

OPINION RESPONSES AS ROLE BEHAVIOR:
A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL
STUDY IN RACE RELATIONS

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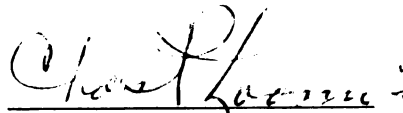
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OPINION RESPONSES AS ROLE BEHAVIOR:
A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY IN RACE RELATIONS

by

Simon Yasin

A THESIS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Current social-psychological research into race-relations is, with certain exceptions, largely limited to two areas of investigation. One of these areas is concerned with delineating and analyzing the various types of behavior which people manifest towards ethnic and racial minorities.¹ The second mode of investigation is devoted to discovering and describing the subjective factors and forces (i.e., motives, dispositions, needs, etc.) which presumably underlie and determine such behavior.²

It is possible to carry out the first task viz. analysis and description of racial behavior, without reference to

¹The term "behavior" refers to the observable actions, gestures, and vocal expressions of an individual or aggregate. "Racial behavior" therefore refers to behavior which persons, who consider themselves members of conventional society, adopt towards groups whom they exclude from such membership due to differences in ethnic and cultural background, skin color, religion, etc. The term "Race" is used in the popular sense to refer to all such "excluded" groups.

²Most textbooks of race-relations when discussing the social-psychological aspects of this field, largely confine their discussions to "prejudice" (i.e., subjective phenomena) and "discrimination" ("i.e., "behavior"). See for example Simpson, G.A., and Yinger, J.M., Racial and Cultural Minorities, (New York: Harper Bros. 1952); Berry, B., Race Relations, New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1951); Hartley, E.L., Problems in Prejudice, (New York: King's Crown Press, 1946); Rose, A.M., (ed.) Race Prejudice and Discrimination, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951); Williams, R.H., The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions, (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947).

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such subjective categories. Traditionally, however, investigators in this area have generally assumed that such dynamic categories do exist, and have utilized the term racial prejudice (or merely prejudice) to refer to the hitherto undescribed "internal" antecedents of racial behavior.

Utilization of this residual concept is in itself an indication that these social scientists have implicitly considered this structure a complex subjective configuration. A consideration based, no doubt, on the fact that their studies show racial behavior to be complex. On the other hand, research into the psychological dynamics of racial behavior necessarily presupposes a knowledge of the nature of such behavior, since the imputation of subjective determinants is inferred directly from observation of action. Ultimately, the imputed subjective antecedents of certain types of behavior, must be sufficiently broad to yield understanding for all varieties of racial behavior.

The Study of Subjective States. The procedure of attempting to explain social phenomena through the postulation of subjective feelings or dispositions of individuals or groups has been widely criticized.¹ The principle point of criticism against this approach being that subjective phenomena is not directly observable and hence the study of

¹For a criticism of this mode of analysis see Lundberg, G., Foundations of Sociology, (New York: The MacMillan Co, 1939)

man's innermost dispositions cannot be carried on scientifically. While this argument may be refuted in a number of ways, it is sufficient to say here that the existence of inner feelings, dispositions, needs, wants, emotions and the like are attested to by the every day experiences of social beings. To deny the study of such phenomena in the scientific study of man, is to deny that we can ever achieve determinate understanding of social life.

Other arguments levelled against this procedure are methodological rather than destructive. Such criticisms all imply that the imputation of subjective states is hazardous. To illustrate, subjective factors are imputed on the basis of observed behavior; these factors are then in the nature of hypotheses which stand in need of greater exploration and verification. To use such tenuous postulates to explain the behavior from which they were originally imputed, is therefore not permissible, according to some critics. In part this viewpoint is justifiable. It is felt here, however, that a subjective mode of analysis is permissible so long as it is recognized that the validity of the postulated subjective states has not as yet been established.¹

The present study imputes subjective states on the basis of responses to certain racial opinion-statements. These subjective factors are then utilized to explain these same data.

¹For a sympathetic evaluation of this approach see McIver, R. M., "The Imputation of Motives" American Journal of Sociology, v. 6, July 1940. Pp. 1-12.

The validity of this analysis is limited to the extent to which the postulated subjective factors are verifiable and/or to the extent to which their existence has not been established through intensive case-study.

Statement of Problems. This thesis is a study of the nature of racial opinion. The questions to which it addresses itself being:

1. To what extent are opinions held by individuals towards a specific racial or ethnic minority consistently favorable or unfavorable, or to state its corollary, to what extent are such racial-opinions inconsistent?

2. What dimensions can be discerned within such configurations of racial opinion?

3. How are an individual's responses to one dimension or category of opinion-statements, regarding a specific racial minority, related to his responses to other dimensions or categories of opinion-statements about the same minority?

4. How is the degree of contact an individual has had with a specific minority group or its individual members, related to his several responses to the various dimensions or categories of opinion about such a group?

The Frame of Reference. This study attempts to explain the opinions people hold towards ethno-racial minorities from the standpoint of subjective states. In terms of past research, two distinct theoretical frames of reference are available to us as analytical tools. The first, an older and more widely utilized point of view, sees prejudice as a favorable or unfavorable attitude which a person develops and holds towards an ethnic or racial minority. According to this viewpoint, the subjective feeling which is held towards a minority is generalized, i.e., it is held towards the group in question without reference to any particular situation or issue.

The implication here therefore, is that racial behavior is consistently favorable or unfavorable depending on whether a person's attitude is positive or negative.

The second frame of reference, which in its implication is somewhat incompatible with the attitudinal approach holds that racial behavior must be viewed from the standpoint of social roles. This latter orientation conceives of racial behavior as conduct which is socially appropriate to particular situations. From this point of view a person's racial behavior can and does vary from favorableness to unfavorableness depending upon situational factors and the individual's predispositions to these.¹ These latter predispositions are therefore subjective factors which must be considered in attempting to explain such behavior. They will be referred to here as situational-sentiments. The present study may be viewed as a heuristic attempt to integrate the two approaches of attitude and situational-sentiment.²

When such a task is undertaken, a modification of each of these points of view is implied. It is felt here however that an initial step in achieving such integration must begin through the modification of attitudinal theory. While throughout this study the limitations of the attitudinal approach will be alluded to therefore, a substantial section

¹This role frame of reference is oftentimes referred to as the social-situations approach. For a recent though conceptually awkward discussion of this viewpoint see Coutu, W., Emergent Human Nature (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Company, 1949).

²Both these approaches receive extended discussions in the Chapter.

of this first chapter is directly devoted to a discussion of the limitations of this approach, when it is utilized without reference to situational factors and the normative predispositions to these.

In analysing the data of a recent study in racial-opinion which begins in Chapter II, a wider frame of reference than that of the attitude approach will be employed. One purpose here, will be to demonstrate how through the joint use of the concepts of attitude and situational-sentiment a more determinate understanding of one type of racial-behavior --namely the expression of racial opinion--can be achieved.

ATTITUDINAL THEORY IN RACE RELATIONS

The Meaning of Attitude. An attitude is commonly defined as "a generalized and lasting predisposition, or state of readiness, for the individual to respond to a given object or stimulus."¹ Several characteristics of the attitude must be made explicit. First, it is lasting in time. Second, it is generalized or more appropriately it is directed towards a generalized object (e.g., Jew) per. se. without reference to the situation in which such an "object" occurs. Logically this precludes a person's holding more than one attitude towards such an object.² Finally, it is directed, i.e., it

¹Allport, G.W., "Attitudes" in Murchison, C., (ed.) A Handbook of Social Psychology (Worcester: Clark University Press, 1935). p. 798.

²As will be shown later it is this implication which dilutes the utility of the attitude as the subjective causal force of racial behavior.

predisposes the individual to act in a favorable or unfavorable manner and thus may be viewed as a causal antecedent of behavior. The racial attitude called prejudice refers, therefore, to such a predisposition to act (in such a manner) towards an ethnic or racial "object" or "stimulus."

This theory of attitude was developed largely as a result of psychological studies of personality. It conceives of the individual as being equipped with a number of relatively general attitudes which determine his behavior -- behavior which is consistent with his attitudes.¹ Adherents of the attitudinal point of view in the field of race-relations, have borrowed these conceptions from the more abstract field of personality. There has not, however, been any concentrated effort to verify whether this particular type of behavior --namely racial behavior-- is consistent with the prejudicial attitude which a person or persons may hold. Instead the efforts of adherents to this point of view have been concentrated in two areas. These are first, to discover the basic forces which determine the formation of the racial attitude, and second, to perfecting instruments for the measurement of such attitudes. This should not be taken to imply that there is complete consensus among the attitudinalists working in

¹It should be noted that an attitude is not considered to be the same phenomenon as behavior. Instead the latter may be regarded as the manifestation of the former i.e., an object or stimulus brings the "state of readiness" (i.e., attitude) into salience, which initiates action (behavior) towards the object. Failure to make these distinctions has led to a great deal of confusion.

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race-relations.¹ Theoretical and methodological disagreements may be found in both these areas.

The Formation of the Racial Attitude. There seems to be considerable agreement among social scientists that an individual is not born racially prejudiced but rather acquires this attitude in some way. The exact manner in which such an attitude is formed, however, represents the basis for some controversy. In the main, two principle modes of explanation for the etiology of the prejudicial attitude may be isolated. One of these schools of thought tends to find the origin of the prejudice in the psycho-biological reactions of the individual to certain types of experiences. Among recent exponents of this type of thinking we may cite Dollard, who states that, prejudice is the result of the frustrations which an individual encounters. The hostility engendered by such blockage apparently being relieved through the "scape-goating" mechanism.² An even more psychoanalytic orientation is manifested by Bettelheim and Janowitz in such a statement as:

The intolerant man who cannot control his super-ego demands or instinctual drives projects them upon racial minorities as if, by fighting them in this way or by at least discharging excessive

¹A term used here to refer to adherents of the attitudinal model described above.

²Dollard, J., "Hostility and Fear in Social Life" in T.M. Newcomb and E.M. Hartley (ed.), Readings in Social Psychology, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1947).

tension, he seeks to remain control over unconscious tendencies.¹

These writers find the basic forces leading to prejudice are anxiety and insecurity. Adorno, and his associates, state that racial intolerance is an integral aspect of the "rigid" or "authoritarian" personality; the latter being a psychic structure which is engendered by certain basic experiences such as premature weaning, or harsh toilet training which the individual is subjected to in early life.² Other representatives of this school of thought are Ackerman and Jahoda, Kramer, G.W. Allport, Petegorsky and Bain, to mention just a few.³

In contrast to the above "psychological" point of view, there is what may be called the sociological or cultural explanation as to the etiology of the racial attitude. This latter approach is based on the conception of attitude as a group norm. It conceives of the individual's prejudice as the learning or internalization of the prevailing minority

¹Bettleheim, B., and Janowitz, M., "Ethnic Tolerance, A Function of Social and Personal Control", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 55, 1949, p. 144.

²Adorno, T.W., Frankel-Brunswik, E., Levinson, D.J., and Sanford, R.N., The Authoritarian Personality, (New York: Harper and Bros., 1950). For an evaluation of these notions see Luchins, A.S., "Personality and Prejudice: A Critique", Journal of Social Psychology, August 1950, pp. 79-94.

³See Ackerman, N., and Jahoda, M., "The Dynamic Basis of Anti-Semitic Attitudes", Psychoanalytical Quarterly, 17, 1948, pp. 240-60; Allport, G.W., "Catharsis and the Reduction of Prejudice", Journal of Social Issues, December 1945, pp. 3-10; Kramer, B.M., "Dimensions of Prejudice", Journal of Social Psychology, 38, 1949; Petegorsky, D.W., "The Strategy of Hatred", Antioch Review I, September 1941; Bain, R., "Sociopathy of Anti-Semitism", Sociometry 6, 1943.

group sentiments and values of his group. Some of the representatives of this type of thinking are, Bogardus, Horowitz, Lindesmith and Strauss, Holland, and Hartley.¹ One of the most recent and most complete statements of this position has been put forward by Newcomb, in his postulate of the reference-group.² His explanation holds that the sentiments and attitudes manifested by an individual, are derived from his memberships and reference groups. Membership-group refers to those aggregates in which an individual actually participates; reference-group refers to those groups with which an individual identifies himself.³ This point of view makes possible an explanation of how an individual or group can hold prejudicial attitudes towards minorities with whom there is no physical interaction. It is the notion that an individual is affected by a multiplicity of reference and membership groups which in one way forms the basis for the development of the situational sentiments approach which will be described later in this thesis.

¹See Bogardus, E.S., Immigration and Race Attitudes, (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1928); Horowitz, E.L., "Development of Attitude Towards Negroes", Archives of Psychology, 1936, No. 194; Lindesmith, A.R., and Strauss, A.L., Social Psychology, (New York: The Dryden Press, 1950); Holland, J.B., Attitudes Towards Minority Groups in Relation to Rural Social Structure, Unpublished Doctor's dissertation, East Lansing; Michigan State College, 1950; Hartley, E.L., Problems in Prejudice, (New York: Kings Crown Press, 1946).

²Newcomb, T.M., Social Psychology, (New York: The Dryden Press, 1950) pp. 225-226. For an extended discussion of membership and reference groups see also Sherif, M., An Outline of Social Psychology, (New York: Harper and Bros., 1948) pp. 93-363.

³Newcomb, T.M., op.cit. p. 225.

THE MEASUREMENT OF ATTITUDES

Despite these disagreements, adherents to the attitudinal frame of reference are in agreement that it is the attitude which is the obviously important subjective causal agent of behavior. From this it may be derived that a given category of behavior such as racial behavior will be consistent with its concomitant generalized attitude (e.g. a person with a favorable attitude towards Negroes will always act tolerantly towards Negroes). This assumption is of course testable. There has not, with few exceptions, as yet been any direct attempt in social science to carry out such verification.¹ In general the attitudinalist has taken this assumption as a "given" and has directed his research in other directions. One of these pursuits is the measurement of attitude. This procedure adds yet another characteristic to the attitude--namely that of linearity; that is, it is assumed that an attitude varies (from person to person) only in terms of directional degree rather than in a multidimensional qualitative manner not arrangeable on any single quantitative continuum. By far the most popular mode for measuring this linear racial attitude, which people supposedly hold, is through the use of opinion-endorsement questionnaires. The assumption here being that the questionnaire responses are a direct result of the attitude. In order however, to make the individual's responses manifest an attitude, as it is conceived

¹For a review of the findings where such research has been attempted see Chapter II., pp. 27-30.

by the measurer, it is necessary to manipulate racial opinion-statements. A procedure which has been referred to as the "logical fallacy for affirming the antecedent by synthesizing the consequent." The following discussion of three such procedures will indicate how the actual nature of racial-opinions is obfuscated.¹

It was Thurstone, generally considered the father of attitude measurement, who pointed out the factors of "ambiguity" and "irrelevance" operating in opinion statements.² For example, an opinion pertinent to the education of Negroes, may contain elements of an individual's attitudes towards both the Negro, and towards education. Since the purpose of a prejudice test is to isolate the relative intensity of an individual's or group's "pure" attitude towards this racial minority, such an opinion-statement would be considered "ambiguous" and could not be utilized. In actuality however, the majority of opinions voiced by people do not tend to be

¹Dr. P. Tannenbaum, Director of Television Research at Michigan State College, in a personal communication to the writer, has stated that these procedures in all probability indicate that attitudes are not of this order -- i.e., linear. The objection here however is not to such a conception of attitudes or to these procedures per se, if the purpose is to measure the attitude, but rather that such procedures create the impression that opinions are linear and internally consistent when in actuality such is not always the case, as will be shown.

²See Thurstone, L.L., and Chave, E.J., The Measurement of Attitudes, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929). Practically all attitude scales in use today contain these types of "artificial" opinion-statements. See for example Hinckley, E.D., The Measurements of Social Attitudes, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930); Nettler, G., and Golding, E.H., "The Measurement of Attitudes toward the Japanese in America", American Journal of Sociology, 52, July 1946, pp. 31-39.

pure in nature. As a result, because of the criterion to avoid ambiguity and other "distorting" factors, the tester is oftentimes forced to exercise literary imagination rather than to draw from the prevailing opinions which exist, in order to get at a set of opinion-statements which are sufficiently concise and unambiguous for the measurement of the attitude. The respondents are therefore confronted with a set of highly artificial opinion-statements which they can either accept or reject. Social scientists and others are liable to imply that the responses to such a test are typical of the "climate of opinion" of their subjects, although in actuality the prevailing opinions may be less direct and more ambiguous than those used in the instrument.¹ Thus, in their eagerness to measure an attitude, some scientists are guilty of creating data which through misinterpretation tends to conform to their assumptions.

A direct way to insure that people manifest consistent opinion is represented by the criterion of "internal consistency" or "statistical reliability".² Internal consistency of a test is reached when an individual's response to any

¹A conclusion to which the attitudinalists are more prone than anyone else. A great many students of race-relations have taken to calling opinion-responses attitudes. While this represents a realization on their part that differential responses represent differential sentiments on the part of a respondent towards a minority group, such a practice represents misuse of this concept of attitude which has traditionally come to refer to a subjective state of the individual. For example, Klineberg uses the opinion and attitude synonymously. See Klineberg, O., Tensions Affecting International Understandings, (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1952). p. 127.

²This criterion adds yet another characteristic to the attitude.

statement on a questionnaire correlates highly with the modal score of all his responses.¹ There are several construction procedures for ensuring the reliability of a prejudice test, but whatever the method utilized the usual result is that the instrument consists of a set of opinion-statements highly similar to one another. In this way the attitudinalist again "loads the dice" in his favor. Despite such loading however, this type of research is continually plagued by an appreciable amount of inconsistency of response. To some this of course represents the basis for modification of theoretical outlook with the realization that not all opinions are determined by the prejudicial attitudes. When this happens these researchers are confined to only those subjects who manifest a consistent direction of opinion. In this way as much as eighty per-cent of data which may have important implications as to the nature of racial opinion may be lost.²

To others, adherence to the assumption of consistency is so great that they find it difficult to believe the data which they collect. As for example:

....the subjects displayed carelessness by checking one friendly and one antagonistic statement.³

¹See Sletto, R.F., Construction of Personality Scales by the Criterion of Internal Consistency, (Minneapolis: Sociology Press, 1937).

²As in a study reported by Hinckley, E.D., "The Influence of Individual Opinion on Construction of an Attitude Scale", Journal of Social Psychology, 3, 1932, pp. 283-296.

³Ibid, p. 286.

If we find considerable inconsistency we might attribute it to carelessness of the subjects.. or we might attribute it to defects in the statements themselves. We have so regarded them... ¹

This illustrates a remarkable state of affairs in Science where an assumption postulated for theoretical purposes is believed to be more valid than the data actually observed.

Finally, there is still another criterion which functions to obfuscate the nature of racial opinions. This is the assumption of unidimensionality itself.² Generally, students attempting to measure an attitude have assumed that it must be placed along some sort of continuum. While there are various techniques for doing this, they all result in differential quantitative weights being assigned to tolerant and intolerant responses relative to the specific opinion items utilized in the test. The "scores" obtained from an individual respondent are then subjected to a process of statistical computation so that a "mean continua score" for the individual or group under consideration is reported. In this way the specific responses to any one opinion-statement are lost. Further, the pattern of responses to the certain types of opinion questions, is rendered unavailable for the analysis of the nature of opinion as a result of such

¹Thurstone and Chave, op. cit. pp. 46-47.

²See for example, Lickert, R., "A Technique for the Measurement of Attitude", Archives of Psychology, No. 140 (New York, 1932).

statistical manipulation.¹

Criticisms of Measurement Procedures. The techniques and theoretical assumptions involved in attitude measurement have not been entirely devoid of criticisms from social scientists. Faris has observed that such procedure deletes those data which the investigator should be most concerned with uncovering.² In a stinging attack on the criteria for "good" test construction Merton states:

Although this procedure [of utilizing only those opinion statements which show internal consistency] is statistically sound, it obscures fallacious notions by assuming a disputable logic of relationships involving social evaluations. In making this assumption the investigator is playing the role of logician rather than the psychologist or sociologist. He is in fact tacitly assuming that these presumably incompatible assertions should not be endorsed by the same person. Such a judgement minimizes the possibility of securing adequate representation of the inconsistencies of social judgements which in many instances are actually obtained...this emphasis may obscure the sociological utility of including in an inventory some statements, which on the basis of these criteria are not differentiating, i.e., statements endorsed with equal frequency by persons with differentiated

¹To illustrate, H.H. Harlan devised a questionnaire in which there were twelve stories concerning the treatment accorded Jewish students in a variety of situations. The subjects were asked to indicate approval or disapproval of the accorded treatment on a five point scale. In reporting his results this researcher indicated only "mean scores" however. As a result we are deprived of data which is pertinent to the differential definition of racial situations as held by these respondents. See Harlan, H.H., "Factors Affecting Attitudes Toward Jews", American Sociological Review, 7, 1942, pp. 816-827.

²Faris, R.E., "Attitude and Behavior", American Journal of Sociology, 34, September 1928, pp. 271-281.

responses to other statements.. In the case of such opinions we are no longer dealing with pure, highly distilled opinions concerning the Negro (as a "pure" abstraction) but rather with complex opinions concerning Negroes. ¹

And with respect to the criterion of linearity, Kirkpatrick has noted:

It has frequently been assumed that attitudes towards complex social phenomena may be described by simple favorableness-unfavorableness continua. By definition favorableness or its opposite is an essential quality of attitudes as abstracted from a total configuration. It is questionable however whether an individual can be meaningfully placed on a unilateral continuum with reference to an unanalyzed and heterogeneous pattern of issues. ²

In discussing attitude tests in general he declares, "A subject should not be forced by suggestion or by the nature of the measuring instrument to record a conviction which he does not feel."³

Merton's critique notes that the opinions which a person or persons holds towards minorities are complex, and may be logically inconsistent with one another--something which is of central importance to this study. ⁴

¹Merton, R.K., "Fact and Factitiousness in Ethnic Opinionnaires", American Sociological Review, 5, February 1940, p. 18.

²Kirkpatrick, C., "Assumptions and Methods in Attitude Measurement", American Sociological Review, 1, February 1936, p. 77.

³Ibid., p. 77.

⁴Merton, R.K., op. cit., p. 20.

PREJUDICE AS A COMPLEXITY OF SUBJECTIVE ELEMENTS

The Multiple Referents of Prejudice. Kirkpatrick's statement that an attitude "is but one quality abstracted from a total subjective configuration" implies that there are other elements beside the attitude involved in such a configuration, which might conceivably affect the racial behavior manifested by an individual. This is made even clearer when he goes on to note that attitude tests do not take cognizance of what might be called "no attitude" on the part of a respondent.¹ Such remarks have, however, implications to race-relations which can be made explicit in the form of questions. If an individual holds "no attitude" towards an ethnic or racial minority, to what subjective factors or elements can his behavior towards minorities (which on the basis of objective criteria can be described as "tolerant" or "intolerant") be attributed?² And this leads to a second question which asks, how many persons involved in recurring interaction with ethno-racial minorities can be characterized as not possessing attitudes towards such groups? The extent to which such characterization can be made,

¹Kirkpatrick, C., op.cit., p. 76.

²To illustrate, if an individual who is known to have "no attitude" towards Negroes were asked to endorse or reject certain opinion-statements concerning this racial group, the subjective antecedents underlying his responses would necessarily be due to a factor or factors other than that of attitude.

represents the extent to which attitudinal theory is not applicable.

Even among the attitudinalists there have been writings which imply that other factors intervene to modify the supposedly smooth causal nexus between attitude and overt behavior. Thus Wang, in discussing the criteria for selecting opinion statements to be used in an inventory, decrees that:

All statements on a given issue should belong as nearly as can be judged to the same attitude variable. That is they must not only be relevant to the issue but belong to the linear continuum that is being measured.¹

The crucial point here is the recognition by the above writer that there are statements pertaining to a given issue which do not belong to the attitude which is being measured. This in turn implies that an individual may hold several different sentiments towards the same issue. Similarly Nettler and Golding note, "...there is no reason to believe that the consistency of opinion is a more valid index of an attitude than is its opposite".² Here apparently the writers are using the term "attitude" in a gross manner to refer to a complex subjective structure which may manifest itself through the expression of opinions which are perhaps logically inconsistent.

¹See Wang, C.K.A., "Suggested Criteria for Writing Attitude Statements", Journal of Social Psychology, 3, 1932, p. 367.

²Nettler, G., and Golding, E.H., op. cit., p. 31.

Thus, in recent years, several race-relation scientists taking cognizance of the complexity of racial behavior have begun to use the term prejudice as including in its referents not only the general attitude towards a minority which a person may hold, but also as pertaining to specific co-existing sentiments which he segmentally holds to various racial minorities. For example Long, in an excellent discussion on the use of the concept of prejudice, suggests that it has two aspects; the first, a relatively stable personality (attitudinal) aspect; the second, a loosely organized and inconsistent aspect.¹ Both Myrdal and Semelson imply that prejudice towards Negroes consist of "mixed" and contradictory feelings--the resulting structure constituting something of a dilemma to the average American.² In a recent report Brookover and his associates introduce a further note of complexity when they state that racial behavior can be accounted for differently for different persons or groups:

Persons with a particular personality structure, for example an obsessional compulsive, may express constant attitudes in any sort of social situation. Most persons are relatively flexible in the expression of such reactions. They may be highly sensitized to the normative expectancies of their positions and express

¹ Long, H.H., "Race Prejudice and Social Change", American Journal of Sociology, 52, 1951, pp. 15-19.

² See Myrdal, G., An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, (New York: Harper and Bros., 1944) 2 vols; Semelson, B., "Mrs. Jones' Ethnic Attitudes: A Ballot Analysis", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 40, 1945, pp. 205-215.

those attitudes or sentiments more appropriate to a given social situation.¹

The notion that some people are primarily creatures of attitude, while others (apparently the majority) vary their behavior in accordance to that which is socially appropriate implies also that an individual's behavior may be characterized by both these forces. The present study investigates the plausibility of using such a joint approach. A second point of view, the situational-sentiments approach is therefore developed to be used in conjunction with the attitude frame of reference. The basis for this social sentiments orientation is grounded in role theory.

SITUATIONAL SENTIMENTS AS PREJUDICIAL FACTORS

Hetero-racial Interaction as Role Behavior. A number of studies have indicated that the racial-behavior of many people often varies from tolerant to intolerant.² Such variance has not been regarded as random, but rather as differential socially appropriate conduct (i.e., roles) which pertains to the "racial situation" in which behavior occurs. Two assumptions pertaining to this social-situations point of view must be made explicit:

¹ Brookover, W.B., Stone, G.P., and Epley, D.G., "Dynamics of Prejudice Among Maple County Youth"; unpublished report of the Social Research Service, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State College (1953), p. 5.

² See Chapter II, pp. 27-30.

1. Race-relations consists of a multiplicity of specific, though recurring, situations. These situations have in common to them the presence of members of a racial or ethnic minority or some symbolic representation of such a group. In other respects, the racial situations may be vastly different.
2. Behavior occurring within any such situation is relatively structured. That is, when a specifically defined situation occurs, there is a probability that a given mode of behavior will occur.

The basic idea behind the social situations approach, therefore, is that people categorize the many recurring racial situations into several socially defined types. This notion of a social definition has at least two concomitant aspects.¹ On the one hand, it refers to those patterns of behavior (called roles) which an individual's membership, reference groups, or society define as being "proper" to a given situation. The acting individual regards these as social expectations. On the other hand, it is the situation itself which is being defined for the individual in terms of meaning. As a result, the individual perceives and appraises such situations "through the eyes of the group." A basic premise of this approach is that the many racial situations occurring may each be defined differentially and be logically incongruent to one another for the same group or person.²

¹The idea of the "definition of the situation" was first introduced by W.I. Thomas.

²To illustrate the behavior adopted by most Whites to Negroes on public transportation vehicles in Chicago is "tolerant" i.e., non-discriminatory. On the other hand, behavior of these same Chicagoans in a situation where Negroes attempt to establish residence in a "White" neighborhood becomes "intolerant."

The Subjective Factors in Situational Racial Behavior.

When an individual manifests consistent racial behavior over a span of time, it is likely that such action can be imputed to a general attitude. If, however, the behavior towards a racial group seems to vary with the situation, the subjective predispositions explaining such behavior are in all probability more complex. In such cases the individuals concerned apparently perceive the situation according to some social definition which has been internalized. Such an internalized definition, which will be called here a situational-sentiment of the individual, may be conceived as being "carried about" by people until the concomitant situation occurs to bring it into salience. The situational racial behavior of a person is viewed, therefore, as being at least partially determined by the situational sentiments which are held. Inasmuch as an individual may continually encounter several racial situations, each of which are defined differentially, it is possible for a person to hold several and indeed many different situational-sentiments towards the same racial "object."¹ This point of view explains why a person can express opinions or manifest behavior which are "logically

¹ This indicates one of the ways in which prejudicial-sentiments differ from the prejudicial attitude since, according to traditional attitudinal theory, an individual can hold only one attitude towards a racial group. Another difference between these two types of subjective variables is that the attitude is oriented towards an "object" which is usually abstract and symbolic in nature; sentiments, on the other hand, are oriented to concrete recurring situations which contain a multiplicity of objects. Both of these prejudicial variables are similar in that they constitute "predispositions to act" and in that they are both relatively lasting in time.

inconsistent" (i.e., both tolerant and intolerant). If such sentiments are to be considered as subjective aspects of racial behavior, it is therefore more correct to refer to a person's racial prejudices rather than to his or her racial prejudice.

Attitudes and Sentiments as the Determinants of Racial Behavior. The basic assumption of this treatise is that in contemporary mass society the individual must be viewed as the entity in which both the prejudicial attitude and the socially derived situational-sentiments co-exist. This study may therefore be viewed as an exploratory attempt to analyze the opinion-responses manifested in a recent race-relations study through the joint use of both approaches. The fact that both points of view are to be used represents a refutation of the attitudinalist claim that such behavior can be explained in terms of a single imputed dimension. By utilizing this dual approach it is hoped that a more determinate understanding of racial behavior will be achieved.

No claim is made that the dual frame of reference employed here represents the solution to the social psychological efforts to understand prejudice. Any ultimate theory of prejudice must not only delineate all the factors and forces involved, but must also state the relationships between these.

The joint utilization of two types of imputed variables here may be considered as a preliminary step in this direction.

CHAPTER II

THE MAPLE COUNTY MINORITY GROUP STUDY

Orientation and Problems. The basic assumption of this thesis is that the racial behavior of people --in this case their racial opinions-- can be explained in part at least through (1) the general attitudes which they hold towards minority groups, and (2) through the various situational predispositions or sentiments which they develop towards such groups with reference to certain recurring situations or issues. To test the utility of this viewpoint, this study draws upon some recently collected opinion-statement responses which a midwestern group of high school students expressed towards Negroes and Jews.¹ In terms of the general problems stated earlier, this present work addresses itself to the following questions:

1. To what extent do the individual respondents show a consistency of favorableness or unfavorableness to Negroes and to Jews in their responses to the opinion-statements utilized?

The purpose here is to evaluate the validity of the

¹In this analysis the Jewish data will be treated separately from the Negro data with no direct attempt to relate opinions about Negroes to opinions about Jews.

of the attitudinal assumption that racial behavior tends to be primarily constant. It will also indicate the extent to which an attitudinal frame of reference can be meaningfully applied to these data.

2. What categories or dimensions of opinion can be discerned among the opinion-statements utilized (i.e., both the Negro and Jewish statements) on the basis of the responses to the opinion-statements in question?

Here, the problem is to classify the opinion-statements into categories which pertain to different issues or situations involving Jews and Negroes around which situational-sentiments form. Responses to such categories will be utilized as the basis for classifying the direction (i.e., favorable or unfavorable) of the respondents' particular sentiments towards the situation to which a category pertains.

3. What is the relationship between responses to the various Jewish and Negro opinion-categories which have been derived?

This problem attempts to determine the functional relationships which may exist between the various situational-sentiments manifested towards a particular minority. It is also a basis of judging whether, or the extent to which, such sentiments are ^a function of the attitude which may be held to the minority group in general.

4. How is the type of contact which the respondents may have had with Jews or with Negroes related to their responses to the various opinion-categories pertaining to these respective minorities?

The basis for this enquiry is to attempt to determine if the type of contact is differentially associated with the various situational sentiments the adolescent subjects hold towards Negroes and towards Jews.

In each of these enquiries the focus of attention is on the consistency, or lack of it, of racial-opinion, or stated somewhat differently, the consistency or inconsistency between the various aspects of the individual's prejudice configuration of general attitude and situational-sentiments. Before going on to discuss the procedures to be utilized or the study from which the data used here has been derived, a consideration of past research in this and similar types of race-relations research undertaken in the past will be reported.

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Students of race-relations have shown little concern with the nature of actual racial opinion or racial behavior. The fact that few studies have been specifically designed for this purpose is indicative of the degree to which the implicit assumption is held that such behavior is attitudinally consistent. As early as 1927, however, C.W. Hunter, in an unpublished study, indicated that judgements towards segregation, towards eating with the Negro, and towards lynching are independent; and that, in general, any one specific attitude (i.e., sentiment) toward the Negro would probably not bear any clear relation to the judgement on other issues.¹

A study by Horowitz on the development of predispositions toward the Negro among small children indicated that avoidance

¹Cited in Murphy, G., and Likert, R., Public Opinion and the Individual, (New York: Harper and Bros. 1938). p. 26.

of Negroes varied in three "picture" tests each of which pertained to different types of situations.¹ Horowitz, however, concluded that there is some integration between disparate feelings towards the Negro with maturation.²

Lapiere, in a now classic study, has shown that questionnaires do not always check with life situations in which the raters have the chance to carry out their professed attitude. Lapiere and a Chinese couple travelled over the Pacific coast stopping at inns and auto-camps. Although, in many instances, the Chinese did the contacting for rooms, there was only one refusal of lodging. When later Lapiere questioned by mail these same innkeepers and a comparable group of others concerning their acceptance of Chinese guests, many claimed that they would not accept such guests.³

Brookover and Holland, in a study of a midwest community from which the data for this thesis are drawn, found many instances where expressed opinion towards Negroes and Jews is not congruent with actual behavior manifested towards members of these groups.⁴ They conclude that "these verbalized sentiments may be closely related to other behavior of the person in those situations which he defines as identical

¹Horowitz, E.L., op. cit. p. 29.

²Ibid, p. 29.

³Lapiere, R., "Attitudes versus Actions", Social Forces 13, 1934, p. 230-237.

⁴Brookover, W.B., and Holland, J.B., "An Enquiry Into the Meaning of Minority Group Attitude Expressions" American Sociological Review, 17, April 1952. p. 196-202.

or nearly identical to that in which he has responded".¹

"But in different groups and in different roles the same person may behave entirely different." This finding is validated in a recent study by Gordon. He reports that the individual members of a study-group modified their previously expressed private opinions about the Russians when asked to express such opinions in the presence of the group.² These modifications of opinion were primarily in the direction of the respondent's estimate of the group's sentiment towards that issue. In short, the individuals acted in conformity to group expectations. Kutner, Wilkin, and Yarrow, in a modified repetition of the Lapiere study, conclude that discriminating behavior is low in "direct" situations where the Negro is present--but is high when the situation is suggested abstractly (as in an opinion-questionnaire).³

Lohman and Reitzes, found that the racial behavior towards minorities is based on sentiments towards other factors present in the situation.⁴ For example, white urbanites accepted Negroes in the factory, since such behavior facilitated union goals. These same whites, however, were very intolerant of Negroes in a residential context where property values are a

¹Ibid, p. 200 An observation made by Prof. Gregory P. Stone.

²Gordan, R.L., "Attitude and the Definition of the Situation", American Sociological Review, 17, February 1952. p.50-58.

³Kutner, B., Wilkin, A., and Yarrow, S., "Verbal Attitude and Overt Behavior Involving Racial Prejudice", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 47, p. 649-52.

⁴Lohman, J.D., and Reitzes, D.C., "Note on Race-Relations in a Mass Society", American Journal of Sociology, 58, November 1952, p. 240-247.

consideration.

The summary of these findings indicates two important points: first, that racial behavior of people does not tend to be logically consistent towards a minority group, and second, it indicates that such behavior may be the result of sentiments other than that of a more or less intense attitude. The focus of this study will be to see whether such observations also hold true for racial opinion-responses of a group of high-school students.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MINORITY-GROUPS RESEARCH PROJECT

The data utilized by this study are drawn from a larger research project undertaken by a committee of the Social Research Service of Michigan State College.¹ This larger study was carried out in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. The rural midwestern community selected for study has been identified as "Maple County" in "Midstate." Therefore, to preserve its anonymity as well as its uniformity, the same fictitious names used in this wider project will be utilized here. The methodology, description of the community and findings of

¹ This project, known as the "Minority Group Research Project" at Michigan State College, has been conducted under the general supervision of Professor Wilbur B. Brookover. In the text of this dissertation this project will be referred to as the "larger study."

this project have been dealt with elsewhere.¹ It should be pointed out however that this particular study is not primarily concerned with extending the race-relation knowledge about this community, but rather with applicability of a formulated approach to such data.

The Study Group. Part of the larger research project concerned itself with the expression of prejudicial attitudes towards certain minorities among the high school students in the community. To this end, the high school freshmen and seniors of the three principle towns in Maple County were sought out on two separate occasions and questionnaires were administered to them. General information about the study group indicates that hostility towards minority groups among the students is rather low.

There are only a few minority-group members in Maple County. At the time the larger study was undertaken there were three Jewish students in attendance in two of the three high schools. Two of these, however, were not recognized as Jewish by their school-mates. The number of Negroes attending

¹See for example, Holland, J.B., "Attitudes toward Minority Groups in Relation to Rural Social Structure", Unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Michigan State College, 1950
 Eply, D.G., "Adolescent Role Relationships in the Dynamics of Prejudice", unpublished Doctor's dissertation, Michigan State College, 1953. Other publications dealing with Maple County include Stone, G.P., and Form, Wm., "Instabilities in Status: The Problem of Hierarchy in the Community Study of Status Arrangements", American Sociological Review, 18, 1953. p. 149-162; and Brookover, W.B., and Holland, J.B., "An Enquiry into the Meaning of Attitude Expression", op.cit. p. 196-202.

high schools in this county was only slightly larger than the Jewish enrollment. There is an indication that the sentiments towards Negroes are more highly crystallized among this adolescent population than are those concerning Jews.

Study-Group Limitations. The present study concerns itself only with the data collected from the high school students at Johnstown, the county seat. This limitation was imposed since there is some indication that each of the high schools constitute separate cultural milieus. As a result, this study is confined to the 235 9th and 12th grade students of the Johnstown High School.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Two questionnaires were administered to this study group: the first in 1949; the second in 1952. The purpose was to investigate the dynamics of prejudicial sentiments among adolescents. As the present study has no such orientation, only the data from the 1952 questionnaire will be utilized. This latter instrument is somewhat more adequate for the purpose of the present analysis than is the earlier one.

The 1952 questionnaire was designed for a number of theoretical purposes. As a result, it yielded a wide variety of data, not all of which are applicable to this study.¹ The various question-items of this instrument may be classified as follows:

¹A draft of the 1952 questionnaire appears in Appendix B.

1. Items concerned with family and personal background of respondents.
2. Items concerning reference group orientations of respondents.
3. Sociometric items.
4. Personality items (three types).
5. Items concerning respondents' sentiments towards Negroes, Mexicans and Jews.

The Prejudice Instruments. The focus of this study is almost exclusively on the last category. Of these, the items designed to tap sentiments towards minorities, there are four kinds.

First, the greatest number of items are of the "opinion-endorsement" kind in which a statement is made regarding Jews (8 such statements), Negroes (7 statements) and Mexicans (2 statements).¹ The subject is asked to check one of three responses for each statement, that of "Agree", "Disagree", and "Can't quite agree." For purposes of analysis in this study, the responses were classified as "tolerant", if the respondent agreed with a favorable statement or disagreed with an unfavorable one, and "intolerant" if his responses were of an opposite nature. The response "can't quite agree" is always classified as an "intolerant" response here, the rationale for this being that such a response indicated

¹See items No. 48-64 inclusive in questionnaire. Responses to the two Mexican items are not utilized in this study. Table 3 in Chapter III also lists these items and indicates the percentage responding "intolerantly" to each of these.

unwillingness to show complete tolerance to the minority group in question.

Since these seven Negro and eight Jewish opinion-statements are the ones with which this study is particularly concerned, some further background information pertaining to these items must be given. These items were taken from those used in the California Attitude Scale. This latter Scale was developed by the Institute of Child Welfare of the University of California for use in the California studies of prejudice. The fifteen items used in our questionnaire, then, are those considered as most appropriate to the purpose of the larger study, as well as the most reliable items from the California Scale. (The validity of these items as pertaining to the respective attitudes towards Jews and Negroes has been discussed elsewhere.)¹ As a result, these opinion-statements must be considered as of the "synthetic" variety. This limits the attempt of this study to show that the majority of our study group regard many of these items as pertaining to different situations because of the criterion of internal consistency to which these items have been subjected previously. If the responses do show a trend towards inconsistency, thus indicating that these opinion-items pertain to differing issues or situations, it may be interpreted, therefore, that this trend has been circumvented somewhat by this use of such "distilled" opinion-statements.

¹See Epley, D.G., op. cit. p. 34.

Second, there are the "contact" items, there being one each for Negroes and Jews. These contact questions were designed to elicit information as to the respondent's claim of familiarity with each of these minority groups. This question reads as follows:

What kinds of contact have you had with Jewish
(Negro) people?
(Circle every item in the list that applies to you.)

I have Jewish (Negro) relatives..... 1
I have played or gone out with Jewish (Negro) boys
or girls 2
I have known Jewish (Negro) people well 3
I have known Jewish (Negro) people but not very well 4
I have seen Jewish (Negro) people but not talked to
them..... 5
I have never seen Jewish (Negro) people..... 6

For purposes of analysis, responses of either 1, 2, and 3, were classified as "intimate"; 4 and 5, as "casual" and 6, as "no contacts." Table I shows the frequency distribution of the respondents' claims of extent of contact with Negroes and Jews.

The most surprising feature of this table is the great number of students who claim intimate or casual contact with Jews. As has been pointed out, there are few Jewish

TABLE I

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF TYPE OF CONTACT WITH NEGROES
AND JEWS AS INDICATED BY RESPONDENTS

Extent of contact	Negroes		Jews	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Intimate Contact	76	32.3	77	32.8
Casual Contact	158	67.2	120	51.1
No Contact	--	--	32	13.6
No Response or Unclassifiable	<u>1</u>	<u>.5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2.5</u>
Totals	235	100.0	235	100.0

people in the community, hence opportunity for contact with these is limited. It may be concluded that some of these contacts reported by the students are in part imagined or the result of misconceptions by respondents as to what constitutes a "Jew." It will be noted also that none of the respondents are classified as having "no contact" with Negroes. This gives us some confidence in the reliability of this item--since there were several Negro students in this school and all the respondents would have, at least, seen a Negro. The responses here indicate that this indeed was the case.

Two other important instruments, for our purposes, in this questionnaire are the pleasantness scales (one Jewish and one Negro). These scales were used to elicit the adolescents' conception towards Negroes and Jews in terms of pleasantness or unpleasantness. They read as follows:

How would you describe the contacts that most young people have with Negro (Jewish) people? (Circle one number).

Always Pleasant.....	1
Usually Pleasant.....	2
Sometimes pleasant and sometimes unpleasant.....	3
Usually unpleasant.....	4
Always Unpleasant.....	5

Table 2 indicates the distribution of responses to this scale for both the Negro and Jewish items.

In both these distributions there is a strong tendency to avoid conceiving relationships with either Jews or Negroes as "unpleasant."

TABLE 2

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS TO ITEM ASKING
 "HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE THE CONTACTS MOST YOUNG
 PEOPLE HAVE WITH NEGRO (JEWISH) PEOPLE?"

Degree of pleasantness	Negro		Jewish	
	No.	Percent.	No.	Percent
Always pleasant	17	7.2	35	14.9
Usually pleasant	79	33.6	66	28.1
Sometimes pleasant	114	48.5	110	46.8
Usually unpleasant	18	7.7	2	.9
Always unpleasant	3	1.3	1	.4
No response	4	1.7	21	8.9
Totals	235	100.0	235	100.0

It will be noted that 21 respondents indicate that they conceive Negroes as "unpleasant" whereas only 3 indicate such a conception for Jews. Similarly, there are twice as many responses in the Jewish "always pleasant" category as there are in the same Negro category. This indicates a somewhat more evenly distributed range of opinion towards Negroes than towards Jews along this scale. The fact that 21 adolescent subjects did not respond to the Jewish pleasantness item may indicate that an appreciable amount of confusion exists among the respondents as to what the appropriate social sentiment towards Jews should be.

THE METHODS OF ANALYSIS

In order to determine the racial issues or situations to which the eight Jewish and seven Negro opinion-items pertain, the responses to these items will be subjected to a modified Guttman scaling technique, and categorization of these will permit assertion that the "scalable" items (viz., those items to which

the response patterns vary in a linear manner) will be considered as pertaining to a racial-situation or issue which is different from those situations referred to by the non-scalable items. It will be assumed, therefore, that the responses to these different categories of items represent "situational-sentiments" towards either Negroes or Jews which are qualitatively dissimilar to one another. The pleasantness scales will constitute one such category. This is the primary task in Chapter III.

In Chapter IV we will attempt to find whether or not (or to what extent) the responses to these derived categories are due to the same factor or factors, and to the degree to which the observed relationship can be attributed to a general attitude towards the minority group in question which the respondents may hold. The test of relationship to be utilized here is the "Coefficient of Contingency."

We will attempt to determine in Chapter V whether or not the respondents' type of contact with each of the minority groups is associated to each of the "sentiment-type" categories of response and whether there is a significant difference in each of these various relationships. The Chi-square test of significance will be utilized for this purpose.

Chapter VI will summarize the findings and state the conclusions of this study.

CHAPTER III

THE CATEGORIZATION OF THE OPINION ENDORSEMENT-STATEMENTS

The practice of utilizing responses to a more or less arbitrarily selected set of opinion-endorsement statements, as if these constitute manifestations of a generalized linear attitude towards a minority-group in the abstract, has been widely criticized. Such criticism is valid in that such responses may, in fact, be manifestations of several qualitatively different situational-sentiments towards such a group by a respondent. In recent years a technique has been evolved which reveals whether or not a given set of such statements pertain to the same or highly similar situations or issues. This procedure can also indicate whether such statements pertain to two or more such issues. The technique in question has become widely known as the "Guttman Scaling Test."¹ A modified version of this test will be subjected to our eight Jewish opinion-items, and seven Negro items (as constituting two separate sets of opinion-statements) in order to categorize

¹For a description of the Guttman Test and its theoretical basis see Guttman, L., "A Basis for Scaling Qualitative Data", American Sociological Review, 9, 1944, pp. 139-150; Stouffer, S.A., et. al., "Measurement and Prediction", Vol. IV of Studies in Social Psychology in World War II, Osborn, F., et al., 4 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949-50) pp. 125-149.

these items into situational types.

The Guttman Scaling Procedure. The Guttman Scaling method tests the unidimensionality (i.e., linear variance of individual response patterns) of questions which initially appear logically relevant to a given factor. This method utilizes what is called an "internal validity" check. One proves by this method that the questions measure some one thing consistently, and the determination of its character is done logically from the content.

A full discussion of Guttman scaling is unnecessary here. Several points concerning it should be presented, however. Briefly, this type of scaling is done by developing a sample of opinion-statement type questions from a possible universe of those kinds of questions which are expected on logical grounds to be unidimensional.¹ If the sample questions are of this order, then there should be some means of arranging these in order of difficulty. With our data this can be done by ranking the opinion-statements from the one receiving the highest percentage of intolerant responses to the one with the lowest percentage of intolerant responses (see Tables 3 and 4). From this point of view, the statement invoking the highest marginal frequency of intolerant responses is the most "difficult" for any individual to answer tolerantly. A person

¹ The ensuing discussion of Guttman scaling is largely taken from a recent mimeographed report. See Gibson, D.L., "A study of Social Strengths in Mental Health", Social Research Service, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State College, 1953.

responding tolerantly to this item should answer tolerantly to all easier items.

This means that only a limited number of response patterns will be expected.¹ For example, with the eight Jewish opinion-statements, a person who is assigned a "pure-pattern" number 3, should have answered the five easiest Jewish items tolerantly and responded intolerantly to the three most difficult statements. The extent to which this results is an indication of such "unidimensionality." Its measure is termed the "coefficient of reproducibility." This measure is computed by determining the percentage of responses which fall within the limited pattern indicating unidimensionality. If about ninety-percent are correctly placed and certain other criteria are met the scale is acceptable.²

The Rank Ordering of Opinion-Statements. Tables 3 and 4 show the responses received for the Jewish and Negro items respectively; the statements being ranked in order of percentage of intolerant responses. Several interesting observations may be made when this ranking of "Jewish" statements is contrasted with that of the Negro items. It will be noted that responses to the Jewish items were in general more tolerant than were the responses to the Negro items; in no statement can we find the majority of respondents indicating

¹Thus, in utilizing eight opinion-items for this procedure, nine such "pure-patterns" are possible (see Table 3).

²The formula for determining the "coefficient of reproducibility" is $1 - \frac{\text{total no. of errors}}{\text{total no. of responses}}$. See Stouffer, S.A., op.cit., p. 779.

TABLE 3

RANK ORDERING OF JEWISH OPINION-STATEMENTS
BY PERCENTAGE RESPONDING INTOLERANTLY

Opinion Statements	Percent		Total No.
	Intoler.	Responses ^a Responding ^b	
1. "It would be all right with me if more Jewish people moved into my neighborhood."	45.1	235	235
2. "The Jewish people are just as honest, warm and friendly as other people."	41.8	232	232
3. "We should see to it that not too many Jews become doctors, lawyers or teachers."	33.7	235	235
4. "Thousands of Jewish people have sacrificed unselfishly and heroically to make America great."	38.0	221	221
5. "Most Jewish people act very much the same as other people."	34.5	232	232
6. "I would have just as much fun if Jewish kids went to the same parties that I go to."	30.9	233	233
7. "We would all be better off if we shipped the Jews back to Palestine."	29.8	233	233
8. "When a Jewish person wants to eat in a restaurant he should be allowed to eat in any restaurant."	13.6	235	235

a. Includes "I cannot quite agree" responses.

b. The total number of cases is 235. Variation in this column are due to some subjects failing to respond to the item in question.

TABLE 4

RANK ORDERING OF NEGRO OPINION-STATEMENTS
BY PERCENTAGE RESPONDING INTOLERANTLY

Opinion Responses	Percent	Total no.
	Intol. Responses ^a	Responding ^b
1. "It would make no difference to me if I took a job where I had to take orders from a Negro."	62.8	234
2. "The white and Negro people would get along better if they both ate in the same restaurant."	56.6	235
3. "It would make no difference to me if I were to go to a swimming pool where there were no Negroes."	52.3	235
4. "I would have just as much fun at a party where there were Negroes."	51.3	234
5. "It would be better for everybody if Negroes and white people were allowed to go to the same churches"	36.2	235
6. "Generally speaking, Negroes are lazy and ignorant."	28.9	235
7. "Sending the Negroes back to Africa is a poor way to improve American civilization."	21.7	235

a. Includes "I cannot quite agree" responses.

b. Variation in marginals due to failure of some subjects to respond to the item in question.

intolerant sentiments to a Jewish item. In general there is a greater manifestation of intolerance to items pertaining to widely diffused stereotypes of Jews (e.g., items ranked 2, 3, 4, and 5) than there is to those items pertaining to situations involving close physical proximity to Jews (e.g., items ranked 6 and 7). The only notable exception being the "neighborhood" item, which received the greatest percentage of intolerant responses.

In the case of the Negro opinion-statements the reverse seems to be the case. Here the respondents reject intolerant sentiments to the abstract-type of statement pertaining to Negroes (e.g., the "lazy" and "back to Africa" statements ranked 6 and 7), but show a greater degree of intolerance to statements pertaining to physical proximity with the Negro. It is interesting to note, however, that there is somewhat more aversion to Negroes in restaurants or at swimming pools, than to Negroes at parties. No data is available which would adequately explain these findings.

Utilizing this "difficulty" ordering of statements, the responses of each of the adolescent subjects were scrutinized to determine the number of "pure-pattern-cases" which occurred. This was done by first selecting those who answered tolerantly to the most extreme rank number 1 item. If these were to be considered pure scale types the respondents had to respond tolerantly to all other items. Those who had not responded in this manner were classified as "error" cases. Next, the ones answered to the second most difficult, but not the most difficult, items were taken. Again to be considered as pure cases,

TABLE 5

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH OPINION -
STATEMENT RESPONSE PATTERNS^a

Pattern number	Rank number of opinion- statement as per Table 3								Number of "pure-pattern" cases	Number of "error-pattern" cases ^b	Total number of cases in pattern
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8			
1.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	49	38	87
2.	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	7	9	16
3.	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	5	9	14
4.	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	3	11	14
5.	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	3	8	11
6.	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	2	17	19
7.	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	7	15	22
8.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	2	19	21
9.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	6	12
Totals									84	132	216 ^c

coefficient of reproducibility = .83

- a. (+) represents tolerant response; (-) represents intolerant response.
- b. The cases here manifested one or more "errors" in the allotted pattern.
- c. Some 19 cases were not utilized in the scaling procedure due to their failure to respond to one or more of the opinion items.

these had to answer all the easier items. This process was continued until all the pure-pattern cases were arrived at. The final step was to determine the pattern of the "error" cases and count up the errors in order to arrive at the coefficient of reproducibility.¹

Tables 5 and 6 show the distribution of respondents to the various "pure" as well as "error" patterns for both the Jewish and Negro set of opinion-statements. For both these distributions, the derived coefficient of reproducibility is not sufficiently high to warrant the conclusion that either of these two sets of items pertain to the same issue or situation for Jews and Negroes respectively. Instead, there seems to be a realization among a considerable portion of the study group that there are several issues regarding each minority and that some of these items refer to such differential issues to which qualitatively different social definitions are applicable.

The Consistency of Response. We can utilize these tables to answer our question regarding the extent of consistency to which people show either favorableness or unfavorableness of opinion. Table 5 indicates that only 49 out of 216 respondents

¹ There are various techniques in use for separating the "pure-pattern" from the "error-pattern" cases. The technique utilized here involves the use of McBee Keysort cards--a procedure largely developed in a study conducted by Professor Duane L. Gibson and several associates at Michigan State College. The operations involved in this particular technique are extremely simple--once mastered. A published description of these operations is anticipated in the near future.

TABLE 6

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO OPINION-
STATEMENT RESPONSE PATTERNS

Pattern number	Rank number of opinion- statement as per Table 4							Number of "pure-pattern" cases	Number of "error-pattern" cases	Total number of cases in pattern
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7			
1.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	34	15	49
2.	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	11	14	25
3.	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	5	15	20
4.	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	4	20	24
5.	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	8	29	37
6.	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	9	21	30
7.	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	4	7	11
8.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	22	15	37
Totals								97	136	233
coefficient of reproducibility = .82										

were consistently favorable to all the opinion-statements pertaining to Jews, while only 6 of the total number responding to all eight Jewish items were consistently unfavorable. Similarly, of the 233 subjects responding to all seven Negro opinion-statements, 34 were consistently favorable and 22 consistently unfavorable.

Even if allowances were made for one or two inconsistent responses, the great majority of cases would still show logical inconsistency which cannot possibly be explained away in terms of "carelessness." If the attitudinal frame of reference were the sole orientation utilized towards this data more than half our cases would remain unexplained or, at best, inadequately explained.

The next step was to attempt to classify these differential opinion-statements as to type. Since there were indications that some of these items could be arranged in a unidimensional scale, it was decided to see which items were to be discarded in order that this might be achieved. Utilizing certain criteria, a total of five opinion-statements were eliminated, three of which came from the set of Jewish items and two from the Negro set. The criterion utilized for such elimination being that the items in question were "undifferentiating." That is to say, these items indicated no clear breaking-point from tolerance to intolerance, thereby contributing a greater proportion of errors.

The items eliminated this way are enumerated below:

- Negro a) Generally speaking, Negroes are lazy and ignorant."
- b) "Sending the Negroes back to Africa is a poor way to improve American civilization."
- a) "The Jewish people are just as honest, warm and friendly as other people."
- Jewish b) "Thousands of Jewish people have sacrificed unselfishly and heroically to make America great."
- c) "Most Jewish people act very much the same as other people."

The Social-Distance Items. Discarding the above items left us with five Negro and five Jewish items for further scaling procedure. The five Negro items retained being:

1. "It would make no difference to me if I took a job where I had to take orders from a Negro."
2. "The White and Negro people would get along better if they both ate in the same restaurant."
3. It would make no difference to me if I were to go to a swimming pool where there were Negroes."
4. "I would have just as much fun at a party where there were Negroes."
5. "It would be better for everybody if Negroes and white people were allowed to go to the same churches."

The five retained Jewish items were:

1. "It would be all right with me if more Jewish people moved into my neighborhood."
2. "We should see to it that not too many Jews become doctors, lawyers, or teachers."
3. "I would have just as much fun if Jewish kids went to the same parties that I go to."
4. "We would all be better off if we shipped the Jews back to Palestine."
5. When a Jewish person wants to eat in a restaurant he should be allowed to eat in any restaurant."

Logical inspection of these remaining items reveals that the concept of "social-nearness" or social-distance is applicable to all these statements to a greater or lesser degree. In the case of the Negro items, the symbolic reference to close physical proximity to Negroes, in a variety of situations, is direct and concrete. In two of the five Jewish items

1

TABLE 7
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH SOCIAL-
DISTANCE RESPONSE PATTERNS

Pattern number	Rank number of opinion- statement as per Table 3				Number of "pure-pattern" cases	Number of "error-pattern" cases	Total number of cases in pattern
	1	3	6	7	8		
1	+	+	+	+	+	79	15
2	-	+	+	+	+	12	9
3	-	-	+	+	+	11	29
4	-	-	-	+	+	10	36
5	-	-	-	-	+	12	7
6	-	-	-	-	-	9	4
Totals						133	100
coefficient of reproducibility - .89							

(i.e., the items pertaining to Jews as "Doctors, Lawyers, etc." and to "sending the Jews back to Palestine") the notion of social-nearness is applicable only in a more abstract sense.

These remaining items were then subjected to the same scaling procedures outlined earlier. The results of these operations are illustrated in tables 7 and 8. The response patterns for both the Negro and Jewish items show coefficients of reproducibility which are sufficiently high to accept this ordering of statements as constituting what may be called a unidimensional "social-distance" scale.

The concept of unidimensionality needs further clarification here. As utilized by scalars, this term applies to the linearity exhibited by a set of questions when subjected to the type of analysis followed here. It should not be taken to mean that the respondents (either as individuals or as a group) view this set of items or questions as all testing the same, or a common, social issue regarding these minorities. It is obvious that an individual who is intolerant to the notion of Jews in his neighborhood, but responds tolerantly to all other Jewish items (pure type 2 in table 7), defines the situation pertaining to Jews in the neighborhood differently than he does the situations referred to in the other 4 items. Unidimensionality refers, therefore, to an objective statistical pattern of responses to an issue, rather than to the subjective state of either the entire responding group or of any individual subject to that issue.

The Applicability of the Guttman Technique. Before giving further consideration to these social-distance items,

TABLE 8

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO SOCIAL-
DISTANCE RESPONSE PATTERNS

Pattern number	Rank number of opinion- statement as per Table 4					Number of "pure-pattern" cases	Number of "error-pattern" cases	Total number of cases in pattern
	1	2	3	4	5			
1.	+	+	+	+	+	35	7	42
2.	-	+	+	+	+	18	14	32
3.	-	-	+	+	+	8	27	35
4.	-	-	-	+	+	5	34	39
5.	-	-	-	-	+	26	12	38
6.	-	-	-	-	-	34	13	47
Totals						126	107	233
coefficient of reproducibility = .87								

it is necessary to discuss the manner in which the procedures utilized here depart from the criteria lay down for Guttman scaling.¹ Perhaps the main criterion here is that the items to be used for scaling analysis be drawn from a universe of items which on logical grounds are expected to refer to the same general area of content. The items utilized here were drawn from a body of opinion-statements which had been employed by the University of California in its studies. There is no doubt that such items were considered as pertaining to the same area of content. In this respect therefore, we have conformed to this criterion. There is no claim made, however, that this sample of fifteen opinion-statements used here is representative of the larger opinionnaire from which they were drawn. Another requirement is that the questions be of the categorized five point scale type of "strongly agree", "agree", "undecided", "disagree", and "strongly agree." The items were originally of the three point scale type, which for our purposes have been dichotomized. Since the larger study had already been completed before the present study was specifically planned, the choice of items to be utilized here was limited to those included in the original questionnaire.

As has been stated, five of the items proved to be "unscalable" from the point of view of certain analytical

¹For a more comprehensive discussion of these criteria see Vener, A.M., Stratification Aspects of Clothing Importance, unpublished Master's Thesis, East Lansing, Michigan State College, 1952, pp. 21-28.

procedures and were eliminated from further scaling procedure. Of the items retained in the social-distance scale, several of the opinion-items show marginal frequencies in the 30 to 70 percent range which is a prerequisite for a valid Guttman scale. Finally, the reproducibility of all items is higher than the largest frequency of its categories, although there is suggestion from some of the error patterns that there are "quasi-scale" elements within the larger scale (i.e., errors are not randomly distributed).

Limitations of the Scales. The procedures outlined here depart, therefore, in certain respects from the criteria laid down for scaling. The purpose of these procedures, however, is not to arrive at an instrument which will measure a single linear dimension of prejudice, but rather to determine whether or not the opinion-statements utilized in the larger Maple County study pertain to several such different issues or dimensions. The results of the Guttman test used here indicate that this indeed is the case. Within the limitations pointed out, however, there is some basis for saying that each of 5 Jewish items and each of 5 Negro items more or less pertain to a similar issue for these respective minorities. These items will therefore be utilized here as constituting a situational category for further analytical purposes.

Comparison with the Bogardus Scale. By far, the most utilized social-distance scale is the instrument developed

by Prof. E.S. Bogardus more than two decades ago.¹ It is interesting to compare the similarly labelled scales developed here with Dr. Bogardus' instrument. This latter scale utilizes seven logically developed items and has the following form:

DIRECTIONS: According to my first feeling of reaction I would willingly admit members of each race (as a class, and not the best I have known, nor the worst members) to one or more of the classifications which I have circled.

1. To close kinship by marriage.
2. To my club as personal chums.
3. To my street as neighbors.
4. To employment in my occupation in my country.
5. To citizenship in my country.
6. As a visitor only to my country.
7. Would exclude from my country.

The similarity between some of the items on the above scale and several of the statements in our two scales is obvious. Contrasting the Bogardus instrument with our Jewish scale, it should be noted that our most "difficult" item--that of Jews in the neighborhood--ranks as the third most intense item on the Bogardus scale. From this it may be concluded that some of the adolescents who can be classified

¹ In the Bogardus usage, "social-distance" refers to the "ratings of a race on a qualitative scale of social acceptance;" see Bogardus, E.L., *op.cit.*, p. 264. For a criticism of the Bogardus technique see Lapiere and Farnsworth, Social Psychology, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936) p. 233.

as "tolerant" towards the social nearness of Jews on our scale would probably not receive so high a classification if a similar categorization were employed by Bogardus, since many who responded tolerantly to the "neighborhood" item would perhaps respond intolerantly to the Bogardus "kinship" item. Our "easiest" Jewish question--"send the Jews back to Palestine"--and the least intense Bogardus item--"would exclude from my country"--are roughly comparable.

A similar contrast may be noted between the Negro social-distance scale derived here and the Bogardus instrument. Again, our most difficult Negro item of "take orders from a Negro" is not nearly as "difficult" as the kinship item utilized by Bogardus. This comparison, therefore, indicates that the Bogardus scale measures social-distance sentiments over a broader range than do either of our two social-distance scales. This observation must be kept in mind in any subsequent discussion of those respondents classified as "tolerant" towards social-distance.

CLASSIFICATION OF OPINION-STATEMENT INTO SITUATIONAL CATEGORIES

We are now in a position to group the various items utilized in the questionnaire into specific situational categories. Since the items in question deal with both Negroes and Jews, there will be a set of categories for each of these groups.

The Social-Distance Categories. The Guttman technique indicates that 5 Jewish and 5 Negro items each pertain to a similar symbolic situation or issue for these respective

minorities. It is on this basis that these items can be said to constitute distinct situational categories. These represent the only categories in this study involving a multiplicity of items. As a result, it is necessary to classify the adolescent subjects according to their responses to this issue of social-distance. A respondent indicating none or one intolerant response to any of the five items (Negro or Jewish) is therefore considered as "tolerant". Two or three intolerant responses constitute a classification of "intermediate"; whereas four or five unfavorable responses makes the respondent "intolerant" in terms of his or her willingness to accept more or less close social interaction with Jews or Negroes. Table 9 indicates the frequency distribution of cases in these three classes for both the Negro and Jewish "social-distance" categories. It will be noted that relatively few respondents manifested predominantly "intolerant" social-distance sentiments towards the Jews as contrasted to the intolerant sentiments manifested towards the Negroes in this category.

TABLE 9

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION AS TO SOCIAL-DISTANCE ACCORDING
TO TOLERANCE OR INTOLERANCE OF RESPONSES

Classification of Responses	Negro		Jewish	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Tolerant	72	30.9	122	52.3
Intermediate	75	32.2	83	35.6
Intolerant	86	36.9	28	12.1
Totals	<u>233</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>233</u>	<u>100</u>

The Stereotype Categories. Logical analysis of the opinion-statement items which proved to be "non-scalable" revealed that three of these five items could be classified as pertaining to "stereotype-issues" regarding the minorities in question. The items in question being the statements which state that "Jews act the same", "Jews are honest, warm and friendly", and "Negroes are lazy and ignorant." Because of the fact that there are only two such Jewish stereotype items and one Negro item, it was decided for purposes of further analysis to treat each of these items as constituting a separate situational category (viz., the Jewish items constitute two separate "stereotype" categories, not one).

The "Sacrifice" Category. The remaining "non-scalable" Jewish item is the opinion-statement reading, "Thousands of Jewish people have sacrificed unselfishly and heroically to make America great." It is obvious that this statement refers to an issue which cannot be considered as either "social-distance" or "stereotype." This item will therefore stand as a disparate category which--for the want of a better name--will be called the "sacrifice" category.

The "Africa" Category. Similarly the remaining Negro item which states that, "Sending the Negroes back to Africa is a poor way to improve American civilization," is considered a disparate category called here the "Africa" category.

In each of these above categories (viz., the stereotype, "sacrifice" and "Africa" categories) the responses will be classified as "tolerant" and "intolerant." Where a response

of "cannot quite agree" occurs, this is treated as an "intolerant" response.¹

The Pleasantness Categories. The "pleasantness" scales referred to earlier will be considered in this study as constituting still other "situational-categories" for both Negroes and Jews (See Chapter II). The classification of responses for these items is essentially the same as indicated in Table 2 of the second Chapter.

To summarize, we have, therefore, five "situational-categories" for Jews, and four such categories for Negroes. The Jewish categories being:

1. The social-distance category (5 items).
2. and 3. The stereotype-categories (2 such categories of 1 item each).
4. The sacrifice category (1 item).
5. The pleasantness category (1 item of scaled responses).

The Negro categories being:

1. The social-distance category (5 items).
2. The stereotype category (1 item).
3. The Africa category (1 item).
4. The Negro pleasantness category (1 item of scaled responses).

The Purpose of the Situational Categories. There are several reasons as to why the items of the questionnaire should be categorized in this way. First, such a classification indicates that these items do not pertain to either Jews or

¹See supra Chapter II p. 33

Negroes in the abstract. As a result, the utility of employing responses to such items in order to measure a linear attitude towards either of these two minorities is dubious. Second, this categorization is an attempt to simplify further analysis of the responses to these items. The next chapter attempts to discover whether the responses to these categories are related. The extent of the relationships manifested will be indicative of the degree to which these responses are functions of a "generalized" attitude to these minorities.

CHAPTER IV

THE ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN RESPONSES TO THE "SITUATIONAL-CATEGORIES"

In this chapter we inquire into the relationships between responses to the situational-categories. There are at least three aspects to this problem. The first, is to see which categories of responses are associated and which are not. The second is to compare the various obtained degrees of association, and the third, to indicate the extent to which the responses to the various categories are dependent and/or independent .

Other Studies. There has been little in the way of research to determine the association between opinions of people to various racial issues. The majority of studies implicitly assume that such opinions are in fact directly and functionally related, in that they are supposedly manifestations of a general predisposing "state" of the individual-- i.e., an attitude. Where inquiries of this type have been undertaken, there are indications that the racial sentiments of individuals are to some extent independent.

Gruesser, in a study of the attitudes of Catholic school children towards Jews, found that even those children who scored "highly tolerant" on a Grice scale, seemed to hold the

prevailing unfavorable stereotypes of Jews as a group.¹

Katz and Braly, indicate that the rank ordering of certain ethno-racial groups according to the unfavorableness of traits attributed to them, is not similar to a rank ordering of such groups on the basis of responses to the Bogardus social distance scale by the same study group. This incongruence was especially high for Negroes, Jews, and Orientals.² An unpublished study by Radke shows that children who held a general attitude of dislike and rejection towards Jews and Negroes are more or less without specific stereotype.³

Boynton and Mayo, find intolerance among high school students towards questions concerning social equality, but little if any unfavorable notions of stereotypy with regard to the Negro.⁴

The Interpretation of Responses to the Categories.

The analysis of "agree-disagree" types of responses, to an item or category, is necessarily difficult. This is due to the fact that we know little about the content of such internal sentiments underlying this type of response by a respondent--about all we can say is that such a sentiment is favorable or unfavorable if the respondent answers

¹See Gruesser, M.J., Categorical Valuation of Jews Among Catholic Parochial School Children (Washington: Catholic University of American Press, 1950)

²Katz, D., and Braly K., "Racial Prejudice and Racial Stereotype" Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology 30, (1935) pp. 175-193.

³Radke M., "Children's Attitudes Toward Minority Groups" (unpublished study) reported in Libbitt, R., and Radke M., "New Trends in the Investigation of Prejudice" Annals of the American Academy 244 (March, 1946) pp. 68-69.

⁴Boynton, P.L., and Mayo, G.D., "A Comparison of Certain Attitudinal Responses of White and Negro High School Students," Journal of Negro Education 11, 1942 pp. 487-494.

tolerantly or intolerantly to a category. In the case of the pleasantness category a response can be considered a favorable sentiment to the degree to which the respondent indicates he conceives relationships with the minority group in question as pleasant on the pleasant-unpleasant continuum provided. In the case of the two social-distance categories which are composed of five items each, a respondent classified as "tolerant" may be considered as holding predominantly "favorable" sentiments toward social-distance issues pertaining to the minority group in question.

Methodology. Two situational sentiments may be said to be associated positively if the subjects who respond favorably to one category do likewise to another category; while those who respond unfavorably to the first, respond in a similar way to the second category.¹ To be considered acceptable the confidence limits for the observed associations are set at the five-percent level.²

ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN RESPONSES TO THE JEWISH CATEGORIES³

Associations with "Social-Distance" Responses. Table 10 summarizes the various degrees of association ("T") obtained

¹ See Hagood, M.J., and Price, D.O., op. cit., p. 361

² The following qualifying adjectives are used to denote probability ranges: $.05 > p < .01$ moderately significant; $.01 > p > .001$ highly significant; $.001 > p$ extremely significant.

³ In this and in the following chapter, the Jewish and Negro data will be discussed in separate sections. The measure of association used here is the Tchuperow Coefficient "T". See Hagood, M.J. and Price, D.O., op. cit. p. 371

TABLE 10

SUMMARY TABLE OF DEGREES OF ASSOCIATION, BETWEEN JEWISH CATEGORIES OF PLEASANTNESS, STEREOTYPE, AND SACRIFICE, TO EACH OF THE JEWISH SOCIAL-DISTANCE ITEMS.^a

Categories	Social-Distance Items					
	Jews in Jewish Neighborhood	Jews as Doctors, etc.	Jews at Parties to Palestine	Send Jews Back to Restaurants	Jews in Jewish Restaurants	
Pleasantness	$p < .03$ T = .16	$p < .02$ T = .17	$p < .01$ T = .20	$p < .02$ T = .17	$p < .05$ T = .15	
Act the Same	$p < .001$ T = .35	$p < .02$ T = .17	$p < .001$ T = .40	$p < .01$ T = .19	$p < .001$ T = .30	
Honest, Warm and Friendly	$p < .001$ T = .49	$p < .001$ T = .26	$p < .001$ T = .36	$p < .001$ T = .35	$p < .001$ T = .26	
Sacrifice	$p < .001$ T = .30	$p < .05$ T = .14	$p < .05$ T = .17	$p < .01$ T = .19	$p < .001$ T = .25	

a. The contingency tables from which these statistics are derived may be found in Appendix A, Tables I - XX inclusive.

between the responses to the Jewish situational categories of pleasantness, "act the same", "honest, warm and friendly", and "sacrifice", and the responses to each of the five Jewish social-distance opinion items. It will be noted that all the associations in this table are statistically acceptable.

Pleasantness and Social-Distance. Table 10 indicates that conceptions of relationships with Jews as pleasant are associated with tolerant sentiments regarding issues pertaining to the social nearness of Jews. For this particular sample however, the degrees of such associations are low. The lowest degree of association obtained occurs between the responses to the pleasantness and restaurant items. The coefficient of contingency ("T") here being only .15 where the maximum possible value is 1.00.

An illustration of how minimal the associations between pleasantness responses and social-distance sentiments are may be seen by referring to Table 11. Here the responses to these categories are cross tabulated. It will be noted that some 12 per cent of the respondents who conceive relationships with Jews as predominantly pleasant, do not manifest favorable social-distance sentiments towards Jews. Similarly, some 26 per cent who indicate favorable social-distance sentiments towards this minority do not indicate that they view interaction with Jews as particularly pleasant. The fact that the table indicates that many of the respondents are both tolerant and pleasant towards these two categories can be somewhat misleading. As has been said, our social-distance scale does not show the full extent of tolerance towards a minority

TABLE 11

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN JEWISH PLEASANTNESS
AND SOCIAL-DISTANCE

Pleasantness Responses	Social-Distance Classification					
	Tolerant		Intermediate		Intolerant	
	No.	percent	No.	percent	No.	percent
Always pleasant	28	11.9	5	2.1	2	.9
Usually Pleasant	35	14.0	26	11.2	4	1.7
Sometimes Pleasant and Sometimes Unpleasant ^a	53	22.6	37	15.7	20	8.5
Usually Unpleasant ^a	1	.4	1	.4	--	--
Always Unpleasant ^a	--	--	1	.4	--	--
No Response ^b	5	2.1	13	5.5	4	1.7
Totals	122	51.9	83	35.3	30	12.8
	$p < .01$		$T = .19$		$N = 235$	

a. These rows were collapsed with the "sometimes pleasant and sometimes unpleasant" responses in computing the chi-square.

b. Those failing to respond to the pleasantness scale were not included in the computation of the chi-square.

when contrasted with the Bogardus Social-Distance scale. Thus, some of the respondents classified as "tolerant" on the above table, would perhaps not have received such a classification, had the Bogardus instrument been used to arrive at social-distance classes for this study.

Even if we are to ignore this limitation however, it is still noteworthy to indicate that despite the evidence of statistical association between pleasantness and social-distance some 38 percent of the respondents manifest "logical inconsistency" of response to these two categories. This latter phenomenon is readily understood from the point of view of situational-sentiments, but is difficult to explain away from the standpoint of attitudinal theory. The extent to which this latter frame of reference can be employed to account for the associations which do occur, will be considered later.

Stereotype and Social Distance. Many of the observations noted in the above discussion of the associations between responses to the pleasantness category and to the social-distance items, are also applicable to the obtained associations between responses to the other Jewish categories. To avoid redundancy, the discussion of the ensuing data will be limited.

Table 10 indicates that the degrees of association obtained between responses to stereotype (viz. responses to the "act the same" and "honest, warm, and friendly" items) and social-distance are somewhat higher than those associations occurring between pleasantness and social-distance. A belief

that "Jews act the same as other people" is associated to a relatively high degree ($T=.40$) with a favorable sentiment towards "going to parties where there are Jewish kids" and vice-versa. One would of course expect to find an association between responses to two such items. On the other hand, the degree of association between the "act the same" category and favorableness to Jews as "doctors, lawyers and teachers" is particularly low ($T=.17$), as is the association between "act the same" and the social-distance item of "it would be better if all the Jews were sent back to Palestine" ($T=.19$). This would seem to indicate that, for adolescent study-group, a conception of Jews as being similar to "other" people does not, for many of the respondents, mean the abandonment of sentiments which are unfavorable to the economic or political equality of Jews. It becomes therefore problematical whether or not stereotypic conceptions are "rationalizations" of cultural norms of discrimination.

Tables 12 and 13 show the association between responses to the two stereotype categories and the composite classification of responses to the social-distance category. Despite the fact that there is association here, some 32 per cent of the respondents indicate that their responses to the "act the same" item are not associated to their sentiments regarding the social-distance of Jews. Similarly, 21 per cent of the respondents show logical "inconsistency" between responses to the "honest, warm and friendly" item and their social-distance sentiments.

TABLE 12

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN, "ACT THE SAME", AND
JEWISH SOCIAL-DISTANCE

"Act the same" Responses	Social-Distance Classification					
	Tolerant		Intermediate		Intolerant	
	No.	percent	No.	percent	No.	percent
Tolerant	99	42.4	43	18.8	9	3.4
Intolerant	21	9.0	39	16.9	19	8.2
No Response ^a	2	.9	1	.4	--	--
Total	122	52.3	83	36.4	28	11.6

p < .001

T = .33

N = 233

a. Those in the "No Response" classification were not included in the computation of the Chi-square.

TABLE 13

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "HONEST, WARM AND FRIENDLY"
AND JEWISH SOCIAL-DISTANCE

"Honest, Warm & Friendly" Responses	Social-Distance Classification					
	Tolerant		Intermediate		Intolerant	
	No.	percent	No.	percent	No.	percent
Tolerant	97	41.8	32	13.8	6	2.5
Intolerant	22	9.6	51	21.9	22	9.1
No Response ^a	2	.9	5	.4	--	--
	122	52.3	83	36.1	28	11.6

p < .001

T = .42

N = 233

a. Those failing to respond to the "honest, warm and friendly" category were not included in the computation of the Chi-square.

As in the case of pleasantness and stereotype the associations between responses to the Jewish sacrifice item and those of social-distance are low. Table XXVII in Appendix A indicates that 31 per cent of those who responded tolerantly to the sacrifice category, did not receive such a classification when cross-tabulated as to social-distance.

Associations Between Remaining Jewish Categories.

Table 14 summarizes the degrees of association between responses to the several Jewish situational-categories. The association of responses between pleasantness, stereotype, and sacrifice and responses to each of the social-distance items has been discussed above. Focusing attention on the other associations in this table, we note that the lowest degrees of association occurs in those cells where pleasantness responses are involved. This would tend to establish the validity of utilizing this item as testing a different issue pertaining to Jews, when contrasted with other opinion items. The relatively high association derived between responses to the "act the same" category and responses to the "honest, warm and friendly" category ($T = .48$) is presumably due to the fact that both these categories pertain to stereotype issues. With the exception of this latter association and the relatively high association between "honest, warm and friendly" and composite social-distance response the degrees of association between responses of one category and another. (see Tables XXI to XXVII.

TABLE 14
SUMMARY TABLE OF DEGREES OF ASSOCIATION OBTAINED
BETWEEN JEWISH SITUATIONAL CATEGORIES^a

	"Social- Distance" ^b	"Act the Same"	"Honest, Warm, and Friendly"	"Sacrifice"
Pleasantness	$p < .01$ $T = .19$	$p < .001$ $T = .23$	$p < .001$ $T = .23$	$p < .001$ $T = .22$
"Act the Same"	$p < .001$ $T = .33$	---	$p < .001$ $T = .48$	$p < .001$ $T = .29$
"Honest, Warm & Friendly"	$p < .001$ $T = .42$	---	---	$p < .001$ $T = .25$
"Sacrifice"	$p < .001$ $T = .31$	---	---	---

a. The association tables for "act the same", "honest, warm, and friendly" and "sacrifice" by social-distance have been previously shown in this chapter. All other association tables summarized here may be found in Appendix A. See Tables XXI - XXVII.

b. Represents the composite classification of respondents.

ASSOCIATED RESPONSES AS THE RESULT OF AN ATTITUDE

The fact that the responses to the various categories do show some degree of association with one another may be indicative that many of the respondents hold favorable or unfavorable attitudes towards Jews. On the other hand, there are perhaps certain other forces operating which might account for the statistically significant associations derived here. For example, it has been noted, that the items utilized here based upon items used in attitude studies in California. These items have therefore been subjected to refinement for "internal consistency." As a result, a high proportion of the adolescent study-group may be viewing these items as all pertaining to the same thing, and responding accordingly in a consistent manner. This is however a somewhat different phenomenon than holding a generalized feeling towards Jews.

A second factor which may conceivably account for the association of sentiments indicated is that consistency of responses can in itself be a cultural norm. If this should be the case in Johnstown, the initial responses to an item by a respondent would, due to cultural pressure, predispose the subject to answer all subsequent items in the same manner.

Still another reason which might account for the observed associations, may be found in the fact that the questionnaire was administered at the school. Traditionally, this institution has become symbolically associated with the creed of "equality for all", "fair play", "tolerance", and "we are all Americans". As a result the student respondents may be conforming to their expected role within this institution when responding to these items. The predominantly tolerant sentiments manifested by the adolescent respondents indicates that this indeed might be the case, since Holland, in his study of the community as a whole pointed out that there was widespread latent hostility towards Jews and Negroes among Johnstown's families.¹

No doubt all these latter factors operated to give us some of the association derived between responses to the Jewish categories. The extent to which these manifested sentiments may be attributed to a general tolerant or intolerant attitude which the respondents may hold towards Jews is therefore limited.

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN RESPONSES TO NEGRO CATEGORIES

Table 15, summarizes the various degrees of association between responses to the Negro situational-categories of pleasantness, stereotype (i.e., item stating that Negroes are lazy and ignorant) and Africa and responses to the five Negro

¹ See Holland, J.B., "Attitudes Towards Minority Groups In Relation To Social Structure, op. cit., p. 102.

TABLE 15

SUMMARY TABLE OF DEGREES OF ASSOCIATION, BETWEEN NEGRO CATEGORIES
OF PLEASANTNESS, STEREOTYPE, AND AFRICA TO
EACH OF THE NEGRO SOCIAL-DISTANCE ITEMS

"Social-Distance" items					
Categories	Take orders from Negroes	Negroes at Restaurants	Negroes at Swimming	Negroes at Parties	Negroes at Church
"Pleasantness"	$p < .01$ $T = .18$	$p < .001$ $T = .25$	$p < .01$ $T = .17$	$p < .01$ $T = .19$	N*
"Lazy"	$p < .01$ $T = .20$	$p < .01$ $T = .23$	$p < .01$ $T = .20$	$p < .01$ $T = .25$	$p < .01$ $T = .26$
"Africa"	N*	$p < .01$ $T = .27$	$p < .01$ $T = .21$	$p < .001$ $T = .30$	$p < .01$ $T = .18$

a. The contingency tables from which these statistics are derived will be found in Appendix A, Tables XXXII to XLII, inclusive.

* Denotes absence of association.

social distance items.

Pleasantness and Social-Distance. The table indicates that there is no association between conceiving relationships with the Negro as "pleasant" or "unpleasant" and the sentiments manifested by the study-group towards Negroes in the same churches which they attend. Similarly it should also be noted that the degrees of association between sentiments towards "taking orders from a Negro" at work; going to swimming pools where there are Negroes; and going to parties where there are Negroes and conceptions of the pleasantness of relationships with Negroes, are low. We can state, therefore, that the conceptions as to "pleasantness" which these respondents have about Negroes are only slightly indicative of the sentiments which they will hold regarding the social-distance of Negroes.

Table 16 shows the pattern of association between responses to the Negro pleasantness scale and the classified multiple responses to the social distance items. Some 23 percent of the respondents who indicate that they conceive of social relationships with Negroes as "pleasant" did not respond favorably to the social-distance category. Similarly, 12 percent who consider relationships with the Negro as "unpleasant" or only partially pleasant indicate favorableness to the items dealing with the social nearness of Negroes. Thus a total of 35 percent of the adolescent respondents do not show consistency of sentiments when responding to the categories of Pleasantness and of social-distance.

TABLE 16
ASSOCIATION BETWEEN NEGRO PLEASANTNESS AND SOCIAL-
DISTANCE CLASSIFICATION

Pleasantness responses	Tolerant		Intermediate		Intolerant	
	No.	percent	No.	percent	No.	percent
Always pleasant	7	3.0	5	2.1	5	2.1
Usually pleasant	36	15.5	22	9.4	21	9.0
Sometimes pleasant and sometimes unpleasant	26	11.1	41	17.7	45	19.3
Usually unpleasant	3	1.3	5	2.1	10	4.3
Always unpleasant ^a	--	--	--	--	3	1.3
No Response ^b	--	--	2	.9	2	.9
Totals	72	30.9	75	32.2	86	36.9

$p < .01$

$T = .18$

$N = 233$

a. Responses of "always unpleasant" were combined with the "usually unpleasant" responses in the computation of the Chi-square.

b. Those failing to respond to the pleasantness item were not included in the computation of the Chi-square.

Association Between "Africa" Responses and Social-Distance. Table 15 shows that responses to the item stating that "sending the Negroes back to Africa is a poor way to improve American civilization" are not associated sentiments towards taking orders from a Negro. The interesting aspect of this is that some of the respondents who indicate that they would have no objection to being employed under the authority of a Negro, do show antipathy to the presence of Negroes in American society. Table 18, which shows the pattern of association between responses to the "Africa" category, and the composite social-distance classification of the respondents, indicates that some 25 percent of the respondents manifested "logical inconsistency" of sentiments to these two categories.

Association Between Responses to Other Negro Categories.

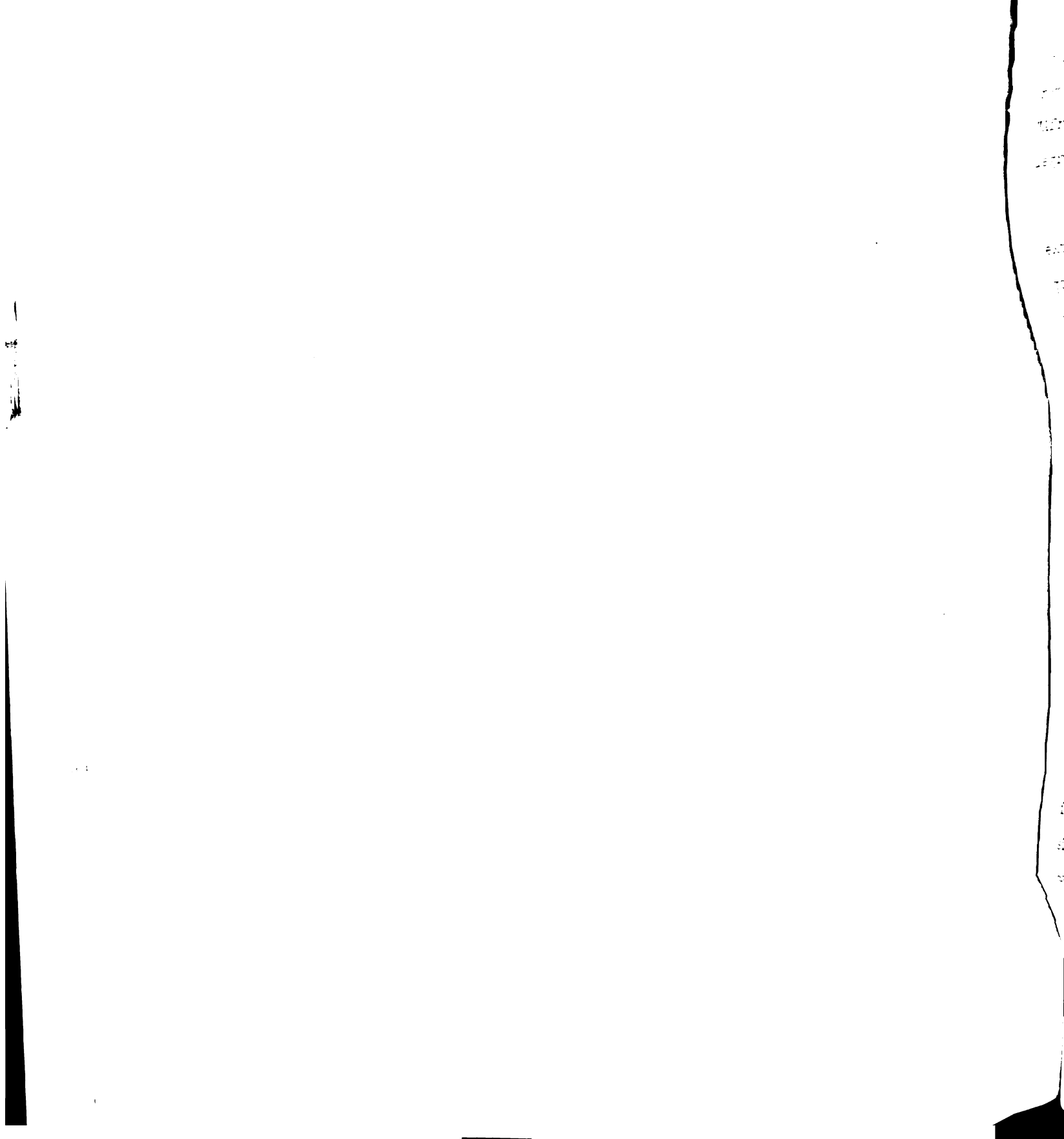
Table 19 summarizes the degrees of association obtained between the responses to the four Negro situational categories. The associations with the respondents' classification as to

TABLE 19
SUMMARY TABLE OF DEGREES OF ASSOCIATION OBTAINED
BETWEEN NEGRO-SITUATIONAL-CATEGORIES

	Social-Distance	"Lazy"	"Africa"
"Pleasantness"	$p < .01$ $T = .28$	$p < .02$ $T = .16$	N*
"Lazy"	$p < .001$ $T = .28$	---	$p < .001$ $T = .30$
Africa	$p < .001$ $T = .26$	---	---

a. Contingency tables for pleasantness, "lazy", and "Africa" by "social-distance" have appeared in this chapter, all other tables summarized here may be found in Appendix A, Tables XLIII-XLV inclusive.

* Denotes absence of association.



social-distance have already been considered. Of the remaining associations, it will be noted that responses to the "Africa" and pleasantness items are not associated. The other degrees of association shown here are relatively low.

As in the case of the Jewish situational-sentiments, the extent to which the associated responses to the Negro categories may be attributed to a generalized favorable or unfavorable attitude which the respondents may hold towards these minorities is limited to the extent to which the items used in the questionnaire do not appear as intrinsically similar to one another from the point of view of the subjects; the extent to which the members of the adolescent study-group did not feel compelled to show logical consistency of response; and the extent to which these respondents did not play a tolerant role when responding to these items within the school.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER IV

This chapter addressed itself to the problem of whether or not the situational sentiments which individuals hold towards Negroes and Jews, as indicated by responses to the various opinion-statement categories, are associated. The instrument used for this purpose were the Chi-square test of significance of association and the Tschuperow's ("T"), coefficient of contingency. The results reveal that all the Jewish situational sentiments are associated to some degree. With respect to the sentiments towards Negroes, there does not seem to be association between responses to pleasantness and responses to the social-distance item of "Negroes in

Church"; or between responses the "Africa" item and the social-distance item of "Take Orders From Negroes"; nor between the "Africa" responses and responses to the Negro pleasantness scale. All other responses to the Negro categories are associated to some degree.

For both the Negro and Jewish data, the associations derived between the composite classification of responses to the social-distance category and the responses to all other categories may be misleading. This is due to the fact that those classified as tolerant towards social-distance would, perhaps, not have received such a favorable classification if the Bogardus Social Distance Scale had been used as the instrument for testing the sentiments of the respondents towards this category.

It was pointed out that the extent to which the obtained associations may be attributed to a general attitude which the respondents hold towards these two minorities, is limited. This is because there may be certain other factors and forces operating to bring about these associations.

Some of the secondary observations noted are that failure to hold unfavorable stereotypic conceptions of Jews does not necessarily indicate the willingness of many respondents to accept Jews as being politically and economically equal in America. While with regard to Negroes, some of the respondents who feel that the United States would be a better place without Negroes, show no aversion to take employment where they would have to take orders from Negroes.

Conclusions. The fact that some of the situational-sentiments towards Negroes are not associated, and that nearly all associations (for both Negroes and Jews) obtained may be considered as low, has important implications to the general assumption underlying this thesis. Examination of the contingency tables from which these associations were obtained, reveals that as many as 40 percent of the respondents show logical inconsistency in their responses to the items dealing with each of these two minority groups. Such phenomena cannot be accounted for in terms of attitudinal theory, but is made readily understandable if the situational-sentiments point of view is adopted. This therefore, provides a measure of verification for our premise that both conceptions--i.e., attitudes and situational-sentiments--must be utilized if data such as we have here is to be considered meaningful.

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CHAPTER V

THE RELATIONSHIP OF CONTACT TO SITUATIONAL SENTIMENTS

Utilizing the attitudinal approach, a great deal of effort in race-relations research has been concentrated in an attempt to discover the relationship between contact with a specific minority group and the prejudicial attitude held by an individual towards a group. In a study by Diggins, it was found that the number of persons of a particular minority group that the subject said he had intimate acquaintance with was directly and significantly correlated with his attitude toward that minority group.¹ An unpublished study by E. E. Closson reports a correlation of plus .59 between generalized "tolerance" and general knowledge towards and about particular minorities respectively.² On the other hand, Bolton reports no correlation between the Hinckley attitude scale and a test of knowledge about the Negro.³ A study by Harlan shows a direct relationship between the degree of unfavorable prejudice

¹Diggins, E., "A Statistical Study of National Prejudice," Character Education, (Washington, D.C., 1932), p. 159.

²Closson, E.E., "A Study of the Factor of Information in Race Prejudice," Unpublished M. A. thesis, (Iowa State University, 1930) Reported in: Gwynne Nettler, "The Relations Between Attitude and Information Concerning the Japanese in America," American Sociological Review 11 (April, 1946), pp. 77-191.

³Bolton, E.B., "Effects of Knowledge Upon Attitudes Toward Negro", Journal of Social Psychology 6 (1935), pp. 68-90.

to the frequency of personal contact claimed by the respondent.¹ Similarly, Allport and Kramer's study indicates that non-Jewish students having considerable contact with Jews do not have significantly less prejudice towards Jews than do Gentiles who have had little or no such contact.² These confusing and oftentimes contradictory findings are amply illustrated by Rose who, in a survey of eight studies pertaining to contact and prejudice, found three studies which show significant correlations between these variables, three which indicated no such relationship, and two which show "indefinite" findings.³ Rose comes to the conclusion that it "is arbitrary and meaningless to correlate paper-and-pencil tests" as a result of these confusing findings.⁴

The present writer shares concern with Rose as to the unsatisfactory nature of these findings. It is felt here, however, that these contradictory findings may be the result of a spurious approach: These inconclusive results may stem from the procedure of arbitrarily lumping together differential opinion-statement responses in order to arrive at an index

¹Harlan, H.H. "Some Factors Affecting Attitude Toward Jews" op. cit., p. 820.

²Allport, G.W., and Kramer, B.M., "Some Roots of Prejudice", Journal of Psychology 22 (1946), pp. 22-25.

³Rose, A.M., Studies In the Reduction of Prejudice, Chicago: American Council on Race Relations, (1947) p. 18.

⁴Ibid., p. 19.

of the respondent's prejudicial attitude. From the social-situations point of view, it is more meaningful to relate the intensity of contact of a subject with any given minority group to the various situational-sentiments towards a minority which the respondent may hold.

Purposes and Methodology. This chapter attempts to determine whether the frequency of contact which the respondents claim to have had with Negroes and with Jews is associated with the several situational-sentiments they display here to these respective minorities.¹ Again, the chi-square test of association will be utilized as the testing instrument for this problem. A second aspect of this problem is to determine whether the associations obtained between the subjects' claims of contact and their responses to the categories differ from one another significantly.² The instrument for the analysis of this latter problem will be the "goodness of fit" test. In this test, where the responses to two categories are associated with the claimed extent of contact, the frequencies of the cells in both contingency tables in which sentiments are associated with contact are converted into percentage

¹Since there is no information available as to the actual amount of contact which the adolescents have had with Negroes and Jews, the index of contact utilized here will be the individual subject's response to the item asking "What kind of contact have you had with Jewish people?" See Chapter II p.33

²For a comprehensive discussion of the "goodness of fit" technique see, Hagood and Price op. cit., pp. 265-271.

frequencies in order to bring the total number of respondents of each table to the same base. The absolute (i.e., arithmetic) differences between the corresponding cells are then computed, squared, and then divided by the percentage frequencies from the corresponding of the first table. These derived statistics are then added and the chance probability of this total deviation is then computed from a chi-square probability table. If the probability is greater than .05, the associations of the responses to the two categories in question to frequency of contact will be considered as differing from one another. Where this test shows no significant difference between associations to contact, it will be assumed that the categories in question are testing the same sentiment, after inquiry has been made as to whether the corresponding cell frequencies in the two contingency tables are made up of the same respondents.

The purpose of this inquiry is, therefore, to determine whether this approach of viewing the reciprocal influence of contact with minorities on the various sentiments towards these minorities which are held is meaningful when contrasted with the classical, and hitherto unsuccessful, approach of attempting to find the influence of contact on the general attitude towards a minority group. In doing so we will also be able to establish whether the sentiments tapped by the situational-categories derived earlier are relatively independent from one another when they are cross-tabulated with the index for frequency of contact.

ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN EXTENT OF CONTACT AND SENTIMENTS TOWARDS JEWS

Table 20 summarizes the chance probability of associations obtained between the frequency of contact the respondents indicate they have, or have had with Jews, and their responses to the five Jewish situational categories. Where the chance probability is greater than .05, it will be assumed that no association exists.

TABLE 20

SUMMARY TABLE OF PROBABILITY OF ASSOCIATIONS OBTAINED BETWEEN EXTENT OF CONTACT WITH JEWS AND JEWISH SITUATIONAL CATEGORIES^a

Social-Distance	Pleasantness	"Act the Same"	"Honest, Warm and Friendly"	"Sacrifice"
N*	p < .02	p < .01	p < .001	N*

a. The contingency tables from which these associations were obtained may be found in Appendix A., Tables XLV to L.

The table shows that the amount of contact the respondents indicate that they have had with Jews is not appreciably associated to the sentiments they display towards this minority with regard to social-distance, or to their conception of the amount of sacrifice the Jews have made towards America. On the other hand, the greater the amount of claimed contact with Jews, the more probable it is that the responses as to the pleasantness of Jews, and the responses regarding stereotypes, will be favorable. In terms of causal analysis, the implication here is that if an individual acquires unfavorable sentiments towards Jews, contact with members of this minority

will cause him to change his conception of Jews in a favorable direction. Such contact will not however, appreciably alter the cultural norms of discrimination that he holds towards Jews. This may be due to the fact that such individuals may face social ostracism from their membership and reference groups if they should start acting towards the discriminated minority on a basis of social equality.

There are, however, other reasons as to why the frequency of contact with Jews is not associated with tolerance or intolerance as to the social-distance of Jews. An earlier study of Johnstown indicated that there is considerable confusion here regarding conceptions of Jews in that some people were identified as Jewish when such was not the case; similarly, some individuals who are actually Jewish are not recognized as such within the school.¹ The lack of association here may, therefore, be due to such confusion.

Contact as Differentially Associated to Pleasantness and Stereotypes. The fact that the amount of contact is not associated to social-distance sentiments, but is positively associated to responses to pleasantness and to the two stereotype categories, indicates also that our social-distance category taps sentiments which are different than those tested by the pleasantness and the stereotype categories. The problem to be considered here is whether those categories, the responses

¹Brookover, W.B., and Holland, J.B., op. cit., p.198.

to which are both associated with the amount of contact with Jews, differ from one another. Stated somewhat differently, could the association between contact and pleasantness, and contact and stereotype, for example, be due to the fact that both the pleasantness category and the stereotype category test the same sentiment? To discover the answer to this question, the "goodness of fit" test outlined earlier will be applied.

Table 21A shows the percentage frequencies of responses obtained to "pleasantness", "act the same", and "honest, warm and friendly" when cross tabulated with the frequency of contact with Jews which is claimed by the respondents. For purposes of analysis, responses to the pleasantness category of "always pleasant", and "usually pleasant" were collapsed and appear under the heading "favorable;" responses of "sometimes pleasant and sometimes unpleasant" were collapsed with "usually unpleasant" responses and appear under the heading of "intermediate and unfavorable."

Table 21B indicates the computation of the "goodness of fit" between the associations of contact and pleasantness and contact and "act the same", as well as between the associations of contact and pleasantness and contact and "honest, warm and friendly." The chi-square probabilities are sufficiently high to conclude that the association between contact and responses to the pleasantness category differ appreciably from the associations to the "act the same" item and the "honest, warm and friendly" item type of sentiment. From this it may be

TABLE 21A

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION, IN PERCENTAGES, OF RESPONSES TO JEWISH PLEASANTNESS, "ACT THE SAME" AND "HONEST, WARM AND FRIENDLY", WHEN ASSOCIATED WITH JEWISH CONTACT^a

Types of Contact	Pleasantness			"Act the Same"			"Honest, Warm & Friendly"		
	Favorable	Intermediate ^b	Unfavorable ^c	Tolerant	Intolerant	Tolerant	Intolerant	Tolerant	Intolerant
Intimate	(1)* 21.6	(4) 15.4	(1) 25.8	(4) 7.4	(1) 25.1	(4) 7.9			
Casual	(2) 21.2	(5) 31.7	(2) 33.6	(5) 19.2	(2) 28.6	(5) 19.2			
None	(3) 3.8	(6) 6.3	(3) 6.1	(6) 7.9	(3) 5.3	(6) 7.9			

- a. The percentage distributions here are derived from contingency table in Appendix A.
- b. Consists of responses of "always pleasant" and of "usually pleasant."
- c. Consists of responses of "sometimes pleasant and sometimes unpleasant" and of "usually unpleasant" and "always unpleasant."

* Numbers in brackets represent cell numbers.

TABLE 21B

"GOODNESS OF FIT" BETWEEN ASSOCIATION OF CONTACT AND PLEASANTNESS, CONTACT
AND "ACT THE SAME" AND CONTACT AND "HONEST, WARM AND FRIENDLY"

Cell Number	$Fa - Fb^*$	$\frac{(Fa - Fb)^2}{Fa}$	$Fa - Fc$	$\frac{(Fa - Fb)^2}{Fc}$
1	4.2	.68	3.5	.57
2	12.4	7.25	7.4	2.58
3	2.3	1.39	1.5	.59
4	8.0	4.16	7.5	3.65
5	12.5	4.93	7.4	1.75
6	1.6	<u>.41</u>	2.5	<u>.99</u>
Totals		18.82		10.13

* Fa = percentage frequencies from pleasantness distribution in Table 21A
 Fb = " " "act the same" " " "
 Fc = " " "honest, warm, etc." " " "

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surmized that the "pleasantness" category tests a different type of sentiment with respect to Jews than do the two stereotype opinion-statements.

The Difference in Association Between Contact and Stereotype. Finally, an attempt will be made to determine whether the association between frequency of contact and responses to "act the same" differs significantly from the association between contact and responses to the "honest, warm and friendly" category.

Table 22A shows the computations of the "goodness of fit" test from the percentage frequencies of responses to these to categories as indicated in Table 21A. The low chi-square obtained indicates that the patterns of association between responses to contact and to "act the same" does not differ to a statistically significant extent from responses to the association between contact and to "honest, warm and friendly." This may, however, be the result of coincidence, that is, while the patterns of association may be similar for both contingency tables, the patterns may be made up of different respondents in the corresponding cells whose shifting responses balanced one another out. In order to test whether this has been the case, it was decided to combine the response to both these categories and compute the resulting association with degree of contact by means of the chi-square. Table 22B indicates the pattern of association between the combined responses of "act the same" and "honest, warm and friendly" as contingent to the contact item. Since the chance probability

TABLE 22A

GOODNESS OF FIT BETWEEN ASSOCIATIONS OF JEWISH CONTACT AND "ACT THE SAME"
AND JEWISH CONTACT AND "HONEST, WARM AND FRIENDLY"

Cell Number	$Fb - Fc^*$	$\frac{(Fb - Fc)^2}{Fc}$
1	.7	.01
2	5.0	.74
3	.8	.14
4	.5	.03
5	5.1	1.35
6	.9	.10
Totals		2.37

$p < .35$ (Not significant)

* Fb = percentage frequencies from "act the same"
in Table 21A.

Fc = percentage frequencies from "honest, warm, etc."
in Table 21A.

TABLE 22B

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN RESPONSES TO JEWISH CONTACT AND THE COMBINED
RESPONSES TO "ACT THE SAME" AND "HONEST, WARM AND FRIENDLY"

Contact Type	Combined Responses (in numbers) to the two stereotype items		
	Tolerant on Both	Mixed Responses ^a	Intolerant on Both
Intimate	51	16	10
Casual	55	27	36
None	<u>13</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>
Totals	119	54	57
p < .01			N = 230

a. This column consists of those responding tolerantly to one of the stereotype categories and intolerantly to the other.

of the association is still significantly high, it may be concluded that both stereotype categories--i.e., "act the same" and "honest, warm and friendly"-- pertain to the same situational-sentiment toward Jews when cross-tabulated with the contact index.

ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN EXTENT OF CONTACT AND SENTIMENTS TOWARDS NEGROES

Table 23 summarizes the chance probability of associations obtained between degree of contact the respondents indicate they have had with Negroes and their responses to the four Negro situational categories.

TABLE 23

SUMMARY TABLE OF PROBABILITY OF ASSOCIATIONS OBTAINED BETWEEN
EXTENT OF CONTACT WITH NEGROES AND THE
NEGRO-SITUATIONAL-CATEGORIES^a

Social-Distance	Pleasantness	Lazy	"Africa"
$p < .02$	$p < .05$	N*	N*

a. The contingency tables from which these associations are obtained may be found in Appendix A, Tables LI - LIV.

* Indicates absence of association.

This table shows that the amount of contact with Negroes claimed by the respondents is associated with responses to the Negro social-distance category and responses to the category dealing with the pleasantness of relationships involving Negroes. No statistically significant associations were obtained between claims of contact and responses to the Negro

categories of "lazy" and "Africa."

Unlike the association obtained between contact and Jewish social-distance, the contingency table in Appendix A indicated that the greater the tolerance of social-distance sentiments toward Negroes, the greater the frequency of contact claimed with this minority. This partially verifies the observation that conceptions of Jews in Johnstown are largely uncrystallized when contrasted with conceptions of Negroes. None of the respondents could be classified as having "no-contact" with Negroes and this indicates that the adolescents have a much clearer conception of Negroes than of Jews.

Differences of Associations with Contact. It is obvious that the social-distance category and the pleasantness category pertain to different issues regarding the Negro than do the categories of "lazy" and of "Africa", since the former two are associated with contact whereas the latter two are not. We have yet to determine, however, whether there is significant statistical difference between the association of claims of contact and responses to pleasantness, and that of contact and classification as to social distance.

Table 24A shows the percentage frequencies of responses obtained to social distance and to pleasantness, when cross tabulated with the degree of contact the respondents indicate they have had with Negroes. For purposes of analysis, responses to the pleasantness category of "always pleasant" has been collapsed, and appears under the heading "favorable". Responses of "usually unpleasant" and "always unpleasant" have

TABLE 24A

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION, IN PERCENTAGES, OF RESPONSES TO NEGRO PLEASANTNESS, AND TO NEGRO SOCIAL-DISTANCE, WHEN ASSOCIATED WITH NEGRO CONTACT.^a

Type of Contact	Social-distance classification			Responses to pleasantness		
	Tolerant	Intermediate	Intolerant	Favorable	Intermediate	Unfavorable
Intimate	(1) 13.8	(3) 9.1	(5) 9.9	(1) 17.0	(3) 12.6	(5) 3.5
Casual	(2) 17.2	(4) 24.1	(6) 25.9	(2) 24.8	(4) 36.5	(6) 5.6

a. The percentage distributions here are derived from the contingency tables in Appendix A

b. Consists of responses of "always pleasant" and of "usually pleasant."

c. Consists of responses of "sometimes pleasant and sometimes unpleasant."

d. Consists of responses of "usually unpleasant" and of "always unpleasant."

*Numbers in brackets represent cell numbers.

TABLE 24B

GOODNESS OF FIT BETWEEN ASSOCIATIONS OF NEGRO CONTACT TO NEGRO PLEASANTNESS
AND NEGRO CONTACT TO NEGRO SOCIAL-DISTANCE^a

Cell Number	Fa - Fb	(Fa - Fb) ²	
		Fa	Fb
1	3.2	.60	
2	7.6	2.33	
3	3.5	.97	
4	12.4	4.21	
5	6.4	11.70	
6	20.3	<u>73.52</u>	
Total		93.40	
p	<.001		

a. Fa = percentage frequencies from pleasantness distribution in Table 24A. Fb = percentage frequencies from social-distance distribution in Table 24A.

also been collapsed and appear as "unfavorable." The response of "sometimes pleasant and sometimes unpleasant" is classified as "intermediate."

Table 24B illustrates the computation of the goodness of fit between social-distance and contact, and pleasantness and contact. The derived chi-square is sufficiently high for us to say that these respective associations differ from one another significantly. From this we may conclude that the Negro pleasantness category tests different types of sentiment toward the Negro than does the Negro social-distance dimension.

Summary of Chapter V. This chapter attempted to determine the feasibility of viewing the reciprocal influence of contact with minority groups on the differential sentiments which the individual or group hold toward such groups. The problem has its genesis in the fact that previous research in this area has attempted to discover the influence of contact on the racial attitudes of people, but has failed to arrive at any conclusive findings here. This may be one of the attitudinal frame of reference which views all expressions of behavior towards a specific minority as manifestations of a generalized attitude towards such a group thus obfuscating the different opinion-dimensions of prejudice. This analysis attempts to circumvent this fallacy by testing the relationship of contact to each of the categories of opinions derived here. The findings indicate that extent of contact is directly associated to responses to pleasantness and to stereotype with regard to both Negroes and Jews. Thus, the greater the contact with these groups, the more favorable is the conception the respondents hold about

these minorities.

Frequency of contact is not associated with the sentiment regarding the social-distance of Jews but is directly associated with the sentiments towards Negro social-distance. The lack of association with respect to the Jewish data may have interesting implications in that it suggests that while conceptions of a minority may change with increased contact, discriminatory norms which are held are not influenced by greater contact. However, the lack of association here could be also due to confusion on the part of the respondents as to who and what Jews are -- a confusion which does not exist with respect to Negroes.

There does not appear to be significant association between Jewish contact and responses to "sacrifice", nor is there statistical association between extent of Negro contact and responses to the Negro categories of "lazy" and "Africa."

A second related aspect of the problem was to determine where contact is associated with a particular sentiment, whether this association differs from other associations between contact and situational-sentiment. The "goodness of fit" instrument utilized for this purpose shows that the association between Jewish contact and responses to pleasantness differs significantly from the associations between Jewish contact and "act the same", and Jewish contact and "honest, warm and friendly." Similarly, the associations between Negro contact and responses to the Negro category of "pleasantness" differs significantly from the association between Negro

contact and the composite classification regarding Negro social-distance.

No significant difference was found between the association of Jewish contact and responses to the "act the same" category and Jewish contact and responses to "honest, warm and friendly." This indicates that both these items test two similar sentiments with regard to Jews.

Conclusions. The above findings not only show that the approach of relating contact to the various sentiments which persons hold toward minority groups is a meaningful mode of analysis, but also serves to substantiate the hypothesis that the categories derived here pertain to differential opinion dimensions. If all these categories had been used merely as indices of a general attitude towards Jews and towards Negroes, the complex role of contact in racial prejudice would not have been evident.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

This study conceives of racial prejudice as a subjective configuration, involving discrete sentiments (i.e., feelings, beliefs, predispositions, etc.), as well as a general attitude towards any specific racial or ethnic minority. This point of view constitutes, therefore, an extension of the attitudinal approach which considers racial-prejudice as being simply a favorable or unfavorable attitude, varying only in linear fashion from one person to another. And, this in turn implies that racial-opinions are of a linear nature. As a result the research techniques utilized in race-attitude studies have, to a great extent, obfuscated the actual structure of racial-opinions.

The present study focusses itself directly on the expression of racial opinions. Its purpose is to ascertain the structures manifested by such opinions in order to determine whether the conception of racial-prejudice which has been put forward in this thesis is justifiable. The data utilized was drawn from a recent study of a midwestern group of high-school students. The principle findings from this study are:

1. Relatively few of the adolescent respondents showed complete consistency of racial-opinion in terms of favorableness or unfavorableness.
2. A Guttman analysis of the responses to the opinion-statements utilized indicates that only some of the opinion-statements fall along a linear continuum. Within both sets of opinion-statements (i.e., the respective Jewish and Negro opinion-statements) at least four dimensions or categories of opinion were discerned in each.
3. The coefficient of contingency test indicated that the categories of racial-opinion derived were not altogether mutually exclusive. On the other hand, there was evidence available, on the basis of the responses to these categories, that for many, these categories were functionally independent dimensions of opinion.
4. A chi-square test of association showed that the frequency of contact with Jews or Negroes is differentially related to the various categories of opinion which are held towards such groups.

Implications as to the Nature of Prejudice. While at all times wary of the hazards of imputing subjective aspects of behavior on the basis of rudimentary evidence, the above findings may be considered as indicating that first, only a small percentage of the respondents can be considered as absolute "creatures of attitude." Second, the various dimensions or categories of opinions derived indicates the existence of relatively discrete situational-sentiments towards Negroes and Jews. The fact that these sentiments are not mutually exclusive, however, shows that a general attitude towards these minorities may be involved within the prejudice configurations. Finally, there are suggestions that frequency of contact with minorities has differential effects on the

various sentiments which are held towards ethnic or racial groups.

Corollary findings. Some of the information resulting from this study-group examined within its community setting are:

1. Responses to statements dealing with the supposed characteristics of the Jew tended to be more intolerant when contrasted to responses of those statements which pertained to situations in which it was asked whether the presence of Jews was desirable or undesirable. On the other hand, responses to the Negro statements indicate that the adolescent respondents generally reject derogatory stereotypes for Negroes but show intolerance to statements dealing with the desirability of the presence of Negroes in certain situations.
2. The responses to the Jewish statements indicate the existence of some confusion on the part of the subjects as to what constitutes a "correct" answer to these statements. Responses to the Negro items, however, indicate that sentiments towards Negroes are more or less crystallized among these adolescents.
3. In general the responses indicate that the climate of opinion is more favorable towards Jews than towards Negroes for this adolescent study-group.
4. The over all responses to both the Negro and Jewish opinion-statements tended to be predominantly in the tolerant direction. In terms of previous studies of this community this was unanticipated. It may be partially explained as resulting from the instruments utilized and the place where the questionnaire was administered.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

In several respects the data used in this study is limited in terms of its adequacy for testing the basic assumption that prejudice is a complexity of subjective factors and forces and not merely a single linear attitude. Some of these limitations are:

1. The Maple County data pertains to a midwestern high school group. It is therefore entirely possible that the findings here are pertinent only to this particular universe.
2. No intensive case-material is available to ascertain the validity of the subjective analysis undertaken here. As a result, the concepts of subjective disposition put forward are of a highly tenuous and heuristic nature.
3. The Jewish and Negro opinion-statements used in the study are too few in number to enable us to arrive at an adequate description of the structure of racial opinion regarding these minorities for this particular study-group.
4. The opinion-statements used are of the attitude testing variety rather than being types of statements which represent the actual opinions which exist in Johnstown.
5. The index of frequency of contact used may not accurately portray the actual amount of contact which may have occurred between the respondents with Jews or Negroes.

It will be seen that some of the above limitations operate to structure the racial opinion responses, which are derived, to manifest linearity and consistency. The fact that a more complex structure of opinion was discerned in this study gives confidence to the configurational conception of racial prejudice put forward in this thesis. Since several different dimensions of categories of racial opinion are manifested by individuals towards a given minority, this implies the

coexistence of several subjective factors and forces towards minorities within people. The exact nature of this subjective configuration has yet to be studied and established. This indicates the use of intensive depthanalysis as well as the improvement of objective instruments for further research in this area.

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APPENDIX A.

Tables Referred to but not Appearing in the Text.
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APPENDIX A.

Tables Referred to but not Appearing in the Text.

TABLE I

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN JEWISH PLEASANTNESS AND
"JEWS IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD"

Responses to Pleasantness	Responses to "Neighborhood" Item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Always Pleasant	27	8	35
Usually Pleasant	36	30	66
Sometimes Pleasant and Sometimes Unpleasant	<u>57</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>113</u>
Totals	120	94	214
	p < .03		T = .16

TABLE II

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN JEWISH PLEASANTNESS AND "JEWS AS
DOCTORS, LAWYERS AND TEACHERS"

Responses to Pleasantness	Responses to "doctors, lawyers" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Always pleasant	28	7	35
Usually pleasant	45	21	66
Sometimes pleasant & Sometimes unpleasant	<u>59</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>113</u>
Totals	132	82	214
	p < .02		T=17

TABLE III

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN JEWISH PLEASANTNESS
AND "JEWS AT PARTIES"

Responses to Pleasantness	Responses to "Jews at parties" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Always pleasant	32	3	35
Usually pleasant	47	19	66
Sometimes pleasant & Sometimes unpleasant	<u>69</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>113</u>
Totals	148	66	214
	p < .01		T = .20

TABLE IV

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN JEWISH PLEASANTNESS AND
"SEND JEWS BACK TO PALESTINE"

Responses to pleasantness	Responses to "Palestine" item.		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Always pleasant	27	8	35
Usually pleasant	36	30	66
Sometimes pleasant & Sometimes unpleasant	<u>57</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>113</u>
Totals	120	94	214

$p < .02$ $T = .17$

TABLE V

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PLEASANTNESS AND
"JEWS IN RESTAURANT"

Responses to pleasantness	Responses to "Jewish restaurant" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Always pleasant	33	2	35
Usually pleasant	60	6	66
Sometimes pleasant & Sometimes unpleasant	<u>90</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>113</u>
Totals	133	31	214

$p < .05$ $T = .15$

TABLE VI

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "ACT THE SAME" AND
"JEWS IN NEIGHBORHOOD"

"Act the same responses"	Responses to "neighborhood" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	103	49	152
Intolerant	<u>25</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>80</u>
Totals	128	104	232

$p < .001$ $T = .35$

TABLE VII

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "ACT THE SAME" AND "JEWS AS
DOCTORS, LAWYERS AND TEACHERS"

"Act the same" responses	Responses to "doctors, lawyers" items		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	102	50	152
Intolerant	<u>40</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>80</u>
Totals	142	90	232
		$p < .02$	$T = .17$

TABLE VIII

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "ACT THE SAME" AND
"JEWS AT PARTIES"

"Act the same" responses	Responses to "Jews at parties" items		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	125	27	152
Intolerant	<u>34</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>80</u>
Totals	159	73	232
		$p < .001$	$T = .40$

TABLE IX

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "ACT THE SAME" AND "SEND
JEWS BACK TO PALESTINE"

"Act the Same" responses	Responses to "Palestine" items		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	120	32	152
Intolerant	<u>43</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>80</u>
Totals	163	59	232
		$p < .01$	$T = .19$

TABLE X

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "ACT THE SAME" AND
"JEWS IN RESTAURANT"

"Act the same" responses	Responses to "Jewish restaurants" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	141	11	152
Intolerant	<u>59</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>80</u>
Totals	200	32	232

$p < .001$ $T = .30$

TABLE XI

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "HONEST, WARM AND FRIENDLY" AND
"JEWS IN NEIGHBORHOOD"

"Honest, Warm and Friendly" responses	Responses to "neighborhood" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	101	33	134
Intolerant	<u>25</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>97</u>
Totals	126	105	231

$p < .001$ $T = .49$

TABLE XII

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "HONEST, WARM AND FRIENDLY" AND "JEWS AS
DOCTORS, LAWYERS AND TEACHERS"

"Honest, Warm and Friendly" responses	Responses to "Jew as doctors" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	97	37	134
Intolerant	<u>45</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>97</u>
Totals	142	89	231

$p < .001$ $T = .26$

TABLE XIII

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "HONEST, WARM AND FRIENDLY"
AND "JEWS AT PARTIES"

"Honest, Warm and Friendly" responses	Responses to Jewish parties items		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	111	23	134
Intolerant	<u>47</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>95</u>
Totals	158	71	229
		$p < .001$	$T = .36$

TABLE XIV

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "HONEST, WARM AND FRIENDLY" AND "SEND
THE JEWS BACK TO PALESTINE"

"Honest, Warm and Friendly" responses	Responses to "Palestine" items		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	112	22	134
Intolerant	<u>50</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>97</u>
Totals	162	69	231
		$p < .001$	$T = .35$

TABLE XV

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "HONEST, WARM AND FRIENDLY"
AND "JEWS IN RESTAURANTS"

"Honest, Warm and Friendly" responses	Responses to "Jewish restaurant" items		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	127	7	134
Intolerant	<u>73</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>97</u>
Totals	200	31	231
		$p < .001$	$T = .26$

TABLE XVI

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN SACRIFICE AND
"JEWS IN NEIGHBORHOOD"

Responses to "sacrifice" items	Responses to "neighborhood" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	91	46	137
Intolerant	<u>30</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>84</u>
Totals	121	100	221
p < .001 T= .30			

TABLE XVII

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN SACRIFICE AND "JEWS AS
DOCTORS, LAWYERS AND TEACHERS"

Responses to "sacrifice" items	Responses to "Doctors" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	92	45	137
Intolerant	<u>45</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>84</u>
Totals	137	84	221
p < .05 T= .14			

TABLE XVIII

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN SACRIFICE AND
"JEWS AT PARTIES"

Responses to "sacrifice" items	Responses to "Parties" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	102	33	135
Intolerant	<u>50</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>84</u>
Totals	152	67	219
p < .05 T= .17			

TABLE XIX

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN SACRIFICE AND "SEND
JEWS BACK TO PALESTINE"

Responses to "sacrifice" item	Responses to "Palestine" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	106	31	137
Intolerant	<u>50</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>84</u>
Totals	156	65	221
p .01		T= .19	

TABLE XX

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "SACRIFICE"
AND "JEWS IN RESTAURANTS"

Responses to "sacrifice" item	Responses to Jewish restaurant" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	128	9	137
Intolerant	<u>64</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>84</u>
Totals	192	29	221
p .001		T= .25	

TABLE XIX

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN SACRIFICE AND "SEND
JEWS BACK TO PALESTINE"

Responses to "sacrifice" item	Responses to "Palestine" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	106	31	137
Intolerant	<u>50</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>84</u>
Totals	156	65	221
p .01		T= .19	

TABLE XX

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "SACRIFICE"
AND "JEWS IN RESTAURANTS"

Responses to "sacrifice" item	Responses to Jewish restaurant" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	128	9	137
Intolerant	<u>64</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>84</u>
Totals	192	29	221
p .001		T= .25	

TABLE XIX

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN SACRIFICE AND "SEND
JEWS BACK TO PALESTINE"

Responses to "sacrifice" item	Responses to "Palestine" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	106	31	137
Intolerant	<u>50</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>84</u>
Totals	156	65	221
p .01		T= .19	

TABLE XX

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "SACRIFICE"
AND "JEWS IN RESTAURANTS"

Responses to "sacrifice" item	Responses to Jewish restaurant" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	128	9	137
Intolerant	<u>64</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>84</u>
Totals	192	29	221
p .001		T= .25	

TABLE XXI

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN JEWISH PLEASANTNESS
AND "ACT THE SAME"

Pleasantness responses	Responses to "Act the same"		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Always pleasant	32	3	35
Usually pleasant	48	18	66
Sometimes pleasant & sometimes unpleasant	<u>63</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>113</u>
Totals	143	71	214
$p < .001$ $T = .23$			

TABLE XXII

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN JEWISH PLEASANTNESS AND
"HONEST, WARM AND FRIENDLY"

Pleasantness responses	Responses to "Honest, Warm and friendly"		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Always pleasant	30	5	35
Usually pleasant	41	25	66
Sometimes pleasant & sometimes unpleasant	<u>56</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>112</u>
Total	127	86	213
$p < .001$ $T = .23$			

TABLE XXIII

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN JEWISH PLEASANTNESS
AND SACRIFICE

Pleasantness responses	Responses to "sacrifice" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Always pleasant	24	9	33
Usually pleasant	42	22	64
Sometimes pleasant & sometimes unpleasant	<u>60</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>103</u>
Totals	126	74	200
$p < .001$ $T = .22$			

TABLE XXIV

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "ACT THE SAME" AND
"HONEST, WARM AND FRIENDLY"

"Act the same" responses	"Honest, Warm and Friendly" responses		
	Tolerant	Intolerant	Totals
Tolerant	114	37	151
Intolerant	<u>20</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>78</u>
Totals	134	95	229
p < .001 T= .48			

TABLE XXV

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "ACT THE SAME"
AND JEWISH "SACRIFICE"

Responses to "Act the same"	Responses to "sacrifice" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	105	41	146
Intolerant	<u>31</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>73</u>
Totals	136	83	219
p < .001 T= .29			

TABLE XXVI

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "HONEST, WARM, AND
FRIENDLY" AND JEWISH "SACRIFICE"

Responses to "Honest Warm & Friendly"	Responses to "sacrifice" items		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	94	36	130
Intolerant	<u>43</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>91</u>
Totals	137	84	221
p < .001 T= .25			

TABLE XXVII

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "SACRIFICE" AND
JEWISH SOCIAL-DISTANCE

Responses to "sacrifice"	Social-Distance classification			Totals
	Tolerant	Inter	Intolerant	
Tolerant	90	35	10	135
Intolerant	<u>24</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>84</u>
Totals	114	80	25	219
p. < .001. T= .31				

TABLE XXVIII

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN NEGRO PLEASANTNESS AND
"TAKE ORDERS FROM NEGROES"

Responses to pleasantness	Responses to "take orders" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Always pleasant	8	9	17
Usually pleasant	39	40	79
Sometimes pleasant & sometimes unpleasant	35	78	113
Usually unpleasant	<u>3</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>21</u>
Totals	85	145	230
p < .01 T= .18			

TABLE XXIX

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN NEGRO PLEASANTNESS AND
"NEGROES AT RESTAURANTS"

Responses to pleasantness	Responses to "restaurants" items		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Always pleasant	10	7	17
Usually pleasant	47	32	79
Sometimes pleasant and sometimes unpleasant	41	73	114
Usually unpleasant	<u>3</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>21</u>
Totals	101	130	231
p < .001 T= .25			

TABLE XXX

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN NEGRO PLEASANTNESS AND
"NEGROES IN SWIMMING POOLS"

Responses to pleasantness	Responses to "swimming" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Always pleasant	7	10	17
Usually pleasant	48	31	79
Sometimes pleasant and sometimes unpleasant	51	63	114
Usually unpleasant	<u>5</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>21</u>
Totals	111	120	231
	p < .01		T = .17

TABLE XXXI

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN NEGRO PLEASANTNESS
AND "NEGROES AT PARTIES"

Responses to pleasantness	Response to "parties" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Always pleasant	10	7	17
Usually pleasant	51	28	79
Sometimes pleasant and sometimes unpleasant	45	68	113
Usually unpleasant	<u>7</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>21</u>
Totals	113	117	230
	p < .01		T = .19

TABLE XXXII

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN NEGRO PLEASANTNESS AND
"NEGROES AT CHURCH"

Responses to pleasantness	Responses to "church" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Always pleasant	13	4	17
Usually pleasant	54	25	79
Sometimes pleasant and sometimes unpleasant	72	42	114
Usually unpleasant	<u>9</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>21</u>
Totals	148	83	231
	p < .11		(Not significant)

TABLE XXXIII

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "NEGROES ARE LAZY" AND
"TAKE ORDERS FROM NEGROES"

Responses to "lazy"	Responses to "take orders" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	72	94	166
Intolerant	<u>15</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>68</u>
Totals	87	147	234
		$p < .01$	$T = .20$

TABLE XXXIV

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "NEGROES ARE LAZY" AND
"NEGROES AT RESTAURANTS"

Responses to "lazy"	Responses to "restaurants" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	81	86	167
Intolerant	<u>16</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>68</u>
Totals	97	138	235
		$p < .01$	$T = .23$

TABLE XXXV

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "NEGROES ARE LAZY" AND
"NEGROES IN SWIMMING POOLS"

Responses to "lazy"	Responses to "swimming" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	90	77	167
Intolerant	<u>22</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>68</u>
Totals	112	123	235
		$p < .01$	$T = .20$

TABLE XXXVI
ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "NEGROES ARE LAZY" AND
"NEGROES AT PARTIES"

Responses to "lazy"	Responses to Tolerant	"parties" item Intolerant	Totals
Tolerant	94	72	166
Intolerant	<u>20</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>68</u>
Totals	114	120	234
	p < .01		T = .25

TABLE XXXVII
ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "NEGROES ARE LAZY" AND
"NEGROES AT CHURCH"

Responses to "lazy"	Responses to Tolerant	"church" item Intolerant	Totals
Tolerant	116	51	167
Intolerant	<u>34</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>68</u>
Totals	150	85	235
	p < .01		T = .26

TABLE XXXVIII
ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "SEND THE NEGROES BACK TO AFRICA"
AND TAKE ORDERS FROM NEGROES"

Responses to "Africa"	Responses to Tolerant	"take orders" items Intolerant	Totals
Tolerant	73	110	183
Intolerant	<u>14</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>51</u>
Totals	87	147	234
	p < .10		(Not significant)

TABLE XXXIX

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "SEND THE NEGROES BACK TO AFRICA"
AND "NEGROES AT RESTAURANTS"

Responses to "Africa"	Responses to "restaurants" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	93	91	184
Intolerant	<u>9</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>51</u>
Totals	102	133	235
p < .01 T= .27			

TABLE XL

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "SEND THE NEGROES BACK TO AFRICA"
AND "NEGROES IN SWIMMING POOLS"

Responses to "Africa"	Responses to "swimming" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	104	79	183
Intolerant	<u>10</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>51</u>
Totals	114	120	234
p < .001 T= .21			

TABLE XLI

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "SEND THE NEGROES BACK TO AFRICA"
AND "NEGROES AT PARTIES"

Responses to "Africa"	Responses to "parties" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	104	79	183
Intolerant	<u>10</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>51</u>
Totals	114	120	234
p < .001 T= .30			

TABLE XLII

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "SEND THE NEGROES BACK TO AFRICA"
AND "NEGROES IN CHURCH"

Responses to "Africa"	Responses to Tolerant	"church" items Intolerant	Totals
Tolerant	126	58	184
Intolerant	<u>24</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>51</u>
Totals	150	85	235
p < .01 T = .18			

TABLE XLIII

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN NEGRO PLEASANTNESS AND
"NEGROES ARE LAZY"

Responses to pleasantness	Responses to Tolerant	"lazy" item Intolerant	Totals
Always pleasant	14	3	17
Usually pleasant	65	14	79
Sometimes pleasant and sometimes unpleasant	73	41	114
Usually unpleasant	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>21</u>
Totals	164	67	231
p < .02 T = .16			

TABLE XLIV

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN NEGRO PLEASANTNESS AND
"SEND THE NEGROES BACK TO AFRICA"

Responses to pleasantness	Responses to Tolerant	"africa" item Intolerant	Totals
Always pleasant	13	4	17
Usually pleasant	68	11	79
Sometimes pleasant and sometimes unpleasant	88	26	114
Usually unpleasant	<u>13</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>21</u>
Totals	182	49	231
p < .10 (Not significant)			

TABLE XLV

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN "NEGROES ARE LAZY" AND
"SEND THE NEGROES BACK TO AFRICA"

Responses to "lazy"	Responses to "Africa" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Tolerant	144	23	167
Intolerant	<u>40</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>68</u>
Totals	184	51	235
p < .001 T = .30			

TABLE XLVI

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN TYPE OF JEWISH CONTACT
AND JEWISH SOCIAL-DISTANCE

Type of Contact	Social-Distance Classification			Totals
	Tolerant	Intermediate	Intolerant	
Intimate	49	25	3	77
Casual	59	45	16	120
None	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>32</u>
Totals	121	82	26	229
p < .06 (Not significant)				

TABLE XLVII

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN TYPE OF JEWISH CONTACT
AND JEWISH PLEASANTNESS

Responses to "pleasantness"	Type of contact			Totals
	Intimate	Casual	None	
Always pleasant	20	10	4	34
Usually pleasant	25	34	4	63
Sometimes pleasant & sometimes unpleasant	<u>32</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>111</u>
Totals	77	110	21	208
p < .02				

TABLE XLVIII

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN TYPE OF JEWISH CONTACT
AND "ACT THE SAME"

Type of Contact	Responses to "act the same"		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Intimate	59	17	76
Casual	77	44	121
None	<u>14</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>32</u>
Totals	150	79	229

$p < .01$

TABLE XLIX

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN TYPE OF JEWISH CONTACT
AND "HONEST, WARM AND FRIENDLY"

Type of contact	Responses to "honest, warm and friendly"		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Intimate	57	18	75
Casual	65	55	120
None	<u>12</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>32</u>
Totals	134	93	227

$p < .001$

TABLE L

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN TYPE OF JEWISH CONTACT
AND "SACRIFICE"

Type of contact	Responses to "sacrifice"		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Intimate	53	22	75
Casual	65	45	110
None	<u>16</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>32</u>
Totals	134	83	217

$p < .11$ (Not significant)

TABLE LI

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN TYPE OF NEGRO CONTACT
AND NEGRO SOCIAL-DISTANCE

Type of contact	Social-Distance classification			Totals
	Tolerant	Intermediate	Intolerant	
Intimate	33	21	23	76
Casual	<u>40</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>156</u>
Totals	72	77	83	232

$p < .02$

TABLE LII

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN TYPE OF NEGRO CONTACT AND
NEGRO PLEASANTNESS

Responses to pleasantness	Type of contact		Total
	Intimate	Casual	
Always pleasant	16	7	17
Usually pleasant	29	50	79
Sometimes pleasant and sometimes unpleasant	29	84	113
Usually unpleasant	<u>8</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>21</u>
Totals	76	154	230

$p < .05$

TABLE LIII

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN TYPE OF NEGRO CONTACT AND
"NEGROES ARE LAZY"

Type of contact	Responses to "lazy" item		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Intimate	60	16	76
Casual	<u>107</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>158</u>
Totals	167	67	254

$p < .06$ (Not significant)

TABLE LIV

ASSOCIATION BETWEEN TYPE OF NEGRO CONTACT AND
 "SEND THE NEGROES BACK TO AFRICA"

Type of contact	responses to "Africa"		Totals
	Tolerant	Intolerant	
Intimate	64	12	76
Casual	<u>120</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>158</u>
Totals	184	50	234
p < .12 (not significant)			

APPENDIX B.

The Questionnaire.

Michigan
State
College
4-10-52

Student Questionnaire

Social
Research
Service
WBB:vb

Instructions: Most of the questions below can be answered by circling a number, checking an answer, or writing in a number. In those cases where you are asked to write out your own answer, space is provided for you to do so. When specific instructions are given, follow those instructions for all the questions that come after that until you are given new instructions.

1-4 Name 5. Grade Age

6. Are you a boy or a girl? (Circle the number following the correct answer.)

Boy 1
Girl 2

7. Since June 1949, how many schools besides this one have you attended?

None 0
One 1
Two 2
Three 3
More than three 4

8. Where do you live?

In town 1
In the country 2

9. How many living brothers and sisters do you have?

(Circle the correct number on each line, the 0 if none)

Younger brothers	0	1	2	3	4 or more
Older brothers	0	1	2	3	4 or more
Younger sisters	0	1	2	3	4 or more
Older sisters	0	1	2	3	4 or more

10. With which of the following older adults are you now living?

(Circle only one number after the correct answer)

Mother only 1
Father only 2
Mother and father 3
Mother and stepfather 4
Father and stepmother 5
Foster parents 6
Other relatives 7
Other people not relatives 8

11. Are both of your parents living now?

Yes, both are living 1
No, father only is living 2
No, mother only is living 3
No, neither are living 4

12. If you do not now live with both your parents, in what year did you last live with both of them?

In 1952	1
In 1951	2
In 1950	3
In 1949	4
In 1948	5
In 1947	6
Before 1947	7
Have never lived with <u>both</u> parents	8
Have always lived with <u>both</u> parents	9

13. Who contributes most to the support of your family?
(If you do not live with either or both of your parents,
answer for the family with which you are now living.)

Father	1
Mother	2
Some other person (Who?)	

14. What does the person mentioned in 13 above do for a living? (Write in the name of his or her occupation)

.....

.....

- 14a. Describe as accurately as possible what this person makes or does on the job. (For example: he supervises the work of others; he works on his own machine; he sells from door-to-door; etc.)

.....

.....

.....

Some people are paid for work in making things by the number of pieces they turn out. This is called "payment by piece rate." Others are paid according to the time they put in on the job, that is, so much per hour or per day. This is called "payment by wage rate." Others are paid a flat sum each week, every two weeks, or once a month and the hours they work are not checked. This is called "payment by salary rate." Others receive income from farming or business operations in the form of profits from things they own and sell. This is called "earning by profit." Others are paid for selling things that others own, this is called "earning by commission." Still others set a charge for the personal services they give. This is called "earning by fee." Finally, many people get returns from the money they put into shares or bonds of businesses other than their own. This is called "earning by dividends on investments." In answering the following question, circle the number of the answer below that best describes how the person mentioned in 13 above receives most of his income. Further instructions will be given to explain this more clearly if you will raise your hand.

15. In what way is the income of your father or the other person mentioned in 13 reckoned?

Payment by piece rate	1
Payment by wage rate	2
Payment by salary rate	3
Earning by profit	4
Earning by commission	5
Earning by fee	6
Earning by dividends on investments	7
Other (Describe)	

16. Does this person do any other kind of work to earn money?
(Circle the number after the correct answer)

Yes	1
No	2

16a. If Yes, what other kind of work?

17. How far did this person go in school?

Less than eighth grade	1
Eighth grade	2
Some high school	3
High school graduate	4
Business college	5
Some college	6
College graduate	7
Don't know	8

18. In addition to this person does anyone else contribute to the support of your family?

Yes 1
No 2

- 18a. If yes, describe as accurately as possible what each one does on the job.

1. Father.....
2. Mother.....
3. Brothers.....
4. Sisters.....
5. Myself.....
6. Other persons.....
7. Unemployment compensation.....
8. Welfare agencies.....

19. How far do you expect to go in school? (Circle the number after the correct answer.)

Some high school 1
Graduate from high school 2
Business college 3
Some college 4
Graduate from college 5
Advanced training for a profession 6
Other (Explain).....

20. What kind of life work do you expect to do when you finish your schooling? (Write answer below)

.....

21. Have you had a paid job since 1949? (Circle as many as apply to you.)

No paid job 1
Yes, part-time while going to school 2
Yes, full-time while going to school 3
Yes, part-time during summer 4
Yes, full-time during summer 5
Yes, for my family or relatives 6
Other (Explain).....

- 21a. If Yes, describe as accurately as possible what kind of work you did on the job or jobs. Indicate which, if any, was done for your family. (For example: I sold magazines door to door, or I drove the tractor for my brother, etc.)

.....

.....

Now I want you to tell me about some of the people you know. None of the people you know, not even your teacher, will ever be told what you have said. So just write down what you think.

22. Who are the most friendly boys or girls among your classmates? Name the most friendly first, then the next, and so on.

1. _____
(first name) (last name)

2. _____

3. _____

23. Who are the least friendly boys or girls among your classmates? Name the least friendly first and then the others who are not so friendly.

1. _____
(first name) (last name)

2. _____

3. _____

24. If you have lots of visitors in school for a program, and you had to double up or put the seats close together to make room for the visitor, what person in your class would you most like to have sit next to you?

(first name) (last name)

25. What person in your class would you least like to have sit next to you?

(first name) (last name)

26. What kinds or groups of people do you think are likely to try to push ahead or take advantage of someone like you? (Write your answer below.)

27. Sometimes people talk about middle, lower, working or upper classes in the community, and say that a family is in one or another of these classes. Which one of the following "classes" would you say your parents or the folks you live with belong to? (Circle the number after the one that best applies to your family.)

Middle class 1
Lower class 2
Working class 3
Upper class 4

28. What kinds of contacts have you had with Jewish people?
(Circle every item in the list that applies to you.)

I have Jewish relatives
I have played or gone out with Jewish
boys or girls
I have known Jewish people well
I have known Jewish people but not very well
I have seen Jewish people but have not
talked to them
I have never seen Jewish people

29. If you have had any contacts with Jewish people when did these occur?
(Circle one number.)

Before the sixth grade
Between the sixth and ninth grades
After the ninth grade
Both before and after the sixth grade
Both before and after the ninth grade
Have had no contacts

- 29a. What is the main thing you remember about these experiences?
(Describe in as much detail as you wish.)

30. How would you describe the contacts that most young people have with
Jewish people? (Circle one number.)

Always pleasant
Usually pleasant
Sometimes pleasant and sometimes unpleasant
Usually unpleasant
Always unpleasant

31. What kinds of contacts have you had with Negro people?
(Circle every item in the list that applies to you.)

I have Negro relatives
I have played or gone out with Negro
boys or girls
I have known Negro people well
I have known Negro people but not very well
I have seen Negro people but have not talked
to them
I have never seen Negro people

32. If you have had any contacts with Negro people when did these occur?
(Circle one number.)

Before the sixth grade
Between the sixth and ninth grades
After the ninth grade
Both before and after the sixth grade
Both before and after the ninth grade
Have had no contacts

- 32a. What is the main thing you remember about these experiences?
(Describe in as much detail as you wish.)

33. How would you describe the contacts that most young people have with
Negro people? (Circle one number.)

Always pleasant
Usually pleasant
Sometimes pleasant and sometimes unpleasant
Usually unpleasant
Always unpleasant

Young people feel differently about being with different kinds of people. Some people they don't like to be with, some they don't care whether they are with or not, some they sort of like to be with, and some they like to be with very much. Here are some people of different ages. Indicate how you usually feel most of the time about being with each kind of person. Circle (1) if you don't like to be with certain kinds of persons. Circle (2) if it doesn't make any difference whether you are with them or not. Circle (3) if you sort of like to be with them. Circle (4) if you like very much to be with them. Circle (5) if you don't have any such relative as listed. Circle one number for each kind of person listed in 34 below. Raise your hand if you don't understand.

34. How do you usually feel most of the time about being with each of the following members of your family?

	<u>Don't</u> <u>like to</u> <u>be with</u>	<u>Doesn't</u> <u>make any</u> <u>difference</u>	<u>Sort of</u> <u>like to</u> <u>be with</u>	<u>Like very</u> <u>much to</u> <u>be with</u>	<u>I have</u> <u>no such</u> <u>relative</u>
1. Younger brother.....	1	2	3	4	5
2. Younger sister.....	1	2	3	4	5
3. Older brother.....	1	2	3	4	5
4. Older sister.....	1	2	3	4	5
5. Father.....	1	2	3	4	5
6. Mother.....	1	2	3	4	5
7. Grandfather.....	1	2	3	4	5
8. Grandmother.....	1	2	3	4	5

34a. Which two of these family members do you most like to be with?
(Write in the names or the numbers which correspond to these persons,
as for example, (1) for younger brother, (6) for mother, etc.)

1.
2.

35. How do you usually feel most of the time about being with each of the following kinds of persons? (Circle (5) if the kinds of persons listed from 7 to 10 do not apply to you. Circle one number for each kind of person listed.)

	Don't like to <u>be with</u>	Doesn't make any <u>difference</u>	Sort of like to <u>be with</u>	Like very much to <u>be with</u>	Doesn't apply in <u>my case</u>
1. Fellows younger than I	1	2	3	4	
2. Girls younger than I	1	2	3	4	
3. Fellows about my age	1	2	3	4	
4. Girls about my age	1	2	3	4	
5. Fellows a little older than I	1	2	3	4	
6. Girls a little older than I	1	2	3	4	
7. Fellows in clubs I belong to	1	2	3	4	5
8. Girls in clubs I belong to	1	2	3	4	5
9. Men who lead or advise these clubs	1	2	3	4	5
10. Women who lead or ad- vise these clubs	1	2	3	4	5
11. Men teachers	1	2	3	4	
12. Women teachers	1	2	3	4	
13. Other men as old as my father	1	2	3	4	
14. Other women as old as my mother	1	2	3	4	
15. Other men my grand- father's age	1	2	3	4	
16. Other women my grand- mother's age	1	2	3	4	

35a. Which two of these groups do you most like to be with?
(Write in the names or the numbers which correspond to these persons,
as for example, (2) for girls younger than I, (11) for men teachers, etc.)

1.
2.

35b. Which two of these groups do you least like to be with?
(Write in the names or the numbers which correspond to these
persons as above.)

1.
2.

36. All young people sometimes get worried or upset over things that happen or problems that they have. Some young people often keep such problems entirely to themselves and don't tell anybody about them until they get over them while others tell someone about them right away. What do you usually do? (Circle the number following the correct answer.)

Keep it to myself 1
Tell someone about it right away 2

37. Some kinds of people seem to understand young people of high school age and their problems and others do not. How well do you think each of the following kinds of people understand young people like you and their problems? Circle (1) if you think they don't understand you at all. Circle (2) if you think they don't understand you very well. Circle (3) if you think they understand you fairly well. Circle (4) if you think they understand you very well. Circle one number for each kind of person.

	Don't understand us at all	Don't understand us very well	Understand us fairly well	Understand us very well
a. Teachers	1	2	3	4
b. Adult clubleaders	1	2	3	4
c. My parents	1	2	3	4
d. Other parents	1	2	3	4
e. Other adults	1	2	3	4
f. Young people my own age	1	2	3	4

38. Experts on young people and their problems tell us it is natural for some young people to quarrel at times and to get "good and mad" with each other. Whether you agree or not, please answer the following questions.

- 38a. On about how many days over the past four weeks have you become "good and mad" at somebody your age? (Write in the average number of days.)

..... days

- 38b. The next day after this happens, how do you usually feel about it? (Circle one number.)

Have pretty much forgotten about it 1
Still feel somewhat mad about it 2
Feel sorry that I got mad 3

- 38c. When you and other young people who are close to you disagree or quarrel, which of these things usually happens?

They make me give in to them more than they give in to me 1
They give in to me more than I give in to them 2
We each give in to the other about 50-50 3

- 38d. On the whole, with which young people do you quarrel more often?

Boys 1
Girls 2
Both about the same 3

39. Educational experts tell us it is natural for students to get "good and mad" when teachers order them around and "nag" at them. Whether you agree or not, please answer the following questions.

39a. On about how many days over the past four weeks have you become "good and mad" at some teacher? (Write in the average number of days.)

..... days

39b. The next day after this happens how do you usually feel about it?
(Circle one number.)

Have pretty much forgotten about it 1
Still feel somewhat mad about it 2
Feel sorry that I got mad 3

39c. When you have trouble with your teachers and disagree or quarrel with them, which of these things usually happens?

They make me give in to them more than they give in to me 1
They give in to me more than I give in to them 2
We each give in to the other about 50-50 3

39d. On the whole, with which teachers do you have the most trouble or quarrels?

Men teachers 1
Women teachers 2
Both about the same 3

40. Family experts tell us it is natural for young people to get "good and mad" when their parents order them around and scold them. Whether you agree or not, please answer the following questions.

40a. On about how many days over the past four weeks have you become "good and mad" at your parents? (Write in the average number of days.)

..... days

40b. The next morning after this happens how do you usually feel about it?
(Circle one number.)

Have pretty much forgotten about it 1
Still feel somewhat mad about it 2
Feel sorry that I got mad 3

40c. When you and one, or both, of your parents, have trouble or quarrel, which of these things usually happens?

They make me give in to them more than they give in to me 1
They give in to me more than I give in to them 2
Each gives in to the other about 50-50 3

40d. On the whole, with which parent do you usually have the most trouble or quarrels?

Father 1
Mother 2
Both about the same 3

1. The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the position of the various groups of the population.

2. The second part of the report deals with the economic situation of the country and the position of the various groups of the population.

3. The third part of the report deals with the social situation of the country and the position of the various groups of the population.

4. The fourth part of the report deals with the cultural situation of the country and the position of the various groups of the population.

5. The fifth part of the report deals with the political situation of the country and the position of the various groups of the population.

6. The sixth part of the report deals with the international situation of the country and the position of the various groups of the population.

7. The seventh part of the report deals with the future of the country and the position of the various groups of the population.

8. The eighth part of the report deals with the conclusion of the report and the position of the various groups of the population.

9. The ninth part of the report deals with the appendix of the report and the position of the various groups of the population.

10. The tenth part of the report deals with the bibliography of the report and the position of the various groups of the population.

11. The eleventh part of the report deals with the index of the report and the position of the various groups of the population.

12. The twelfth part of the report deals with the conclusion of the report and the position of the various groups of the population.

13. The thirteenth part of the report deals with the appendix of the report and the position of the various groups of the population.

14. The fourteenth part of the report deals with the bibliography of the report and the position of the various groups of the population.

15. The fifteenth part of the report deals with the index of the report and the position of the various groups of the population.

16. The sixteenth part of the report deals with the conclusion of the report and the position of the various groups of the population.

17. The seventeenth part of the report deals with the appendix of the report and the position of the various groups of the population.

41. Do you usually run around with a group of good friends or a "gang" or boys or girls your own age?

Yes..... 1
No..... 2

- 41a. If you do, what are the names of some of these people.
(Name as many as you wish.)

42. I wish there was some way for me to be better friends with other groups of young people in this school.

Yes..... 1
No..... 2

43. What groups in church do you belong to? Check below all of those of which you are a member. Add any that are not included in the list.

1. Sunday School Class
2. Choir
3. Baptist Youth Fellowship
4. Methodist Youth Fellowship
5. Westminster Fellowship
6. Others (Write the names of
all others in space below.)

44. What other clubs or organizations in school and outside of school do you belong to? Check below all of those of which you are a member. Add any that are not included in the list.

1. Band	21. Girl Scouts
2. Baseball team	22. G.A.A.
3. Basketball team	23. Golf team
4. Boy Scouts	24. Hi-Y club
5. C Club (Varsity)	25. Horizon club
6. Cardinal Chatter Staff	26. Intramural sports
7. Cardinal Service Club	27. Mirror Staff
8. Cardinal Staff	28. National Honor Society
9. Cheerleaders	29. Quill and Scroll
10. Chorus	30. Radio Club
11. Citizenship Committee	31. Sewing Club
12. Class play	32. Student Commission
13. Cooking Club	33. Tennis team
14. Dancing Club	34. Track team
15. Debate Team	35. Ushers
16. Exchange Assembly	36. Y-Teen
17. Football team	37. Others (Write the names of all others in space below.)
18. 4-H Club	
19. F.F.A.	
20. Future Teachers Club	

45. Which of the groups, clubs, or organizations you have listed in 43 and 44 above do you like the best? (Write in the names.)

46. Which of the groups, clubs, or organizations you have listed in 43 and 44 above so you like the least? (Write in the names).

47. Are there any other groups, clubs, or organizations of which you are not a member, that you would like to belong to? (Circle the number after the correct answer.)

Yes 1
No 2

47a. If there are, what are they? (Write in the names.)

FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS: Here are some things on which a lot of people have different opinions. You may disagree with some of these statements and you may agree with others. Circle (1) if you disagree with the statement. Circle (2) if you are not sure or cannot quite agree with the statement. Circle (3) if you agree completely with the statement. Remember, this is not a test and there are no right or wrong answers. So just write down what you think.

48. "I would have just as much fun if Jewish kids went to the same parties that I go to".

No 1
I cannot quite agree 2
I agree completely 3

49. "It would make no difference to me if I were to go to a swimming pool where there were Negroes."

It would make a difference 1
It would make a little difference 2
It would make no difference 3

50. We would all be better off if we shipped the Jews back to Palestine.

I disagree 1
I cannot quite agree 2
I agree completely 3

51. Most Jewish people act very much the same as other people.

I disagree 1
I cannot quite agree 2
I agree completely 3

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that this is essential for ensuring transparency and accountability in the organization's operations.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods and tools used to collect and analyze data. It highlights the need for a systematic approach to data collection and the importance of using reliable sources of information.

3. The third part of the document describes the process of identifying and addressing potential risks and challenges. It stresses the importance of proactive risk management and the need to develop effective strategies to mitigate potential threats.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the role of communication and collaboration in achieving the organization's goals. It emphasizes the importance of clear communication and the need for all team members to work together effectively.

5. The fifth part of the document outlines the various metrics and indicators used to measure the organization's performance. It highlights the need for a balanced scorecard approach that takes into account both financial and non-financial factors.

6. The sixth part of the document describes the process of reviewing and evaluating the organization's progress. It stresses the importance of regular reviews and the need to make adjustments as necessary to stay on track.

7. The seventh part of the document discusses the importance of continuous improvement and the need to seek out new opportunities for growth and innovation. It emphasizes the importance of a culture of learning and the need to embrace change.

8. The eighth part of the document outlines the various challenges and obstacles that may be encountered during the implementation of the plan. It highlights the need for a strong leadership team and the importance of maintaining motivation and morale.

9. The ninth part of the document discusses the importance of monitoring and evaluating the impact of the plan on the organization's stakeholders. It emphasizes the need for a comprehensive evaluation process that takes into account the needs and interests of all affected parties.

10. The tenth part of the document outlines the various steps and actions that need to be taken to implement the plan successfully. It stresses the importance of a clear timeline and the need for regular communication and reporting.

52. "It would make no difference to me if I took a job where I had to take orders from a Negro."
- It would make no difference 1
It would make a little difference 2
It would make a difference 3
53. Mexicans should be allowed to eat in the same restaurants with white people.
- I disagree 1
I cannot quite agree 2
I agree completely 3
54. It would be better for everybody if Negroes and white people were allowed to go to the same churches.
- No 1
I cannot quite agree 2
I agree completely 3
55. Generally speaking, Negroes are lazy and ignorant.
- I disagree 1
I cannot quite agree 2
I agree completely 3
56. If more Mexicans want to come to Michigan, they should be allowed to enter.
- I disagree 1
I cannot quite agree 2
I agree completely 3
57. The Jewish people are just as honest and warm and friendly as other people.
- I disagree 1
I cannot quite agree 2
I agree completely 3
58. The white and Negro people would get along better if they both ate in the same restaurants.
- No 1
I cannot quite agree 2
I agree completely 3
59. Thousands of Jewish people have sacrificed unselfishly and generously and heroically to make America great.
- I disagree 1
I cannot quite agree 2
I agree completely 3
60. When a Jewish person wants to eat in a restaurant he should be allowed to eat in any restaurant.
- No 1
I cannot quite agree 2
I agree completely 3

61. "I would have just as much fun at a party where there were Negroes."

No.....	1
I cannot quite agree	2
I agree completely.....	3

62. "It is all right with me if more Jewish people move into my neighborhood".

I disagree	1
I cannot quite agree	2
I agree completely	3

63. Sending the Negroes back to Africa is a poor way to improve American civilization.

No, it is a good way to improve America.....	1
I'm not sure, but it might be a good way	2
It is a poor way to improve America	3

64. We should see to it that not too many Jews become doctors, lawyers, or teachers.

I disagree.....	1
I cannot quite agree	2
I agree completely.....	3

Here are some opinions which young people often think about. With each opinion some young people happen to agree and others may disagree. In the same way, you may agree with some of these opinions and disagree with others. For each opinion, indicate how you yourself feel about it.

Circle (1) for strongly disagree, if you disagree completely and wholeheartedly with the statement. Circle (2) for disagree, if you disagree in general with the statement. Circle (3) for cannot decide, if you are not sure whether you disagree or agree with the statement. Circle (4) for agree, if you agree in general with the statement. Circle (5) for strongly agree, if you agree completely and wholeheartedly with the statement.

65. There is only one right way of doing anything.

Strongly disagree	1
Disagree	2
Cannot decide	3
Agree	4
Strongly agree	5

66. A person when he is grown up may be happier by remaining unmarried.

Strongly disagree	1
Disagree	2
Cannot decide	3
Agree	4
Strongly agree	5

67. The teacher who is most strict deserves the most respect of pupils.

Strongly disagree.....
Disagree.....
Cannot decide.....
Agree.....
Strongly agree.....

68. A young person doesn't really have any one he can trust to tell the things he thinks about most.

Strongly disagree.....
Disagree.....
Cannot decide.....
Agree.....
Strongly agree.....

69. Everyone should feel complete, undying love, admiration, and respect for his parents.

Strongly disagree.....
Disagree.....
Cannot decide.....
Agree.....
Strongly agree.....

70. High school is all right for some people, but some young people would be happier if they didn't have to go.

Strongly disagree.....
Disagree.....
Cannot decide.....
Agree.....
Strongly agree.....

71. If there were enough food and clothing, a person could be just as happy living by himself on an island with friendly animals for companions.

Strongly disagree.....
Disagree.....
Cannot decide.....
Agree.....
Strongly agree.....

72. You are frequently better off going places by yourself than to drag along with other people your own age.

Strongly disagree.....
Disagree.....
Cannot decide.....
Agree.....
Strongly agree.....

73. I wish I had been living when my parents were young people rather than now.

Strongly disagree.....
Disagree.....
Cannot decide.....
Agree.....
Strongly agree.....

74. There's not much point in thinking about the future since you can't do anything about it anyway.

Strongly disagree.....
Disagree
Cannot decide.....
Agree.....
Strongly agree

75. It's natural for young people to wish sometimes that they were very sick, maybe even dying.

Strongly disagree.....
Disagree
Cannot decide
Agree.....
Strongly agree

76. Lots of young people think now and then about running away from home.

Strongly disagree.....
Disagree
Cannot decide
Agree
Strongly agree

77. Parents should have fewer children because the kids in the family only make trouble for each other.

Strongly disagree.....
Disagree
Cannot decide
Agree.....
Strongly agree

78. The most important thing to teach children is absolute obedience to their parents.

Strongly disagree.....
Disagree
Cannot decide
Agree
Strongly agree

79. There's no use taking your troubles to grown-ups because they don't really understand how to help you.

Strongly disagree.....
Disagree
Cannot decide
Agree
Strongly agree

80. Those who are strong should rule those who are weak.

Strongly disagree.....
Disagree
Cannot decide
Agree.....
Strongly agree

81. Young people often wonder what it would be like to have different parents.

Strongly disagree
Disagree
Cannot decide
Agree
Strongly agree

82. A young person can hardly tell the right thing to do anymore.

Strongly disagree
Disagree
Cannot decide
Agree
Strongly agree

83. To be neat and tidy in appearance is the first step toward popularity and success.

Strongly disagree
Disagree
Cannot decide
Agree
Strongly agree

84. Appearance usually tells us what a person is really like.

Strongly disagree
Disagree
Cannot decide
Agree
Strongly agree

85. It is only natural and right that women should not have as much freedom in certain things as men.

Strongly disagree
Disagree
Cannot decide
Agree
Strongly agree

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