

The oil spill study was gratifying to conduct. Although in the NEPCO days there hadn't been much anthropological experience to build on, my answers to the social-structural, the holistic, the cross-cultural, and other anthropological questions led to the kind of problem-and-solution report that the U.S. Coast Guard could use. And there is evidence that it did use it. When a shoreline tank ruptured a couple of years later, my investigations in the aftermath suggested that both the Coast Guard and the river residents had learned from their experience. They were prepared technically and organizationally to respond to another oil spill.

On the other hand, residents were still struggling to extract from events the "lesson" or "meaning" of their past crisis. Since anthropologists define culture as shared understandings about meanings, the interpretive question (What does it mean?) was a crucial one, but the residents hadn't yet arrived at a consensus. For a couple of years after the spill I returned to the river communities with an audio-visual lecture on my research, but I was not successful in inspiring such a consensus. An unusual turn of events on the river succeeded in bringing closure to the spill and helped me to explore the interpretive question, the subject of Chapter 8.



Chapter 7



EXERCISES

Exercise 1: Structural Rules for Family Formation

Cultures have rules, both stated and implied, for how to form the appropriate structures of social life. Who can marry, whom one can marry, and how many spouses one may have at once are such rules. In U.S. culture, some of the rules are codified into laws about who can marry and to whom. In New York State today, for example, anyone not already married, over eighteen years old, with valid proof of birth and a little cash for the license may marry any other such person—unless that person is a half-sibling (one parent in common) or the same sex. Persons under eighteen may marry with written permission of parent or guardian. It is also codified into law that we may only have one spouse at a time.

Beyond sharing these rules, Americans have lots of other ideas about who should marry ("he'll make a great husband") and to whom ("that marriage will never work"). Before analyzing the ideas that have become codified in state law, let's inquire into Americans' views about marrying relatives by asking you some questions.

1. Would you marry a first cousin (that is, one of your parents is the sibling of one of this person's parents, and so you share a set of grandparents)? Why or why not? Would you approve of your brother or sister doing so?

2. Would you marry a second cousin (that is, your parents are cousins, so you share a set of great-grandparents)? Would you approve of your brother or sister doing so?
3. How about a third cousin (you share a set of great-great-grandparents)? Would you marry that person? Would you approve of your brother or sister doing so?

Is there a consensus among the students in your class on where to draw the line separating “potential mates” from “not potential mates”?

States have passed legislation regulating who may marry. The issue of whether states may recognize gay marriage loomed large in the U.S. presidential campaigns of 2004, but in fact states have always regulated marriage. When I got married I was required by my state to have a medical exam to certify that I wasn’t a carrier of a sexually transmitted disease. Some states also had laws against **miscegenation**, or “interracial” marriage, until the 1960s.

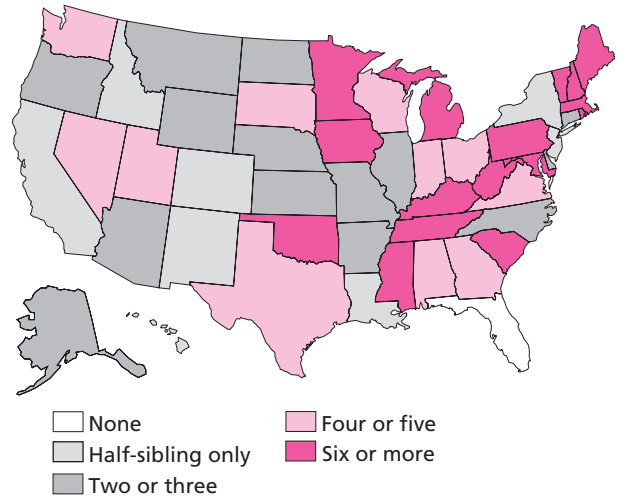
Examine Table 7.1, which shows the frequency of marriage prohibitions in state laws (adapted from Heider 1969).

1. How does the class consensus compare to the laws?
2. Is there a consistent pattern in Table 7.1 from most-frequently prohibited relationship to least—for example, from biologically closest to EGO to farthest away?

Table 7.1 Prohibited Marriage Relations in State Laws

Prohibited Relation	Relation to EGO	Number of States Prohibiting Marriage
Half-sister, half-brother	Shares one biological parent with EGO	33
First cousin	Shares a grandparent with EGO	27
Father’s wife, mother’s husband	EGO’s stepmother, stepfather	20
Wife’s daughter, husband’s son	EGO’s stepdaughter, stepson	20
Son’s wife, daughter’s husband	EGO’s daughter-in-law, son-in-law	17
Wife’s mother, husband’s father	EGO’s mother-in-law, father-in-law	10
First cousin once removed	His/her parents are EGO’s first cousins	7
Second cousin	His/her parents and EGO’s parents are first cousins	1

Figure 7.8
Geographical distribution of marriage prohibitions in state laws.
 Each state is shaded to indicate the number of prohibited marriage relations on its books as of 1965. “Half-sibling only” means that only the half-sibling relation is prohibited. (After Heider 1969.)



- Some of the prohibited relations in Table 7.1 are what Americans call “blood relatives” and anthropologists call lineal and collateral kin. **Lineal kin** are in the direct line of descent before or after EGO, such as daughter or grandfather. **Collateral kin** share some common ancestor with EGO but are now separate lines, such as cousins. Other relations in the table are what Americans call “in-laws” and anthropologists call **affinal kin**, meaning those to whom EGO is connected through a marriage bond. Why in Table 7.1 is marriage to affinal kin prohibited—sometimes more often than collateral kin?
- Why would states create laws about something as “cultural” as which relatives you can marry?
- Why might the states differ regarding these rules? Examine Figure 7.8, the geographical distribution of marriage prohibitions in state laws. Does this distribution suggest any explanations?

Cousin marriages are actually encouraged in some cultures, for alliances or for control of property. The Yanomamo encouraged cross-cousin marriage. Your **cross-cousin** is the child of your mother’s brother or your father’s sister. (Your **parallel cousin** is the child of your father’s brother or mother’s sister.) Cross-cousin marriage was preferred because men in one patrilineage wished to bond themselves to men in another patrilineage by an exchange of sons and daughters as spouses (Chagnon 1997). This exchange might be repeated over several generations, making many individuals in the two patrilineages cousins and therefore allies. In the American South, the old plantation society also accepted cousin marriage as one way to retain the great agricultural estates in the hands of a few families. So there is nothing universally unattractive about marrying a relative.

First-cousin marriage was so common in England a little over a century ago that it influenced government policy. For a national survey planned for 1871, respected evolutionists Francis Galton and Charles Darwin asked English Parlia-

ment to include a question about whether the respondent married a cousin. This request provoked cries of opposition from some Parliamentarians, who argued that such a question would produce “mental torture” for couples planning to marry as (first) cousins (Moore 2005).

One reason offered by anthropologists for why marriages to certain relatives are rare or forbidden is role conflict in the social structure. If you marry your cousin, your uncle becomes your father-in-law. In some cultures, uncles and fathers-in-law may have very different role responsibilities and should be kept distinct. The joke in the song *I'm Me Own Grandpa* is about this role conflict, because the singer marries his recently deceased grandfather's young second wife.

Exercise 2: Ego-Centered Social Networks

A structure that varies for each individual is the ego-centered social network (Hunter and Foley 1976). As a type of social structure, networks shape behavior and vice versa, they can be diagrammed, they are composed of role relationships, and so on. Unlike many social structures, the network forms around one particular person, the EGO in the network diagram. Without that EGO, that network doesn't exist. By diagramming ego-centered networks in this exercise, you will see social structures at work in individuals' lives.

1. Collect three ego-centered social networks through interviews with other people. You may include your own network as a fourth. Remember to disguise all informants' identities.
2. In the interview, the first step is to ask the informant to list on a sheet of paper the names of ten people with whom he or she has interacted in the last month. The interaction may be at a distance (telephone, Internet) as well as face-to-face. Only the informant sees that sheet of paper.
3. Next, ask the informant to create a pseudonym (an invented name) to disguise each of the ten persons. You and the informant will use that pseudonym when talking about the persons in the network. Record that pseudonym on your data sheet as shown in Table 7.2.
4. Ask the informant to select a type of link for each of the ten persons, after you explain the five types we're using. Record this on the data sheet. The five types of links we'll work with here are
 - Kinship (the person is a relative of some kind)
 - Friendship (by the informant's definition, no kin connection)
 - Romantic (boyfriend or girlfriend, no kin connection)
 - Acquaintance (coworker, classmate, neighbor, associate, a regular interaction but different from friendship)
 - enmity (dislike, feud, clash)
5. With your informant, estimate a distance in miles between the network person's current residence and that of the informant. Record that on the data sheet. Your data sheet will look like Table 7.2.

Table 7.2 Example of Network Data

Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Link Type	Distance in miles from EGO
Tootsie	20	Female	Friend	75
Fred	21	Male	Romantic	5
Da-da	50	Male	Kin	150
(etc.)	(etc.)	(etc.)	(etc.)	(etc.)

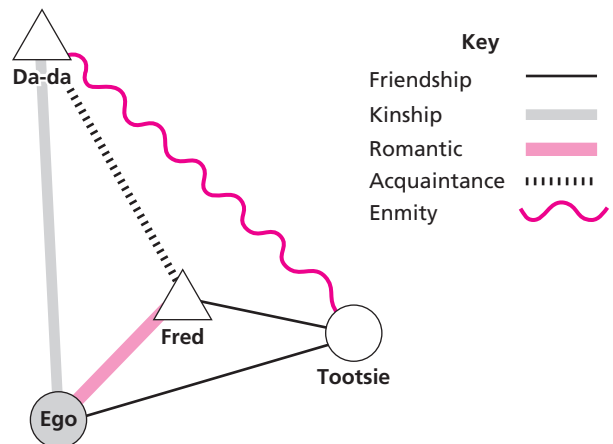
- While the informant watches, draw a social network diagram. Indicate gender by triangles for males and circles for females. Indicate greater distance from EGO by drawing longer link lines. Distribute the ten persons around EGO with attention to their proximity to each other. Ask the informant to identify what kind (if any) of the five link types exists between the other ten people. Draw those onto the chart too. Figure 7.9 shows a partial example.
- Submit your three or four charts, which will probably need to be redrawn to become readable. Label the network persons with their pseudonyms. Title the chart with a pseudonym for the informant, his/her age and gender, as in “Aristotle, 34, male.” Attach these charts to your analysis.
- Your analysis will be a total of about 300 words (a full typed page) in two subheadings:

Primary Analysis

Compare and contrast the charts on the basis of the following characteristics of social networks:

- The gender, age, other characteristics of linked people. For example, are the persons all the same age as EGO?

Figure 7.9
A Social Network Diagram The network is drawn from EGO’s perspective, showing some of the persons with whom she maintains various types of close social relationships. The diagram also shows the character of the relationships among persons in EGO’s network.



2. The physical distance from EGO of the linked people. For example, does EGO have a group of links nearby and another group a day's drive away?
3. The frequency of types of links (kin, friend, etc.) For example, are EGO's links mostly to kin? Or, do female links predominate on females' networks?
4. The density of the network. Are there many or few linkages among all eleven people? The maximum possible is 110 links (all eleven people are connected to the ten others). Count the links and divide by 110; the result is the degree of density as a percentage of the maximum.

Explanation

Discuss how these similarities or differences might be the result of the social structures in EGO's life: gender, generation, ethnic group, university residence type, socioeconomic class, rural/urban home community, clubs and teams, academic affiliations such as major, and family structure, for example.

Exercise 3: Diagramming Kinship Structure

In this exercise you will diagram the social structure of kinship as practiced by your family or that of an informant.

If you choose to construct your own kin chart, select an informant more knowledgeable than yourself, such as your mother. If you choose to construct a chart of an informant with a cultural background different from yours, some interesting comparisons with your culture will no doubt arise.

Part I—the Interview

The interview begins by asking EGO about parents and siblings: fill in the cells in Table 7.3. These three columns contain all of EGO's parents, siblings, grandparents, and older collateral kin (in American English, the aunts and uncles).

To be complete, be sure to ask your informant about *all* marriages and children of each adult. Record persons' names at the time of their birth, adding in parentheses the surname currently used, such as women's married names. For example, "Dolores Augusta Jones (Smith) states that Dolores was born a Jones but now uses her husband's name, Smith." Try to collect full names—first, middle, and last (surname)—because this exercise will analyze naming conventions. Also record those who are deceased.

Now collect the spouses and offspring of the individuals in Table 7.3. This is done by assigning a row in Table 7.4 to each of the individuals named in the columns in Table 7.3 and asking questions of them. If any of the individuals named in the columns of this new Table 7.4 have spouses, domestic partners, or offspring, mark their names with an asterisk (*) so you'll remember to give each one a row in the table and ask the questions about her or him also. Repeat until all the individuals being named are children or without spouse, domestic partner, or offspring.

If you've been thorough, you will have collected all the names you need for the kin chart: all of EGO's parents and siblings, their spouses and children, EGO's

Table 7.3 First Interview Protocol for a Kin Chart

Name	EGO	Mother	Father
Biological Mother			
Biological Father			
All children by the above two, in birth order in birth order			
Previous spouse or domestic partner of this person's biological mother			
Children by that person			
Previous spouse or domestic partner of this person's biological father			
Children by that person			

grandparents through both the mother and father, all their children and spouses (the so-called aunts and uncles), and their children (the so-called cousins), and if any, those cousins' spouses and children.

Part 2—Constructing the Chart

Next draw a kinship diagram of the information in the chart. Review the symbols for a kin chart in Exercise 5, Chapter 3. The informant is always labeled EGO on the chart, because any references to other individuals on the chart are from her or his position. Write the other persons' names under their symbols. Here are three other guidelines for your drawing not mentioned in Chapter 3.

1. Siblings are listed left to right in order of birth. Hence, Mick in Figure 3.14 is older than Typ.
2. If a couple has three daughters, but their birth order is unknown, indicate this with a 3 inside a single circle. If a couple has daughters, but how many is unknown, put ? in a single circle. Similarly, for an unknown number of sons, put a ? inside a triangle. If a couple has four children, gender unknown, write a 4 inside a square. Knowing this, you can interpret Figure 3.14 regarding Bill's (2G) and Shania's (2H) children (3F).
3. Twins are designated as a forked descent line (\wedge) and adopted children, such as Beyoncé (3B) in Figure 3.14, by a dashed instead of solid descent line. If EGO knows the adopted person's birth parent and he or she is on the kin chart, I jot the name of that parent along the dashed line.

1. *Descent.* Examine the surnames of the individuals on the chart. Do individuals inherit their surnames from one parent or both? Which parent? Therefore what descent rule are these people following? Does that descent rule contrast with group affiliation, that is, the way the informant interacts with the two sides of her or his family? If there is a difference between descent rule and actual interaction, speculate why.
2. *Marriage.* What rules about mating can you determine from the chart? For example, how many spouses at once or total, what kind of person (gender, ethnicity, “race,”), which kin may marry, how many kinds of mating bonds are recognized? What seems to be the rule about a woman’s surname when she marries? When she divorces? What is the rule about the divorced woman’s children’s surname? What are the children’s surnames when the mother and father were never married?
3. *Kin terms.* Ask your informant to tell you the kin terms of address—what EGO calls each person when speaking to her or him. Write this term in quotation marks under the person’s name. A kin term is a kind of title that the culture assigns to a particular status in the social structure of a kin group and, as such, is a clue to the role relationships expected between EGO and persons of that status. From the kin terms, what can you say about the role relationships between EGO and the others?
4. *Namesakes.* Your informant’s culture may, like the Ju/’hoansi, follow the practice of namesakes. Are there persons on the chart who appear to have been named after others? (If you can collect middle names, even more namesakes will probably appear.) Ask your informant what the role relationship of that person was to the parents such that they named their child after her or him.

The product of this exercise is the kin chart and a discussion of the four topics above. When the project is complete, provide a copy of the chart to your informant as a thank-you gift.

Exercise 4: Formal Organizations

Some social structures are formal, in that they have been created around a statement of purpose, which includes specifications of the statuses and role relationships among them. Formal organizations often have a name and a clear boundary between members and nonmembers. They usually have a document, such as bylaws, articles of incorporation, a contract, or an organizational chart, which prescribes the relationships and duties within the organization. In cultures without writing, the organization’s charter may be a long story that an elder remembers and periodically retells.

In small-scale societies, there are few formal organizations. Most of the social structure is revealed in kinship charts. But there are some interesting and important nonkin groups. Among the Hopi in the United States Southwest, the Mudheads is an elite group of ceremonial specialists. Among the Tetela in the central Congo, the Lords of the Forest is a group for distinguished older men. Iroquois

women of character and seniority are inducted into the Mistresses of the False Faces.

In complex, large-scale societies like the United States, formal organizations are involved in all aspects of our lives. The larger formal organizations such as Congress, Sierra Club, and ExxonMobil, have their own subcultures, which anthropologists have studied. “What’s an Anthropologist Doing in My Office?” (Siwolop 1991) is a report on such research for *Business Week*.

In this exercise you’ll describe the formal purpose, the rules for membership, and diagram the structure of a formal organization (Crane and Angrosino 1992). If you are a member of that organization, your status as an insider will probably improve this project, but you cannot be the only source of information.

1. Select an organization with a name, such as the Student Government Association, Delta Delta Delta Sorority, Boy Scout Troop 12, Citizens Against [whatever], Big Betsy’s Blues Band, or the Elmstown Snowmobile Club.
2. Talk to a knowledgeable member of that organization in a semistructured interview format. Maintain your informant’s anonymity. Discuss these questions and take notes:
 - What is the declared purpose of the organization?
 - What are the activities of the organization to achieve that purpose?
 - How is membership defined? How does one get in, or out, of the organization?
 - What are the statuses in that organization’s structure? What are their roles, or the rights and responsibilities of those statuses?
 - If one were to draw a diagram of the organization, what would it look like?
3. Submit a report in three parts. The first part is the summary of this interview; the second part is your diagram; the third part is your comments on the results. In your comments, answer these questions:
 - Does this group indeed meet the definition of a formal organization?
 - If you are also a member of the group, would you give the same answers as your informant gave?
 - Was the formal structure of the organization difficult for the informant to explain?
 - Can you see (or imagine) how membership in this organization might influence a person’s ideas or behavior?

Exercise 5: Relationships in Social Structures— Roommates

To a great extent, a social structure is defined by its constituent relationships, somewhat in the way a molecule is defined by its chemical bonds. In this exercise you will analyze the content of one of the bonds in a social structure.

In recent years in U.S. culture a legal prenuptial agreement is sometimes composed between the bride and groom. The prenuptial agreement includes statements about many specific and concrete matters, such as where the couple will live in the winter, whose children by a previous marriage will live with them, whether they'll keep separate checkbooks, and how joint assets will be dispersed in the event of divorce. The legal agreement prevents misunderstandings about duties and privileges of the parties in the relationship.

To uncover some of what constitutes the relationship of “roommate,” you will assist two college student friends of the same gender to imagine becoming roommates in a residence hall or apartment. Based on their ideas, you compose a “preconvivial agreement” that they consider a reasonable arrangement between roommates.

I recommend conversing with two friends who *could* be roommates rather than two actual roommates, because there are always sensitive issues between roommates that you don't need to dredge up just for this exercise. Besides, you are more likely to get at the culture of roommate relations when the discussion is a little removed from the particulars of individuals.

The elements of this agreement will reveal some consensus about what roommates expect of each other. Each roommate agreement is bound to have some peculiarities in its relationship based on the persons involved, but by comparing your agreement with that collected by others in the class, you can tease out some common cultural elements.

1. Talk with the two potential roommates at the same time. This three-way conversation generates more discussion. Invite them to think out loud about the following questions. Take notes because you will compile an “agreement” later from those notes.
 - What do you expect a good roommate to do? Prioritize those items.
 - What in particular do you want this roommate to do? Prioritize those items.
 - What do you promise to do for this person as his or her roommate?
 - If you two acquire joint property, how will you disperse it when your roommate relationship ends?
2. From this discussion, compile a set of conditions for a “preconvivial contract” and show it to the friends. Make any adjustments they request so it becomes an agreement they could live with. Compare your results with those from another classmate or two.
 - What are the main priority items the participants seek in the roommate relationship?
 - What other social structures do the roommates participate in that influence the terms of this preconvivial contract and will probably influence their relationship? For example, is one of them in the Army Reserve and so might get called to duty in the middle of the semester? Is one a member of a sorority? A separated husband/father?

The product of this exercise is the final preconvivial agreement and a summary of the discussion with classmates.

Exercise 6: Relationships in Social Structures—Friendships

The voluntary interpersonal relationship we call friendship means different things in different cultures. Compare friendship in France and the United States, for example. Lawrence Wylie, the ethnographer of a French community (*Village in the Vaucluse*, 1957), explained to me that in France, a circle of friends is very small but relations within the circle are intense, while in America, we define many people as friends but don't expect as much of the relationship. Do you agree—at least with his claim about Americans?

The notion of what a friend is or should be is part of the common understandings in culture. In culturally diverse societies such as ours, people of different ethnic heritages or other group affiliations, perhaps even different genders, may have different shared understandings of what a friendship involves. In this exercise you will explore common understandings about this relationship by conducting and analyzing some structured interviews with acquaintances.

Part I—the Interview Protocol

Table 7.5 contains a structured interview protocol (*Harper's Magazine* 1973, 5). We call it structured because the informant selects from a predefined number of answers (yes, no) to questions that we formulate. Although most of the emic perspective is lost this way, comparability among respondents is gained.

First, evaluate the protocol. Are there questions the class thinks should be dropped, added, or reworded to make them clear and relevant? Fix the protocol accordingly and describe this step in your report.

In the far-right column is a code classifying the question into one of eight aspects of friendship. I developed the code to analyze what the interview's authors expected friendship to be. I infer from the questions that friendship in America has four dimensions and two directions. The protocol scores the friendship in these eight dimensions:

K; XK *Knowledge* of your friend's ways and ideas; the friend's knowledge of yours

S; XS *Sharing* and doing favors for your friend; the friend sharing with you

R; XR *Relaxed*, comfortable in your friend's presence, openly communicating to friend about all subjects; the friend communicating with you

T; XT *Trust* and respect, high regard for your friend; the friend's regard for you

Again, do you agree with this “theory” of American friendship? For example, should these four factors be equally weighted in a friendship? Perhaps sharing

Table 7.5 Interview Protocol for Friendship Survey

1. Does X know your telephone number?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	XK
2. If you have been out of touch for several months, can you meet without awkwardness?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	R
3. Do you know X's favorite color?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	K
4. Have you ever done anything nice for X without telling him/her about it?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	S
5. Has a third party ever reported to you the admiring stories X tells about you when you're not present?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	XT
6. When X can't decide what to drink or eat, does he/she ask you to pick?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	XT
7. Can you list the dishes on X's ideal menu?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	K
8. Would you trust X with your mate/romantic partner?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	T
9. Can you express angry feelings about each other to each other?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	R
10. Can you borrow money from X?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	XS
11. Does X call you at least as much as you call X?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	XR
12. Have you ever done anything nice for X even though you stood to suffer for it?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	S
13. When X is ill or hung over, is it you he/she wants to be with?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	XR
14. Would you let X have the keys to your apartment/room?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	S
15. Can you borrow X's car?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	XS
16. When describing a particularly attractive member of the opposite sex to you, does X say, "I know she'd/he'd really like you"?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	XK
17. Does X do something to commemorate your birthday?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	XS
18. Have you ever bought X something just because you thought he/she'd like it?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	S

is not as important as being relaxed with each other? Also, does the relationship have to be completely symmetrical, meaning that you trust each other equally, you share equally, know each other equally, and so on? Perhaps one friend does most of the sharing, the other does most of the trusting? Comment in your report on how you would change this theory to meet your definition of

Table 7.5 Interview Protocol for Friendship Survey (*continued*)

19. If X doesn't return your messages, do you feel worried rather than insulted?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	T
20. Do you know what kind of music X likes best?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	K
21. Can you tell X "No"?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	R
22. Would you give X one of your kidneys?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	S
23. Is X aware of the problem now on your mind?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	XK
24. Can you name a book X enjoyed reading lately?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	K
25. Does X tell you when he/she thinks you're acting like a fool, and you are?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	XR
26. Will X lend you clothes?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	XS
27. Has X always kept your secrets?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	T
28. Has X confessed an irrational fear to you?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	XT
29. Do you know what X would like as a birthday present?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	K
30. Can you spend time together comfortably without talking?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	R
31. Has X ever brought you food when you were sick?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	XS
32. Do you ask X for advice about your romantic life?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	T
33. If, contrary to your advice, X starts a relationship with Y, will he/she want to retain your friendship?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	XR
34. Has X praised you recently for something you did?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	XT
35. Has X met your parents?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	XK
36. Does X know your middle name?	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>	XK

Copyright © 1973 by *Harper's Magazine*. All rights reserved. Reproduced from the August issue by special permission.

friendship. Refer to your resulting theory when you analyze the results of the survey.

Part 2—the Interviews

Duplicate the protocol three times. Interview yourself first, thinking of one specific person of your gender whom you consider a friend.

Table 7.6 Percentage of Questions of Each Friendship Aspect Answered Yes by This Informant

Aspect	Informant Toward Friend (%)	Friend Toward Informant (%)
Knowledge	K/5=	XK/5=
Sharing	S/5=	XS/5=
Relaxed, open	R/4=	XR/4=
Trust, regard	T/4=	XT/4=

Invite two acquaintances who are like you to complete the interview. That is, they are the same gender, age, and ethnic group. Interview the informants one at a time. Tell the informant, who will remain anonymous, that she/he is to answer the questions with regard to one person of the same gender that she/he considers a friend. The friend's identity is never disclosed, even to you. Thus, if you are female, you have selected two females, each of whom has agreed to complete the interview while thinking of a female friend (it doesn't matter whether they are thinking of the same person or not). Note gender and ethnic affiliation of informant on the protocol, then read the questions to the informant, marking the sheet yourself.

Part 3—Data Analysis

For each of your three completed interviews, add up the totals for “yes” for each aspect, do the division, and write the percentage of “yes” in a table like Table 7.6. Then begin your report by describing these results for each informant. For example, did a higher percentage of K (knowledge) questions receive “yes” than did T (trust, respect) questions? Did the friend receive a lower score (the percentage of the X-code items) than the informant received? On which of the four aspects? Now perform an item analysis. That is, look for interesting individual answers. Which of the thirty-six questions received “no”? Include these observations in your report.

Compare the three informants' results to each other. Is there much agreement in their tables of responses? Is there much agreement in the items that each answered “no”? Are there grounds for claiming that there is a common shared understanding of friendship here? Include these observations in your report.

Part 4—Comparison

Combine all three informants' results into a summary table like Table 7.7. Compare tables with classmates.

- Is there any indication that friendship is differently enacted among males and among females?
- Are there differences between older and younger informants?

Table 7.7 Percentage of Questions of Each Friendship Aspect Answered Yes [specify age, gender, and ethnicity], Three Informants

Aspect	Informant Toward Friend (%)	Friend Toward Informant (%)
Knowledge	K/15=	XK/15=
Sharing	S/15=	XS/15=
Relaxed, open	R/12=	XR/12=
Trust, regard	T/12=	XT/12=

- Is there any indication that friendships are enacted differently in different ethnic groups?
- Is Lawrence Wylie right—does it seem that Americans are not receiving high scores on the scale?

Part 5—Report

The product of this exercise is three completed interview sheets and Table 7.6, your Table 7.7 and at least one other from classmates, and short answers to the questions posed in Parts 1 to 4. Support your answers with the data in the protocols and tables.