

of each other's children in case of necessity, gossip together, and sometimes assist one another in the event of illness. Whereas neighbors, who also fulfil these reciprocals, are continually changing, the relation with the sister remains the same whether they live in the same neighborhood or not.

The same holds true for the social life of brothers. In the upper-lower class, where residence is more permanent and neighborhood relations are better established, such relations may be said to be secondary to proximity of neighborhood as a source of recreational activity. Such relations are still important, however, and last as long as brothers and sisters live in the same community. Unlike the mother-child relation, which very frequently is maintained in spite of geographic separation, brother-and-sister relations generally dissolve when the individuals live in very widely different localities. Whereas mothers living in different parts of the state sometimes correspond with their children, visit them and are visited by them, and maintain the mutual feeling of having a place of refuge, the children living far apart generally "lose track" of one another and seldom visit or call upon each other for aid.

The kinship structure.—The insecurity of the husband-wife relations and the strong feeling of solidarity between mother and child type the kinship structure of the lower class as predominantly matrilineal and matriarchal. As would be expected in such a system, grandmothers play a vital part and are symbolic of stability in a world of change and of affection in a somewhat "hard" world.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL CLIQUES IN THE WHITE SOCIETY

CLASS is no social anthropologist's abstraction to people in Old City, as we have seen. Sometimes they use the term "class." More often they do not. But they always act in terms of it. This is especially evident among the upper and middle classes with respect to their recreational activity. Such persons talk about "my crowd," "our set," "those people," etc. When pinned down to names and dates, they reveal that class is a reality, an ordering principle in their social relationships. For instance, the authors, who for some time had been accepting the hospitality of what seemed to be a small homogeneous group within the upper class of Old City, finally decided to pay off, at one stroke, both their social and scientific obligations by giving a large cocktail party preceding a public dance. Planning this party functioned as one concrete test of the class hypothesis, that *people have a range of social characteristics within which their friends and associates must fall; it is possible to describe this range, and for people in similar social positions it tends to be identical.* A summary from the authors' field notes indicates the nature of the "test":

We mentioned our plan to a few members of the group and explained that we wished to entertain their "crowd" and would like to know whom to invite. These members then prepared a list of about a dozen couples. We explained that we wanted a larger group, so they extended the list to about twenty couples, who, they said, represented "all of our crowd." In this larger list there were several couples whom we had not met or with whom we had only a very slight acquaintance, although we did know of them. Our informants insisted, however, that our lack of intimacy with these people was unimportant, that they knew who we were

and would feel slighted if left out when we entertained, even though they had never met us formally. There were, also, a few other people whom we felt should be included since they were active in clubs with some of our friends or had appeared at one or two group affairs. These individuals were summarily dismissed by our informants with the following remarks: "She sometimes goes with our crowd, but she doesn't really belong. There is no reason why you should invite her." "He used to be in our crowd, but he dropped out and we seldom see him any more." "She would like to be in our crowd, but we can't stand her."

Careful analysis of this event indicated that these persons conceived of themselves as being members of a small, very intimate group—"our little crowd" (*the clique*)—to which, for certain types of affairs they were willing to add a few more couples to form "our large crowd" (*the extended clique*). Beyond these there was a somewhat wider circle of persons with whom they were willing to participate, who could not be ignored, and whose opinion mattered, but with whom they did not associate intimately. Any very large affair should include the entire extended clique, and to omit a member suggested discrimination. Members of the wider participation circle, however, might be deliberately excluded and there would be no ill-feeling, while beyond this latter group there were types of people who, under no conceivable conditions, could be invited to a social affair.

That this clique structure was no isolated phenomenon was subsequently verified by the identification of over sixty cliques, extended cliques, and *intermediate groups* (bridge clubs and special gatherings for the celebration of marriages). These groups comprised over seven hundred people, ranging from adolescence to old age, and were identified by observation, interviewing, and a careful analysis of the social columns of the daily newspaper over a period of two years. It was thus possible to describe the membership and typical behavior of cliques at various class levels, for, while all the members of any one clique may not be within the same social class, clique behavior is definitely "class-typed." The majority of the members of any one adult clique were usually of one social

class, and the other members tended to be persons moving up in the social structure or otherwise somewhat loosely related to the clique.

UPPER-CLASS CLIQUES

A group of middle-aged married men and their wives might be used to illustrate a typical upper-class adult clique. In this group the upper-class members set the pattern, and a few upper-middle-class individuals participate with them. The most frequent type of participation, and the most important in the opinion of the group, is that of mixed evening gatherings, frequent and informal. During the summer months the clique meets almost every night at some one of their various homes or at the public dance pavilion, and during the winter they gather at least twice a week. Usually there is no invitation to these gatherings, and often not even a definite appointment. Wives sometimes plan to meet in the evening with their husbands, but more frequently couples drop in at one another's homes and then move about from house to house until they are all congregated together. One clique member explained the manner of "getting together" to the observers: "Just drive around past our houses any night about nine o'clock and see where the most cars are and then come in. That's the way we do. We don't invite people; we just all get together that way."

Behavior at these gatherings, on the part of both the women and the men is carefree. Each man brings his own whiskey which he deposits in the kitchen and from which he mixes drinks for himself and for the women. The host supplies glasses, ice, sugar, and water, and occasionally Coca Cola, the favorite mixer. Both men and women drink heartily, and all prefer to mix their own drinks. Early in the evening the group may sit in one room discussing personalities, group activities, and community affairs or making plans for future group participation. As the evening wears on, the conversation begins to pall; couples dance; the group spreads out into other

rooms and the garden, and flirtatious activities begin. The men invite the women to assist them in fixing fresh drinks, and they may exchange kisses and embraces in the privacy of the halls and kitchen. Couples disappear into the garden for long periods; others sit intimately together holding hands, openly or furtively. Flirtations are the general rule and are often "high-pressure." Men sometimes have their particular "girls" over a period of months, and women their special "beaux." These affairs are recognized by the group and are expected of members, but are usually conducted surreptitiously and privately, in dark corners, in the garden, or in parked cars. For the most part, however, these flirtations are confined to group gatherings, and men do not generally have private or secret appointments with other men's wives.

The activities of this clique, then, and the behavior which members expect of each other center about three things: drinking, talking, and flirting. Both men and women are expected to drink continually but not to become violent or unconscious. Flirtations range from mere verbal flattery to prolonged "affairs"; and women may, and frequently do, take some initiative. Members must be able to participate in the conversations of the group spontaneously and without intellectual effort—conversations which deal principally with the "crowd" and its activities. The bulk of this conversation is apparently related to drinking and is a significant element in the clique behavior. In most of it there is little attempt to convey information or to discuss ideas. The clique members are not communicating but communing.

This mixed clique is, itself, composed of two other cliques—one male, the other female—each of which functions separately. The men gather during the day for coffee, and, after working hours, often get together in one of their offices for a few drinks. The women meet casually for soft drinks or highballs, shop together, drive aimlessly about town, and visit one another's homes. Sometimes the women join a group of the men at their offices, at a restaurant or drug store, or

merely on the street corner. The men occasionally join the women's group in similar situations, but the mixed evening gathering is the most significant type of clique behavior.

Young uppers.—Among the younger people, solidarities between persons of the same sex tend to be stronger than among married couples. Thus, the eleven girls in one upper-class clique (which included a few upper-middle-class members) had associated with one another since early school days. At that time several small cliques, based on membership in the same high-school class, functioned as a large extended clique. When the older members of this group graduated from high school, about four years before this study began, the oldest clique broke up quite rapidly. Some members went away to college, while others married and dropped out of their clique activities. Those who remained in Old City and those who returned from college after a year or two participated with the younger group through the activities of the extended clique. Then, as the younger girls graduated from high school, they too began to disperse. Finally the remnants coalesced into the present clique, which is being described here.

The behavior of these girls when together is very informal and intimate. Although most of them are employed as secretaries, stenographers, and store clerks, they meet regularly during the day at a certain drug store for Coca Cola and often walk home together after work. They shop together, meet together for luncheons, play lotto at a local knitting shop, or call each other over the telephone for a chat. They are all single and living with their parents, and they frequently visit at one another's homes for meals or to spend the night. These overnight visits are not merely matters of convenience but serve to break the monotony of an evening at home without a "date." The hostess on these occasions, however, feels little or no obligation to entertain her guest. If her hostess has an engagement, the guest cheerfully stays alone, reading, playing the radio, or visiting with members of the hostess' family. When the hostess returns, they discuss her date together and

talk about their other friends and more personal topics. The whole attitude and behavior in this situation is, in fact, very much like that of sisters.

While these girls themselves form a very intimate group, they are also a part of a larger mixed clique, which includes six or seven young, single men. Although this at first appeared to be an extended clique, that is, merely an extension of the girls' group, actually the behavior of these young men and women together has the intimacy and solidarity of a clique relation. The activities of this mixed clique are generally evening or week-end parties—casual, informal, and frequent. In many cases the girls and boys make their engagements as individual couples for particular times or events without regard for group activities. The girls may then decide casually to have their "dates" together, or a group of the boys may join forces. Not all of their social activities are in a group, of course, for a single couple often spends an evening alone together. But almost every evening, part or all of the group gathers together casually at some one's home, at a movie, at a dance pavilion, or some such rendezvous. If several couples appear at the same dance without prearrangement, they always congregate in a group; and most of their dancing, drinking, flirting, and general conversation is within their own group.

Not all of the activities of this mixed clique are in paired couples, however. The girls sometimes meet casually or at a formal party in the afternoon and decide to spend the evening together. Those who have evening engagements call their "dates" on the telephone and suggest that they all gather together for the evening. Apparently there is no feeling that each girl should have a definite beau at such gatherings, and the presence of extra girls apparently does not create difficulties. There is, on the whole, little open jealousy among members of the group; some have their special partners; others change about at random.

The behavior of this clique at either formal parties or casual

get-togethers is quite uniform. Drinking is common. Each boy usually brings his own whiskey unless the host at an organized party states specifically that he is furnishing the drinks. Most gatherings are jokingly called "B.Y.O.L." (Bring your own liquor). Both boys and girls drink freely, usually the popular southern mixture of corn whiskey and Coca Cola. Everyone is expected to "carry" his liquor; and, in spite of the large quantities consumed, it is rare for anyone to "pass out" or to become violent, and such behavior is thoroughly condemned. At the casual gatherings in the homes of members, couples sit about one room, usually in twos, and discuss individuals or group activities. There may be dancing to the radio and an occasional game of lotto. Couples sometimes hold hands, but wandering into the garden or kissing in dark corners (as their elders do) is condemned. As the drinking progresses, the gaiety and activity of the evening increases. There is more dancing, a group sings together in a corner of the room, conversation becomes noisier, and no one pays much attention to what is said. Often the group decides to motor out to the public dance pavilion. This generally ends the group activity for the evening. Couples leave in separate cars, and some do not appear at the dance at all. Others go in for a dance or two and spend the rest of their time in the parked cars. The activity of the group ends here and that of separate couples begins.

The boys in this clique form a separate male group which meets together during the day for coffee or "cokes," plays lotto together, or occasionally has a stag poker party or hunting party. It differs, however, from the female clique in that the members did not begin their association in early high-school days. Apparently when the girls' clique formed, a number of these boys had just returned from a year or two at college. They began to "date" the girls in the clique, and the solidarity of this female clique brought the boys together in mixed activities. Gradually they became close friends and combined to form a male clique. Most of their social activities,

however, are still with the mixed clique rather than with their male group alone.

Upper-class cliques generally do not have any systematic organization, and formal card clubs are rare. Group gatherings are very casual and informal, although these cliques do sometimes have "parties" to which members are definitely invited, and more formal kinds of gatherings are quite common among older women's groups. At clique gatherings, casual or formal, however, upper-class people are comparatively unrestrained in their behavior and do not limit themselves to a particular activity, such as dancing or playing cards.

MIDDLE-CLASS CLIQUES

In contrast to the upper-class behavior described above is that of a small group of married couples in the same age-range but middle class in social position. Most of the women in the group had been friends during their school days. After marriage their husbands became acquainted with each other. The behavior of this group is much more formal and restrained than that of the groups already described. They meet about once a week to play bridge at some member's home; and they participate together, periodically, in other activities, such as week-end parties and picnics. Neither the men nor the women have much other activity in common, although occasionally the women lunch together and play cards, and the men sometimes meet in town after working hours.

At the weekly bridge parties, although the hostess serves refreshments, alcoholic drinks and flirtations are absent. The mother of one of the women called the clique members "nice, quiet young people" who "get together and play bridge and just have a good time without all the drinking." She also revealed her middle-class ideology by describing the group as follows:

They aren't the four hundred by any means, but they are good clean young people. They don't drink and the girls don't smoke, at least most

of them don't. Most of the girls knew each other in school and have just kept up their acquaintance since they were congenial and the same kind. Most of them are quite settled. They own their own homes and take a trip now and then. They don't have much money but they are comfortable.

Middle-class cliques in general are much more frequently characterized by formal organization into card clubs, by more restrained behavior, and by more definitely limited activity than among the upper class. In the middle class, mixed groups are not the rule, as they are among upper-class people; men have their groups and women have theirs, and informal activities in mixed groups are comparatively infrequent and are not considered the most important participations. Middle-class cliques, too, are less casual in their group relations. Members of a clique usually receive definite invitations to group gatherings. At these "parties" activity is generally prescribed and definitely limited to card-playing, sewing, informational conversations, and similar formalized behavior. Middle-class women, and men in mixed groups, generally "don't drink," although the men may have drinking parties among themselves, especially in the upper-middle class. Flirtations by married people are roundly condemned.

Often in their clique or club gatherings the women concern themselves with elaborate decorations and refreshments, vie with one another for the most unique appointments or the most unusual delicacies. This behavior is especially characteristic of the upper-middle class, where such embellishments are economically possible and where display of wealth has the greatest significance. This kind of preoccupation is almost entirely lacking in upper-class groups, where little effort is made to decorate the house as a setting for a gathering, where food refreshments are considered of only minor importance, and where a large quantity of corn whiskey is often the primary criterion for the "good party." (In several instances upper-class people expressed great indignation when they were served "fancy" mixed drinks rather than their customary

"corn and Coca Cola"; they were annoyed when served elaborate refreshments, especially if early in the evening.)

LOWER-CLASS CLIQUES

Lower-class people generally do not participate in cliques, as that term has been defined. The most common type of informal social participation in the lower class is the casual neighborhood gossiping of the women when they meet on the street or chat "over the back fence." Neighbors may "mind" one another's children or help with the washing; and they sometimes call on one another, "just drop in," during the afternoon. Relatives, too, visit occasionally. None of these are group activities in the sense of upper-class and middle-class clique behavior.

Within the past few years a new basis of solidarity has developed among some lower-class women through relationships established by the Emergency Relief Administration. Although antagonisms arise over jobs and the amount of wages, people "on relief," in general, have a certain solidarity with one another and a feeling of unity which marks them off from others who are not receiving such aid. Among the men, employment on an E.R.A. project, especially when on the same kind of job, forms a basis for new friendships. For women, the E.R.A. sewing-room and mattress factory are an even more important means of social participation, since lower-class women have almost no other activity in groups. Working in the sewing-room, and, to a lesser extent, in the mattress factory, where the work is more confining and less leisurely, has real social significance for them. Although talking during work is not encouraged, recess periods are fairly frequent, and the lunch hour is a social time. Women gossip and express their friendship by sitting together or eating package-lunches together. They thus participate in a group which is their own, freely and without direction, in spite of the fact that their actual work is closely supervised.

Although there is some grumbling and complaining about

the work itself, the sociable part of a day in the sewing-room is generally looked upon as a pleasure; in some instances, wives who were not allowed to work there because their husbands had E.R.A. jobs felt definitely "left out." In a number of cases hot lunches are sent from home for the workers at the lunch hour, and carrying the lunch to the workroom is looked upon as a privilege. Although younger children generally carry lunches to men on the job, older girls or women of the family, or occasionally neighbors, assume the responsibility of taking food to the sewing-room, apparently for a few minutes of sociability. Women who worked in the sewing-room on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday sometimes appeared there at lunch hour on other days, ostensibly carrying some message or food to a worker.

Lower-class husbands and wives have little social participation *together* outside of the home. They do not often visit or entertain as a family group, except occasionally for kinspeople. Husbands tend to spend their time in the company of other men, talking, drinking, and sometimes gambling with them when they are at leisure during the day or after supper in the evening. In one locality in Old City, an occasional dance and drinking party was held, to which young married men of the lower class sometimes escorted their wives. In general, however, there is little recreational activity in which husbands and wives participate together among lower-class couples.

CLIQUE AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The identification of cliques.—Typical clique behavior at three social levels has been described in the previous section of this chapter, but in order to understand the relationships between cliques and the class system, it is necessary to examine clique structure and activities in detail. This is made doubly necessary by the fact that cliques are not necessarily composed solely of individuals from one class, although clique behavior is usually class-typed, and the majority of the members of adult cliques tend to fall within one class. Individuals, as

NAMES OF PARTICIPANTS OF GROUP I	CODE NUMBERS AND DATES OF SOCIAL EVENTS REPORTED IN <i>Old City Herald</i>													
	(1) 6/27	(2) 3/2	(3) 4/12	(4) 9/26	(5) 2/25	(6) 5/19	(7) 3/15	(8) 9/16	(9) 4/8	(10) 6/10	(11) 2/23	(12) 4/7	(13) 11/21	(14) 8/3
1. Mrs. Evelyn Jefferson.....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
2. Miss Laura Mandeville.....									X	X				
3. Miss Theresa Anderson.....														
4. Miss Brenda Rogers.....														
5. Miss Charlotte McDowd.....														
6. Miss Frances Anderson.....														
7. Miss Eleanor Nye.....														
8. Miss Pearl Oglethorpe.....														
9. Miss Ruth DeSand.....														
10. Miss Verne Sanderson.....														
11. Miss Myra Liddell.....														
12. Miss Katherine Rogers.....														
13. Mrs. Sylvia Avondale.....														
14. Mrs. Nora Fayette.....														
15. Mrs. Helen Lloyd.....														
16. Mrs. Dorothy Murchison.....														
17. Mrs. Olivia Carleton.....														
18. Mrs. Flora Price.....														

FIG. 3.—Frequency of interparticipation of a group of women in Old City, 1936—Group I.

NAMES OF PARTICIPANTS OF GROUP II	CODE NUMBERS AND DATES OF SOCIAL EVENTS REPORTED IN <i>Old City Herald</i>													
	(1) 6/27	(2) 3/2	(3) 4/12	(4) 9/26	(5) 2/25	(6) 5/19	(7) 3/15	(8) 9/16	(9) 4/8	(10) 6/10	(11) 2/23	(12) 4/7	(13) 11/21	(14) 8/3
1a. Miss Thelma Johnson.....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
2a. Mrs. Sophia Harris.....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
3a. Mrs. Kathleen Mills.....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
4a. Mrs. Ruth Turner.....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
5a. Mrs. Alice Jones.....	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
6a. Mrs. Julia Smith.....		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

FIG. 4.—Frequency of interparticipation of a group of women in Old City, 1936—Group II.

By utilizing interviews, the records of participant-observers, guest lists, and the newspapers, it was possible to follow in detail the social participation of a large number of individuals and groups in Old City, including many of the persons who had been stratified in the original interview sample. Relationships of any one person who had been stratified to others in a group could be studied, as in the case of Mrs. Evelyn Jefferson, a part of whose participation is given in Figure 3. It will be noted that she participated six times with Miss Mandeville but only twice with Miss Liddell. Each of the women participated less frequently with some persons than with others. The women in Figure 4, although they frequently met on the same day as the women in Figure 3, were never, upon any occasion, at events with them.

has been pointed out in chapter III, may be placed in the social hierarchy by the use of the interview method. Persons whose social position has thus been ascertained may then serve as points of departure for stratifying other persons, since, given an initial group of stratified persons, it is possible to identify and extend their cliques, thus determining with whom they actually associate and their attitudes toward these persons. The validity of the interview material is, in this way, checked by observation of the actual participants in informal group situations.

From such participation records it was possible to determine, with precision, both the frequency and type of participation. Where it is evident that a group of people participate together in these informal activities consistently, it is obvious that a clique had been isolated. Interviewing can then be used to clarify the relationship. Those persons who participate to-

TYPE OF MEMBERSHIP	MEM- BERS	EVENTS AND PARTICIPATIONS													
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
<i>Clique I:</i>	1	C	C	C	C	C	C	-	C	C					
	2	C	C	C	-	C	C	C	C	C	-				
Core.....	3	-	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C				
	4	C	-	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	-				
	5		P	P	P	-	P	-	-	-					
Primary...	6		P	-	P	P	-	P	-						
	7			P	P	P	P	P	-						
Secondary .	8				-	S	-	S	S						
<i>Clique II:</i>	9				S	-	S	S	S						
Secondary .	10					S	S	S	-	-	S				
	11					-	P	P	P	-	P				
Primary...	12					-	P	P	P	-	P	P	P		
	13					C	C	C	C	-	C	C	C		
Core.....	14					C	C	-	C	C	C	C	C		
	15					C	C	-	C	C	C	C	C		
	16						S	S	S	-	S				
Secondary .	17							S	-	S					
	18							S	-	S					

FIG. 5.—Types of members of, and relationships between, two overlapping cliques.

gether most often and at the most intimate affairs are called *core members*; those who participate with core members upon some occasions but never as a group by themselves alone are called *primary members*; while individuals on the fringes, who participate only infrequently, constitute the *secondary members* of a clique. The analysis of the fourteen events in Figure 3 is presented in Figure 5 in such a manner as to indicate the types of membership which each of the 18 women has. It

will be noted that they fall into two overlapping cliques, on the basis of frequency of participations. The "boundaries" of the cliques were ascertained by interviewing. Miss Ruth De Sand, for instance, was claimed by members of both cliques; but Miss Pearl Oglethorpe, by Clique I, though she was on the fringes. Miss Verne Sanderson was claimed by Clique II.

Social uniformities of clique members.—Once it has become clear, from a study of the frequency of participation coupled with interviewing, that a group of people form a clique, an extended clique, or an intermediate group, and the approximate social position of the group having been ascertained, the search for social uniformities can begin.¹ What kind of people tend to associate together? Are they of similar ages? Do they tend to be kinsmen? Do they pursue similar occupations? Do they have a similar standard of living? Do they attend similar churches and associations? Are there any generalizations about clique structure and behavior which emerge from the study?

Forty-three participation groups, representing a total of over 400 individuals, were analyzed intensively in order to seek answers to these and similar questions. The groups studied included a large proportion of all the informal groups which reported their activities to the *Old City Herald* during the period of the research. At the outset, two facts were obvious: (1) most of the newspaper items dealt with the activities of female or mixed male and female affairs; (2) lower-class adults were almost never mentioned in the social columns and among the personal items, although their children were sometimes mentioned in connection with school cliques. Since it is the women in Old City who tend to be most conscious of class lines, and since they "organize" the class behavior of the men, such data on female and mixed cliques is a definite index to

¹ The method by which social participation was recorded, and by which the interlocking and overlapping of cliques was ascertained, is demonstrated in Figures 3, 4 and 5.

DEEP SOUTH

TABLE 1a
SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF A SAMPLE OF 43 WHITE PARTICIPATION GROUPS IN OLD CITY: CLIQUE GROUP I

Group	Type of Group*	Social Position of Groups†		Age		Marital Status‡	Sexual Composition§	Church Membership	
		Average	Range	Average	Range			Average	Range
Ia	EC	U1	UU-LU	65	50-80	m	F	Epis.	Epis.-Pres.
Ib	CL	LU	UU-M1	45	35-48	m	MF	Pres.	Epis.-Pres.
Ic	EC	LU	UU-LU	35	28-48	m	MF	Epis.-Pres.	Prot.
Id	IG	M1	UU-UM	60	50-66	m	F	Epis.	Prot.
Ie	CI	M1	U1-UM	45	45-51	m	MF	Epis.	Epis.-Pres.
If	EC	M1	LU-UM	40	35-47	m	MF	Prot.	Prot.-Jewish
Ig	CI	M1	LU-UM	28	21-33	m	MF	Epis.-Pres.	Prot.-Cath.
Ih	IG	M1	UU-UM	27	24-42	ms	F	Epis.-Pres.	Prot.
Ii	CI	M1	UU-UM	24	21-27	s	MF	Prot.	Prot.-Cath.
Ij	EC	M1	UU-M2	24	21-31	ms	F	Prot.	Prot.-Cath.
Ik	CI	M1	LU-UM	20	20	s	F	Epis.	Prot.-Cath.
Il	IG	UM	U1-UM	27	23-31	m	F	Prot.	Prot.-Cath.
Im	IG	UM	M1-M2	21	19-22	s	F	Epis.	Prot.-Cath.
In	CI	UM	M1-M2	21	20-22	s	MF	Cath.	

* The types of participation groups represented are: Cl, cliques; EC, extended cliques; IG, intermediate groups (see pp. 158 to 161 for definitions of these types of participation groups).

† m, all members married; s, all members single; ms, both married and single members.

‡ F, female; M, male; MF, both male and female members.

§ See page 62 for method of ordinating groups.

|| UU, upper-upper class; UI, upper-upper or lower-upper; LU, lower-upper; M1, lower-middle or upper-middle; UM, upper-middle; M2, upper-middle or lower-middle; LM, lower-middle; L1, lower-middle or upper-lower; UL, upper-lower; L2, upper-lower or lower-lower; LL, lower-lower class.

There were some persons who were obviously "mobile," that is, they had many of the characteristics of two subclasses. No attempt was made to assign these persons rigidly to one class or another. They were called "indeterminate" and are referred to as U1, M1, M2, and L1. Many of these persons will eventually become stabilized at some given class position. (Since there were no lower-class individuals in the sample, UL, L2, and LL have been omitted from the table.)

SOCIAL CLIQUES IN WHITE SOCIETY

Io	EC	UM	LU-M2	20	19-22	s	F	Prot.-Cath.	Prot.-Cath.
Ip	EC	UM	U1-LM	18	16-20	s	F	Prot.	Prot.-Cath.
IQ	EC	UM	LU-M2	16	15-18	s	F	Prot.	Prot.-Jewish
Ir	EC	M2	U1-LM	13	12-16	s	F	Prot.	{Prot.-Cath. Jewish}

TABLE 1b
SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF A SAMPLE OF 43 WHITE PARTICIPATION GROUPS IN OLD CITY: CLIQUE GROUP II

Group	Type of Group*	Social Position of Group†		Age		Marital Status‡	Sexual Composition§	Average	Church Membership	
		Average	Range	Average	Range				Average	Range
IIa.....	Cl	UM	UM-M2	28	25-39	m	MF	Pres.	Pres.-Epis.	
IIb.....	EC	UM	UM-M2	38	36-40	m	F	Cath.	Prot.-Cath.	
IIc.....	EC	UM	UM-M2	40	31-57	m	MF	Meth.	Prot.	
IId.....	EC	UM	UM-M2	40	28-45	m	F	Epis.	Prot.	
IIe.....	IG	UM	UM-	60	?-61	ms	F	Prot.	Prot.-Cath.	
IIf.....	Cl	M2	UM-L1	18	16-19	s	F	Cath.	Cath.	
IIg.....	IG	M2	UM-M2	27	22-32	m	F	{Prot.	Prot.-Cath.	
IIh.....	EC	M2	M2-LM	27	22-31	m	F	Cath.	Jew	
IIi.....	Cl	M2	UM-LM	28	24-30	ms	F	Cath.	Cath.	
IIj.....	IG	M2	M2-LM	29	22-35	m	MF	Prot.	{Prot.-Cath.	
IIk.....	EC	M2	UM-M2	40	27-50	m	MF	Jew	Jew	
IIl.....	IG	M2	M2-LM	48	30-53	m	F	Cath.	Cath.	
IIm.....	EC	M2	UM-M2	32	30-45	m	F	Prot.	Prot.-Cath.	
IIn.....	IG	M2	UM-LM	50	33-70	m	F	{Prot.	Prot.-Cath.	
IIo.....	EC	LM	UM-L1	14	12-16	s	MF	{Cath.}	Cath.	

DEEP SOUTH

SOCIAL CLIQUES IN WHITE SOCIETY

IIp.....	IG	LM	UM-L1	20	16-23	s	F	Cath.	Cath.	
IIq.....	IG	LM	UM-LM	24	21-37	s	F	Cath.	Prot.-Cath.	
IIr.....	IG	LM	M2-LM	27	21-40	m	F	Meth.	Meth.	
IIs.....	IG	LM	LM	32	29-35	s	F	Cath.	Cath.	
IIt.....	IG	LM	M2-LM	35	25-58	m	F	Cath.	Prot.-Cath.	
IIu.....	EC	LM	M2-LM	35	33-39	m	F	Cath.	Prot.-Cath.	
IIv.....	Cl	LM	LM-L1	35	21-36	m	MF	?	Prot.-Cath.	
IIw.....	EC	LM	M2-LM	35	25-58	m	F	Cath.	Prot.-Cath.	
IIx.....	IG	LM	M2-LM	40	25-53	m	F	Cath.	Prot.-Cath.	
IIy.....	EC	L1	M2-L1	18	16-20	s	MF	Cath.	Cath.	

* For *, †, ‡, §, and || see Table 1a.

class behavior, however. The absence of lower-class news items proves conclusively that there is a "social rift," which merits study, between the lower class and the rest of the white society.

Furthermore, comparisons between the core, primary, and secondary members of each clique and extended clique indicate that there is a certain limit to the amount of variation in social characteristics; that, in general, the uniformity in any one clique is such that it can be described as being of a certain age, class-behavior pattern, or educational level; that core and primary members are generally more uniform in these traits than secondary members; and that cliques are more uniform in social characteristics than extended cliques, especially with regard to class status of members.

Class and clique.—As has already been mentioned, cliques can be class-typed by the behavior pattern which the members exhibit. They may also be described in terms of the proportion of individuals within them belonging to a given class position. The social status of a clique may be stated either in terms of the class range of its members or in terms of a "modal average" of the class positions of its members. For instance, Clique Ic in Table 1, includes 13 persons, stratified as upper-upper and lower-upper class. Its average class position, however, is lower-upper. Each participation group studied has been designated according to its class range and class average and typed by its behavior pattern (see Table 1).

AGE, CLASS AND CLIQUE

Age uniformities.—As might be expected, there is a general tendency for people of the same age to associate together. An examination of the cliques listed in Table 1 indicated that age uniformities were more characteristic of core members than of primary and secondary members, and that cliques of young people tended to be more homogeneous with respect to age than older groups. This is due partly to the fact that young people tend to be age-graded by the school system but,

TABLE 2
ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIAL PARTICIPATION OF THE FEMALE MEMBERS OF 8 WHITE CLIQUES: AGE 20-29

PARTICIPATION GROUPS*	AVERAGE CLASS POSITION	SEX	MARITAL STATUS	NUMBER OF FEMALES	TOTAL PARTICIPATIONS OF FEMALE MEMBERS		EXTRA-CLIQUE PARTICI- PATIONS OF FEMALE MEMBERS		No.	Per- centage		
					Total	Clique	Extra- Clique	No.				
Ig	M1	28	MF	8	131	111	20	17	85.0	12	60.0	
Ii	M1	24	MF	11	293	234	59	54	91.5	40	67.8	
Ih	M1	27	F	11	191	93	98	79	80.6	56	57.1	
II.	UM	27	F	9	140	88	52	44	86.7	39	76.9	
IIa	UM	28	MF	5	32	25	7	6	85.7	4	57.0	
IIi	UM	28	F	13	119	75	44	44	100.0	34	77.3	
IIj	M2	29	F	6	43	28	15	15	100.0	11	73.3	
IIg	M2	27	F	9	55	35	20	17	85.0	10	50.0	

* See Table 1 for description of each group.

upon leaving school, are no longer separated into more or less limited age groups and are thrown together, through employment and other relationships, with persons of wide age range. (Also, there are probably more people of the same general age group among young people, since, all other things being equal, as age increases, the actual number of individuals of a specific age decreases, and any participation at all on an extended scale must include younger people.) The participation of 72 young women in eight of the groups listed in Table 1 was studied in detail (See Table 2). It was noted that even when these women were associating with persons outside of their own cliques the bulk of their extra-clique participation was with persons less than ten years different in age. In general, the age range within cliques tends to increase as the median age of the clique increases.

Interclique participation.—It has already been demonstrated that individual cliques are associated with certain types of class behavior and that the range of social characteristics of the members of a clique is limited. The relationships between the members of different cliques is an even more revealing index since a person does not always participate within his own clique. A core member of one group may be a primary or secondary member of another clique or may, on some occasions, go to the affairs of cliques to which he does not belong. A study of the totality of overlapping cliques and of interparticipations between clique members reveals clearly the class structure of the society. It answers the question "With what kind of people does X, under no conditions, participate socially?" as well as "With what kind of people does X usually associate?"

All of the cliques and intermediate groups composing Clique Group I (Table 1a) were found by empirical analysis to be interlocking and overlapping; that is they formed a large

interparticipating group.² The cliques and intermediate groups in Clique Group II (Table 1b) were similarly related to each other. The members of the 18 groups in Clique Group I, however, had virtually no social participation with the 25 in Clique Group II; they did not attend each others parties nor have other intimate relations.

That such a phenomenon—205 persons in old city who had virtually no intimate social contacts with 238 other persons—was associated with class factors was demonstrated by an analysis of the class position of all the individuals in the sample. Such a study revealed that while neither clique group contained any persons below the upper-lower class, Clique Group II contained no persons above the upper-middle class, and almost 40 per cent of its members were even below this class. In Clique Group I, on the other hand, over 20 per cent of the participants were in the upper class, none were as low as upper-lower class, and only 7 of the 205 individuals were below upper-middle class. (Table 3). These interrelationships between Clique Groups I and II are illustrated graphically in Figure 6.

It will be noticed that there are some persons in both Clique Groups I and II who fall within the range of upper-middle class and lower-middle class. This raises an immediate question: "Why do some middle class persons participate in a large clique-group containing uppers while others do not?" This is due, in the first instance, to an age differential, as can be seen from Table 4. Over 50 per cent of the middle-class

² The individuals were stratified by the method outlined in chapter iii, p. 62. Many of them were "placed" by persons whose social position had been worked out previously. Others were assigned a class position because their behavior and ideology conformed to that of the class configuration developed from interviews and observation. Secondary members of cliques which had been class-typed by behavior pattern were "placed" by interviews with core members. Thus, an upper-class woman, "old aristocracy," might state: "Mrs. X comes to our parties, but she's not 'old aristocracy'." The person referred to was, therefore, tentatively stratified as lower upper. If other interviews and an analysis of her family pattern confirmed the placement, she was definitely placed in that position.

TABLE 3
DISTRIBUTION OF 443 INDIVIDUALS IN CLIQUE GROUPS I AND II BY AGE GROUP AND SOCIAL CLASS

AGE GROUP	NUMBER OF GROUPS	NUMBER OF PERSONS	CLASS DISTRIBUTION*								
			UU	U1	LU	M1	UM	M2	LM	L1	Un-known
<i>Clique group I:</i>											
Over 60.....	1	21	8	7	6
50-60.....	1	8	1	1	2	2	2
40-49.....	3	16	1	4	2	5	4
30-39.....	1	15	5	1	9
25-29.....	3	28	1	3	8	5	8	3
20-24.....	6	64	6	2	5	15	23	13
15-19.....	2	30	1	1	4	14	7	1	2
10-14.....	1	23	1	1	2	5	7	6	1
All.....	18	205	22	20	34	33	56	30	7	3
<i>Clique group II:</i>											
Over 60.....	0
50-60.....	2	15	6	7	2
40-49.....	5	49	19	23	6	1
30-39.....	7	67	6	27	30	2	2
25-29.....	6	54	8	32	11	1	2
20-24.....	2	25	2	11	10	1	1
15-19.....	2	20	1	8	3	7	1
10-14.....	1	8	1	2	1	3	1
All.....	25	238	43	110	63	14	8
Total for both clique groups..	43	443	22	20	34	33	99	140	70	14	11

* UU, upper-upper class; U1, upper-upper or lower-upper; LU, lower-upper; M1, lower-upper or upper-middle; UM, upper-middle; M2, upper-middle or lower-middle; LM, lower-middle; L1, lower-middle or upper-lower; UL, upper-lower; L2, upper-lower or lower-lower; LL, lower-lower.

There were some persons who were obviously "mobile," that is, they had many of the characteristics of two subclasses. No attempt was made to assign these persons rigidly to one class or another. They were called "indeterminate" and are referred to as U1, M1, M2, L1, and L2. Many of these persons will eventually become stabilized at some given class position. (Since there were no lower-class individuals in the sample, UL, L2, and LL have been omitted from the table.)

persons in Clique Group II are over thirty years of age; less than 10 per cent of those in Clique Group I are within this age range. These younger middle-class people tend to participate with persons above them in class. They are mobile people "on the way up." The middle-class people in Clique Group II are, on the whole, older; their status is more definitely set; and they tend to participate almost exclusively

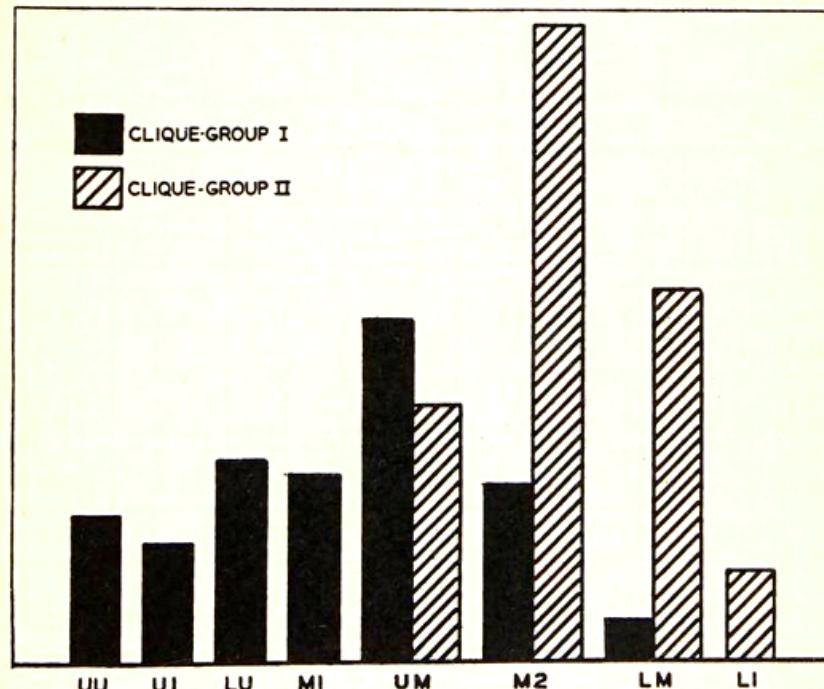


FIG. 6.—Distribution of 443 white clique members by social class.

within their own group and with persons immediately below them. The middle-class people, then, in Clique Group I, being younger and more mobile, are therefore found more often associating with upper-class persons than the members of Clique Group II, who are older and more stable and have fewer social contacts with persons above them on the social scale.

The participation line.—We have thus far dealt with two

factors that seem to be related to social participation in cliques and other informal groups—age and class. These relationships may be further clarified by an examination of Figure 7. Individual extended cliques are represented by rectangles arranged in age groups. The heavy diagonal line represents the basic division between Clique Groups I and II laid against age-class co-ordinates. (Figure 8 represents a more generalized conception of the "participation line.")

TABLE 4
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE UPPER-MIDDLE-CLASS AND LOWER-MIDDLE-CLASS
MEMBERS OF CLIQUE GROUPS I AND II

AGE	CLIQUE GROUP I			CLIQUE GROUP II		
	Number	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage	Number	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Over 60.....						
50-60.....	2	2.1	2.1	15	6.9	6.9
40-49.....	4	4.3	6.4	48	22.3	29.2
30-39.....				63	29.3	58.5
25-29.....	11	11.6	18.0	51	23.4	81.9
20-24.....	36	38.6	56.6	23	10.8	92.7
15-19.....	22	24.1	80.7	12	5.5	98.2
10-14.....	18	19.3	100.0	4	1.8	100.0
Total....	93	100.0	100.0	216	100.0	100.0

The increasing width of the rectangles from the ten-fifteen year age range to the sixty-eighty year age range represents the fact that the age spread within cliques becomes greater as the average age of the cliques increases. The vertical arrows within the rectangles indicate that participation within any given age range has a limited class range. Participation between the extended cliques within a clique group is represented by diagonal arrows, so slanted as to indicate that extended cliques tend to link together individuals of at least two subclasses. The shaded area between lines *a* and *b* is indicative of the fact that in groups between ten and twenty-five years of age, some individuals who are classified as lower-

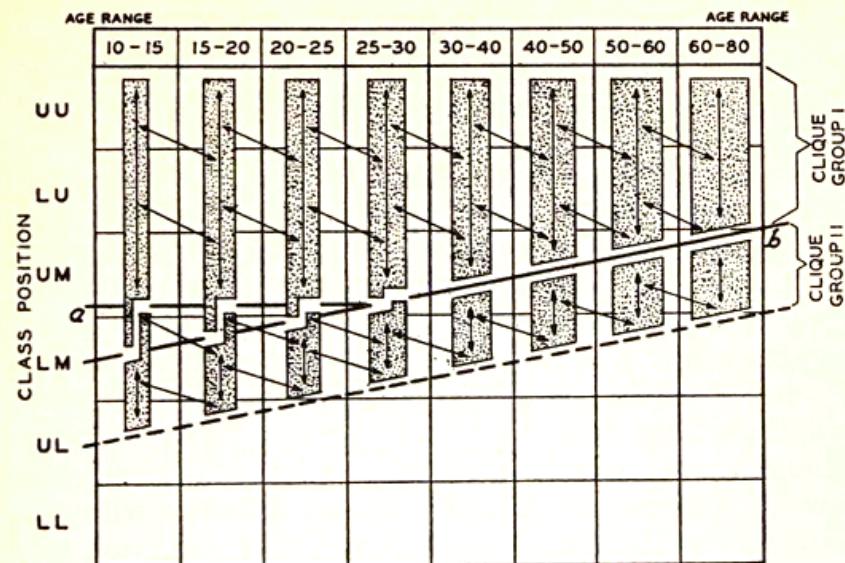


FIG. 7.—Interparticipation of clique groups I and II in an age-class configuration.

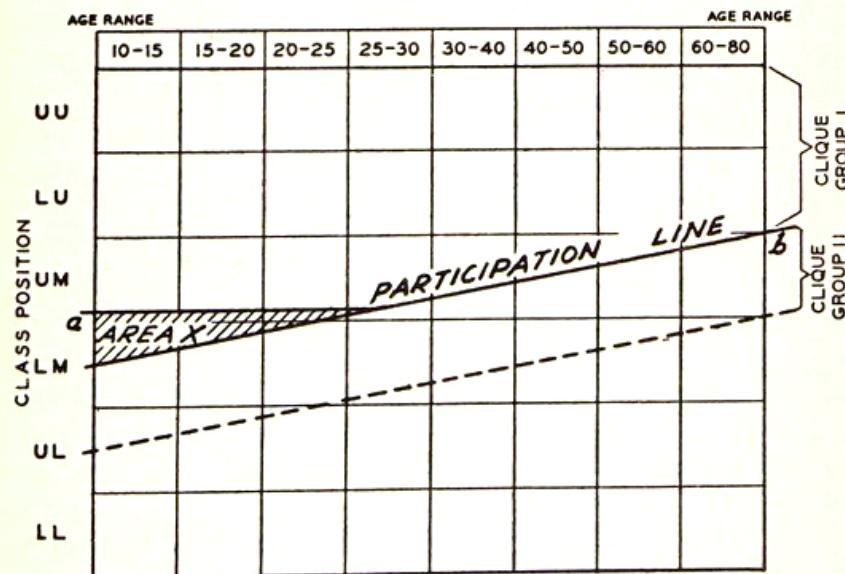


FIG. 8.—The participation line in an age-class configuration

middle class because of their parents' status belong to cliques composed largely of young people of a higher status. Conversely, some upper-middle-class young people belong to lower-middle-class cliques.

The heavy broken line is a second "participation line," dividing this entire newspaper sample from those persons who do not secure this type of publicity at all. Starting just below the upper-middle-class division in the higher age groups and dropping down to the top of the upper-lower class in the youngest age groups, it is the line of lowest status in Clique Group II—the "social rift," previously referred to. Below this line are the persons whose names never appear in the social columns, whose intimate affairs are not news, and who have little or no informal recreational activities with the persons above the line. Their pattern of clique behavior, too, differs radically from that of both Clique Groups I and II, a fact verified by interview and observation.

Further examination of Table 3 reveals that while cliques are linked together by interparticipation between the different cliques within a clique group and people sometimes participate across age lines, among the older age groups there generally is a narrower class range of participation. Thus, members of the oldest group in Clique Group I (over sixty) all fall in the upper class, while members of the youngest group (ten to fourteen) ranged from upper-upper to lower-middle class. The groups between these two extremes show a progressive decrease in range of social status with increase in age. We might conclude from this that *cliques with a predominantly young membership combine persons of a limited age range and a wide class range, while older groups tend to be limited in class range but have a wide age range.*

Significance of kinship.—Where people do participate outside of their age group, it is usually with people of their own class; and when this is not true, it is usually because of the fact that an individual has a close tie with some one person outside of his class-age group which relates him to another

individual of that person's class. Thus, it is customary for a woman to have girls serve as "floating hostesses" at older clique affairs, and when this occurs, the younger person is usually in the same class, although one of the girl's clique members who might be in another class may serve, too. Occasionally, an older person gives a party for a younger girl in her class, or for one of her own relatives, to which some of the honored person's clique members below her in class may come. It is significant that, while kinship enters into less than 30 per cent of general interclique participations, 60 per cent of all participations in a wide age span but narrow class span involve kinspeople—daughters and mothers, aunts and nieces, or cousins.

THE LIMITS OF SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

The various "rules" of social behavior so far discussed are all general formulations and are, in no case, absolute. Exceptions may be found to the usual pattern of group composition and to the general schemes of intergroup behavior. There is, however, one kind of social participation which is so rare as to be almost nonexistent in Old City: participation *directly* "up and older" or "down and younger." That is, an individual seldom associates directly with others who are superordinate to him in both social position and age or who are both in a lower social position than he and much younger. When such participations do occur, they are *indirect*, through other specific individuals. For example, a lower-middle-class member of a predominantly upper-middle-class group of twenty-year-olds would not participate directly as a single individual in an activity of a twenty-five-year-old group which had a status above lower-middle class and which included no lower-middle-class members. She might, however, participate indirectly if some one upper-middle-class member of her clique were being entertained or used as hostess.

The scope of possible participations in terms of class and age, together with these "prohibited" participations, is repre-

sented in Figure 9. Here a theoretical individual of upper-middle-class status and thirty years of age is represented by a circle. The heavy arrows have been drawn to indicate in what directions she may participate. More specifically, a thirty-year-old woman of upper-middle-class status often participates as a member of an extended clique composed of individuals of about her own age and of a social position slightly above or

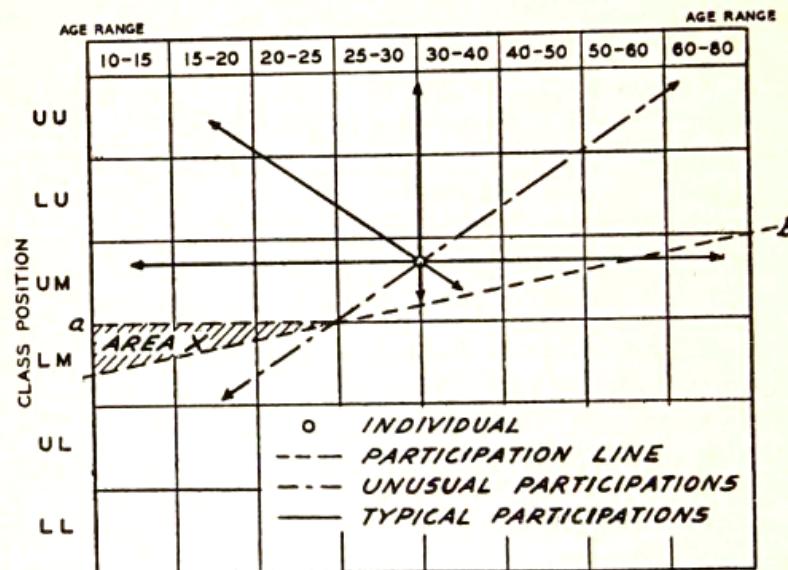


FIG. 9.—Scope of possible participations of an upper-middle-class woman

below her own. She may participate as a nonmember in the events of groups a little older or a little younger if they have a social position like her own. She may act as "floating hostess" for a member of a group much older than her own but of the same class position; or she may give a party for a girl much younger but of her own status. But she is almost never seen acting as "floating hostess" in a group of higher social position or giving a party for a group of lower status.

In the total study less than a dozen such participations, "against the rule," were observed. In each of these instances

the ineligible individual participated indirectly, with and through another individual, who was eligible in terms of age and social position and with whom she had a strong individual relation. This situation is pictured in Figure 10, in which the upper circle represents an upper-class core member of Clique E, and the lower circle represents an upper-middle-class core member of the same clique. It will be observed that there

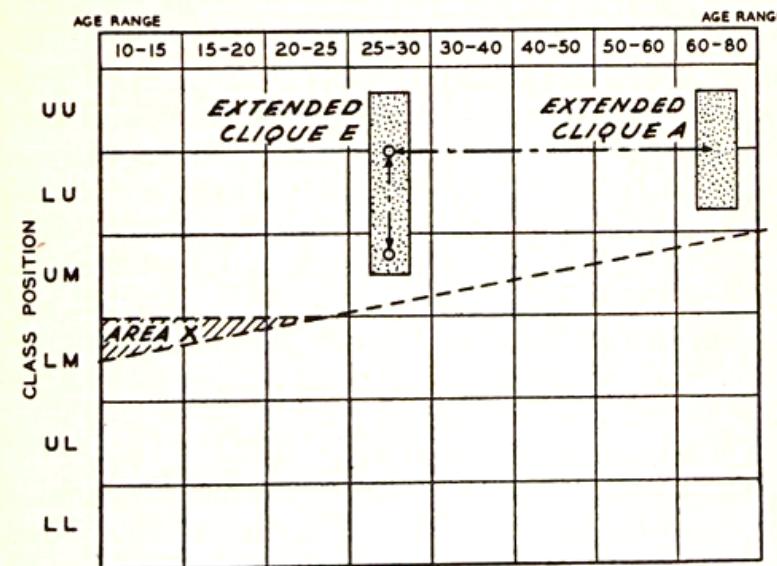


FIG. 10.—Social participation through an indirect relationship: "Up and Older"

is no arrow connecting the upper-middle-class individual directly with upperclass clique, A, but the arrows indicate that such an individual may be brought into contact with Clique A only through her relationship with the upper-class member of her own clique, E.

THE CLIQUE—A DYNAMIC UNIT OF SOCIETY

A clique is more than a statistical unit which makes convenient the study of social stratification. It is a dynamic unit of society, a group of people sharing a common pattern of life,

changing through time. Cliques are small social systems within themselves, voluntary aggregations coming into being spontaneously, interacting, sometimes coalescing, occasionally disintegrating.

Each clique has a definite membership sharing a feeling of unity and solidarity and a common behavior pattern. The members, however, are not a socially significant group merely because of the uniformity in behavior or other characteristics, but rather because of the intimate interaction between them. The internal structure of each clique is a pattern of relationships, and this configuration of the relationships of each member to every other member is, in the ultimate analysis, the basis of the clique. The various parts of a clique are based on these relationships. Thus, a core member differs from a primary member because the sum total of his relationships is different. This configuration has considerable stability in time. Some changes do occur, but they are not rapid and do not include all members at one time. In spite of changes affecting the relations of some of the members, the general pattern of a clique persists over a period of time and sometimes lasts for years. Individuals often mention the duration of their cliques, saying, for example, "This has been our crowd since we were in school together," or "We have all run around together for years."

In spite of this stability of the total clique configuration there may also be a continual process of change apparent in the specific relations between individual members. Thus, strong one-to-one relationships between two core members will often disrupt a clique, particularly if the pair be a courting couple. The group is continually passing judgment upon its members' friends, accepting or rejecting them as associates. When quarrels arise between members, there is often a split on the basis of nonclique loyalties. Kinship ties seem to take precedence over clique ties in most situations of this type, although core members are less apt to break off from a clique because of such antagonisms than are secondary or primary

members. There are frequent "falling-outs" and occasional reconciliations within the world of the cliques and extended cliques.

SUMMARY

While cliques exist at all class levels, such groups in Old City could be studied most easily on the upper- and middle-class levels, where newspaper accounts were available. It was possible to class-type cliques and to describe them and their members in terms of significant social characteristics. There were significant uniformities of social status and age among these groups and certain definite relationships between these factors.

To many an individual the clique is of tremendous emotional significance. Outside the family, it is often the only group to which one has a strong feeling of "belonging." It is a group to which an individual is bound by the strongest of ties. Clique mates are his "real friends," the ones to whom he turns in either pleasure or trouble. Since the clique is so important to its members, it exerts a powerful influence over their behavior. To be accepted, they must behave according to the standards of the group; and so the behavior of the members is "controlled," particularly in their relations with one another. As a result, each clique may be said to have definite behavior patterns which are fairly uniform for all members of the group and which follow rather closely the behavior patterns of the particular class level on which it functions.

The clique demonstrates, more clearly than any other group, the function of the class structure in determining the scope and context of an individual's social relationships. The class position of an individual determines, to a large extent, not only with what other individuals he may have frequent, intimate, and informal participation—that is, to what clique he may belong—but also with what members of other cliques he may have occasional informal and formal participation. The

clique, furthermore, has a very important function for the class structure, since through the clique relations an individual develops his personal orientation to adult society, an orientation begun by his family but finished by "his crowd." If he is a member of a very stable group, his activities and associations may be restricted to a limited group throughout his life. The dynamic processes of change within his clique also establish new relationships for him and provide opportunity for him to change not only his clique status but his class status as well. Thus, by its effect upon its individual members the clique affects the entire class structure of the society.

It is evident, however, that the clique's acceptance or rejection of an outsider is not entirely explained by his social position. Rather, his relation to the group is dependent, first, upon his relations with one clique member and, second, upon the importance which that member has within the clique structure.

Under the censoring or approving eye of the clique the individual is constrained to abide by the class "rules." It is here, among his intimates, that social status is of supreme importance, that he becomes aware of social pressures. At the same time, the more subtle controls operate which make a person feel at ease with his "crowd" or ill-at-ease because he is out of place. The clique cements the individual to his class and also provides an opportunity for the mobile person to rise a notch in the social scale through his acceptance by those who are already slightly "above" him.

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL MOBILITY WITHIN THE WHITE CASTE THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

THE family, cliques, and associations in Old City constitute a social structure through which the various class standards find expression and which serve both to delimit and to tie together the social classes. Such groups as have been described, thus far, are the familiar "fixed points" by which people place and identify each other and through which they find individual expression and adjustment. These institutions and the sentiments associated with them form the matrix of existence. They also serve as mechanisms for social mobility, for permitting individuals to move up and down in the class system.

The preceding discussions of the characteristic behavior of the different social classes might suggest that class lines are rigid, that every member of the society fits absolutely and finally into a particular class position. Actually, however, there is a significant amount of social mobility, of movement from one class or subclass to another above or below. If this were not so, the groups would be castes, not classes. This process of mobility is, however, a gradual one, and the shift in individual positions is sufficiently infrequent and slow enough to preserve the class structure. The pace of mobility also permits analysis of class traits and definition of the general patterns of class behavior. That one's immediate family is the prime determinant of his social position and that an individual secures a class position at birth through his identification with his parents has already been pointed out. The extent of this identity alone, which varies in degree among the