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A COMPARISON OF ATTITUDES OF
FRATERNITY AND SORORITY MEMBERS
AT MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
TOWARD NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS IN
RELATION TO THEIR CLASS STATUS

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by

Michael Ciprito
Carol Kikstra
Henry Moyskens
Robert Persse
Kathleen Whalen

AN ABSTRACT

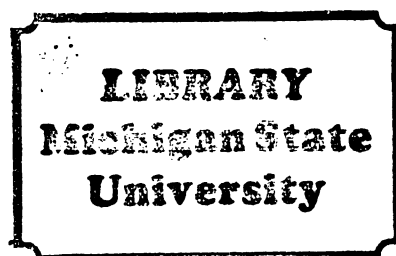
Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for
the degree of

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

Michigan State University
School of Social Work
East Lansing, Michigan

1963

THESIS



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AN ABSTRACT

This study was designed to test the hypothesis that those members of fraternities and sororities who are from upper-middle class homes are less biased in their attitudes towards the Negro civil rights movement than are those members of fraternities and sororities who are from lower-middle class homes. It was felt that their attitudes would have been influenced by their parents' income, education, occupation, and the number and kind of their parents' social activities, i.e. class status.

A questionnaire was distributed to 116 fraternity and sorority members at Michigan State University. This consisted of 64 "fixed-alternative" questions relating to these areas of civil rights: housing, welfare, protest movements, riots, social relations, employment, and education.

The analysis of the data failed to confirm the hypothesis in that no significant difference was found between the expressed attitudes among the members of both classes.

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A RESEARCH PROJECT

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors wish to express their appreciation to the following persons without whose cooperation this research project would not have been completed.

Those members of fraternities and sororities who participated in answering the questionnaire.

Dr. Robert Green, Associate Professor of Education at Michigan State University who suggested the topic for this research project.

Mr. Kime whose aid was invaluable and greatly appreciated.

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INTRODUCTION

Statement of Purpose

There is little question that the most crucial internal problem the American people are presently confronted with is that of race relations. In the past decade or so the Negro has acquired some hope that his life conditions can be improved. With this hope, protest movements began, and since the summer of 1964 various cities throughout the nation have been struck by incidents of racial violence, in rebellion against the oppressions of a racist society. "The white American is a problem to himself in that racism is a reflection of personal and collective anxieties lodged deep in the hearts and minds of white Americans. The source of the problem must be sought in the white American - in the process by which he was educated, in the needs and complexities he expresses through racism and in the structure of the white community."¹ It seems that the manner in which this country meets this crisis in the coming years will determine the future course of our cities and of the nation as a whole.

¹Bennett, Lerone. "The White Problem in America" in The White Problem in America. by the Editors of Ebony, (Chicago, 1966), p.2.

Because of this situation a research project on attitudes of students in this area of race relations is particularly timely. On the suggestion of Dr. Robert Green of the Education Department at Michigan State University it was decided to confine the study to fraternity and sorority members at Michigan State University. The objective of this study was to determine how sympathetic or unsympathetic these students are toward the civil rights movement, and to determine possible class differences of attitude within the sample.

It is assumed that students who are fraternity and sorority members will tend to become members of the white power structure, represented by real estate, banking, education and management involvement. Obviously, other students will become members of the power structure also, but because of their organizational capacities, fraternity and sorority members are more likely to participate in the power structure. If we could acquire some idea of these students' attitudes and if these hold on a national scale shown by further research, then it may be possible to approximately chart the future course of racism in this country.

Review of Literature

There is voluminous literature on the subject of race relations, prejudice, discrimination, etc. but although many research projects have been conducted in this general area, we were unable to discover any that dealt specifically with fraternity and sorority members. We will, therefore,

briefly review some primary concepts and recent trends in race relations, noting studies pertinent to our hypothesis.

The term "prejudice" is defined in various ways. A prejudice can be a negative or positive attitude; with reference to minority groups it takes on a negative connotation. Allport states that "ethnic prejudice is an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole or toward an individual because he is a member of a group."²

The literature reveals many theories of prejudice, depending on which causal factors one desires to emphasize. Prior to the twentieth century prejudice had been assigned a biological base which focused on the physical traits of minority groups giving "birth to racism."³ Gradually various social and psychological theories replaced these earlier theories. Some viewed it in terms of economic class exploitation. Psychological theories stress the need for a scapegoat, for those whose needs for personal security are frustrated. Hence, hostility results, and is displaced onto some disadvantaged group. It is often viewed as a type of deviation in these theories. The Authoritarian Personality by

²Allport, Gordon W. The Nature of Prejudice (Garden City, New York, 1954), p.10.

³Rose, Peter I. They and We-Racial and Ethnic Relations in the U.S. (New York, 1954), p.89.

T.W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Daniel J. Levinson and R. Newitt Sanford, is one of the major studies in this area. Sociologists may accept the psychological factors, but emphasize that the personality will vary with the situation, reference group, sanctions and rewards, roles, and the personality tendencies brought to the situation.

No one theory, therefore, can adequately define prejudice but, rather each one adds to an understanding of the dynamics involved. "It is clear though that we find the explanation of prejudice in the personality and experience of the person holding the prejudice."⁴ It is also a well acknowledged fact that prejudice is learned rather than inherited. This begins early in the kinship system, where the child takes on the prejudices of his parents. Allport considers this to be the most important single source of prejudice, although it is modifiable through experience.

In looking at social class, which is the primary concern of our project, the concept of ethnocentrism becomes important. This basically refers to the idea that groups tend to develop an attitude of superiority as to its own cultural patterns and feelings of antagonism toward out-groups. The social class which is an achieved status does not create prejudice, but can be "a cultural invitation to prejudice."⁵ Conformity to the values of the social class plus personal reasons or insecurities can lead to prejudice. we must also consider that "the people in any class may vary

⁴Horton, Paul S. and Leslie, Gerald R. The Sociology of Social Problems (New York, 1965) p. 415.

⁵Allport, Gordon W., p.304.

with respect to their other social roles because these other roles may have consequences more important for their personalities than do their class positions."⁶ In other words, any group will tolerate a certain range of behavior.

The results of any studies of social stratification or social class "will depend on the author's view of social stratification (number of classes used), the criteria used to define or identify social class, the method of classifying, and the nature of the communities themselves."⁷ "Many studies of prejudice in terms of education, religion, age, or social class are often contradictory; but it seems fairly well established that white people in the lower socio-economic levels are on the average, more bitterly anti-Negro than white people at higher socio-economic levels."⁸

Bettelheim notes that in a study in the Detroit area in 1957, the upper middle class (professional and managerial) was less prejudiced than the lower-middle class (clerical, sales, etc.). But he states that "it is more important to investigate social mobility rather than social and economic background,"⁹ with which Allport also agrees. Those who move down the social ladder or find their status threatened by those below them tend to react in a more prejudiced manner. "A desperate drive for status on the part of

⁶ Simpson, E. and Yinger, Milton J. "The Sociology of Race and Ethnic Relations" in R.K. Merton, Leonard Broom, Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. (eds.) Sociology Today (New York, 1957), p.394.

⁷ Ibid., p.396.

⁸ Allport, p.78.

Deeply insecure people will lead to apparent irrationalities, the function which is to satisfy the need for status."¹⁰

Related to this concept of mobility, Berelson states that "prejudice and discrimination arise out of the relative positions of the groups involved and of changes in the relative positions."¹¹ The dominant group may come to fear that members of the subordinate groups are not holding to their prescribed status. The recent trend in the civil rights movement seems to have created such a situation and is continuing to do so.

On a more general level of class distinctions as related to prejudice or unsympathetic attitudes toward the Negro, Brink and Harris reveal the results of a recent News-week survey of college students. The results showed that "if there were any real signs of greater acceptance of social contact with Negroes it was almost all among the better educated, among the sons and daughters of the affluent

⁹ Bettelheim, Bruno and Janowitz, Norris. Social Change and Prejudice (London, 1964), p.165.

¹⁰ Clark, Kenneth B. "What Motivates Whites" in The White Problem in America, by the Editors of Ebony (Chicago: 1966), p.55.

¹¹ Berelson, Bernard and Steiner, Gary A. Human Behavior, An Inventory of Scientific Findings (N.Y., Chicago, Burlingame, 1964), p.511.

rather than the less privileged."¹² This author states that "the stereotyped beliefs about Negroes are firmly rooted in the less privileged, less well educated white society."¹³

There are numerous reasons why persons in upper classes seem to be less prejudiced than those in lower classes which for our purposes are not necessary to elaborate on. Our concern was to see if this premise held true for fraternity and sorority members in their attitudes toward the current social situation.

A number of recent studies conducted to determine the attitudes of white people toward the present racial crises and civil rights movement appear relevant to our study. However, these studies did not necessarily differentiate attitudes by class position.

The NORC survey of 1963, in a national sample of white persons found that, "the higher a person's socio-economic status, education, income, and occupation, the higher he scored on the Guttman Pro-Integration Scale."¹⁴ "However, in 1965 the Gallup Poll warned that criticism of integration speed has grown among northern whites."¹⁵

¹² Brink, William and Harris, Louis. Black and White (New York, 1966), p.133.

¹³ Ibid., p.137.

¹⁴ Sheatslev, Paul B. "White Attitudes Toward the Negro" in Daedalus. (Richmond, Virginia, 1966), p.229.

¹⁵ Ibid., p.234.

Brink and Harris reveal that by late 1966, 75% of all whites had come to the conclusion that demonstrations were hurting the Negro cause and that the pace was too fast. Also, many felt that the riots had hurt the Negro cause which the "Harris Survey"¹⁶ had revealed earlier in 1964 and 1965. Many seemed to understand the reasons for the riots, but emotionally they reacted differently. The statement that "whites favor civil rights legislation, but find it harder to live by in their daily lives,"¹⁷ reveals the conflict between the intellect and the emotions.

Brink and Harris also found that most whites could accept integrated education, but not integrated housing, believing that integrated housing would ultimately lead to intermarriage. "White attitudes are moving toward greater acceptance in employment, education, and public accommodations, but not miscegenation."¹⁸ The irony is that without integration in housing there can never be integration in the schools.

These studies reveal some of the prevailing attitudes toward the civil rights movement. One well accepted finding is that white people are often ambivalent in their feelings about the civil rights movement and the current racial situation.

¹⁶ Ibid., p.234.

¹⁷ Brink and Harris, p.127.

¹⁸ Brink and Harris, p.132.

It should be understood that prejudice is an attitude, whereas discrimination implies some type of overt behavior directed toward a minority group, based on that attitude. Stanton found that the majority of restaurant owners throughout the country replied in a questionnaire that they would not serve a Chinese-American couple, yet in reality, only one refused to serve such a couple. Consequently one should be cautious in making predictions about how one will react on the basis of how he answers on a questionnaire or how he responds verbally.

METHOD

Hypothesis and Definition of terms

The hypothesis being examined in this paper is: those members of fraternities and sororities who are from upper-middle class homes are less biased in their attitudes toward the Negro civil rights movement than are those members of fraternities and sororities who are from lower-middle class homes. Thus we are asserting that a particular characteristic - social class - is one of the factors which determine another characteristic - degree of bias. The basis for this hypothesis is that the students' present attitudes are to a large extent the result of parental and associational influences. We feel that such influences vary with social class, i.e. with parents' income, education, occupation, and the number and kind of the parents' social activities. In null form, this hypothesis would be that there is no difference in the degree of bias between the upper-middle class and the lower-middle class members of fraternities and sororities. We feel that a person who is biased is one whose attitudes are in a direction which is opposed to Negro civil rights.

The social classifications used in this study, upper-middle and lower-middle, are terms taken from Lloyd Warner's six class system of social stratification. Warner divided the population into groups which he referred to as upper-upper, lower-upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-lower,

and lower-lower.¹⁹ We used four criteria, income, education, occupation, and social activities, to classify the respondents into one of the two middle classes on the basis of the following definitions. Income was defined as at least \$15,000 per year in order for a student to be classified as upper-middle class. Education was defined as at least some college in order to qualify for upper-middle class. Occupation was defined as either professional or managerial for upper-middle class status and sales, clerical, or "blue-collar" work for lower-middle class. In the area of social participation we classified activities which were primarily cultural or philanthropic in nature as being upper-middle class and those whose activities were limited to church, P.T.A., or lodge participation as being lower-middle class. If a student's parents qualified for a particular class in all four areas, they obviously were placed in that class. If a student's parents qualified for a particular class in three out of four areas, they were still placed in that class. If, however, a student's parents qualified in two areas for one class and in two areas for another, they were omitted from the study. This occurred in 11 cases out of a total of 116 completed questionnaires.

Instrument

The data collection instrument for our study was a "fixed-alternative" or "closed" questionnaire. In order to

¹⁹ Warner, W.L., Lunt, P.S. The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven, 1941) Chapter 8.

ensure that the data collected was relevant to the hypothesis we included only questions that dealt with Negro civil rights; however, some were deceptive in the way in which they were related to civil rights. We received many topical ideas for the questions from our review of the literature; yet the questions were composed by the group. The first set of questions was aimed primarily at ascertaining facts about the subjects and their environment. The second set and main body of questions were aimed mainly at ascertaining beliefs about what the facts are, feelings, and standards of actions. Instead of asking questions to find out the objective facts, we wanted to learn what these students believed to be the "facts". "This is the purpose, for example, in asking a respondent to indicate whether the following statement is true or false: 'No Negro has ever made a worthwhile contribution to the arts.' The respondent's answer is not used to establish what is objectively true but rather to provide a picture of his beliefs."²⁰ "A person's beliefs about what the facts are will often give a very clear indication of his feelings."²¹ Questions involving the word "would" indicate feelings through a personal prediction with respect to one's behavior in a given situation.

²⁰ Sellitz, C., Jahoda, M., Deutsch, M., Cook, S.W. Research Methods in Social Relations (Chicago, 1965), p. 245.

²¹ Ibid., p. 247.

The questionnaire that we distributed contained 64 questions, and it was standardized meaning that all 64 questions were presented with exactly the same wording and in the same order to all respondents. It covered seven areas related to Negro civil rights: housing, welfare, protest movements, riots, social relations, employment, and education. (See Appendix) However, we did eliminate three questions. Number 3 was eliminated because an unnoticed typing error resulted in a different wording of the question on half the questionnaires. Number 45 was eliminated because it seemed to be confusing to a majority of the respondents. Number 57 was eliminated because a typing error in the key resulted in a misrecording of the answers.

We selected "fixed-alternative" or "closed" questions meaning the responses of the subject were limited to stated alternatives rather than "openminded" questions which permit a free response from the subject. The reason for this choice was that the respondent himself was forced to make a judgment about his attitudes. Also, it guarantees that the answers are given in a frame of reference that is relevant to the purpose of the inquiry and in a form that is usable in the analysis. However, we also were aware of the disadvantages of the "fixed-alternative" type of question. First, it forces a statement of opinion on an issue about which the respondent may not have an opinion. Second, many times neither "yes" answer nor a "no" answer corresponds exactly to the respondent's position. However, we felt that

if the student were forced to choose either "yes" or "no", even if it did not correspond exactly to his position, it still would give some indication of his attitude. Before distributing the questionnaire, we constructed a key that specified which answers would be indicative of favorable and which of unfavorable attitudes toward Negro civil rights. (See Appendix) We felt it was self-evident as to which answers would indicate bias.

We realized that any difference in attitudes revealed by the questionnaire would not be due to social class alone, and also, we had no way of knowing whether the respondents would be honest in answering the questions. However, we did feel that by selecting the questionnaire technique rather than the interview technique, the respondents would be more sure of their anonymity and, thus feel freer to express views they may have feared might be disapproved. It also assured us of uniformity from one measurement to another. Yet, the questionnaire technique does have some disadvantages. First, even if the wording is the same on each questionnaire, different respondents may make different interpretations. Second, if a subject misinterprets a question, there is no way to remedy the situation. Third, due to its rigid structure, subjects are unable to fully explain their feelings as they could in an interview.

Sample

As indicated before, our sample consisted of subjects who are presently members of either a fraternity or sorority house and are presently living in the fraternity or sorority

house. It was not a random sample in that we did not randomly select the names of those who participated from the total population of these houses. We called the presidents of five fraternity houses and the presidents of five sorority houses and asked them if they would request about ten volunteers from their houses to remain after dinner to participate in this questionnaire. They were not informed as to the nature or subject of the questionnaire, but were told the students and houses would remain anonymous. We each administered the questionnaire in two houses to all the students who volunteered to participate. We remained with the students while they were answering it and did not answer any questions until all the questionnaires were returned to us.

We then classified each student as being from an upper-middle class home or a lower-middle class home on the basis of the four criteria defined earlier in this chapter and on the basis of the information we obtained from the first section of the questionnaire. Out of a total of 116, 55 students were classified as upper-middle class and 50 students were classified as lower-middle class. As mentioned previously, 11 were unclassifiable and were omitted from the study. Then we recorded each respondent's answers according to the key, which specified for each question which answer would indicate a favorable attitude toward the Negroes' efforts for achieving equality and which answer would indicate an unfavorable attitude. Once these were recorded and summed, we were able to compute a mean score for each class and in each area of civil rights that the questionnaire covered

housing, welfare, protest movements, riots, social relations, employment, and education. We then used the technique known as the "t-test". A discussion of the data and the results of the "t-test" will be given in chapter III.

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

The sample consisted of 105 subjects who were divided into two groups according to the criteria enumerated in chapter two. Fifty-five (55) upper-middle class subjects and fifty (50) lower-middle class resulted from this division. Sixty-one (61) questions were contained in the questionnaire after three items had been eliminated. These responses were divided into seven categories: housing, welfare, protest movements, riots, social relations, employment, and education. Responses were coded for each group according to whether the answer was sympathetic or not. No sympathetic attitudes toward the Negroes were considered biased. (See code sheet in Appendix) In order to determine whether a greater bias existed in the lower-middle income group as our hypothesis stated, group difference in general were tested for significance with the t test. Each of the seven areas was also tested for a significant difference. Each questionnaire was given eight scores - one for each category plus a total score. The scores were regarded as showing the extent of bias in each of these areas and the total extent of bias in the sample. All figures were rounded to two places. Mean percentiles were obtained as follows:

	Upper-Middle	Lower-Middle
Overall	33	32
Housing	34	33
Welfare	34	30
Riotist Movements	31	23
Riots	51	44
Social Relations	31	29
Employment	20	21
Education	32	35

Each figure represents the percentage of bias out of the total possible on the scale.

Student's *t* test was used on the raw scores to determine whether or not a significant difference exists between the two populations. The equation used was the *t* for independent unmatched samples. (See Chart 1 for equation and result figures).

The test results indicate the hypothesis was not proven. No significant difference between the population was found or the null hypothesis was confirmed. Separate tests on the seven areas of concern failed to show any significant difference. In sum, no significant results were obtained from the *t* test. This proved that the upper-middle class is the same in its attitudes toward the Negroes as the lower-middle class. That is, the null hypothesis that no difference exists between populations was confirmed. The *t* test in each of the seven areas also failed to yield any significant results.

To see whether any difference might exist between fraternities and sororities, means of male and female responses were computed. The average bias is M - 33 which shows

F - 31

no great difference. The individual area bias percentages computed from Chart 2 in the appendices:

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
Housing	35	31
Welfare	32	32
Protest Move- ments	28	30
Riots	30	45
Social Relations	30	29
Employment	21	21
Education	35	32

While no significant difference is evident, there is some discrepancy between male and female attitudes in the areas of housing and riots.

While no significant results were obtained in our study several areas seem worthy of further testing. Riots is the most predominate because of the extreme negative score obtained on the t test. Male and female attitudes confirm that this is an area where different attitudes exist. Some difference is noted in the fraternity and sorority attitude toward housing. Social relations seem to have a larger score on the t test though not as extreme as riots. While a prediction cannot be made about the significance

of these indications, the data shows them to be areas of some difference in attitude and thereby worthy of further consideration.

It should be noted that unsympathetic attitudes toward civil rights and the Negroes do exist within the Greek system. How significant these biases are in contrast to the general population is not known. But neither education nor a supposedly good background has removed biased attitudes from our subjects. It is worthy of consideration that biased attitudes in 1/3 to 1/2 of the areas measured were found. Why they exist and to what significance is also worthy of further study.

CHART I - Figures Used in Student's T-Test

Raw Mean Population Scores

	Upper-middle (N=55)	Lower-middle (N=50)
Housing	18.63	16.66
Welfare	18.41	14.90
Protest Movements	16.76	13.77
Riots	23.13	21.94
Social Relations	17.22	14.43
Employment	11.21	10.56
Education	17.75	17.76

Equation

$$t = \frac{(M_1 - M_2)}{\frac{\frac{M_1^2}{N_1} + \frac{M_2^2}{N_2} - \frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{1}{N_1} + \frac{1}{N_2} \right)^*}{2}} + \frac{2(x-x)^2}{N}$$

t = 1.663 for 103 (N-2) degrees of freedom at the .05 level of significance.

Values of t

Overall	- .83
Housing	- .34
Welfare	- .017
Protest Move- ments	- .39
Riots	-3.26
Social Relations	-1.57
Employment	- .03
Education	.001

CHART 2 - Percentage Scores According to Sex and Class

	U	L		U	L
M	20	32	M	.32	2.33
F	35	18	F	.34	.23
	Number			Total	
	U	L		U	L
M	32	37	M	33	30
F	35	26	F	34	30
	Housing			Welfare	
	U	L		U	L
M	29	27	M	52	47
F	37	29	F	51	33
	Protest Movements			Riots	
	U	L		U	L
M	23	32	M	21	21
F	33	24	F	20	21
	Social Relations			employment	
	U	L			
M	31	39			
F	33	30			
	Education				

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In the review of the literature in Chapter I, it appeared that individuals from the lower classes are less sympathetic or more biased than those individuals from the upper classes in the area of race relations.

Our purpose was to determine whether this trend would hold true within the Greek system of fraternities and sororities. We hypothesized that upper-middle class fraternity and sorority members would be more sympathetic or less biased than those fraternity and sorority members of the lower-middle class.

The analysis of the data failed to confirm this hypothesis in that no significant difference was found between the expressed attitudes among the members of both classes. This hypothesis was not confirmed, but in one of the seven areas tested (riots), a fairly substantial reversal of the expected direction was found; those from the upper-middle class had a more unfavorable attitude than those from the lower-middle class. In addition, it was found that fraternity members were more biased than sorority members in this same area. These results require further investigation for their explanation. Another area worthy of consideration is that of social relations. It was found that the upper-middle class members in this sample were more biased in this area than were the lower-middle class members to at least some significant degree. In the remaining five areas (welfare, protest movements, housing, employment, education) no appreciable difference in attitudes was found.

Two possible reasons for the failure to find significant differences in the attitudes of the two classes are: first, this study did not include individuals who represented the extreme ends of the social stratification system, but rather was a sample of only a homogenous clustering of middle-class members. Other studies have often obtained a complete sample of the social structure which provides for a more varied range of responses. Secondly, the Greek system seems to determine to some extent what the expressed attitudes of its members will be. An individual's attitude will typically be in conformity with the norms of the group of which he is a member. Consequently, the norms or values of the fraternities and sororities may possibly act as more important determinants of what the expressed attitudes will be, rather than the specific social class to which the individual belongs.

Due to the limited nature of our study, the significance of the general level of prejudice in the seven areas tested cannot be determined. In order to determine the degree of significance, further research is needed. Such research might consist of comparing attitudes of the general student population to a random sampling of fraternity and sorority members.

This study was primarily an attempt to measure the attitudes toward the current racial situation of those who will most likely become future participants in the white power structure.

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This questionnaire is for the purpose of determining whether society is ready to accept social changes that are occurring in the United States. It is felt that social progress is only effective if it is geared to what the community is ready to accept. This questionnaire is being distributed among various groups on campus, and none of these groups will be identified. Therefore, it is most important that you answer these questions in a way which will reveal your own feelings rather than how others might expect you to answer them. Please answer all the questions. If you are unsure, answer in a way which tends to correspond most clearly with your feelings.

Identifying data:

1. Age _____
2. Educational level _____
3. Major _____
4. What city are you from? _____
5. How long has your family lived there? _____
6. If the answer is less than 15 years, where did you live previously? _____
7. What community activities are your parents members of? _____
8. What community activities do your parents participate in? _____
9. How many people counting adults and children are in your immediate family? 66
10. What is your father's occupation? _____
11. Does your mother work? _____
12. If yes, what is her occupation? _____
13. Approximately, how much income was earned last year by your parents, including salary, pensions, stocks and bonds, real estate, etc. _____
14. Educational achievements:

Highest grade completed - Father _____	Mother _____
Degree - Father _____	Mother _____
Major - Father _____	Mother _____

- . Schools should be homogeneous with pupils having the same cultural and economic background. Agree _____ Disagree _____
- . Do you feel that Negroes in the United States have just as good a chance now as white people to get any kind of job? Yes _____ No _____
- . Would you buy a house in a neighborhood in which there is a Negro family living? Yes _____ No _____
- . The reason there are so many fatherless families is because Negroes care less for their families than whites do. Agree _____ Disagree _____
- . Demonstrations have generally helped rather than hurt the advancement of Negro rights. Agree _____ Disagree _____
- . One reason Negroes are rioting is because the ghetto store owners are overcharging them. Agree _____ Disagree _____
- . The problems of Negroes should be left to states rather than in the hands of the federal government. Agree _____ Disagree _____
- . The job which a person holds is his because of his own merits. Agree _____ Disagree _____
- . Many Negroes fail to complete high school because they are uninterested in improving themselves. Agree _____ Disagree _____

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10. If open housing were practiced generally, property values would go down.
Agree _____ Disagree _____
11. The Negro protest movement has been generally peaceful rather than violent.
Agree _____ Disagree _____
12. Negroes are rioting because they want to get something for nothing.
Agree _____ Disagree _____
13. Most Negroes would rather live in the ghetto because that is where there friends live. Agree _____ Disagree _____
14. It would make no difference to me if I took a job where I had to take orders from a Negro. Agree _____ Disagree _____
15. In general, Negroes do not try to save their money. Agree _____ Disagree _____
16. Would you be willing to date a Negro? Yes _____ No _____
17. Negroes have their rights, but it is best to keep them in their own districts and schools. Agree _____ Disagree _____
18. If a Negro moves into an all-white neighborhood, crime and delinquency will tend to increase. Agree _____ Disagree _____
19. If Negroes attended the same schools as whites, both Negroes and whites would receive a more adequate education. Agree _____ Disagree _____
20. If Negroes were given any more advantages than they are now, soon they would start making impossible demands. Agree _____ Disagree _____
21. Some people feel that Negroes have been discriminated against for over one hundred years; therefore, they should be given special consideration for jobs.
Agree _____ Disagree _____
22. Do you think current open housing legislation should be made stronger? Yes _____ No _____
23. Negroes live in ghettos because they have no opportunity to live elsewhere.
Agree _____ Disagree _____
24. Would you discourage your children from playing with children of the Negro race?
Yes _____ No _____
25. Some people feel that children attending inner-city schools are receiving an inferior education and feel this could be solved by integrating the schools.
Agree _____ Disagree _____
26. Negroes would rather drive a flashy car than live in a decent home. Agree _____ Disagree _____
27. Leaders who are promoting equal rights for Negroes are often political agitators trying to stir up conflict. Agree _____ Disagree _____
28. If more jobs are given to Negroes, this will mean taking jobs away from whites.
Agree _____ Disagree _____
29. Would you object to trying on the same dress or suit that a Negro had tried on?
Yes _____ No _____
30. Many Negroes fail to complete high school because the curriculum does not fit their needs. Agree _____ Disagree _____
31. Would you object if a Negro moved into your neighborhood? Yes _____ No _____
32. Do you feel public housing is the beginning of socialism? Yes _____ No _____
33. Negroes are asking for too much too soon. Agree _____ Disagree _____
34. Would you agree to a law which would make a mother ineligible for Aid to Dependent Children after she had more than a certain number of illegitimate children.
Yes _____ No _____
35. It is hard to get most Negroes to stick to a job. Agree _____ Disagree _____
36. Many men who are collecting welfare are not working because they cannot find jobs. Agree _____ Disagree _____
37. Do you feel that the Negro has been unjustly deprived of his rights by the white man? Yes _____ No _____
38. It is largely the Negroes own fault that he is in the situation that he is in today.
Agree _____ Disagree _____

39. If Negroes attended the same schools as whites, the education of white children would suffer because the Negro children would hold back the white children. Agree _____ Disagree _____
40. Communists are behind Negro protest movements. Agree _____ Disagree _____
41. Negroes have the right to hold the same jobs as whites. Agree _____ Disagree _____
42. Negroes are justified in rioting because their conditions have not changed through legitimate means. Agree _____ Disagree _____
43. If a Negro moves into an all-white neighborhood, a multitude of Negroes will follow. Agree _____ Disagree _____
44. Negroes generally do not keep up their property. Agree _____ Disagree _____
45. I have no objection to the Negro provided that he keeps his proper place. Yes _____ No _____
46. It would be a mistake to ever have Negroes for foreman and leaders over whites. Agree _____ Disagree _____
47. Would you be willing to marry a Negro? Yes _____ No _____
48. Mothers on welfare have more children in order to collect more money. Agree _____ Disagree _____
49. Do you think Negroes are getting more economic power than is good for the country? Yes _____ No _____
50. Do you generally disapprove of actions Negroes have taken to obtain civil rights? Yes _____ No _____
51. More job-training programs are necessary. Agree _____ Disagree _____
52. Negroes riot because they have a higher innate propensity toward crime. Agree _____ Disagree _____
53. Negroes live in slums because of the tremendous disparity between their income and the cost of decent housing. Agree _____ Disagree _____
54. Men who are collecting welfare are not working because they would rather collect welfare than work. Agree _____ Disagree _____
55. Neighborhoods should be homogeneous with residents having the same cultural and economic background. Agree _____ Disagree _____
56. When someone is given a license to run a place of entertainment he should have the right to keep whoever he wants from using his place. Agree _____ Disagree _____
57. The present social system is inherently unjust to the Negro. Agree _____ Disagree _____
58. Some people feel that children attending an inner-city school are receiving an inferior education and feel this could be solved through compensatory measures without necessarily integrating the schools. Agree _____ Disagree _____
59. Do you feel the white man is neglecting to do his duty by not doing more to improve the lot of the Negro? Yes _____ No _____
60. It bothers me to hear the Negro "run-down" in conversations among the whites. Yes _____ No _____
61. If Negroes live in the same residential areas as whites, intermarriage will tend to increase. Agree _____ Disagree _____
62. Slum property is unkept due to the neglect of the landlords. Agree _____ Disagree _____
63. Negroes cannot maintain a job because they are undependable. Agree _____ Disagree _____
64. Riots have generally helped rather than hurt the cause of Negro rights. Agree _____ Disagree _____

Thank-you for your cooperation!

	Upper-Middle Class	Lower-Middle Class
1. Housing		
3. +	—	—
10. -	—	—
18. -	—	—
22. +	—	—
31. -	—	—
32. -	—	—
43. -	—	—
44. -	—	—
55. +	—	—
61. -	—	—
62. +	—	—
2. Welfare		
4. -	—	—
15. -	—	—
23. +	—	—
34. -	—	—
36. +	—	—
38. -	—	—
48. -	—	—
53. +	—	—
54. -	—	—
59. +	—	—
3. Protest Movements		
5. +	—	—
11. +	—	—
20. -	—	—
27. -	—	—
37. +	—	—
40. -	—	—
45. -	—	—
50. -	—	—
59. +	—	—
4. Riots		
6. +	—	—
12. -	—	—
33. -	—	—
42. +	—	—
52. -	—	—
64. +	—	—
5. Social Relations		
7. -	—	—
13. -	—	—
16. +	—	—
24. -	—	—
26. -	—	—
29. -	—	—
47. +	—	—
56. -	—	—
59. +	—	—
6. Employment		
2. -	—	—
8. -	—	—
14. +	—	—

Lower-Middle Class

21.	+
28.	-
35.	-
41.	+
46.	-
49.	-
51.	+
63.	-
Education	
1.	-
9.	-
17.	-
19.	+
25.	+
30.	+
39.	-
58.	-



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