psychology. The inter-disciplinary nature of this strategy stems from concern over formulation of valid problems and checking the validity of research findings. The validity issue is raised frequently in social-psychological research by discrepancies between generalizations based on empirical field investigations and reported findings from the laboratory. For example, such discrepancies have occurred relative to such central problems as the effects of group situations on individual behavior, social attitudes, conformity-deviation, and the specificity or generality of leadership.

In earlier efforts the writer had undertaken the laboratory verification of essential properties of groups which were repeatedly reported in empirical social science literature, including social norms and status relations. From 1948-1954, studies of the formation of small groups in controlled conditions involving life-like problems were carried out. It was found possible to replicate closely the formation and functioning of small groups and relations between them.

The present project extends the basic strategy to the attempt to utilize and test conceptual tools developed in earlier studies in the study of natural groups formed and functioning within the actualities of specified socio-cultural (ecological) settings. It follows that ecological settings varying in specified ways be chosen and that groups be selected within those settings.

Natural groups formed in socio-cultural settings undergoing differing degrees of transition are most suitable for this purpose. This

consideration determined that cities be chosen which are in the process of salient and accelerated transition and that areas within them be selected whose populations are themselves in varying stages of acculturation to dominant features of American life (e.g. [REDACTED] C

[REDACTED] rapidly growing city). The same consideration suggested that groups be chosen within the areas whose memberships were within the age-level of adolescence, since it is well-established that the effects of socio-cultural transition are reflected more acutely during this developmental period.

While the present project is mainly concerned with theoretical and methodological issues, namely integrating conceptual tools and methods of field and laboratory studies, it is assumed that substantial advances in these respects are bound to have implications for more realistic and effective handling of (a) problems of intergroup relations in actual settings and for (b) devising measures for channeling socially undesirable modes of behavior, exemplified in delinquency, into more constructive modes, insofar as these behaviors are a function of membership in groups and socio-cultural (ecological) setting.

Principal Hypotheses and Related Measurement Units.

One set of predictions was based on previous empirical findings and experimental results and could be made without regard to variations in socio-cultural settings. These predictions imply definite research operations, and their support through data obtained from natural groups constitute validation of prior findings.

A. When two or more individuals have motives, interests, aspirations or frustrations experienced as common, they will tend to enter into repeated interactions with one another, which can be measured in terms of

frequency of association over a time span.

B. In time the relationships among individuals thus interacting are stabilized in differentiated status positions for each, which compose a group structure or organization. The measure of status differentiation is the observed frequency of effective initiative displayed by individual members of the group. In the present project, indices of effective initiative were obtained both from the rankings by independent observers and by sociometric choices.

C. Along with the formation of group structure or organization, group products will emerge. Among them, the most distinctive and regulative of behavior is a set of values or norms related to activities significant to the group and hence to common motivations of members. The operational indices of values or norms are (a) frequency and regularity of observed practices by group members and (b) correctives or other reactions to deviation from such common practices, viz. sanctions.

Singling out of motivationally relevant facilities, alternatives and regularities available in specified socio-cultural settings is bound to yield more specific predictions as to the typical activities, the group norms and behavior of individual members. Socio-cultural indices, in the form of social statistics for given urban areas (e.g. income, education, housing facilities, fertility rates, family stability, vertical mobility) can be taken as indicative of the stimulus situations faced daily by the inhabitants of an area and thus of a framework for motives, aspirations, frustrations and gratifications of those individuals. Such an inference from social statistics of an area is predicated on demonstrated "homogeneity" of the area. Specific checks on intra-area variability were attempted in [redacted] and are regarded as

essential in future work.

Variations in which the socio-cultural (ecological) setting must be considered include the relative importance of their group to individual members compared with other aspects of social life (e.g. whether or not it over-rides family and school), customary activities important in the group (as measured by frequency, duration and scope), the nature of activities singled out for normative concerns, and the goals of group interaction, as their range and modes of attainment are restricted, enhanced or otherwise shaped by the ecological conditions. Particularly in the sphere of normative products of the groups, linked as they are to evaluations and aspirations of members, variations reflecting specified aspects of the particular socio-cultural settings were predicted. These predictions and data relating to them will be included in the report of the study.

In brief summary, then, it was the aim of the study to validate (1) first, certain general properties as characteristic of informally organized groups regardless of their settings, (2) and then to relate variations in their content, in typical activities and goals of the group to distinctive features of the settings in which the group functions. While most investigators of small groups are aware that behavioral data from group members are related to the setting in which the groups function, it has seldom been feasible to formulate specific hypotheses enabling direct investigation of such relationships. A major concern in the report of this project will be to demonstrate the feasibility of formulating hypotheses pertaining directly to functional relationships between behavior in groups and indices of the socio-cultural situation.

The Sequence of Research Operations and the Collaborators

For the reasons mentioned earlier, the cities of [REDACTED] were selected. Collaborators on the senior level cooperated in each city. The senior collaborators are persons who know the areas of the cities chosen intimately, who have relatively easy access to them and who could effectively supervise and coordinate the work of assistants on a junior level. C

In [REDACTED] carried out this collaboration at great personal sacrifice, devoting long and extended efforts to the project and bringing to it broad experiences with the characteristics and problems of the areas studied. C

In [REDACTED] was the senior collaborator. B
The writer learned a great deal from Professor [REDACTED] on the topics of ecological areas in [REDACTED] social mobility and instability among the [REDACTED] population of that city, and other problems related to motivational aspects of group formation and functioning there.

In March, 1959, the work already in progress in the other cities was extended to [REDACTED] on a more limited scope, namely to the study of a group in a low socio-economic area there and to collection of supplementary data from other groups. Mr. [REDACTED] C

[REDACTED] was the senior collaborator. Mr. [REDACTED] effectively carried out the supervision of observations on the group chosen and supplied additional data requested by the writer which strengthens the findings from a similar area in [REDACTED]

In all cases, data were collected by persons who were perceived by group members or respondents, as the case might be, as "one of us". Thus the possibility that factors extraneous to the interest of the study which are unmistakably aroused by the presence or inquiries of a person who differs markedly in appearance, mode of interaction or "lingo" was greatly reduced. The time and effort required for instructing and training observers and assistants to insure uniformity of procedures were worthwhile investments, in view of the necessity of perceived congruity between observer and subject.

I. Selection of differentiated socio-cultural areas in [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

The original plan was to select a natural group for intensive study from each of three differentiated areas in each city:

(a) One area representing the lower socio-economic stratum.

[REDACTED], this sample was also relatively less acculturated to [REDACTED] culture.

(b) One area representing a middle socio-economic stratum.

In [REDACTED] this sample was also relatively more acculturated.

(c) One area representing an upper socio-economic stratum.

In [REDACTED] this area was also relatively the most acculturated of the three areas.

The extent to which the plan was realized will be specified as this report progresses.

The selection of differentiated areas within the cities was accomplished initially with the senior collaborators through reference to census tract statistics and/or other locally available data, including

the direct observations and acquaintance with the areas by the collaborators.

In [REDACTED] the areas thus selected, in rank order from low to high, were [REDACTED] C

[REDACTED] Shortly, special problems of considerable theoretical and practical importance were encountered in the study of [REDACTED] (highest rank area). Briefly, these problems arose from the greater acculturation, the fluidity of ethnic composition, the marginality problems and value conflicts in the area, each of which would have required time and effort beyond the scope of the present project. Also, natural groups in this area were less amenable to direct observation because of relative inaccessibility of their meeting places. Such practical considerations led us to postpone the study of that area and a group within it for the present.

Since proposed census tracts were drawn in [REDACTED] only after the 1950 census, it was necessary to assemble tract data from several sources: C

(a) By appropriately combining block data available in the 1950 Census of Housing for these blocks in each area, a task generously undertaken by the staff of the [REDACTED] C

(b) By reference to a volume prepared locally by a civic committee primarily concerned with recreational facilities but also including relevant tract statistics.

(c) By collecting statistics on the tracts in question from various local agencies, particularly through the efforts of Mrs. [REDACTED] and Mr. [REDACTED] and, in some cases, by tabulating city data by study areas. C

Population data: nationality, ethnic or language group, age, sex, deaths by group.

Housing data: e.g. owner-renter occupied, condition, single or multiple dwelling, persons per room, rent, value, landscaping, type of art objects or decoration.

Family: fertility rates, number of children, women in labor force, head of family, births by place and group.

Occupation and number of family members employed.

Educational level

Income by head of family and all members

Mobility: length of residence and desired upward mobility

Recreational facilities

In addition, qualitative data are available from Mr. [REDACTED] and from research undertaken by graduate students at the [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

In [REDACTED] were selected as representing lower, middle and upper socio-economic levels in the [REDACTED] areas. Dr. [REDACTED] prepared a mimeographed report for the project on the population of the city and the areas chosen for study. Data in Dr. [REDACTED]'s report include those of the statistics above available from the 1950 census and local sources as well as measures of traffic flow and population mobility. His report appropriately focusses on indices of mobility and instability which are particularly salient to the [REDACTED] population in that rapidly growing city.

II. Intensive study of small informal groups in each area

The guiding considerations in the selection and study of an informal

group were two-fold: first, to perform all research operations without unduly cluttering the on-going processes in the group, insofar as possible; and second, to avoid as much as possible the pitfalls of observer bias. The first consideration necessitated a rather elaborate and repeated statement of instructions and precautions for observers. The second dictated the use of a combination of techniques to check and cross-check observer reports.

In [redacted], the observers were all social science students at [redacted]

[redacted] These young assistants undertook the task of singling out and observing natural groups in their respective areas with enthusiasm. It proved to be feasible for their observations to continue only to the point where group structure and norms were ascertained. C

In [redacted] served as observer in [redacted] C

[redacted] It was possible for the writer and Mr. [redacted] to meet regularly with these observers to discuss the procedures and problems of the study at every step.

Because of the value of comparison with comparable formations in [redacted] an additional group from a lower socio-economic level was studied in [redacted]. The observer was [redacted] C

[redacted] With its unique geographic location, ethnic composition and history of conflict between small informal groups, [redacted] is a gold mine for the study of natural groups to test social-psychological principles and to examine their practical implications for the period of adolescence. This appraisal

was strengthened by conferences with Mr. [REDACTED] during the writer's two trips to [REDACTED] C

Because of their detail, the procedural steps in the study of the informal groups can be described most economically in outline form. The reader may discern that each procedural step is related to the guiding considerations already mentioned.

1. The area of study was specified to the observer. His initial task was to identify a group in that area composed of no less than 7 and no more than 12 male members within the age range of 14-17 years.

(a) Procedures for identification of groups:

Observers did not identify groups by questioning of members or of local adults. Groups were identified by direct observation "at a distance" through repeated inspection of possible gathering points in the area (e.g. playground, recreation center, vacant lot, drugstore). The initial criterion for selecting a group for observation was simply observed frequency and recurrence of association at specified locations in the area. At no time during this stage did the observer directly converse or question group members.

(b) Establishing contact and rapport with the group:

Once a group was identified on the basis of observed frequency of association, the observer set about to establish contact and a plausible pretext for his presence in the area. (The real purpose of his presence was explained only to authorities in the area who might justifiably question his presence.) The aim of this process of establishing contact was to bring the group to the observer rather than vice versa. For example, one observer [REDACTED] observed a bunch of boys associating frequently to play basketball. After thus identifying C

a group for study, he appeared on the scene with a new basketball, which soon attracted their attention. His pretext for being on the scene was that he needed the exercise to lose some weight.

Gaining rapport with the group, while still refraining from becoming a directive factor in their interaction, was the most difficult task for the young adults who served as observers, both because of their own attitudes and the attitudes of adolescents toward young adults. Observers were persistently instructed to avoid all critical comments about the group or any members, to avoid initiating a line of activity, and in particular to avoid competition for superiority with group members in any of their usual activities, even if this meant being surpassed by group members.

(c) Recording of observations:

Observers refrained from writing observations in the presence of the group or in any other way letting them know that they were observing group interaction for purposes of a study. They were instructed to write down observations immediately upon leaving the group. It is obvious that the natural flow of any interaction situation is so complex and compelling that selectivity of the observer is bound to enter into what he reports under such circumstances. The mode of solution to this problem was to instruct the observer beforehand on the specific aspects of interaction which he was to observe at each stage and then, as noted below, to check his observations through other techniques. The first focus of observation in every case was the status differentiation in the group.

2. The first focus of observation being status structure of the group, the following were specified to observers as topics of observation

and reports at that time:

Place and duration of interaction, focus of activities or discussion (e.g. problem, event-cycle), relative frequency of suggestions made by different members, to whom communications were addressed, reactions by group members to suggestions made by the various members, decisions reached, actions taken or planned.

(a) Status rankings: After each observation period, the observer attempted to order the members observed on the basis of the relative effectiveness of initiative displayed. In initial observations, specification of only one or two positions was possible. On the basis of repeated observations of the group, the observer was able to specify at least the top three and bottom positions in the group. At this point, a reliability check was introduced for both groups in [REDACTED] the independent ratings of school authorities provided such a check. C

(b) Reliability check on observer rankings: The check consisted of devising a situation in which the resources of the group were challenged in a natural fashion, namely proposing an athletic competition with another group - a natural activity to most American adolescents. The independent rater participated in the situation as referee; he had not previously observed the group nor been informed of the observer's ratings. Following the encounter, the independent rater ranked group members on the basis of the same criterion used by the observer. In both groups in [REDACTED] the rank correlation coefficients between observer and independent rater rankings were high and significant.

(c) When sufficient rapport had been established so that conversation with individual members was feasible without arousing suspicion,

sociometric choices were obtained through informal conversations between observer and each member of the group. Thus status structure was established through independent observations by two individuals and by the perceptions of members themselves. In research practice, the latter step was delayed until the final days of the study.

3. The second focus of observation was group products such as common practices, values or norms and sanctions. The criteria for such products were observed recurrences over a period of time of common terms, common modes of apparel, common procedures in activities, and specific reactions to deviation, sanctions, from such customary behaviors on the part of a member. For example, observers in [REDACTED] reported for each observation period the language spoken in the group, to whom spoken and special terms in either [REDACTED] (In the group in the lowest socio-economic area in [REDACTED] C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Conflict with the neighboring [REDACTED] groups was not observed. [REDACTED] group had standardized definite excuses to use when they wanted to avoid playing with the [REDACTED] boys, who usually were victors in athletic competition. They would quickly assemble two teams and explain that the game was filled.)

One finding concerning reaction to deviation, to be expanded in the reporting of the study, is of particular interest. In the lower socio-economic area in [REDACTED], the group observed had considerably greater importance in the lives of its members than other aspects of the social organization of the area. The evidence for this lies in reports

of the wide range of activities covered by group norms, in the relative disregard for the treatment of brothers or sisters by other group members, and the active dislike expressed for authority figures. Consequently, the group member suspected (as one was) of "squealing" on the group was in trouble. On the other hand, the norms of the group in the somewhat higher socio-economic area [REDACTED] were less comprehensive in activities covered and observed reactions to deviation were of a milder nature.

4. Reconstruction of the natural history of the group: Toward the close of direct observation, the natural history of the group was constructed through all available sources of information. These included interviews with group members and local persons acquainted with them, including recreational personnel, social workers, teachers and officials. For both groups [REDACTED] and the group observed in [REDACTED] such "natural histories" were adequately completed. In providing background material on one [REDACTED] group, we are particularly indebted to Mr. [REDACTED] whose close acquaintance with the group and invaluable prior observations permitted a complete and detailed natural history. In [REDACTED] Mr. [REDACTED] himself contacted a variety of sources to provide the necessary historical background to the group observed. C

The reconstructed "natural history", relying as it did on independent sources, was particularly valuable to check whether or not the observers in this project in any way affected the status structure or the group during the study period. In addition, it permitted specification of the formation of the groups, shifts in membership, changes in organization in the past, factors responsible for such changes, and

continuities in the "culture" and interests of the group. Both in the lower socio-economic area in [REDACTED] and in [REDACTED], continuity in the "culture" was found over a period of a number of years. In [REDACTED], the original members of the group were ascertained, the present "hard core" and the "juniors" of the present membership. During the course of this project, the transition of some juniors to "hard core" status was found when about a third of the hard core prepared to depart from the state in the face of official pressures.

The continuity of "culture" is conditional upon the solidarity of the group, and one telling indication of such solidarity is the personal sacrifice of time and effort that members of a tightly knit group undergo to associate. In [REDACTED] it was found that the dwellings of members of the group in the low socioeconomic area spread over 10 city blocks east and west and 8 blocks north and south, whereas the dwellings of members of the middle area extended only 3 or 4 blocks. Both groups, of course, traveled on foot, not by car. Members of tightly knit groups, with consequential secrets, must be highly "choosy" or discriminating as to whom they admit to membership, and cannot afford to rely on sheer proximity as a basis. Mr. [REDACTED] has collected additional material in [REDACTED] pertinent to these problems.

III. Questionnaire data: Self-Radius -- Goals Schedule

Research efforts utilizing socio-cultural data, on the one hand, and behavioral data from specific individuals, on the other, encounter difficulty in establishing functional relationships between the two sets of data. The approach to this problem in the present research is the utilization of a combination of methods for checking indicated

relationships throughout. The questionnaire data represent another such check, specifically bearing on the perceptions of residents of an area as these relate to the socio-cultural indices. In addition, the responses of age-mates of the members of groups intensively studied provide a baseline for assessment of the typicality or degree of atypicality of group members in given respects, relative to their own and other areas of the city.

A schedule was prepared for administration in high schools, designed to be easily read and completed. The items pertained to self conceptions, aspirations and goals of adolescents. Typically, the contents can be grouped according to the content of the socio-cultural data. Thus, there were items pertaining to residence and housing conditions, language usage and cultural preferences, attitudes toward educational and occupational achievement, toward parents and authority figures, conceptions of financial achievement and deprivation, and finally friendship preferences as related to intergroup affinities and rejections.

In effectively providing entrance into [redacted] schools, we are particularly grateful to Dr. [redacted] and to the school principals and superintendents who cooperated at her request. Schedules were administered under the direct supervision of the writer by [redacted] Mr.

[redacted] of [redacted] collaborated in the collation and tabulation of data.

Data were collected from 462 subjects in seven secondary schools in [redacted] and were tabulated in terms of four categories with the following characteristics:

- I. Two schools with English-speaking population located in high socio-economic areas of the city.
- II. Two schools with mixed population from a middle socio-economic level:
 - II A. English speaking
 - II B. [REDACTED]
- III. Three schools in and near the areas of study with predominately [REDACTED] populations from the low socio-economic level.

These data are being analyzed and are to be related specifically to the socio-cultural indices. It is already clear that differences in the financial and occupational aspirations, as well as the actual reference scales for evaluating success and failure in these respects, are closely related to differences in level of financial and occupational achievement in the areas. For example, the median estimate of weekly income needed to be "really well off" varies from \$82.60 in the low socio-economic level [REDACTED] speaking area, to \$332.14 in the upper level, English speaking area. Such data, representing relatively "free" estimates of respondents, are clearly significant psychologically and are easily related to quantitative social statistics. C

Reports on Data in Preparation

The foregoing report has concentrated on operational aspects of the project, viz. a brief outline of procedures and the collaboration of various persons in the selected cities. As the writer resumes his responsibilities at the [REDACTED] collation and analysis of data will be continued as soon as feasible, and the results incorporated in further reports. Specifically, the socio-cultural data and observation of groups in [REDACTED] will be written in collaboration B

with Mr. [REDACTED]. One group was studied in [REDACTED] and additional material on others was obtained. It may be necessary to obtain additional data in that city before undertaking a report of the work in [REDACTED] in collaboration with Mr. [REDACTED]. Finally, the data from the Self-Radius - Goals Schedule obtained in [REDACTED] are tabulated and results will be evaluated within the framework of the rationale and approach presented in this report. A report will be written in collaboration with [REDACTED] who actively participated in the initiation of this aspect. C

Submitted by

September 10, 1959 [REDACTED] C

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