FRIENDSHIP, INTERACTION, AND ACQUAINTANCE
PATTERNS AMONG CATHOLIC STUDENTS:
A TEST OF HEIDERIS
BALANCE THEORY

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## CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION AND REVIEN OF THE LITERATURE

In present day social psychology, several theories dealing with individual cognitive systems have been set forth. The two moist commonly known are Festinger's cognitive dissonance theory ${ }^{\text {l }}$ and Heider's balance theory. 2 An opportunity was presented to test the interpersonal relations aspects of one of these theories among Roman Catholic students at Oklahoma State University. Since balance theory is directed primarily toward interpersonal relations and since its propositions are stated more explicitly than those of dissonance theory, it was chosen to be tested. This thesis deals specifically with friendship and interaction patterns as they relate to each other and as they relate to denominational similarity and similarity of religious behavior among pairs of acquaintances.

Balance theory deals with triadic cognitive systems, i.e., systems consisting of three perceived entities and three perceived relationships between them. The perceived entities are the w
lleon Festinger, A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance, (Evanston, Illinois, 1957).
${ }^{2}$ Fritz Heider, The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations, (New York, 1958).
person himselfyanother person and some object which may be either social or nonsocial. The relationships between the entities are dichotomized by Heider and are said to have either positive or negative valences. For instance, a person either likes ox dislikes another; his attitude toward object X is either positive or negative; he perceives the other's attitude toward object X as being either positive or negative.

The system is said to be balanced if the valences of all three relationships are positive or if any two are negative. Imbalance occurs when there is any other combination of valences. For example, if person $A$ likes person $B$ but dislikes object $X$, the cognitive system is balanced if A perceives that $B$ also dislikes object $X$. On the other hand, if B. likes X, then the system is imbalanced. In other words, if A perceives that B's relationship to X is similar to his own, the system of cognitions is balanced; if $A$ perceives that $B^{\prime \prime}$ s relationship to $X$ is dissimilar to his own, the system is imbalanced.

Heider's propositions concerning interpersonal relations are derived from the primary proposition of the theory which is that the cognitive system tends to become and remain balanced. Imbalance: is thus a motivating force. Two propositions concerning interpersonal relations that are relevant to this thesis are liberally rephrased here:

1) If a person is similar to another, then he will like the other person, and vice versa.
2) If a person interacts frequently with another, then he will like the other, and vice versa. 3

A third proposition which is important to this study can be derived logically from the preceding two (although Heider does not state it):
3) If a person interacts frequently with another, he will become similar to the other, and vice versa.

Certain assumptions upon which balance theory rests need to be stated as well. Some degree of knowledge of the other person is assumed. If similarity is to precede liking, then the individual must have some knowledge of this similarity; he must be acquainted with the person to whom he is similar. The propositions also assume that other relevant factors remain equal and constant. The triadic cognitive system is to be considered in isolation from other cognitive systems.

There has been a realtive paucity of research concerned directly with balance theory, although several studies do have implications for 'Heider's theory.

Theodore Newcomb has conducted perhaps more research centered around balance theory than any other social scientist. In his study of mutual attraction among a group of spatially proximate students, Newcomb presents data supportive of balance theory, especially proposition (1) above 4 By measuring the opinions and attitudes of

3ibid., pp. 184-189. Also see George Casperi Homans, The Human Group, (New York, 1950), p. 112.

4Theodore M. Newcomb, The Acquaintance Process; (New York; H961), page 65.
the students on several issues before they became acquainted with each other and by administering sociometric-like tests weekly for several months, Newcomb finds that if a pair of students agree on a high proportion of issues before becoming acquainted, then they will like each other after a period of acquaintance. For the first few weeks after meeting, however, chance relationships obtain between prem acquaintance agreement and mutual attraction. Newcomb's interpretation of this finding is that changes in mutual attraction follow the discovery of agreement on issues which are considered important by both members of the pair.

Jazarsfeld and Merton, 5 in a study of friendship and racial attitudes in two communities, find that persons holding strong racial attitudes (either liberal or conservative) tend to select as closest friends those whose attitudes are in agreement with theiroown. However, there is no such selection process for those who are ambiva:lent about race. In connection with religion, Lazarsfeld and Merton note that although in one of the two communities there is relatively little selectivity of friends in terms of religious affiliation, there is: a relatively high degree of selectivity in the other community.

The findings of other researchers in respect to the question of an interdenominational friendship selection process are also
${ }^{5}$ Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton, "Friendship as a Social Process: A Substantive and Methodological Analysis," Freedom and Control in Modern Society, ed. Monroe Berger, Theodore Abel and 0 Charles H. Page, (New York, 1964), pp. 21-28.
discrepant. Obenhaus presents data relevant to this question. ${ }^{6}$ Although he does not statistically analyze his data he seems impressed by the fact that many friendships are interdenominational, rather than intradenominational.

Goodnow and Tagiuri ${ }^{7}$ report the opposite finding in an investigation of friendship patterns among Protestant, Jewish, and Roman Catholic students in a boys' preparatory school. They find that persons in all three categories choose greater proportions of persons in their own denominations than one would expect by chance.

The outstanding implication of the review of the literature comes from Newcomb's interpretation that increases in mutual attraction follow the discovery of agreement on issues that are considered important by both members of the pair. Although Newcomb does not deal specifically with religious issues in his study, his interprem tation is of considerable relevance to the present research because religion is more important to some people than it is to others. One person's religious beliefs may be an essential part of his self concept, influencing his attitudes and behavior in other spheres and his relations with other people, while another person is relatively unconstrained by the same set of substantive beliefs. Therefore, the variable of religious importance must be taken into account in the present study. Lazarsfeld and Merton's finding that friendship selection processes in terms of racial attitudes occur only among

6Victor Obenhaus, The Church and Faith in Mid-America, (Philadelphia, 1963), p. 64.

7R. E. Goodnow and R. Tagiuri, "Religious Ethnocentrism and Its Recognition Among Adolescent Boys," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XLVII, (1952), pp. 316-320.
those with strong attitudes underscores Newcomb's discussion of importance. Ânbivalent attitudes are most likely attitudes that are not important to the individual.

It is possible that the discrepancies in research findings about friendship and denominational affiliation are due to other variables, such as the importance of religion to the individual, which are not accounted for in the above analysis. Neither Goodnow and Tagiuri, not Obenhaus nor Lazarsfeld and Merton employ both religious importance and denominational similarity as variables in their analyses. In view of these discrepancies in the findings concerning selection processes, the variable religious importance seems necessary in the present study.

## CHAPTER II

## DEFINITIONS AND HYPOTHESES

Relationships among six variables are investigated in this thesis--1) liking, 2) frequency of interaction, and 3) religious importance, and three types of similarity; 4) denominational similarity, 5) similarity in frequency of church attendance and 6) similarity in frequency of student religious center visits.

The variable liking is used here to indicate an attitude held by one individual toward another with whom he is acquainted. For present purposes, liking is considered to range along a continuum from neutral to a high positive valence. The negative aspect, disliking, is disregarded.

Frequency of interaction is a behavioral counterpart of liking. The term is used here to mean how often two individuals interact face to face. The extent to which liking and frequency of interaction are correlated is an indication of the matching (or mismatching) of attitude and behavior. Of course, individuals may interact due to reasons other than mutual liking. They may find themselves unwittingly thrust into the same social situation. On the other hand, various commitments and influences may prevent the pair from interacting even though they want to do so; thus, a perfect correlation between the two variables can hardly be expected.

The three variables of similarity are similarity in frequency of church attendance, similarity in frequency of student religious center yisits and denominational similarity. The first two variables are quantitative and continuous while the last is qualitative and discrete. While the first two are behavioral variables, they may be thought of as indicators of attitudes toward religion, and it is likely that these attitudes are equal to or greater than the behavior in their relevance to friendship and interaction patterns.

These behavioral variables have been chosen as alternatives to attitudinal variables because they are more observable, Although balance theory pertains only to perceived similarity or dissimilarity of a person and his acquaintance; by using the behavioral similaxity variables, the measurement is likely to measure accurately; not only the individual's cognitions, but also the actual behavior patterns of his acquaintance.

Religious importance, unlike the above variable, does not refer to a relationship between two individuals. It is an aspect of a person's religious ideology. As defined by Putney and Middleton, ${ }^{8}$ religious importance is the degree to which one's religious beliefs are essential and central to his self concept, regardless of what those belifs are Empirically, Putney and Middleton find a rather high correlation between religious importance and religious orthodoxy, but the correlation is lower among Catholics than among other denominations. Religious importance is used here as a control.

[^0]The hypotheses of this study are based on balance theory but are modified by considerations discussed in the review of the literature and by the demands of research techniques. With religious importance controlled, each of the three variables of similarity is related first to liking and secondly to frequency of interaction, yielding six pairs of hypotheses. There is additionally one hypothesis relating liking to frequency of interaction. The hypotheses are as follows.
la) Liking increases as similarity in frequency of church attendance increases, when religion is important to the individual.

Ib) Liking bears no systematic relationship to similarity in frequency of church attendance, when religion is not important to the individual.

2a) Liking increases as similarity in frequency of religious student center visits increases, when religion is important to the individual.

2b) liking bears no systematic relationship to similarity in frequency of religious student center visits, when religion is not important to the individual.

3a) Jiking of persons with the same religious preference is higher than for those of other religious preferences, when religion is important to the individual.

3b) Liking bears no systematic relationship to similarity of religious preference, when religion is not important to the individual.

4a.) Frequency of interaction increases as similarity in frequency of church attendance increases, when religion is important to the individual.

4b) Frequency of interaction bears no systematic relationship to similarity in frequency of church attendance, when religion is not important to the individual.

5a) Frequency of interaction increases as similarity in frequency of religious student center visit increases, when religion is important to the individual.

5b) Frequency of interaction bears no systematic relationship to similarity in frequency of religious student center visits, when religion is not important to the individual.

6a) Frequency of interaction is higher with those of the same religious preference than with those of other religious preferences, when religion is important to the individual.

6b) Frequency of interaction bears no systematic relationship to similarity of religious preference, when religion is not important to the individual.
7) Liking increases as the frequency of interaction increases. The relationship of the hypotheses to states of balance and imbalance perhaps needs clarification. It can be seen that hypothesis (la), for example, predicts that cognitive systems of the respondents will be balanced. Similarity in frequency of church attendance is a composite of two relationships between entities; it denotes a relationship to the church for each of two individuals. If
it is assumed that a high frequency of attendance is positive in valence, and a low frequency is negative in valence, then the hypothesis predicts that a greater degree of liking (which is positive in valence) will occur when the relationships of the individuals to the church are both positive or both negative. Balance occurs, of course, when there are three positive or two negative relationships. The hypothesis also predicts a lesser degree of liking when the relationships of the persons to the church are of opposite valences.

Similar reasoning applies to the other hypotheses.

## CHAPTER III

## METHODS AND RROCEDURES

Data were gathered by questionnaire during the spring semester of 1966. Some problems were encountered in obtaining a sample of Catholic students. No complete listing of Catholic students attending during the spring semester was available; therefore approximately one third (314) of the religious preferenceeards of Catholics attending the previous semester were drawn by random methods. Several students had left school, and others had moved without leaving forwarding addresses. From the original list of 314 names, 149 useable questionnaires were returned. The actual rate of refusal was very small.

The representativeness of the sample is not known; however, representativeness is not critically important because it is not the population of Catholic students, but the dyadic relationship that is the focus of attention.

Questionnaires were personally delivered to the respondents by the researchers and by several undergraduates. This personal delivery of the questionnaires appears to be responsible for the almost negligable refusal rate.

The precoded questionnaire consisted of nine pages of structured items directed primarily toward religious attitudes and practices,
acquaintances on campus and family. 9 The six variables of this study are thus measured indirectly by the subjects: responses rather than by direct observation. It should be noted thet this type of measurement is in accordance with balance theory for it deals with perceived entities and relationships.

Liking is measured by asking the respondent to categorize a. student acquaintance in one of five positions on a scale ranging from "a person with whom I am acquainted but don't care a great deal about" to "one of my best friends anywhere."

Frequency of interaction is similarly measured by the judgment of the respondent with a rank order of categories ranging from "Iess than once a month" to "almost every day."

For the measurement of similarity in frequency of church attendance and also for similarity in frequency of religious center visits, categories similar to those used in measuring frequency of interaction were utilized. The respondent was asked how frequently he attends church, and separately he was asked how often his friend goes to church. If the two responses fell into the same or adjacent categories, the pair was considered to be high in similarity, whereas others were considered to be low in similarity.

Denominational preferences of acquaintances were classified as Catholic or other. Since all respondents were Catholic, those

[^1]acquaintances who are Catholic were considered to be similar, whereas others were not.

The remaining variable, religious importance, was measured by a six item Likertotype scale developed by Putney and Middleton. 10 For purposes of analysis, the scale scores were dichotomized into high and low segments at the fortieth percentile. Although this is lower than the median of the scores, it is higher than the midpoint of the scale.

Each respondent was asked to give the pertinent information about three student acquaintances, thereby limiting the pairs of acquaintances to the student population. Prior to statistical analysis the data for the three acquaintances were pooled, increasing the sample size threefold: ${ }^{11}$

There may be some question as to the validity of this pooling of the data. Although three sets of responses were obtained from each subject, these responses are capable of independent variation. A high or low degree of liking for one acquaintance does not necessarily influence the degree of liking for another acquaintance, unless the two acquaintances are both entities in one of the individual's cognitive triads. In this case, the individual's liking for each of the acquaintances is theoretically dependent upon his perception of the attitudes of the two acquaintances toward each other.
${ }^{10}$ Putney and Middleton, pp. 286-287.
${ }^{l l}{ }_{\text {Similar }}$ pooling procedures have been used elsewhere. In the study by Newcomb cited previously, there are 17 student subjects. Yet the sample size is 136, the number of possible pairs in a group of 17 individuals.

The phenomenon being investigated here is not the individual, but rother the pair. All of the variables, except for religious importance, have to do with some relationship between a pair of individuals, or some property of the pair itself. For example, the variable similarity in frequency of church attendance is in part independent of individual church attendance. A pair exhibits a high degree of similarity if both members never attend church, or if they attend once a week. If one member goes to church once a week, and the other never goes, the members of the pair are dissimilar.

Nonparametric techniques are used in the statistical analysis of the data. The two tests of significance used are the Kolmogorove Smirnov test and binominal probability. The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test requires ordinal data and is useful in deciding if two cumulative frequency distributions differ significantly. It is employed in testing the hypotheses of this thesis. Binomial probability requires only nominal data which can be classified in two categories. It is used here to find if significant selection processes are occurring.

## GHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS

The distributions of the data for all variables exhibit varying degrees of asymetry. The two most highly iskewed distributions are those for liking and frequency of interaction: 50 per cent of the acquaintances mentioned are classified as best friends on a scale with filve categories and 68 per cent are persons with whom the respondents interact almost every day on a scale with six categories. These are the highest possible categories on those two scales. This skewedness, however, does not prevent statistical analysis with non-parametric techniques.

After constructing culmulative frequency distributions, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test of significance was employed in testing the hypotheses. Twelve Kolmogorov-Smirnov D's which refer to the first twelve hypotheses are shown in Table I. Among those scoring low in religious importance, none of the six $D$ 's are significant at the . 05 level, which is in accordance with the hypotheses. Among those scores high, one D is significant and it is for the relationship between liking and similarity in frequency of religious center visits.

One-tailed tests are used in testing hypotheses for both high and low scorers in religious importance in order to keep the power levels equal. Although the hypotheses for low scorers imply that a two-tailed test should be used, it does not seem reasonable to employ

TABLE I
KOMMOGOROV SMMINNOV D'S FOR TESTS OF SIGNTFICANCE
AMONG VARIABLES OF SIMIIARITY

|  | Rel. Imp. | Denom. Sim. | Sim. in Freq. of Church Attend. | Sim. in <br> Freq. of Center Visits | Col. 3 Minus Col. | Col. 3 Minus Col. 1 | Col. 2 Minus Col. 1 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | - D. $\mathrm{S}^{\text {s. }}$ | Differences. Between Pairs of Similiarity D's |  |  |  |
|  | Hi | +. 13 | +. 12 | +.29\% | +. 17 | +.16 | -. 01 |
| Liking | Lo | -. 06 | +. 07 | +. 13 | +. 06 | +. 19 | +.11 |
|  | Hi | -. 11 | +. 03 | +. 10 | +. 07 | +. 21 | +. 14 |
| Frequency of Interaction | Lo | -. 10 | -. 11 | +. 06 | +. 17 | +. 16 | -. 01 |

## Differences Between Pairs of Importance' D's

| Row 1 minus Row 2 | +.19 | +.05 | +.16 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Row 3 minus Row 4 | -.01 | +.14 | +.04 |

Differences Between Liking and
Frequency of Interaction D's
Row 1 minus Row $3+.24 \quad+.07+.13$
Row 2 minus Row $4+.04+.18+.07$
*p. less than . 05.
the less powerful twotailed test for one hypothesis of the pair and the more powerful onewtailed test on the other.

Statistically significant support is given to only one of the six pairs of hypotheses. However, the D's shown in Table I indicate definite vertical and horizontal gradients which cannot be ignored. The gradients are clearly revealed by the difference values at the bottom and right of Table I. Although there is considerable variation of magnitude among these differences, all but three of them are positive.

The vertical gradient is a result of two types of differences between $D^{\text {P }}$, i.e., differences between $D^{\prime}$ 's for liking and frequency of interaction and differences between D's for high and low religious importance.

All D's for liking are greater than the respective D's for frequency of interaction, regardless of whether religious importance is high or low. This finding seems to indicate that the attitudinal variable, liking, is less influenced by factors other than the variables included in this study than is the behavioral variable, frequency of interaction. Probably such things as whether or not the members of the pair live in the same dormitory or whether or not they have classes together more readily infiluence their frequency of interm action than their liking for each other, thereby reducing the magnitude of the $\mathrm{D}^{\prime}$ 's for the former.

All D's except one for those scoring high in religious importance are greater than the respective D's for those scoring low. The exception is that the $D$ for frequency of interaction and denominam tional similarity is slightly lower among those scoring high in
religious importance than among those scoring low. Five of the differences are in the direction predicted in the paired hypotheses, a finding which lends some general support to the hypotheses, especially those which relate liking to similarity. This support, however, is very tenuous.

The horizontal gradient is indicated by the differences between the D's for the other two types of similarity. These differences are shown at the right of Table I. The D's for similarity in frequency of religious center visits are greater than the respective D's in the other two columns. This pattern seems to indicate that similarity in frequency, of religious center visits is somewhat more relevant to both liking and frequency of interaction than are the other two types of similarity, regardless of the score on religious importance.

These differences can be accounted for by the fact that visiting a religious center is quite different from attending church or being afifiliated with a particular denomination. Church attendance differs from visiting religious centers in that the former takes place in a formal and sacred setting, whereas the latter takes place in a more informal setting which is purposely a mixture of the sacred and the secular. It would seem that similarity in frequency of religious center visits reflects both sacred and secular similarity of behavior and/or attitudes. On the other hand, denominational similarity and similarity in frequency of church attendance are probably indicative of underlying sacred attitudinal and behavioral similarities only. This greater range of underlying similarities, it would seem, gives rise to the greater correlations found for similarity in frequency of religious center attendance.

From the preceeding discussion of the patterning of the D's in Table $I_{\text {, }}$ it is clear that the one statistically significant $D$ did not occur by chance alone. The gradients observed in the table indicate that additive and interactive but nonsignificant factors work in such a way that a predicted statistically significant $D$ is produced.

The hypothesis that frequency of interaction is positively associated with liking is supported by the data. After dichotomizing the frequency of interaction variable, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was employed, yielding a D of +.20 , which is significant beyond the .005 level.

The finding that liking is significantly associated with . frequency of interaction is not particularly astounding in and of itself. However, when it is considered that liking and frequency of interaction are differentially correlated with given similarities, the association of liking with frequency of interaction is a little more surprising, For instance, liking is found to be significantly associated with similarity in frequency of religious center visits, whereas frequency of interaction is not; liking, however is correlated with frequency of interaction. Of course, with imperfect correlations, such discrepancies are more apparent than real, for the correlations indicate only tendencies of covariation between the variables, not to perfect correspondence.

The correlation of frequency of interaction with liking is apparently less influenced by factors outside the framework of this study than is the correlation of frequency of interaction with similarity in frequency of religious center visits. This is consistent with the findings and interpretation presented earlier
theit similarity correlates more highly with liking than with frequency of interaction because behavior is influenced by situational fractors more readily than are attitudes such as Iiking.

In Table $I_{\text {, }}$ it was shown that there was no significant correlam tion of denominational similarity with liking or with frequency of interaction. The data for denominational similarity may be viewed from a different perspective. Previously, the questionsasked was whether pairs of Catholic students exhibit greater frequency of interaction and greater liking than do denominationally mixed pairs. The question under examination now is whether Catholics tend to become friends and interact frequently with other Catholics.

The number of Catholic students at Oklahoma State University is small in proportion to the total student population (6.9 percent). The proportions of Catholic best friends, daily interactors, and total acquaintances mentioned by the respondents can be compared with the parameter of 6.9 per cent by using binomial probability to establish lower one sided confidence intervals, This procedure functions as a test of the hypothesis that intradenominational selection processes are occurring. These statistics are presented in Table II.

If religious denomination played no part in the selection of friends and acquaintances, then it could be expected that the proporm tions observed in the sample would be approximately equal to the proportion of Catholic students attending the University. However, all of the sample proportions presented in Table II are about five to six times greater than the parameter. These data reveal that there are highly significant selection processes operating for both high and low scorers in religious importance. The respondents apparently

TABLI II
DEPARTURE OF FRIENDSHIP, INTERAGTICN AND ACQUATNTANCE PATTERNS
OF CATHOLIC STUDENTS FROM CHANCE EXPECTATIONS

|  | Importance of Religion to Respondent | Per Cent Catholic | Lower One-Sided $99.5 \%$ C.I | Ratio of Statistic to Parameter $\%$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Best <br> Friends | Hi | 43\% | 32 | 6.2 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Lo | 39\% | 26 | 5.7 |
|  | 13 |  |  |  |
|  | Hi | 34* | 25 | 4.9 |
| Daily <br> Interactors | 0 |  |  |  |
|  | Lo | 38\% | 26 | 5.5 |
| $\therefore$ |  |  |  |  |
| Total <br> Acquaintances <br> Mentioned | Hi | 38\% | 30 | 5.5 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Lo | 41* | 32 | 5.9 |

[^2]KCatholics constitute $6.9 \%$ of the student population.
become acquainted, becone iriends, and interact daily with many more Of their fellow Catholics than could be expected by chance alone. All of the lower onessided 99.5 per cent considence intervals are considerably greater than the proportion of university students whe are Catholic; thus, the .005 level of significance is a conservative estimate of the probability of chance occurrence of the sample proportions.

The differences between the proportions bear considerable resemblance to the differences between the D's in column one of Table I. The resemblance occurs because the proportions were calculated from segments and totals of the frequency distributions used in calculating the D's for Table I. There is therefore no need in elaborating these differences again.

In comparing Tables I and II, a seeming paradox is found. Although the proportions of best friends, daily interactors and acquaintances mentioned is greater than chance, the respondents do not necessarily like Catholic acquaintances better than non-Catholic acquaintances, nor do they necessarily interact more frequently with thern.

This same patterning can be found in Table II, in that there is only slight variation among the proportions presented there. Using binomial probability again, it is found that none of the sample proportions in Table II differ significantly from any other at the . 10 level. The proportion of best friends who are Catholic is not significantly different from the proportion of all acquaintances mentioned who are Catholic, and neither is the proportion of daily interactors.

In attempting to explain this paradow, it is useful to make a distinction between two selection processes. This distinction is intended to be tentetive rather than conclusive. It is, however, ${ }^{2}$ distinction which the data seem to warrent. The acquaintance selection process is considered to be separate and distinct from the friendship selection process. If the relationship between a pair of individuals is considered, the process of becoming acquainted is prior in time to the process of becoming friends. Every socialized individual has a pool of acquaintances, some of whom he likes, some of whom he dislikes, and some toward whom he is ambivalent, or has no neasurable degree of liking or disliking. All persons in this pool of acquaintances, however, are persons of whom the individual has some degree of knowledge. Just as some knowledge must precede attitude formation so must the acquaintance process precede friendship. A similar distinction is made by Williams regarding intergroup contact and intergroup relations. ${ }^{12}$ In respect to the present study, there is an intradenominational acquaintance process operating, but there is no corresponding intradenominational friendship selection process. The data indicate that except for some slight but systematic

[^3]variation, the respondents select irom their pools of acquaintances representative proportions of Catholics and nonoCatholics as friende. Since these pools of acquaintances are disproportionately Catholic, however, the data give the misleading appearance that a highly gignifio cant intradenominational friendship selection process is occurring. For these respondents, the friendship selection process takes place partially in terms of similarity in frequency of religious center visits. It is also possible that an acquaintance selection process takes place in terms of this similarity, but the data are not sufficient to warrant such an assumption. It appears that the factors operating in the selection of friends are not always the same as those operating in the selection of acquaintances.

In order to ascertain some of the relevant factors in the selection of acquaintances, some other characteristics of the acquaintances can be examined. 13 When the respondents are separated into the categories of male and female, significant selection processes; are found for both categories. When the respondents are divided into Greek (i.e., fraternity and sorority) and independent categories, however, only the Greeks over-select acquaintances from their own category. These data show no significant tendency for respondents in any of the four categories to like persons in the same category more than those not in the same category. Since these findings are consistent with the previously mentioned findings regarding the

13 These data are for characteristics of the third acquaintance mentioned by each respondent, rather than for all three acquaintances pooled. The intradenominational acquaintance selection process also holds true for this portion of the acquaintances mentioned.
acquaintance and friendship selection processes mong Catholics, they support the contention that the acquaintance and firiendship selection processes are distinct and separate.

There is one thing in common to all of the above mentioned categories; all are statuses. However, it is not certain that simplarity of status is the relevant factor in acquaintance selection, partially because there is no significant selection process among independents, and partially because the categories, except for Catholic, may be indicative of residential proximity as well as similarity in status. Campus housing for unmarried persons is segregated by sex. Fraternities and sororities all have their own houses separate from the dormitories and off-campus:housing of the independents. Except for a Roman Catholic fraternity, however, there is no separate housing for Catholics on campus.

The implication is that status similarity and residential proximity are not sufficient in explaining the acquaintance selection processes, although they do appear to play an important part.

Another similarity common to all the categories is that within each category there are groups which gather together periodically. These gatherings include such things as Mass, business meetings of fratemities, sororities, and men's and women's dormitories, parties, etc. These periodic gatherings make it possible for individuals to become acquainted with one another. Pressure may be exerted upon the individual to attend these gatherings. This is true for business meetings and Mass at least.

Social pressure may also be exerted upon the individual to become acquainted with those similar in status. In many of the

Qreek organiztions, for instance, pledges are required to know all house members by name, and it seems as though there is pressure praced upon the individual not only to date, but to date members of other Greek organizations. Role requirements associated with the statuses are structured in such a say that they afford more opportunities for occupants to become acquainted with persons similar in status and fewer opportunities to become acquainted with those dissimilar in status. These opportunities are due to one or more of the following: 1) residential proximity, 2) periodic social gatherings and 3) social pressure exerted upon the individual to become acquainted with those similar in status.

The preceding discussion neglects such factors making for acquaintance as long distance communication devices (telephone, letters, etc.) and the mass media. However, the data are necessarily limited to student acquaintances with whom the respondents sometimes interact face; to face.

## CHAPTER V

## SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

The hypothesis that frequency of interaction is positively associated with liking is supported. Variation among the D's for these hypothesized relationships is systematic, indicating that the one significant $D$ (for liking and similarity in frequency of religious center visits among high scorers in religỉous importance) obtains because this similarity variable reflects a wider range of shared attitudes than do the other similarity variables and because it has increased relevance for persons to whom religion is important.

Although the data indicate that a highly significant intradenominational friendship selection process occurs, the question is asked whether this is actually a friendship selection process or an acquaintance selection process. This question is raised in light of the finding that although the proportions of acquaintances and best friends who are Catholic are much greater than chance expectations, there is no significant tendency for the respondents to like Catholic acquaintances more than other acquaintances.

It is tentatively suggested that the acquaintance: selection process.is distinct from the friendship selection process, preceding it in time and being influenced by a partially different set of factors. Some statuses afford opportunities for individuals to
becone acqueinted. Friends are selected from the individual's pool of acquaintances, rather than from the universe of persons similar in status.

The data give qualified support to balance theory. The findings in respect to the similarity hypotheses indicate that some types ot behavioral similarity are more relevant to liking than are others: more specifically, it is supposed that similarities reflecting either a wide range or an important cluster of attitudes are more relevant than those that reflect a narrower range of attitudes. Since a broad range of attitudes may be involved, it is possible that several triqdic cognitive systems, rather than just one, contribute to the correlation with liking. If the tests are to be kept in exact accordance with balance theory, then the objects of these attitudes must be perceived as a unit, and only one triadic system involved. The extent to which the objects of these supposed attitudes are perceived as a unit is not known.

The extension of balance theory to predict that similarity correlates with frequency of interaction, as well as liking, is not found to be tenable empirically, although it is deduced logically from Heider's propositions.

The findings point to a need for a more carefill consideration of similarity variables in future research, and to the need for determining which attitudinal and behavioral spheres are important to the research subjects prior to making predictions from balance theory. In any case, one can expect significant correlations between liking and similarities which are indicative of other similarities in spheres that are important to the individual.

The distinction has been made between the acquaintance selection process and the friendship selection process. The failure of past researchers to employ this distinction has resulted in some confusion in the literature. For example, in Newcomb's study cited in the reviaw of the literature, seventeen previously unacquainted students are brought together in order that the patterns of friendship formation can be investigated. The pools of acquaintances relevant to the study are held constant, and the friendship selection process is the focus of attention. Yet, the monograph on the research is entitled The Acquaintance Process.

Lazarsfeld and Merton, on the other hand, in their paper "Friendship as a Social Process," find friendship selection processes in terms of several statuses and in terms of racial attitudes. Since their data are for best friends only, it is impossible to determine whether they have discovered acquaintance selection processes or friendship selection processes.

The distinction between the two selection processes has important implications for research and theory.

No statements can be made about the nature of friendship selection processes unless something is known about the characteristics of the acquaintance pools of the individuals concerned. This knowio ledge does not necessarily need to be exhaustive if the researcher is interested only in friendship selection processes. Knowledge not only of close friends but also of acquaintances who are not friends is necessary to determine if the friendship selection process operates.

Research investigating the total range of liking and disliking in relation to similarity will probably prove to be more fruitful
than research investigating narrowex ranges, especially if the variables of similarity can be compared with parameters. The data of this thesis have been somewht limited in their implications because of the skewedness of the data for liking; very few acquajntances mentioned are not liked to some degree.

If persons in a given category are friends with a disproportionate number of others in that same category as compared with population parameters, this does not necessarily indicate that a friendship selection process is operating. It may indicate that an acquaintance selection process is operating, or that both processes are operating. For the respondents of this study, the similarities relevant to friendship selection are not the same as those relevant to the selection of acquaintances. In the five categories examined, acquaintance processes without corresponding friendship selection processes are found. These findings do not obviate the possibility of there being both friendship and acquaintance selection processes in terms of the same similarity, but they do demonstrate the need to differentiate between the two.

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APFENDIX A

TABIE III

## FREOUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS USED IN NESTING HYROTHESES



TABIE III (CONT.)


APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

## SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear student:
The study of religious beliefs and practices has become a topic of increasing interest in recent years. In order to determine some of these basic beliefs and practices, the Department of Sociology at Oklahoma State University in conjunction with the Catholic Student Center is conducting a survey on the Oklahoma State Universixty campus.

We would appreciate your cooperation in filling out the questionnaire which has been delivered to you. Although you may be tempted to confer with others about questions, please try to fill out the questionnaire yourself. It should take about fifteen to twenty: minutes to complete.

Although some of the questions ard statements may seem irrelevant, we ask that you answer them to the best of your ability so that the entire questionnaire is complete. It is important that your views be represented in our survey.

Your responses to all items will be kept anonymous. The completed questionnaires will be analyzed by the Department of Sociology and will become the property of that department. In order to guarantee that your responses will be anonymous, please seal the questionnaire in the envelope which has been provided and do not sign your name on either the envelope or the questionnaire.

Thank you for your time and cooperation.

## Sincerely yours,



Sallie Meier


Lewellyn Hendrix

## Siumey of sedigious Belizis and Practicce

Please circle the number of the most appropriate answer to each question.

## Io General Iaformation



110: Sex:

Made................
Female.............. 2.
12. Age:
18.................... 1 .
19................... 2.
20.................... 3.
21.0.0...............

22 and overoo.000.5.
23. Year in college:

Freshanan. ........... 1.
Sophomore.......... 2.
Junior:.............. 3.
Senforoa.o..........
Graduate........... 5.
Speaial............ 6.
14. Please give the specific job held or work
15. done and occupational field in which you father worked for the longest time. Example: clerk in a bookstore; crane operator on road construction.

16: What occupation do you hope to follow when
17. you leave college? (please be specific)
18. Did your mother work when you were growing up?

> Yes.0.000000......0.
$\mathbb{N} 000000000000000$ 2.
part of the time.o3:
19. What is the religious preference of your father now?

## Protestant.........l.

Catholic........... 2.
Jewish. .............. 3.
Qther............... 4 .
None. . . . . . . . . . . . . 5.
Don't know......... 6.
20. What was the religious preference of your father before he married your mother?

Protestant. ........... 1.
Catholic.............. 2.
Jewish................. 3.
Other.................. 4.
None. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 5.
Don't know............ 6.
21. What is the religious proference of your mother now?

Protestant............
Catholic...............
Jewish.................. 3.
Other.................. 4.
None. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 5 .
Don't know. ........... 6.
22. What was the religious preference of your mother before she married your father?

Protestant........... 1.
Catholic..............
Jewish................. 3.
Other.................. 4 .
None. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 5.
Don't know. . . ........ 6.
23. Did you attend a Roman Catholic grade school?

Yes.0000000.............
No..................... 2.
Part of the time....l.
24. Did you attend a Roman Catholic high school?

Yes. 0.00000000000 。
No................... 2 .
Part of the time.... 3 .
25. Have you ever attended a Roman Catholic college?

Yes..................... 1.
No...................... 2.
26. Did you IIye at nome dusinǵ yous high schooit अenses

27. In waisix yous decixise to come to (OSU
 a Catholis college of urdvergity?

Yes.................
No.....................

For the following series of questions, there are five categories of response for each question-Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Undecided (U), Disagree (D), and Strong Disagree (SD). Please circle the response category which is closest to your actual feeling.
(Circle one letter for each statement)

| $28_{\circ}^{\circ}$ | My ideas about religion are one of the most important parts of my philosophy of life. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $1290^{\circ}$ | I find that wy kdeas on religion have a considerable frafluence on my views in other areas. | SA | A | U | D | S0 |
| $30_{n}^{*}$ | Believing as $I$ do about religion is very important to being the kind of person $I$ want to be. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| $32 .$ | If my ideas about religion were different, I belieye that my way of life would be very different. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| . | Religion is a subject in which I am not particularly interested. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| $33 . \%$ | I very often think about matters relating to religion. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 34. | I believe that the only benefit one receives from prayer is psychological. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 35. | I believe that there is a life after death. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 36. | I believe that Jesus is the Divine Son of God. | S\& | A | U | D | SD |
| $370$ | I believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 38. | I believe that God created the world and all the creatures in it。 | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 39. | The Holy Ghost protects the Catholic Church irom teaching error. | \$4 | A | U | D | SD |
| 40 . | Before I came to college, I often engaged in religious activities only because my parents wanted me to. | \$A | A | U | D | SD |


| $A 4 D,$ | Raligion hew bean positive Inflwemce ta <br>  | \$A | A | (0) | (1) | S(0) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 42. | Hias on his own is a helpless and miserable creature. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 43. | Fusdamentally, the world we live in is a pretty loxesome place. | SA | A | 0 | D | SD |
| 44. | Most people just don't give a "damn" for others. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 45. | I'd like it if I could find someone who would tell me how to solve my personal problems. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| $185$ | Sometimes I feel isolated from other students because of my religious beliefs. | SA | A | U | D | SD |

III. Paserte Religious Beliefs
(Circle one letter for each statement)
A. Father for male guardian) If deceased, skip to the next section.
47. My father believes that the only benefit

SA. A U D SD one receives from prayer is psychological.
48. My father believes that there is a life SA A U D SD after death.
49. Ry father believes that Jesus is the Divine Son of God.
50. My father belleves in the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.
52. Rly facher believes that God created the world and all the creatures in it.
52. My father believes that the Holy Ghost Brotects the Catholic Church from teaching error.
B. Mother (or female guardian) If deceased, skip to the next section.
53. My mother believes that the only benefit one SA A U D SD receives from prayer is psychological.
54. My mother believes that there is a life $\quad$ SA $A \quad$ U $\quad D \quad S D$ after death.
55. My mother believes that Jesus is the Divine ©A \& D $\quad$ S Son of God.

马局. My whithers bellewes that the Moly Ghost proterts
\$4 A 0 0 50 the Cathoile Cnurch from teaging erros.
57. mother believes in the Father, the Son,

SA A U D SD and the Holy Ghost.
58. worid and all the creatures in it.
IV. Family Background
59. My parents feel deep affection for one another.
60. My parents' marriage has always been a happy one.
61. Religious differences are one cause of my parents marital difficulties.
62. My parents get along with one another as well as most other parents I know.
63. My father sometines used unnecessary physical punishment as a means of correcting my behavior.
64. My mother sometimes used unnecessary physical punishment as a means of correcting my behavior.
65. My parents mean more to me than anything else in the world.

In the following questions, circle A for Always, $F$ for Frequently, $S$ for Sometimes, and R for Never.
(Circle one letter for each statement)
66. Before I came to college, my parents attended daily Mass during Lent.
67. Before I cam to college, my parents fasted according to Church laws during Lent.
68. Before I came to college, my parents and I attended Mass together.
69. Before I came to college, grace was said before meals in my home:

A 70, Before I came to college, we had family prayers and/or devotional readings in our home.

A $\quad \mathrm{F} \quad \mathrm{S} \quad \mathrm{N}$

A $\quad$ F $\quad \mathbf{S} \quad$ N

A $\quad \mathrm{F} \quad \mathrm{S}$ N

A $\quad \mathrm{F} N$

A $\quad \mathrm{F} \quad \mathrm{S}$

TH. How many brothers ami sistere id yous reva? 0. 30 2. 30 4. 50 Bo (ciscle onc)
0. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.
72. How many older brothers do you have? (circle one)
0. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. (efrele onc)
74. How many younger brothers do you have?
0. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.
(circle one)
0. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.
75. How many younger sisters do you have? (circle one)
.
76. What is the age difference between you and your brother who is just older than you are?

I do not have any older brothers......l.
one to four years............................
nine to twelve years..........3. over twelve years..............4.
five to eight years........................ 3.
77. What to the age differemee between you and your sister who is just older than you ase?

I do not have any older sisters......1. nine to twelve years.......... 3 .
one to four years.......................... 2 .
over twelve years............. 4 .
five to eight years......................... 3 .
;
178. These have been times during my life that I have doubted the essential teachings of the Catholic Church (beliefs contained in the Apostle's Creed).
strongly agree..... 1 .
disagree.............. 4.
agree................ 2 .
strongly disagree...5.
undecidéd..........3.
79. If you doubted the essential teachings, did the doubt start
during grade school..........
during high school........... 2.
during college.................. 3.
(80. In regard to the essential teachings, would you say that at the present time you
strongly agree with tham.......l. disagree with them................ 4.
agree with them..................2. strongly disagree with them....5.
are undecided about them......3.
IBM2
28. If at any time you have felt yourself religious, which factor in the following list do you consciously recognize to have been the most important contributing reason? (circle one)

Merental influence............... gratitude..................................
comformity with tradition.....2. studies in schnol or college...7. personal influence of people
other than parents............... 3.
fear or insecurity.............. 4 .
sorrow or bereavement......... 5 .
readings outside of school
and college......................... 8.
church teachings..................9.
ITS.Campus Orgavozations and Friendships
$290^{\circ}$ Are you a nember of pledge of a fraternity or sororitys ..... 2. y®s ..... 2.
If yes, then which one?
$\qquad$
A. For Fraternity and Sorority Members and Pledges only:
30. smong the following statements, which would you say is your most important reason forjoining a sorority or fraternity? (circle one)
l. high prestige of this group
2. personal friends in this group
3. members of this group seemed friendlier than did members of other groups
4. this was the only group I wanted to join that gave me a bid
5. members of this group share my religious beliefs
6. many members of this group have the same major as I do
7. I was a legacy
8. pressure from parents to join9. other (please specify)
$\qquad$
B. For Those Who are Not Members or Pledges of Fraternities or Sororities:
31. Anong the following statements, which would you say is your most important reason for NOTjoining a sorority or fraternity? (circle one)

1. membership in Greek organizations restricts one's friendship group too much
2. membership in Greek organizations is too expensive
3. my parents did not want me to join
4. I prefer to devote my time to studying
5. I prefer to devote my time to other organizations which I feel are more worthy
6. I did not get bids from organizations which I wished to join
7. none of my friends belong to Greek organizations
8. I am not in favor of Greek organizations because of religious reasons
9. other (please specify)
C. Friends and Acquaintances
Please write the first name or initials of three friends or aoquaintances who are studentsdere at OSU. It is not aecessary for us to know their last names; we are ondy interestedlis wibat you can tell us about their religious beliefs and acivities.
10. $\qquad$ 2. $\qquad$ 3. $\qquad$
Focus for a moment on the friend or acquaintance you have listed first.
11. What is the sex of this friend? 1. male 2. female
 IS yess then which one? $\qquad$

$350^{\circ}$ Row oftes do you see this friend?

| almost every day.............l. | twice or more per month....... 4 . |
| :---: | :---: |
| ce or more per week.....2. | once a month. |
| ace a week.................3. | less than |

36.* What is this friend's religious preference?
Protestant.................... None..................................... 4 .
Catholic......................2. Don't know............................. 5 .

37." How often does this friend visit his religious student center? (other than for attendance at plass or chumeh seryices)
almost every day.............l. once a month.........................5. twice or more per week.....2. less than once a month.......... 6.
 twice or more per month....4. don't know............................ 8 .
38." How often does this friend attend Mass or church services?

| almost every day............l. | once a month................... 5. |
| :---: | :---: |
| cwice or more per week.....2. | less than once a month. |
| nce a week..................3. | never. |
| wice or more per month.... | don't kno |

Now concentrate on the second friend or acquaintance you have listed.
39.* What is the sex of this friend? 1. male 2. female
40. Is this friend a member or pledge of a sorority or fraternity? 1. yes 2. no

If yes, then which one?
41. This friend is one of my very best friends anywhere............... a very good friend, but not one of my best. ..... 2 . a good friend while I am at OSU....................... a person with whom I am well acquainted.........4. a person with whom I am acquainted but don't care a great deal about.o............................. 5.
$42{ }^{\circ}$ How often do you see this friend?

| dwice or more perweek........ | twice or more |
| :---: | :---: |
| twice or more per week.....2. | once a month. |
| once a week.................3. | less than once |



```
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline Protestant..............1. & None. \\
\hline Catholic................. 2. & Don't know. \\
\hline Jesish.................3. & Other religion. \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
440% Bow osfen does this friend visit his religious student center? (other than for attendawue
    2% Hass or church services)
    almost every day.........l. once a month...............5.
    twice or more per week...2. less than once a month...6.
    once a week..............3.3. never...........................
    twice or more per month..4. don't know.....................
45.* How often does this friend attend Mass or church services?
    almost every day..........l.
    twice or more per week...2.
    once a week.................
    twice or more per month..4.
    once a month..............5.
    less than once a month...6.
    never.......................
    don't know..................8.
Now concentrate on the third friend or acquaintance you have listed.
46. What is the sex of this friend? 1. male 2. female
47.* Is this friend a member of pledge of a sorority or fraternity? 1. yes 2. no
If \(y^{2} s_{0}\) then which one?
48. This triend is
```

one of my best friends anywhere....................... a very good friend, but not one of my best.......2, a good friend while I am at OSU........................ a person with whom I am well acquainted..........4. a person with whom I am acquainted but don!t care a great deal about................................... 5 .

```
49. Wow often do you see this friend?
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline almost every day...........l. & twice or more per month \\
\hline twice or more per week....2. & once a month. \\
\hline once a week................3. & less than once a month. \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
50 , What \(\hat{i}\), this friend's religious preference?
```



```
52. How often does this friend visit his religious student cersex? (Other tham for attendance at Mass or religious services)
```

almost every day............ twice or more per week....2. once a week.................. 3. twice or more per month... 4 .
once a month...................... 5.
less than once a month..........6.
never.......0000000.0............
don't know........................... 8.

TR. \%

| enlutost swery fiayoono.o.ol. | once a month..............5. |
| :---: | :---: |
| Ewice or more per week. 2. | less than once a month...6. |
| ance a week..............3. | never......................7. |
| tzice or more per month. 4. | don't kno |

53. How often do you go home to see your parents?
every day............1. 1 only during holidays and the summer......5.
once a week.........2. twice a month.......3. never.................................................. 7. once a month......... 4 .
54. How often do you attend Mass?

| almost every day..........l. | once a month...............5. |
| :---: | :---: |
| twice or more per week...2. | less than once a month....6. |
| once a wetk.............. 3. | never.................o....7. | twice or more per mantho. 4.

$55 .{ }^{\circ}$ Kiw often do you visit the Catholic Student Center for purposes other than for attending Mass?
almost every day..........l. once a month....................5.
twice a week or more.....2. less than once a month.....6.
once a week................3. never............................... 7 . turice ox more per month. 4 .
56. Some students like the programs and activities which occur at the Catholic Student Center very much, while other students don't like them at all. What changes would you like to see made in the programs and activities, if any?
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$
$\qquad$

Thank you very much for your cooperation.
*Items marked with asterisks are those which are used in this thesis. Others are used by Sallie Meier Montgomery in a study of the influence of familial factors on student religious beliefs and practices.

VITA
Lewellyn Hendrix
Candidate for the Degree of
Master of Science

Thesis: FRTENDSHIP, INTERACTION, AND ACQUAINTANCE PATTERNS AMONG ROMAN CATHOLTC STUDENTS: A TEST OF HEIDER'S BALANCE THEORY

Major Field: Sociology
Biographican:
Personal Data: Born in Malvern, Arkansas, March 6, 1944, the son of Rupert $S$. and Dorothy 0 . Hendrix.

Eduoation: Attended grade school in Fairview, Arkansas; graduated from Malvern High School in 1961; attended Southern State Gollege, Magnolia, Arkansas in 1961 and 1962; received the Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Arkansas, with a major in scciology in June, 1965; completed requirements for the Master of Science degree in July; 1967. '

Professional Experience: Graduate teaching assistant from September, 1965 to June, 1967, at Oklahoma State University; Nationai Science Foundation Summer Research Fellow, July and August, 1966; National Science Foundation Trainee, September, 1966, to August, 1967; member of Midwest Sociological Society and American Association of University Professors.


[^0]:    ${ }^{8}$ Snell Putney and Russell Middleton, "Dimensions and Correlates of Religious Ideologies," Social Forces, XXXIX (196I), pp. 286.

[^1]:    ${ }^{9}$ Another thesis by Sallie Meier Montgomery, ${ }^{3}$ Religious Beliefs and Practices of a Group of College Students in Relation to the Perceived Religious Beliefs and Practices of Their Parents, " discusses the influence of family factors upon the religious beliefs and practices of this sample of students.

[^2]:    *significant beyond the . 005 level.

[^3]:    $12_{\text {Robin M. Williams, Jr., "Racial and Cultural Relations," }}$ Review of Sociology: Analysis of a Decade, ed. Joseph Bo Gittler, (New York, 1957), pp. 439-440, "...the question as to the effects of personal interaction of members of differently categorized groupings is a special case of the more general question: Under what conditions do persons form continuing friendly relations? Clearly the general question may have nothing directly to do with religious, ethnic and racial classifications for the general problem remains even in groups that are homogeneous in these respects... Posing the wider question has the further virtue of implying the futility of any attempt to predict friendship formation... without specifying the conditions under which contact occurs."

