ADOLESCENT ROLE RELATIONSHIPS IN THE DYNAMICS OF PREJUDICE

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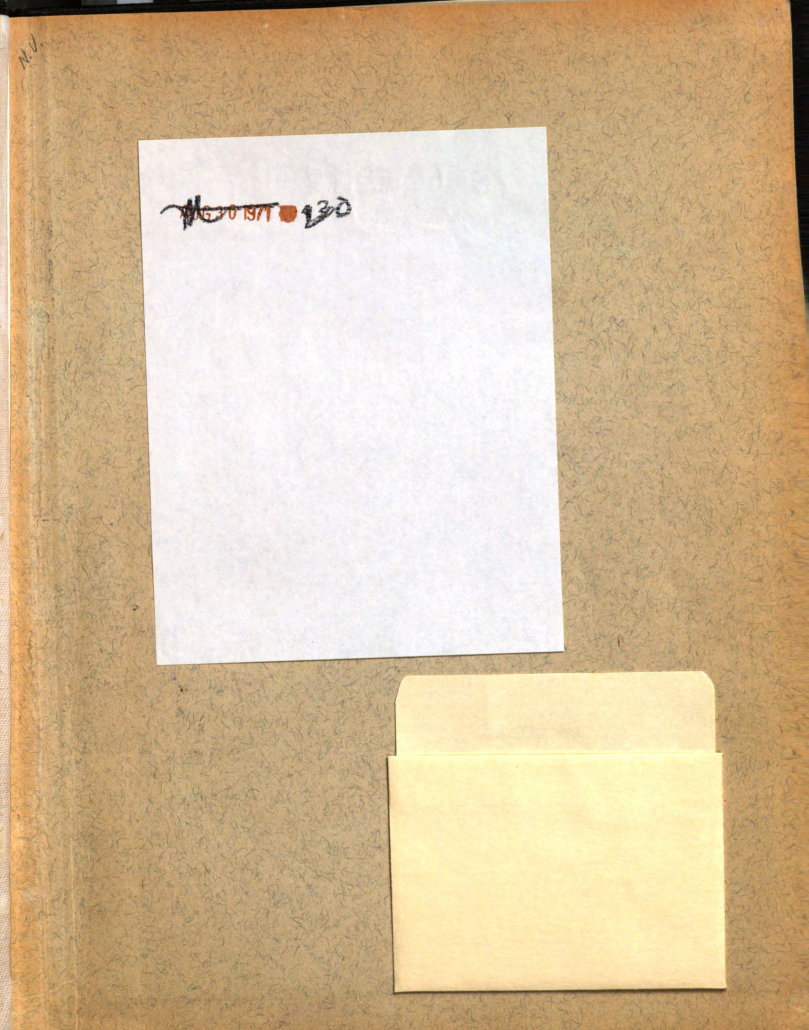

ADOLESCENT ROLE RELATIONSHIPS IN THE DYNAMICS OF PREJUDICE

By

Dean George Epley

A THESIS

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Michigan State College of Agriculture and Applied Science in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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Department of Sociology and Anthropology

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THESIS

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AN ABSTRACT

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ABSTRACT OF A THESIS

Statement of the problem. The purpose of this study was: (1) to describe the expression of attitudes toward Jews and Negroes, as well as the change in these attitudes, by the adolescent population of a rural Midwestern community; (2) to analyze the relationship between these attitudes and various social roles played by adolescents in reference to parents, peers, and teachers; and (3) to develop an instrument for the measurement of orientation toward these reference groups which might be fruitful for other aspects of role analysis. Analysis was guided by the hypothesis that differences in the expression of attitudes toward minority groups are a function of differences in role orientation among the members of a given group.

Method of Procedure. Data were collected by means of a group-administered questionnaire given to sixth and ninth grade students in 1949, and to the same students again in 1952. There were 332 students for whom data from both questionnaires were available. Responses to six Jewish and six Negro statements in each questionnaire were scored to provide Jewish and Negro Prejudice Scores respectively. Change in Prejudice Scores were determined by a comparison of 1949 and 1952 Prejudice Scores for each student. Orientation toward the three reference groups of parents, peers, and teachers was established on the basis of certain self-images of the students of their role relationships. Orientation toward peers was further considered on the basis of sociometric status as friendly and as seatmate. The significance of categorical differences in orientation and the expression of prejudice was tested by chi-square and analysis of variance.

Findings of the study. The major conclusion warranted by the data was that adolescent attitudes toward Jews and Negroes were relatively favorable and became increasingly so. Although the students as a whole became more tolerant of both minorities, the general level of sentiment toward Negroes continued to be less tolerant than that expressed toward Jews. Over 40 per cent of all students changed their attitudes during the period studied. This indicates that prejudice may be modified for some people since it does not seem to be fixed in the basic personality of all adolescents.

There was only slight evidence that youth-parent role relationships were related to the degree of prejudice expressed in 1952, or to change in prejudice from 1949 to 1952. There was no evidence that peer group roles, as determined by either self-images of relationships with peers or by sociometric choice or rejection of classmates, was related to the expression of prejudice toward either Jews or Negroes. There was no evidence that peer group roles affected changes in expressed attitudes.

Significant differences in support of the hypothesis were found in the case of student-teacher relationships. Students who were positively oriented toward teachers were significantly more tolerant, or became significantly more tolerant, of Jews and Negroes than students who were negatively oriented toward teachers. Teachers thus appear to occupy strategic positions as action agents in the implementation of programs designed to change existing attitudes.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Prejudice in intergroup relations is one of a number of social problems present in our time for which a variety of theories are offered. No generally accepted theories or solutions have yet been achieved. One reason for the diversity of theories is the so-called "common sense" approach to social phenomena. In this, everyone qualifies himself as a social scientist because social science deals with the human relationships occurring in the daily lives of all persons. It may be possible to measure the development of science in terms of the abandonment of such notions.

A. THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Statement of the problem. The problem of the present research may be stated in the form of three questions.

1. What is the prevalent level of prejudice toward certain minorities among the adolescents in a selected area of the United States?
2. What changes have occurred in this level of prejudice during the period from 1949 to 1952?
3. What is the relationship between prejudice, and changes in prejudice, and various social roles played by adolescents within a given social setting?

The area selected is one which is reasonably typical of the rural cornbelt of the United States. The particular minorities considered are Jews and Negroes. The specific roles investigated are those arising from social positions involving parents, peers, and teachers. The social situations studied herein represent an examination into group dynamics and social attitudes.

The guiding hypothesis of this study may be stated as follows:

> Differences in the expression of attitudes toward minority groups are a function of differences in role orientation among the members of a given group.

Specific hypotheses were derived from it for the purpose of answering each of the above questions.

Importance of the study. It has been known for a long time that the members of one group often display prejudice or hostility toward the members of other groups. This problem in intergroup relations has been studied from a variety of viewpoints. Prejudice has been analyzed as a characteristic of the basic personality structure.[1] Trends in the prevalent climate of opinion have been measured. Educational programs for changing the existing level of

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[1]Examples of these and other studies will be considered below under the heading "A Survey of the Literature."

relationships have been evaluated. Few studies have attempted to analyze beliefs and attitudes concerning minority groups and intergroup relations within the community setting. There have been some surveys of minority attitudes in urban communities and of Negro-white relations in Southern communities. No attention has been given previously to the rural Midwest.

This lack of attention may be due to the relative absence of minorities in most rural communities in the area. However, several paradoxical assumptions have arisen in connection with this situation. One theory assumes that the small number of minorities present mitigates against the development of prejudice in intergroup relations. Another theory assumes that lack of contact with members of minority groups contributes to increased distrust and intergroup conflict. The attitudes of rural people toward minorities and their susceptibility to anti-democratic propaganda and ideologies play an important role in the determination of national events.[2] German peasants were responsible for much of the support of the Nazi movement. Farm and non-farm rural people in the United States may also develop hostile attitudes toward vulnerable minorities in the absence of extended contacts with them. Certain groups of adults constitute significant reference groups for adolescents

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[2]See Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, "The Spread of German Nazism in Rural Areas," American Sociological Review, XI (1946), 724-734.

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living within the same community. Therefore, an analysis of the dynamics of prejudice within the youth culture can yield additional insight into understanding the problems arising from intergroup relations.

B. THEORETICAL FRAME OF REFERENCE

The social nature of prejudicial attitudes. The psychoanalytical approaches to prejudice assume it to be a function of some basic personality type, presumably the one described as authoritarian. In contrast to this interpretation, one may define prejudice as a system of stereotyped beliefs and opinions which a person holds. One may hold these as "givens" without objectively examining them in the light of scientific evidence. As such, they resemble other systems of beliefs derived from the social groups in which one participates: the "givens" are accepted and acted upon uncritically. The prejudice is learned, therefore, as a result of socialization through interaction with other group members. Young children presumably have no innate prejudices, but acquire them later by contacts with such "significant others" as parents, peers, and teachers.

Each member of a group is subjected to the direct and indirect indoctrination of certain beliefs and attitudes which become firmly entrenched through habituation. Therefore, it is assumed that what one thinks about others is affected by

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the beliefs and attitudes held by the groups to which he belongs. Inasmuch as any one person participates in a number of social groups, he is exposed to numerous systems of beliefs and attitudes. The antipathies exhibited toward others reflect in large measure the climate of opinion prevalent at any given time within specific social situations and groups. The pattern of expectancies related to a particular status or social position in one of these groups constitutes a social role. Many patterns of expectations concerning the expression of attitudes toward minority groups become stereotyped as the dominant prejudices found in each community. These stereotypes, in turn, become widely diffused. Thus, persons relatively isolated from personal contacts with minority groups may display the same inimical attitudes as persons who live relatively close to such minorities.[3]

A study of expressed attitudes using a sociological approach may emphasize the situational and social components of role behavior. The present study is but part of a larger study of minorities. The research design of the total study was oriented to the relationship of expressed attitudes and position within the social structure of the community.[4]

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[3]See Robert M. MacIver and Charles H. Page, Society: An Introductory Analysis (New York:Rinehart and Company, 1949), pp. 407-412.

[4]The term social structure refers to a persistent set

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The working hypotheses for the current study involved the basic assumption that expressions of prejudice were related to individual roles and statuses in group situations.[5] The basic hypotheses underlying this study, as postulated by the project committee in the initiation and execution of the original research design, were:

1. Prejudice is called out by the social roles which the individual assumes as he participates in specific group situations.

2. Specific positions within the social structuring of adolescence require the expression of different degrees of prejudice or tolerance by different individuals occupying these positions.

In this frame, changes in the expression of prejudiced attitudes may be a function of changes in social positions and social roles.[6] This, of course, does not minimize the

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of relationships occurring within a group or set of groups. In essence, it is a static concept referring to the sum total of all persistent social relationships which can be abstracted at any given time.

[5]The concepts of role and status are those originally formulated by Ralph Linton, The Study of Man (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936), pp. 113-121. An exhaustive treatment of role and status is found in E.T. Hiller, Social Relations and Social Structures (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), pp. 331-614.

[6]Function as used herein is a concept intentionally borrowed from mathematics to avoid the possibility of imputing causality to any relationships that might be found. Instead, the implication of a statement that attitudes are a function of some variable chosen for analysis may be expressed algebraically: $f(x) = y$. This means that as the independent variable (x) is changed, the attitude or dependent variable (y) will also change. The independent variables are indices of the

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importance of an approach attributing changes in the expression of attitudes to changes in the basic personality structure. Both formulations have their implications for programs of social action. Only intensive therapeutic treatment can effect changes in attitudes when prejudice is rooted deep in the personality. On the other hand, when the prejudice is wrapped in conventional behavior, it is vulnerable to change on a broad scale.[7]

Reference and membership groups. This study, then, is an analysis of groups and group relations rather than of the idiosyncratic manifestations of attitudes toward others. The expressed attitudes are regarded as reflections of an underlying system of beliefs and attitudes appropriate to the particular groups and sub-groups expressing them. Limitations of the available resources necessarily circumscribed the range of social roles that could be studied in relation to prejudice. The social roles selected for this project were those of adolescents involving the three reference groups of parents, peers, and

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social structure which are to be tested. They include the relationships with parents, peers, and teachers which must be assumed to be interrelated rather than actually independent of each other.

[7]W.B. Brookover, D.G. Epley, and G.P. Stone, "Dynamics of Prejudice among Maple County Youth," (Social Research Service, Michigan State College, East Lansing, 1953), pp. 5-7.

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teachers. This selection does not imply that these are the only role structures involved, but merely that exploration of other roles must wait for additional research.

Newcomb has indicated that the norms which govern behavior in given social situations derive from either membership or reference groups.[8] The membership group involves socially recognized membership in such a group as the family. The norms of the membership group are shared by those who belong to it by virute of their membership. It is also by the use of these norms that group members are able to gratify their personal motives. In the case of the reference group, which may or may not be an actual entity, there is no social recognition of belongingness or membership.[9] Nevertheless, a person's attitudes are influenced by the norms he shares with other persons. The special significance of reference groups lies in the fact that their norms do constitute a frame of reference which directs attitudes and, therefore, behavior.

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[8]Theodore M. Newcomb, Social Psychology (New York: The Dryden Press, 1950), pp. 225-226. For an extended discussion of membership and reference groups, see also Muzafer Sherif, An Outline of Social Psychology (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948), pp. 93-363.

[9]See Robert K. Merton and Alice S. Kitt, "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior," in Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld (editors), Continuities in Social Research (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950), pp. 40-105.

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Of necessity membership groups may also function as reference groups. However, not all reference groups serve likewise as membership groups. A membership group is a reference group to the extent to which its members achieve satisfaction or dissatisfaction from belonging to it. This reaction stems in part from individual differences in skills, capacities, needs, and personalities reflected by the members. In addition, the membership is constantly changing as members become eligible for participation in other groups. Any group contains members who are motivated to remain in the group because of the degree of satisfaction resulting from integration within the group. At the same time, other group members are motivated to leave because of the degree of dissatisfaction which results from integration within the group.

As a result of these differences in motivation, it is possible to distinguish both positive and negative orientation toward reference and membership groups. Positive orientation is motivation to be accepted and treated as a member. In contrast, negative orientation is motivation to oppose any recognition as a member of a particular group. The chapters which follow consider the relationship between the expression of prejudice and its change, and positive and negative orientation toward three reference groups. The reference groups include "the significant others" of (1) parents, (2) peers, and (3) teachers.

In addition to these reference groups, membership groups were defined on the basis of sociometric data. These were identified as: (1) highly chosen, (2) rejected, (3) isolated, and (4) intermediate, according to the total number of choices and/or rejections received as friendly and as seatmate.

The expression of prejudice toward minorities and changes in the expression of prejudice were the dependent variables in these relationships. The conditioning, independent variables emerged from social interaction occurring within the adolescent culture in the form of differences in orientation toward the reference groups.

C. A SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

Attitudes and reference groups. Comparatively little research into the relationship between attitudes and reference groups has as yet been undertaken. There are no previous studies exactly comparable to this one. However, the following studies may be noted as illustrative of the work which is being done in this general area. Charters and Newcomb[10] demonstrated the effect of experimentally influencing subjects to make use of the Catholic Church as a reference group. These subjects were more likely to respond to attitude statements in a manner

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[10] W.W. Charters, Jr. and T.M. Newcomb, an unpublished study of 1948, reported in Theodore M. Newcomb, op. cit., pp. 227-228.

prescribed for Catholics than those who were not so influenced. Centers[11] has shown how social classes were used as reference groups. He revealed which occupational groups were identified with each self-designated social class. Occupational membership groups, whether functioning or not as reference groups, have been used often to interpret the attitudes held by large numbers of people. The study by Centers indicated that the attitudes of some people might be better understood in terms of their positive reference groups. Steiner[12] found the average ratings of the desirability of certain personality traits differed significantly between those who used middle class and working class criterion groups. This denoted that the group which served the individual as a frame of reference did influence his attitudes.

The "Studies in Prejudice Series." The problem of prejudice may be approached from two levels of research. Educational agencies, seeking to ameliorate its more invidious aspects and recurring problems, are primarily interested in immediate research which is necessarily somewhat limited in

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[11] Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949).

[12] I.D. Steiner, "A Theory and an Empirical Study of the Role of Reference Groups," (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1948).

scope. Other scholars, wishing mainly to add to the scientific body of knowledge about prejudice, may be more interested in basic research on a broader scale. With appropriate adaptations, the same methodology, skills, and techniques may be employed in either approach. The major difference between the two levels of research seems to lie in the use to be made of the results obtained. The first approach is more likely to be related to some action program than is the second. The most fruitful procedure for both levels of research seems to be one which cuts across disciplinary lines.

In May, 1944, The American Jewish Committee sponsored a meeting to discuss religious and racial prejudice. Since that time, this organization provided for the publication of five volumes in a "Studies of Prejudice Series." These volumes comprise a single unit each part of which illustrates a particular aspect or prejudice. Three of the volumes are concerned with the personality traits which predispose modern man to react with hostility to various racial and religious groups. Two other volumes deal with another important factor in prejudice. This factor is the social situation or external stimulation which arouses the predisposition to react in a given way.

The close relationship that exists between various deep-rooted personality traits and the expression of overt

prejudice was demonstrated by Adorno and others.[13] They also developed an instrument for the measurement of these traits among various strata of the population. Bettelheim and Janowitz[14] made a more circumscribed investigation into the relationship between personality traits and prejudice among war veterans. Ackerman and Jahoda[15] contributed a significant study based on case histories of individuals receiving intensive psychotherapy. Such records shed further light on the correlation generally established in the primary study of the authoritarian personality. These three studies represented an earlier stage of research which emphasized personal and psychological factors rather than the social aspects of prejudice. This was done ostensibly because the authors considered that the elimination of prejudice was essentially one of re-education based upon scientific understanding. This re-education was, by its very nature, personal and psychological.[16]

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[13]T.W. Adorno, and others, The Authoritarian Personality (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950).

[14]Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, Dynamics of Prejudice (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950).

[15]Nathan W. Ackerman and Marie Jahoda, Anti-Semitism and Emotional Disorder (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950).

[16]Max Horkheimer and Samuel H. Flowerman in "Foreword to Studies in Prejudice," in Leo Lowenthal and Norbert Guterman, Prophets of Deceit (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949), p. vii.

In a later stage of research, attention was focussed more upon the social pressures and the "sociological determinants of roles in given social situations."[17] In this stage, Massing[18] used Nazi Germany as the prime example of the effect of the social situation. His observations were directed toward understanding the roots of Nazi anti-Semitism and the difficulty to be faced in the democratic reorientation of post-war Germany. Lowenthal and Guterman[19] studied the role of the agitator and his use of the technique of persuasion. They were especially interested in how he molded pre-existing prejudices and tendencies into overt doctrines and finally into overt action.

Other studies in social attitudes. The studies by Garrison and Burch[20] and Remmers and Gage[21] are representative

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[17] Ibid., p. viii.

[18] Paul W. Massing, Rehearsal for Destruction (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949).

[19] Op. cit.

[20] K.C. Garrison and V.S. Burch, "A Study of Racial Attitudes of College Students," Journal of Social Psychology, IV (1933), 230-235.

[21] H.H. Remmers and N.L. Gage, "Patterns of Attitudes Toward Minorities among High School Youth in the United States Middlewest," International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research, I (1947), 106-109.

of those measuring the climate of opinion with respect to attitudes toward minorities. The former report indicated that although college students manifested a considerable amount of racial prejudice, this tended to decrease as the students advanced in college. The latter study formed the basis for conclusions concerning the operation of the "American Dilemma" among a large number of Northern high school students.

Droba[22] tested students at Ohio State University to determine the effect of a course on the Negro on their attitudes. The results indicated that they became more favorably inclined and their responses more variable after taking the course. Haimowitz and Haimowitz[23] found that group therapy increased friendliness toward ethnic groups on a relatively permanent basis, as measured by a re-test two years later. These studies are an indication of the evaluation that has been made concerning programs designed to reduce the amount of prejudice manifested toward minorities.[24]

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[22]D.D. Droba, "Education and Negro Attitudes," Sociology and Social Research, XVII (1932), 137-141.

[23]M.L. Haimowitz and N.R. Haimowitz, "Reducing Ethnic Hostility through Psychotherapy," Journal of Social Psychology, XXXI (1950), 231-241.

[24]For a more comprehensive review and appraisal of the research in this field, see either A.M. Rose, Studies in Reduction of Prejudice (Chicago: American Council on Race Relations, 1947) or R.M. Williams, Jr., The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947).

Mayo and Kinzer[25] compared the racial attitudes of white and Negro students in 1940 and 1948. There was a more favorable expression on the part of both groups in 1948 than in 1940. Nevertheless, the two groups were farther apart on interracial issues in 1948 than they had been before. This was due to the fact that the Negro students made a greater change in their attitudes than the white students did. Another survey of attitudes toward minorities in urban communities was that of Radke and Trager.[26] Negro and white children in the lower elementary grades in Philadelphia public schools both interpreted the social role of Negroes as one of inferiority. In another study with a Southern setting, Prothro and Jensen[27] found some significant relationships between attitudes toward the church, Jews, and Negroes.

Even a cursory examination of these studies reveals two distinct conceptualizations of prejudice. In the one, prejudice is considered to be rooted in personal failure to

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[25]G.D. Mayo and J.R. Kinzer, "A Comparison of the Racial Attitudes of White and Negro High School Students in 1940 and 1948," Journal of Psychology, XXIX (1950), 397-405.

[26]M.J. Radke and H.G. Trager, "Children's Perceptions of the Social Roles of Negroes and Whites," Journal of Psychology, XXIX (1950), 3-33.

[27]E.T. Prothro and J.A. Jensen, "Interrelationships of Religious and Ethnic Attitudes in Selected Southern Populations," Journal of Social Psychology, XXXII (1950), 45-49.

achieve satisfactory integration into the group. This leads to hypotheses subsumed under the rubrics of "security-deprivation," "competition," and the "authoritarian personality." In the other, conformity to group mores and integration into group life often mean conformity to prejudice itself. Neither of these two conceptualizations are mutually exclusive; both draw upon prejudices previously developed within the community.[28] The first conceptualization represents an initial stage of attitude research which was primarily occupied with the individual dynamics involved. There are so many investigations into this aspect of prejudice that a thorough survey of its literature would constitute another research problem in itself. This survey has sought merely to indicate something of the nature of the research being carried on within that theoretical frame of reference.

In recent years, however, a second type of research has emerged which emphasizes the factors of group dynamics. The fruitfulness of an approach which analyzes individual behavior in the area of social attitudes in terms of certain social antecedents has become increasingly apparent. At present, there are comparatively few analyses of prejudice with this frame of reference. The most comprehensive investigation into this aspect of prejudice is probably that made by

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[28]Robert M. MacIver and Charles H. Page, op. cit., p.410.

Holland.[29] His study was concerned with the expression of prejudice among a segment of the adult population within the rural cornbelt area of the United States. The present study attempts to examine further the relationship of social attitudes and group dynamics.

Summary of chapters to follow. Chapter II discusses the methodology employed in this study. In Chapter III, the setting of Maple County and the minorities it contains are described. There is also a description of the climate of opinion with respect to attitudes of adults concerning these minorities. Chapters IV to VI present the findings concerning the interrelationship of expressed attitudes toward minorities and differences in adolescent relationships with parents, peers, and teachers. Relationships with each of these reference groups are taken up in separate chapters. Chapter VII summarizes the findings of this research project and offers some conclusions and implications for further research and action programs.

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[29]John Ben Holland, "Attitudes toward Minority Groups in Relation to Rural Social Structure," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State College, East Lansing, 1950).

CHAPTER II

THE METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

A. THE STUDY GROUP

In the Spring of 1949, a study of minority groups was undertaken by a project committee of the Social Research Service of Michigan State College. The committee functioned 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 elsewhere as Maple County in Midstate.[1] Therefore, to preserve uniformity and also its anonymity, the same nomenclature will be followed in this report.

A description of the social setting of Maple County and of the attitudes of its residents will follow in the next chapter. At the moment, however, it will be necessary to point out that there are three high schools in Maple County. The one at Johnstown in the central portion of the county is the largest. It includes the Johnstown school district and about fifty one-room rural school districts. The second high

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[1]The criteria whereby Maple County was selected as typical of the rural cornbelt area of the United States are presented in Holland, op. cit., pp. 265-267. Other literature dealing with Maple County includes W.B. Brookover and J.B. Holland, "An Inquiry into the Meaning of Attitude Expression," American Sociological Review, XVII (1952), 196-202; and Gregory Stone and William Form, "Instabilities in Status: The Problem of Hierarchy in the Community Study of Status Arrangements," American Sociological Review, XVIII (1953), 149-162.

school at Brownsville serves a large reorganized school district. The third high school at Adams accommodates students in the eastern part of the county.

The sixth, ninth, and twelfth grade students attending these schools on a particular day in the Spring of 1949 responded to a group-administered questionnaire. The questionnaire was designed to elicit agreement and disagreement with a selected assortment of statements about Jews and Negroes. Most of the sixth grade students in the smaller schools of the reorganized districts and in the one-room schools also responded to the questionnaires. In all, 650 questionnaires were returned.

Data from the 1949 study thus furnished the basis for an examination of the dynamics of prejudice among adolescents. Accordingly, three years later, in the Spring of 1952, a similar questionnaire was administered to all students of the ninth and twelfth grades. Funds were inadequate to provide for questioning the youths who had graduated three years earlier. Of the 482 students responding in 1952, a total of 332 had also responded to the questionnaire in 1949. That is, most of the students who were in the sixth and ninth grades in 1949 were in the ninth and twelfth grades in 1952. Inevitably, of course, some of the original 650 were lost insofar as the 1952 collection of data respecting them was concerned. Some of them had graduated, some had failed or quit school, and others had died

or moved out of the community. At the same time, 150 of the students responding in 1952 represented new arrivals since 1949 by transfer from other public or parochial school systems. In order to assess the dynamics of attitude change, the present investigation was limited to the 332 students who had responded to both questionnaires. It was the data collected with respect to these students that provided the basis for all of the subsequent analysis undertaken in this report.

B. THE QUESTIONNAIRES

The principal tools used for the investigation of adolescent attitudes were two group-administered questionnaires. Both forms covered a wide range of control questions and a number of attitude statements pertaining to minority groups. There were two kinds of attitude statements. One kind involved statements to which students responded on a three-point scale of agreement-disagreement. The other kind consisted of some unstructured questions to which students could respond freely.

About thirty questions, mostly the ones dealing with minorities, were identical in the final forms used in both years. A preliminary analysis of the 1949 data furnished leads which were incorporated into the 1952 questionnaire. Consequently, the latter form was more detailed in some respects than the one used previously. Most of the new questions added

in 1952 were designed to evoke information concerning the kinds of relationships adolescents have with parents, peers, and teachers. For each year, the questionnaire went through a number of editions as a result of pretesting in the field. There were a variety of revisions in vocabulary in order to insure comparability of meaning in the minds of the investigator and the respondents.[2] Other revisions involved the sequence of statements to reduce the possible biasing effect of the instrument itself. The ultimate forms used in both years took about one hour to complete. The final draft of each form used appears in Appendix A. Each form includes all of the questions that were asked for the total research project. They contain, therefore, more questions than are being reported on for this particular research problem. Where it was necessary to protect the anonymity of Maple County places and institutions, the names have been changed in the questionnaires.

The 1949 questionnaires were handled by a small corps of carefully trained workers who were instructed in uniform procedures of administration. The chairman of the project committee and this investigator carried out all of the pretesting, revising, and final administering of the 1952 questionnaires. The questionnaires were handled expeditiously each

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[2]For example, it was found that the girls objected to the use of the term "boys" in reference to male youth their age. They insisted on calling them "fellows."

time to reduce any contingency of modified responses by communication between students who had responded and those who had not. Careful scheduling of time in 1952 made it possible to contact both grades in all three high schools on the same day.

C. THE PREJUDICE SCORES

The expression of attitudes. Expressed attitudes may be conceptualized from at least two different points of view. From a psychological or psychoanalytical point of view, the reactions of a person to statements concerning other persons are regarded as an expression of the individual personality. Consistent with this interpretation, the origin of attitudes is deduced from the early life experiences of the person. From a sociological point of view, the expressed reactions are seen as functions of the social situation in which they are expressed. Attitudes, therefore, are not considered as representations of a unique organization of behavioral responses of a person. Instead, attitudes are viewed as the overt manifestations of the underlying system of beliefs and sentiments prevalent in the culture of the group being studied. Their expression is that which is considered appropriate for the social position of persons in particular social situations.

In view of the varied opinions that have prevailed concerning the exact nature of attitudes, this author does not

seek to argue for or against either of these two epistemologies of attitudes. It may be that the expression of attitudes is really a function of a combination of factors which includes these two sets among others. In individual cases, one set may be more important than another. Authoritarian personalities may indeed express attitudes which are constant for any kind of social situation. On the other hand, most persons are probably relatively flexible in the expression of their reactions to statements involving other persons. Thus, they may be "highly sensitized to the normative expectancies of their positions and express those attitudes or sentiments more appropriate to a given social situation."[3]

Investigators must do more than merely present negative stereotypes if they wish to achieve a complete picture of the beliefs and attitudes held by their respondents. Jahoda and her co-workers point out there is little evidence that these negative stereotypes reinforce the respondent's existing stereotypes. Nevertheless, persistent phrasing in a negative sense does tend to create resistance and hostility toward a study on the part of unprejudiced respondents.[4] Furthermore,

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[3]Brookover, Epley, and Stone, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

[4]Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook, Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: The Dryden Press, 1951), pp. 160-170.

a questionnaire composed entirely of negative stereotypes fails to differentiate among individuals with little prejudice. Behavior toward any person or group is assumed to be determined by personal beliefs, attitudes, and social conscience. But, behavior may also be determined by what is deemed suitable in the existing social situation. Therefore, although some negative stereotypes were included, the content of the attitude statements was largely positive in nature.

The Jewish and Negro Prejudice Scores. The purpose of an attitude scale is to summarize within a single score the responses which are made to a number of carefully chosen items. The individual responses are not usually of importance in themselves. Instead, major interest is focused upon the total score which is a result of the combination of responses to the various constituent items.

Six statements concerning Jews and six more concerning Negroes were identical in the 1949 and 1952 questionnaires. These items were taken from those used in the California Attitude Scale. This Scale was developed by the Institute of Child Welfare of the University of California for use in the California studies of prejudice. These twelve statements provided for responses on a three-point scale of disagreement, intermediate and agreement. For the purpose of statistical treatment, the most unfavorable, or intolerant, response that

could be made was given a score of one. An intermediate response was given a score of two; and the most favorable, or tolerant, response, a score of three. No claim is made that the scores used for these structured statements represented equal intervals.

A "Jewish Prejudice Score" was calculated from the summation of the scores for the six Jewish items. A "Negro Prejudice Score" was similarly computed from summation of the responses to the six Negro items. This was done for both 1949 and 1952. The theoretical range for these raw scores extended from six (intolerant responses to all six statements) to eighteen (tolerant responses to all six statements). The raw scores based on these six structured statements were scaled so that the higher the score, the greater the tolerance manifested by the respondent. For further ease in handling, raw scores from six to ten were classified as "intolerant" and given a "Prejudice Score" of one as shown in Table I.

TABLE I

CLASSIFICATION OF PREJUDICE SCORES

Responses to attitude statements	Raw Scores	Prejudice Scores
Intolerant	6 to 10	1
Intermediate	11 to 14	2
Tolerant	15 to 18	3
Incomplete		0

The raw scores from eleven to fourteen were classified as "intermediate" and given a "Prejudice Score" of two. Raw scores from fifteen to eighteen were classified as "tolerant" and given a "Prejudice Score" of three. There were a few cases wherein a student, through oversight or some other reason, failed to respond to one or more of the attitude statements. When this happened, that student's responses were classified as "incomplete" and given a "Prejudice Score" of zero.[5]

The Change in Prejudice Scores. A comparison of the Prejudice Scores for 1949 and 1952 made it possible to compute a "Change in Prejudice Score". As Table II shows, all changes toward intolerance were assigned a Change in Prejudice Score of one.

TABLE II

CLASSIFICATION OF CHANGE IN PREJUDICE SCORES

Direction of change	1949 Prejudice Score	1952 Prejudice Score	Change in Prejudice Score
Intermediate to intolerant	2	1	1
Tolerant to intolerant	3	1	1
Tolerant to intermediate	3	2	1
No change from intolerant	1	1	2
No change from intermediate	2	2	2
No change from tolerant	3	3	2
Intolerant to intermediate	1	2	3
Intolerant to tolerant	1	3	3
Intermediate to tolerant	2	3	3
Incomplete	0	0	0

[5] Now that the source of these terms has been indicated, the quotation marks will be omitted hereafter.

Prejudice Scores which were classified as intolerant, intermediate, or tolerant in both 1949 and 1952 were regarded as having made no change. These were given a Change in Prejudice Score of two. All changes toward tolerance received a Change in Prejudice Score of three. These Prejudice Scores and Change in Prejudice Scores represented expressed attitudes toward Jews and Negroes which were used as the dependent variables throughout this study.

D. POLAR TYPES OF ORIENTATION

The concept of orientation. The psychologist seeks to study as completely as possible the reasons why individuals express prejudice toward minority groups. The sociologist, by contrast, attempts to find what is general and recurring in the expression of prejudiced attitudes. He is interested in stating and testing hypotheses, in establishing generalizations, and ultimately in predicting and controlling prejudiced behavior.

In following these objectives, sociologists have found it necessary to develop a framework of concepts for the study of the social aspects of human behavior. Sociological concepts, like all other concepts, are abstractions derived from the observation of concrete behavior. Sociological concepts may differ from other concepts in three respects: (1) they may be more highly abstract; (2) they define some of the major

social processes and relationships; and (3) they are formulated as tools for sociological research.

In this study, polar types of positive and negative orientation toward reference groups were conceptualized as independent variables conditioning the expression of minority attitudes. The assumptions underlying the use of orientation as an independent variable may be briefly outlined. The attitudes of students who were integrated into their families, peer groups, and schools were assumed to vary from those of students who were less well integrated. Differences in degree of integration were assumed to be measurable in terms of positive and negative orientation toward key persons in each of these three groups; that is, parents for the family; fellows and girls their own age for the peer groups; and teachers for the schools. It was assumed also that responses to certain structured questions would supply valid and reliable data for the determination of various positions along a continuum of orientation from the negative to the positive poles.

The polar types of orientation were distinguished from other positions along the continuum by the following major characteristic: they were representations derived from the extreme instances of positive and negative relationships with the reference groups.

The exact criteria for the measurement of orientation toward reference groups have never been established. No claim

is made that the criteria used herein are the only ones that could be employed. Nevertheless, it represents an attempt to establish orientation toward reference groups as a tool which may be fruitful for the analysis of the dynamics of prejudice.

Polar orientation toward parents. A series of structured questions were used in the 1952 questionnaires to determine the specific orientation of students toward parents, peers, and teachers. One of these questions was: "How do you usually feel most of the time about being with . . . [certain] . . . members of your family?"[6] Responses were provided on a four-point scale as follows: (1) don't like to be with; (2) doesn't make any difference: (3) sort of like to be with; and (4) like very much to be with.

Children are under strong cultural compulsion to speak favorably concerning parent-child relationships; that is, to say they like to be with their parents. Therefore, it was deemed necessary to interpret negative polar orientation toward parents more leniently than positive polar orientation. Accordingly, students who gave the answer, "don't like to be with," in reference to either their father or their mother, were identified as being negatively oriented toward their parents.

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[6]Other members of the family for which they were asked to respond included younger and older siblings and grandparents. See the 1952 questionnaire in Appendix A for the exact wording of this and the following question.

On the basis of this extreme response the parents of fifteen students were assumed to constitute a negative polar reference group. On the other hand, students who gave the answer, "like very much to be with," in reference to both their father and their mother, were further selected according to their answers to the question: "Which two of these family members do you most like to be with?" Those who named both of their parents again were identified as positively oriented toward their parents. The parents of the 119 students thus identified were considered to be a positive polar reference group.

Polar orientation toward peers. These same questions were slightly modified to determine polar orientation toward peers and teachers. Students were asked how they felt about fellows and girls their own age, and men and women teachers, in the question: "How do you usually feel most of the time about being with . . . [other kinds] . . . of people?"[7] This question carried the same four-point scale of responses men tioned above. A second question followed: "Which two of these groups do you most like to be with?" Students who said that they "liked very much to be with" both fellows and girls their

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[7] Among the other kinds of persons included in this question were younger persons of each sex; persons slightly older; persons as old as their parents, and as old as their grandparents; members of their clubs; and adult clubleaders. For the exact wording of this and the following questions, see the 1952 questionnaire in Appendix A.

own age and, at the same time, named these two groups as the ones they "most" liked to be with were identified as being positively oriented toward their peers. There were eighty-two students for whom peers were assumed to constitute a positive polar reference group on this basis.

To determine negative polar orientation toward peers, another question was asked: "Which two of these groups do you least like to be with?" Again, as in the case of the parents, cultural compulsives operate strongly in the direction of positive feelings toward peers. Therefore, any students who said they didn't like to be with fellows or girls their own age were classified as negatively oriented toward their peers. Any students who said that they liked "least" to be with either fellows or girls their own age were also classified as negatively oriented. On these grounds, there were twenty-three students for whom peers were regarded as a negative polar reference group.

Polar orientation toward teachers. Positive orientation toward teachers was established on the basis of liking "very much" to be with both men and women teachers. There were twenty-seven students for whom teachers were considered as a positive polar reference group. Students who didn't like to be with both men and women teachers, or those who liked "least" to be with both men and women teachers were deemed to be negatively oriented toward teachers. Judging from statements that

some students make about their teachers, there is comparatively little compulsion to be favorably disposed toward them. Hence, the negative criteria were more exacting for them than in the case of either parents or peers. By these standards, teachers were a negative polar reference group for twenty-five students.

Positive and negative polar orientation as established by these criteria were mutually exclusive insofar as any given reference group was concerned. However, there was some overlapping from one reference group to another.

E. RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY OF THE INSTRUMENT

Reliability of the instrument. Satisfactory reliability of any measuring instrument depends upon the purpose of analysis. As such, it consists in determining how much of the variation in scores among persons is due to true differences between them, and how much is due to inconsistencies in the measurement.[8] The reliability of the attitude statements used herein was established by Milton Rokeach in studies begun at the University of California, and continued at Michigan State College, in connection with the California studies in prejudice. The specific items chosen from the California Attitude Scale were those which possessed the highest levels of reliability. The high proportion of students giving the same responses in 1949 and 1952 also

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[8]Jahoda, Deutsch, and Cook, op. cit., pp. 100-107.

indicates a fairly high degree of reliability. The major indication of reliability of the instrument is the small difference that exists between the means of the 1949 and 1952 raw scores.

Validity of the instrument. Validity is the extent to which scores reflect true differences between persons rather than constant errors. Since the measurement of attitudes is always indirect, there is no direct method of validating an attitudinal measurement. Whenever paper-and-pencil techniques are used for measuring attitudes, a question may arise over the relative validity of verbal and non-verbal behavior. It can be said flatly that, inherently, actions have no greater validity than words. Actions are just as capable of distortion or concealment of the "true" attitudes as are words.[9]

Logically, then, a measurement technique is valid to the degree to which it measures what it purports to measure. This assumes that the instrument used embodies an appropriate operational definition of a theoretical construct. However, there are no rules for selecting appropriate operational definitions. Insofar as this study is concerned, it can be said, operationally, that the responses given indicate only some willingness on the part of the respondents to manifest certain attitudes. These attitudes, in turn, have been delimited by

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[9]Ibid., pp. 108-117.

the nature of the statements presented. How salient a given statement is for a given respondent cannot be stated. This is a question that must remain unanswered as long as direct techniques of collecting information are used in attitude studies.

Validity may be enhanced in various ways: (1) by expanding the number of questions asked; (2) by careful training of investigators; (3) by increasing the size of the sample; and (4) by constantly revising the questions until the respondents seem to interpret them in the manner they were intended. To the extent that these steps were feasible, they have been taken with respect to the forms ultimately used in 1949 and 1952. The 1949 data furnished clues as to areas where extended questioning seemed to be most fruitful. Pretesting of a series of eight editions of the 1952 questionnaires provided a training ground for the uniform administration of the final form. At the same time, this pretesting resulted in the vocabulary and sequential revisions already referred to above. The analyses relative to polar types of orientation admittedly involved comparatively few cases in the negative categories. There were 332 students for whom matched questionnaires for 1949 and 1952 were available. To increase validity, the largest number of these cases that could possibly be used served as the basis for other analyses. Finally, the questionnaires were based

upon the assumption that the collective responses to a group of statements concerning Jews and Negroes would reveal a system of beliefs and attitudes indicative of the level of prejudice generally prevalent in the youth culture and its subcultural strata.

F. THE METHOD OF ANALYSIS

Various statistical techniques have been developed for an estimation of the confidence one can have that empirically observed differences did not occur by chance. Other techniques are available for an estimation of the degree of relationship that exists among two or more variables.

The analysis of variance is well-suited to the study of the complex interrelationships arising in the Jewish and Negro Prejudice Scores as these could not be easily examined by simpler designs. This technique permits more reliable conclusions about more hypotheses with fewer cases than if the hypotheses were tested in separate designs. For example, in connection with the prejudice scores and role relationships, the analysis of variance helps to determine simultaneously whether there is a significant difference in: (1) the content of answers, independently of the roles; (2) the role relationships, independently of the content; and (3) the influence on content according to role relationships.[10]

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[10] Ibid., pp. 75-76.

Computation of the analysis of variance yields a statistic known as F, which is the algebraic equivalent of Student's t when only two groups are being compared; that is, $F = t^2$. The essential problem in the analysis of variance is to determine whether the variance between groups is significantly greater than the variance within groups. A difference that is statistically significant at the one-per cent level of probability is accepted herein with confidence. This means that the results obtained are such as could occur by chance only once in a hundred trials. A difference which is significant at the five-per cent level is accepted somewhat more cautiously, and is interpreted in the light of supplementary data.

The technique of analysis of variance rests upon several assumptions. First, it is assumed that errors which do occur are distributed randomly in terms of a normal population of errors. While no test was actually made of this assumption, an inspection of the distributions obtained seemed to indicate an approximately normal distribution. Second, it is assumed that factors responsible for significant differences in group means do not also result in significant differences in group variances. This is known as the "homogeneity of variance." Theoretically, the test of homogeneity should be applied to every analysis of variance. However, in this study, not all

analyses of variance were so tested since a sample of tests indicated by their low probability that the test of homogeneity was being met. Finally, it is assumed that the data can be ordered when the computations are to be made mechanically on IBM equipment. The presence of "no change" scores in the Change in Prejudice Scores made it impossible to order them. As a result, the analysis of variance technique was applied only to the 1949 and 1952 Prejudice Scores, since these could be ordered from tolerant to intolerant. The technique of chi-square was used for testing the significance of difference in Change in Prejudice Scores as this does not require the ordering of data. The chi-square formula used was $X^2=\sum \frac{(f_o-f_e)^2}{f_e}$ wherein f_o equals observed frequencies, and f_e equals expected or theoretical frequencies.

These remarks on the method of analysis may be concluded by stating that the results of this research must be interpreted only in relation to the limitations imposed by the group studied, the instrument used, and the techniques of analysis employed.

CHAPTER III

MAPLE COUNTY AND ITS ATTITUDES TOWARD MINORITY GROUPS

An understanding of the beliefs and attitudes common to particular groups, whether they be adult or adolescent, increases the understanding of the behavior of the individuals in the groups involved. Likewise, a knowledge of various types of community beliefs contributes to the understanding of prejudiced behavior. This study directs attention to one specific type of community setting from among the many which are found in this country. The one finally chosen is situated in a rural and midwestern section of the United States. To insure rurality, the project committee selected a community sufficiently distant from large urban centers as to eliminate direct domination by any metropolis. To insure typicality of the rural cornbelt area, however, they chose a community which was connected by high-speed thoroughfares with large metropolitan areas. This was in order that the farmers could make a round trip from farm to city within one day's time whenever the occasion warranted it. From a large number of communities where such a pattern prevailed, the final selection of a typical community was identified as Maple County, Midstate. This chapter examines the nature of the community setting. It also describes the climate of opinion prevalent among the inhabitants in respect

to their attitudes toward the members of minority groups in 1949 and 1952.[1]

A. MAPLE COUNTY

The community setting. Maple County is typical of many communities located within the cornbelt area where mixed-grain and livestock farming predominate. The county is not so large that it has an undue number of industrial or urban residents. Neither is it so small as to possess an atypically sparse population. In 1950, the county as a whole had a population of about 30,000 inhabitants. Johnstown, with a population of around 8500, is the principal town and county seat. It is located in the center of the county from whence it dominates the economic, political, and social life of the entire county. The town with the highest proportion of industrial workers among its residents is Brownsville, with a population of about 2000. Adams, with approximately 1300 inhabitants, is composed mainly of widows and retired farmers. A fourth town, in the extreme northwestern tip of the county, is Edgerton which is about the same size as Adams. Edgerton is located less than twenty miles from the industrial city of Wheatville in the

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[1]This author is indebted to John Holland and W.B. Brookover for allowing him to draw freely upon their unpublished material in connection with this sketch of Maple County and its residents.

adjoining county. For that reason, it was not included in this analysis of a community dominated by its county-seat.

Another feature of Maple County which is typical of rural cornbelt areas is the comparative absence of the traditional minority groups of Jews and Negroes. The county does possess a third generation of Polish ethnic origin. In other corn-belt communities, the minority group may be Scandinavian, Dutch, or German in origin. However, the communities are all alike in that these minority groups stem from immigrants who moved into the Midwest during the past century.

Arterial highways traverse Maple County from north to south, and east to west. A railway also bisects the county and many transport trucking lines use the highways of the community. Johnstown, Brownsville, Adams, and Edgerton are the only towns in the county large enough to offer the essential services required in a rural community. Each one of these towns has the following facilities: a high school, a post office, railroad service, one or more churches, banks, doctors, and such retail outlets as dry goods, hardware, lumber, farm implements, feed, and grocery stores. The county hospital, the only daily newspaper, and a radio station are all located in Johnstown. Each town, of course, has its own system of local organizations and interest groups. All county-wide organizations and services such as the Farm Bureau, the Public Health Services, and the political parties, have their headquarters in the county seat.

Although Maple County is predominantly rural with 14,000 open-country farm and non-farm inhabitants, it does contain some small industries. In Johnstown, there are foundries, and factories making furnaces, plastic products, shoes, overalls, metal products, and automobile parts. There are also some similar small-scale industries in Brownsville but practically no industry at all in Adams.

Outside of the towns which are the centers of activities, many areas concentrate of farming. However, many of the farm homes in the open country are really the residences of white collar and manual workers employed in the nearby towns. Marginal and submarginal farms operated by families whose members work full-time or part-time in the towns are scattered throughout the prosperous farming sections. Town and country residents are brought into a certain common community as a result of the interdependence of these economic interrelationships.

The educational systems. The nature of the school organization has greatly affected the social structure of Maple County. In recent years, there has been much reorganization of school districts. Until recently, this had not been encouraged by the Johnstown district. At the present time, high school youth from about a third of the county attend the Johnstown high school.

These school districts are significant factors in establishing the patterns of interaction within the community. Many

rural people come into town to attend school activities. This increases the opportunity for interaction between townspeople and country folk. Furthermore, adolescents from both town and farm attend the same high school. This provides a common point of identification which may tend to decrease whatever differences might otherwise exist. In some areas of the cornbelt, rural high schools still remain independent of those in town. However, the pattern of school reorganization within Maple County is typical of the general trend developing throughout the Midwest.

The Polish minority in Maple County. The overwhelming majority of the people of Maple County are old American stock. For the most part, they are descendants of migrants from farther east in the United States. It is true that they represent mixed English, Irish, German, French, Canadian, Dutch, and other national origins. Nevertheless, they are so completely divorced from their Old World backgrounds as to be describable only as Americans. By 1950, over 97 per cent of the population of the county was native-born white. The more recent arrivals from Poland, Italy, and Germany are already well along on the way to complete acculturation within the dominant majority.

The only conspicuous nationality group is composed of immigrants from Poland. Although some are scattered throughout the county, their greatest concentration in numbers is around Brownsville. They are said to have come to this region

originally for the purpose of cutting wood as fuel for railroad locomotives. Most of the non-Polish group, regard the Polish as synonymous with Catholics, particularly in the Brownsville area where the local priest is of Polish descent. The presence of this minority is recognized throughout Maple County but it seems to arouse no concern or fear among the non-Polish. This is apparently because most of the Polish show little desire to rise above their working-class status in the community.

There is no overt manifestation of discrimination against the Polish. The cleavage within the Polish group itself over the issue of drinking is greater than that between the Polish and non-Polish segments of the population. There is a phase of the general rural mores which is opposed to drinking. Responding to this, the non-drinking Polish tend to feel that excessive drinking by their compatriots is an important barrier to complete acceptance as "good" Americans. In general, praise by the non-Polish element is more common than criticism. Polish people who have made farming pay on land so poor that it was avoided by earlier settlers of the community are especially commended.

The lack of Polish participation in the leading organizations is evidence that this minority is not yet completely integrated within the community. However, there is a conscious

attempt at assimilation. Having given up their own parochial high school, they have recently become active supporters of the public high school. The high school attendance record of Polish boys and girls is no different from that of the other students. Some Polish parents manifest a reluctance to lose the labor of their teen-age children. There is no evidence to indicate that early withdrawal from high school by these children differs from the withdrawal record of youth from non-Polish families.

The Jewish minority in Maple County. As far as could be determined, only one family is universally recognized as Jewish by the inhabitants of Maple County. It is quite probable that there are only about a dozen Jewish people in the whole community. Most of them are not clearly identified as such by the non-Jewish people. In fact, there are more non-Jewish persons who are frequently identified as Jewish than the other way around. The small number of Jews in the community and the varying roles which they play makes generalizations about them rather difficult.

The one family which is clearly identified fits many of the stereotypes that rural midwesterners hold concerning Jews. The name is definitely Jewish. The family business of dealing in junk and scrap metal is also unmistakably regarded as Jewish. The family has lived in Johnstown for twenty years. The younger

of their two sons was active on the high school athletic team in 1949. Prior to the 1952 study, however, he entered college. The parents, especially the mother, are suspicious of outsiders. They both seem somewhat unhappy since they have few contacts with other Jews.

Another Jewish family recently arrived in Johnstown is not so generally recognized by other people. This family moved from a larger midwestern city largely because they believed they would be treated like everybody else in Johnstown. Insofar as they are generally unrecognized as Jews, this is probably the case. A son and a daughter of this family were both in the 1949 study. The son was graduated before the study made in 1952, but the daughter was then a senior and still in school. Both of these young people seemed to be well liked by their associates in the community.

While these are the only Jewish families in Maple County, There are four other individuals of Jewish origin. One is a small businessman; another is a housewife; and two others are a brother and sister whose father was formerly a well-known merchant in Johnstown. Only rarely are any of them identified as Jewish.

The other so-called Jews in Maple County were found to be, upon investigation, either non-existent or non-Jewish. Quite often the basis for this erroneous identification could

be traced to occupational stereotypes of Jews as junk dealers, jewelers, livestock buyers, and dry goods merchants.[2] These and other stereotypes have become so detached from actual people that the residents of Maple County are often inaccurate in their identification of Jews. This nebulous, free-floating stereotypy is apparent in the minds of the adolescents of this county as well. One Johnstown senior boy who professed to know Jews well and who claimed to have had long, fairly intimate contacts with them was asked what he remembered most about his experiences with Jews. He replied that they talked with their hands and with an accent, and that most of them were Catholics!

Although it will be shown in a later section that the people of Maple County hold unfavorable stereotypes about Jews, and that many of them would want to discriminate against them, the present situation is not one to make relationships with Jews very salient in the minds of the other inhabitants. The roles played by these few Jews seldom involve any occasions for the manifestation of overt prejudice toward them.

The Negro minority in Maple County. There are only a few more Negroes than Jews in Maple County. About two dozen

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[2]For example, a livestock buyer and the operator of a woman's apparel shop were both identified as Jewish; in reality, they were strong adherents of the Catholic faith. The fact that they were also neighbors could easily serve to reinforce another common stereotype that Jewish people tend to be clannish.

Negroes may be seen as regular residents of the county. Despite their greater physical visibility, accurate information about them was as difficult to obtain from white residents as it was in the case of the Jews from non-Jews. There is almost a complete lack of communication between the two races. For the most part, the Negroes in this community represent isolated families. There is no united Negro group, and they never have occasions when they all come together. Some Negroes even had trouble in identifying the homes and occupations of other Negroes.

In one Negro family, the father has refused to accept less than the prevailing wage for his line of skilled work. As a result, he has been employed only occasionally as a construction worker. His wife, meanwhile, has to do housework to help support the family. This Negro family has overtly expressed their resentment of the inferior status assigned to them by the white population. Consequently, when the latter find any occasion to express hostility toward Negroes, it is most often directed against this family. There were no Negro girls in the Johnstown high school at the time the son of this family was in attendance. His willingness to accept dates with white female classmates led to threats of violence against his family. Action was averted only when the son received a long prison sentence for a crime committed in the company of an older

white man. The criminal record of this boy is frequently cited as evidence of the unsavory nature to be expected of Negroes.

Most whites seem to feel there are enough Negroes already in the community but evince no strong desire to eject those who now live there. Maple County factories have no jobs open to Negroes, nor are there any opportunities for skilled workers in other lines of endeavor. Whites do not express any concern over the fact that college-trained Negroes capable of filling professional positions are compelled to work in domestic service. Little objection or comment is aroused as long as the Negroes stay in "their place," accept the kinds of jobs which they are proffered, and assume the roles expected of them by the whites. When they do not do these things, the normally latent violence present in the attitudes of rural midwestern people is likely to become manifest.

For their part, the Negroes seem willing to accept their inferior status and openly regard Maple County as a good place for Negroes to live. White newcomers, particularly from the South, rather than the old residents are blamed for whatever discrimination is directed against them. This seems to be more of a rationalization of the actual treatment received than an accurate picture of the attitudes of the old residents. It is the old residents who control the industries that are closed

to Negroes; who have taken no steps toward providing suitable places in which to live; and who have made them feel unwelcome in the local churches. Apparently, the Negroes have recognized the discrimination and made relatively satisfactory accommodation to it. In comparison to the conflict and tension found in other communities, Maple County may, therefor, seem more desirable.

In summation of this section, one can say "it is clear that relationships with minority groups of any kind are not a common topic of conversation or interest. Rarely is there any free expression of opinions or comments about minorities. The few Negroes and Jews who live in the community are relatively inconspicuous. Most people know little, if anything about them."[3]

The number of minority group members in the various schools is typical of the community as a whole. So far as could be determined, the school in Brownsville contained neither Jewish nor Negro students in either 1949 or 1952. Since this school serves the western section of the county, there were, however, many children from families of Polish descent. There was one Negro boy and a well-known Jewish boy in the senior class of the school in Johnstown in 1949. At the same time, there was at least one Jewish girl in the freshman class, but she was not identified as Jewish by other students. She continued on in this school until, in 1952, as a senior she

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[3]Brookover and Holland, op. cit., p. 197.

was widely recognized. There was also a non-identified Jewish girl in the freshman class at Johnstown in 1952. The one Negro student in the Johnstown school in 1952 was in neither of the two classes studied. No known Jewish children were in attendance at the Adams school in either year. Neither of the two Negro students in the school at Adams in 1949 were in the grades studied; but, by 1952, a Negro boy had entered the senior class. In view of the paucity of members of minority groups in the public schools, it is not surprising that about 70 percent of all students had no more than casual contacts with either Jews or Negroes. In addition, some who claimed to have had Jewish contacts probably did not make correct identifications.

B. MAPLE COUNTY'S ATTITUDES TOWARD MINORITY GROUPS

The following analysis of the attitudes toward minority groups in Maple County is based upon data secured from both adults and school children in 1949. The adult picture has been presented rather extensively by Holland.[4] Therefore, this review will be concerned primarily with the comparable attitudes of adults and school children in 1949. The chapters which follow deal with the situation as it existed in 1952, and with the changes that took place between 1949 and 1952. According

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[4]John Ben Holland, op. cit. Chapter II discusses in detail the sentiments prevailing among the adults of Maple County concerning its minorities.

to Brookover and Holland, "the adult sample of this community consistently expressed a set of pervasive and highly unfavorable sentiments toward all the minority groups about whom they were asked . . . . The larger proportion expressed these unfavorable sentiments in response to statements designed to provoke traditional stereotypes, or stereotyped patterns of discrimination."[5]

Attitudes toward Jews. It has been indicated above that the people in this community were inaccurate and confused in their identification of the Jews in their midst. This makes it difficult to interpret responses to attitudinal statements involving this minority. At times, their responses seemed to be made in reference to some vague image of persons living in a place far removed from this area. At other times, they seemed to be responding in reference to Jews as they were identified in Maple County.

Jews were seldom mentioned in response to such unstructured questions as : "What kind of people are there that this country would really be better off without?"[6] The responses to this and similar unstructured questions were evidence that hostility toward given minorities, whether present or not in the

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[5] Op. cit., p. 197.

[6] For a further discussion of this and succeeding points see Brookover and Holland, op. cit., pp. 196-202.

community, was not strong. The structured statements, however, revealed the presence of a certain amount of latent hostility toward Jews that was absent from responses to the unstructured questions. Such expressions were more likely a reflection of the diffused acceptance of common cultural sentiments concerning Jews rather than any strong inclination for aggression against them. It will be shown that more adults agreed with these cultural beliefs than were willing to take discriminatory action against Jews.

This tendency is seen in response to the statement: "It is all right with me if more Jewish people move into my neighborhood." On the basis of a three-point scale of response - disagreement, cannot quite agree, and complete agreement - over 50 per cent of the adults were opposed to added Jews in their neighborhood, as shown in Figure 1. Coupled with a similar statement concerning Negroes, this response seemed indicative of the common cultural sentiment favoring segregated living areas for various minorities. Since a Jewish family had recently moved to Johnstown without incident, the response apparently did not represent active hostility.

The positively formulated statement that "Jewish people are just as honest and warm and friendly as other people" is an expression of the "American Creed," and the opposite of a general stereotype of Jews. Figure 1 shows that about the

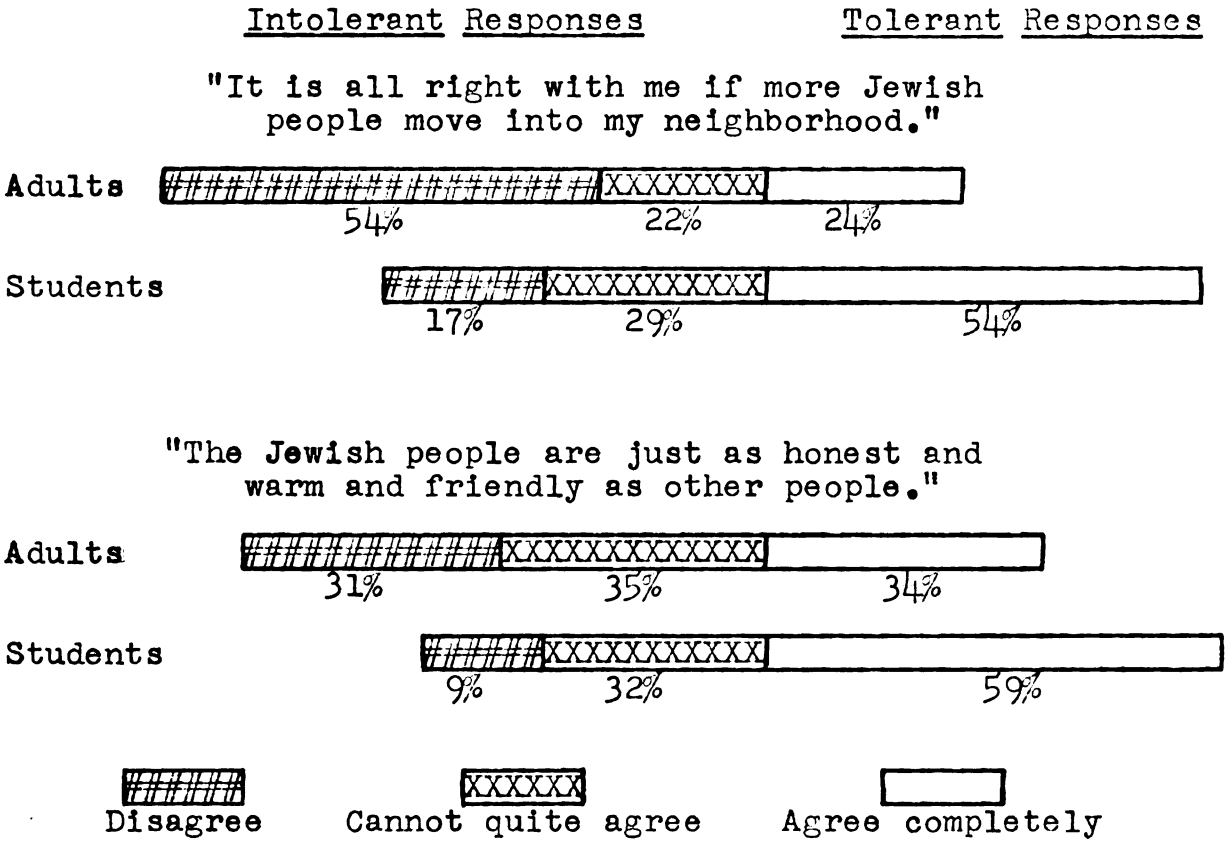


FIGURE 1

ATTITUDES OF MAPLE COUNTY ADULTS AND STUDENTS TOWARD JEWS IN 1949, AS MEASURED BY RESPONSES TO TWO AGREE-DISAGREE STATEMENTS

same proportion of adults responded to each of the three alternatives with respect to this statement.

Students in the sixth, ninth, and twelfth grades also responded to these two statements. In both instances, Figure 1 indicates that the students were definitely more tolerant than the adults. Over half of the students were willing to accept more Jewish neighbors in contrast to only one-fourth of the adults. Responses to the statement that Jews were honest, warm, and friendly were approximately the same. The student responses in 1949 to all six statements concerning Jews are shown in Figure 2. Upon examination, it reveals that students were most likely to express intolerance in response to the statements of cultural stereotypes or stereotyped methods of segregation. On the whole, however, the students were much less likely than the adults to agree with the customary patterns of intolerance.

Thus, the favorable image revealed by the unstructured questions must be counterbalanced by the high level of intolerance toward Jews that emerges from the structured statements. It was impossible to determine which reference group of Jews, the "alien" or the "local," was being applied when particular responses were being made. It seems probable that the scaled statements evoked responses of relatively unfavorable but abstract images of Jews that had little saliency in this community. It is possible that the general level of hostility

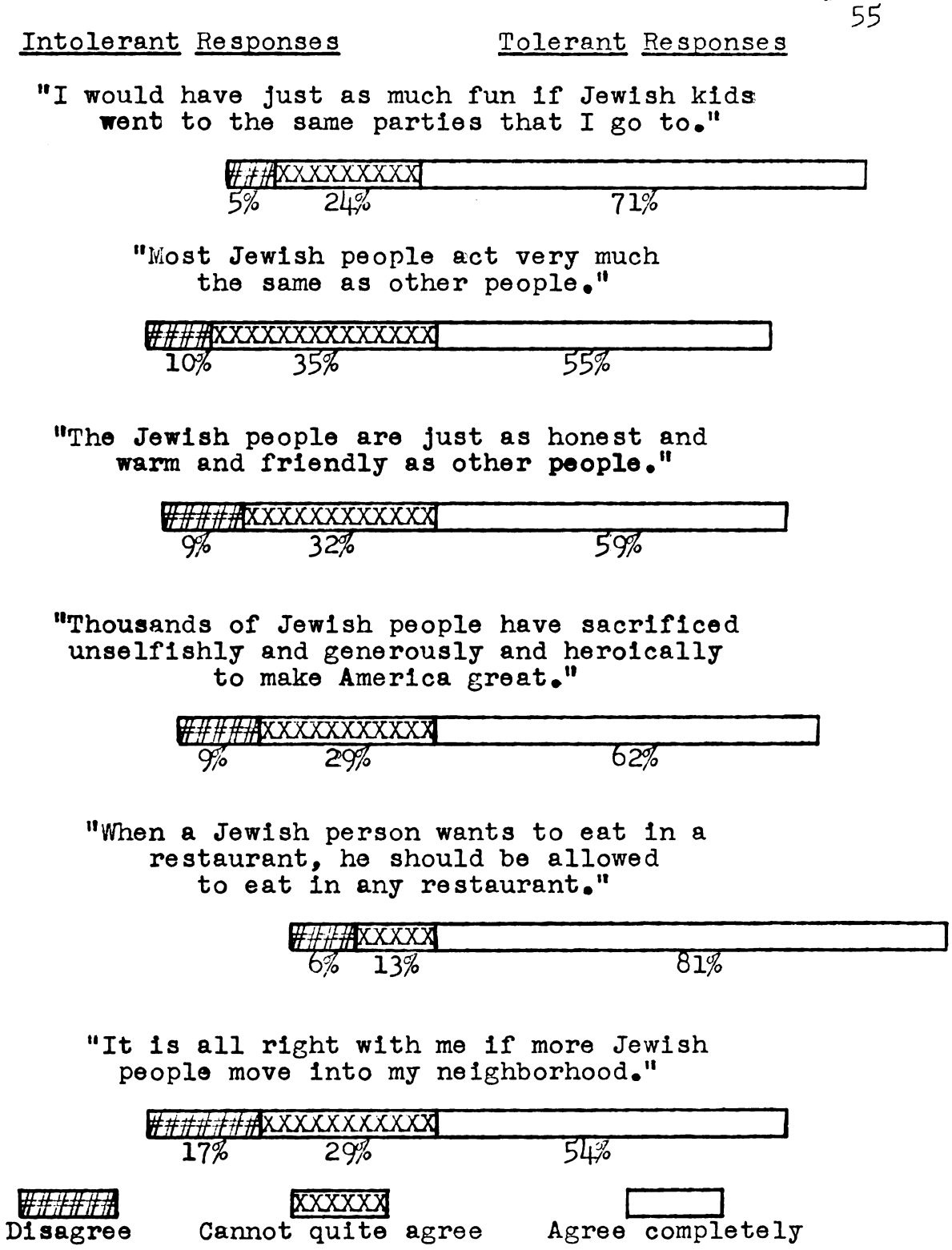


FIGURE 2

ATTITUDES OF MAPLE COUNTY STUDENTS TOWARD JEWS IN 1949, AS MEASURED BY RESPONSES TO SIX AGREE-DISAGREE STATEMENTS

might increase should the potential intolerance disclosed by these structured questions ever become associated with specific experiences of the respondents.

Attitudes toward Negroes. The Jews in Maple County hold positions as white-collar workers or are engaged in business. The Negroes, on the other hand, are employed in domestic service and as manual workers. This occupational distinction is reflected in the local image of the Negro as a low status type who is distinguishable from his fellow workers by skin color and other biological characteristics.

Just as in the case of the Jews, the unstructured questions showed a low saliency of Negro-white relationships. There was comparatively little thought of an active program of discrimination against Negroes. However, very different answers were received when unstructured questions that specifically referred to Negroes were asked. The latent and unfavorable attitudes gained in importance when a specific situation was presented that involved change in status and orientation toward Negroes. This was seen in reply to: "What do you think should have been done about some Negro families moving to Johnstown?" Only about 25 per cent of the adults were favorably disposed to accept Negro migration into the county seat. Over half wanted to keep them out, if at all possible. As the residents of Maple County defined the situation in 1949, although

there was little active intolerance, there was a fairly strong feeling that there were already enough Negroes in the community.

The structured statements which indicated discrimination against Negroes produced a variety of responses. Figure 3 shows that only 16 per cent of the adults gave completely tolerant replies to a statement about Negroes and whites eating in the same restaurant. About the same proportion were willing to work in a job where they would have to take orders from a Negro. At the other extreme, over two thirds of the adult sample were in definite disagreement with both statements.

A comparison of the adult and student responses in Figure 3 revealed, once again, the very much greater tolerance of the latter. The highest proportion of student intolerance came in response to the statement regarding working under Negro supervision. High school seniors gave a much higher proportion of intolerant responses to this statement than did the sixth and ninth grade students. Presumably, the seniors, who were on the brink of assuming adult occupational roles were likewise somewhat closer to assuming adult attitudes in reference to working with Negroes. The situation posed was also probably more relevant for the seniors than it was for the students in lower grades.

The student responses in 1949 to all six Negro statements are presented in Figure 4. A comparison of Figures 2 and 4

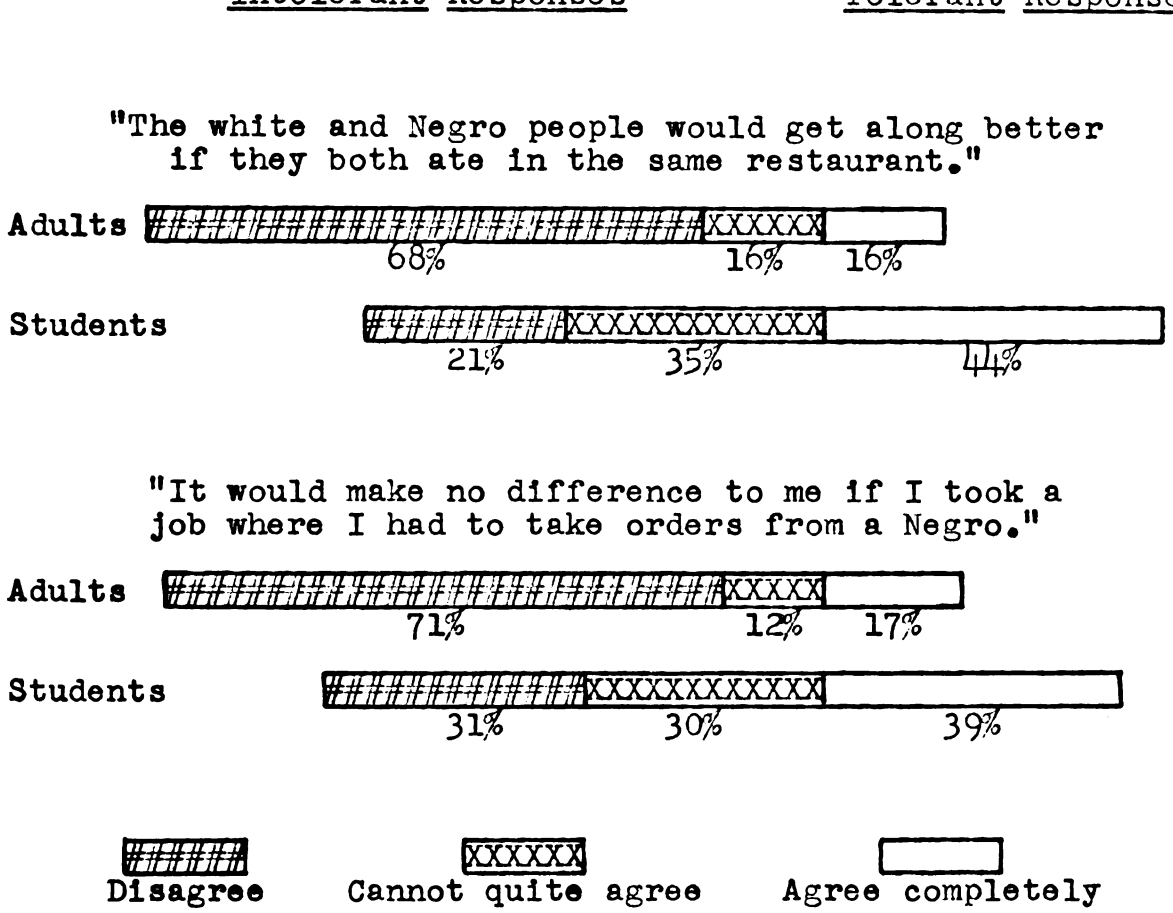


FIGURE 3

ATTITUDES OF MAPLE COUNTY ADULTS AND STUDENTS TOWARD NEGROES IN 1949, AS MEASURED BY RESPONSES TO TWO AGREE-DISAGREE STATEMENTS

indicates that no statements concerning Negroes drew forth the high level of tolerance of some of the Jewish statements. Perhaps, this was an indication that cultural sentiments about Negroes were more highly crystallized among the adolescent population than those concerning Jews. This is noted especially in the case of the two related statements in each series: being at the same parties and eating in the same restaurants. The level of Negro tolerance is much lower than in the case of the Jews. Maple County residents appeared to possess no greater antipathy toward Negroes than toward Jews, but they did exhibit much more latent hostility toward the former.

As long as the status quo of existing relationships is not disrupted, there is little or no corcern about Negro-white relationships. The question about the movement of more Negroes into the community showed, however, that any threat to upset the situation would be viewed with some solicitude. In light of the limited number of Negroes in the community, it is probable that these verbal expressions of attitudes had somewhat the same characteristics of the abstract which were found in the case of the Jewish statements. Thus, it would be impossible to predict directly what individual inhabitants of Maple County would do if confronted with Jews and Negroes in real social situations.

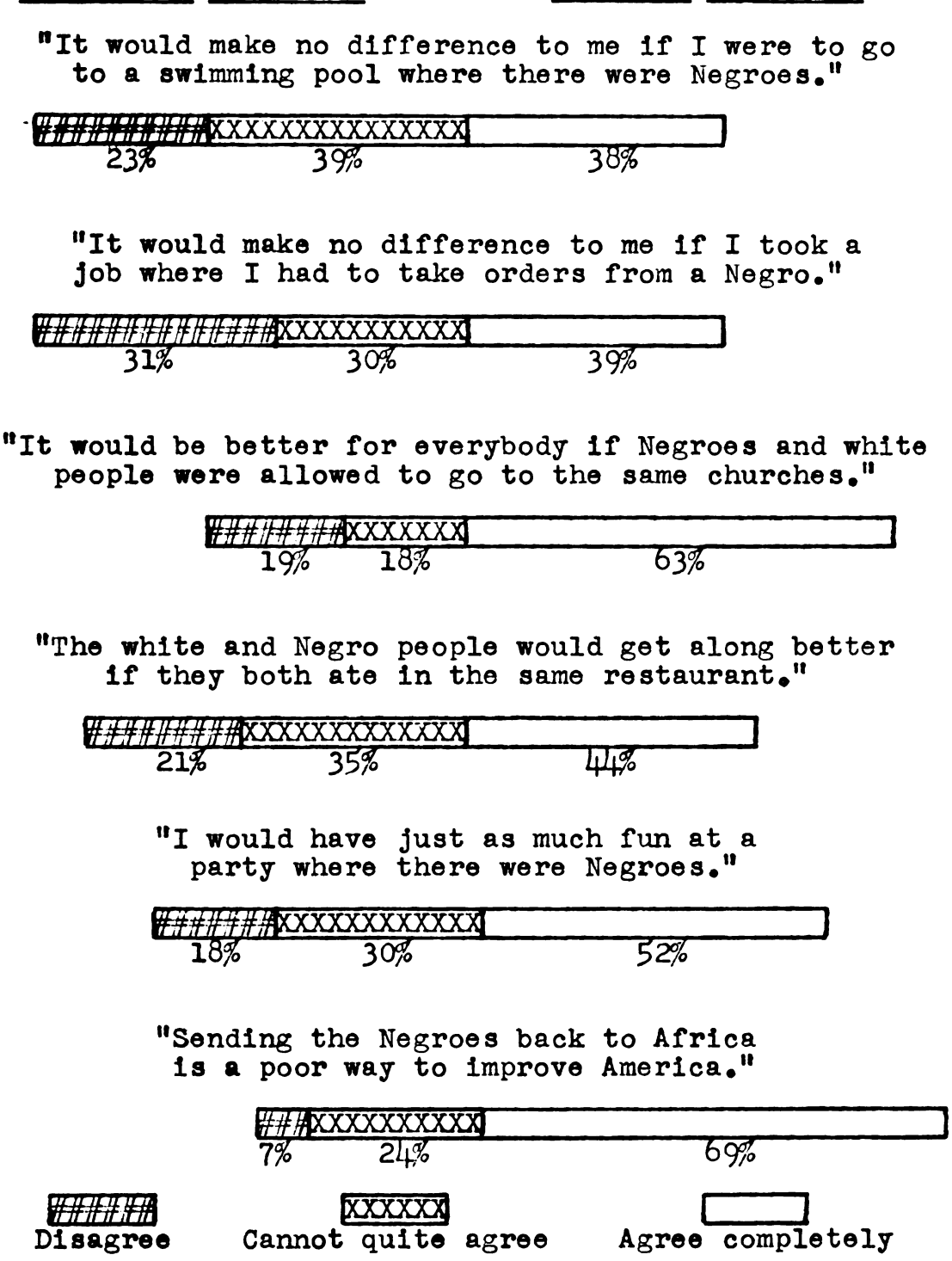


FIGURE 4

ATTITUDES OF MAPLE COUNTY STUDENTS TOWARD NEGROES IN 1949, AS MEASURED BY RESPONSES TO SIX AGREE-DISAGREE STATEMENTS

In this review of the attitudes of Maple County toward its minorities, the reader has seen manifested a relatively low level of active, salient hostility. At the same time, there did appear to be a certain amount of latent, potential intolerance toward both Jews and Negroes. There was some evidence that the unstructured type of question evoked an image of these traditional minorities which was based on local individuals as reference groups. The structured statements, by way of contrast, seemed to arouse an image based on some distant, abstract people as reference groups. Students were found to be more tolerant of both minorities than were the adults in the community. Also in contrast to the adults, the attitudes of the students toward Jews were less crystallized than those which they displayed toward Negroes.

CHAPTER IV

ATTITUDES AS A FUNCTION OF RELATIONSHIPS WITH PARENTS

It was a basic hypothesis of this research project that the expressed attitudes of adolescents are a function of the kinds of relationships they have with other people which are appropriate for given social positions. Further, it was hypothesized that changes in attitudes tend to be functions of changes in these relationships. In this and subsequent chapters, these hypotheses will be examined in reference to relationships with parents, peers, and teachers. Since it has been indicated in the previous chapter that attitudes expressed toward Jews differ somewhat from those evinced toward Negroes, they will be treated separately within each chapter.

This chapter deals with some of the relationships that adolescents have with their parents. Attention is directed first toward parents as polar types of positive and negative reference groups. Next, in their turn, consideration is given to the extent students like to be with their parents; to the understanding parents have of the problems of young people; and finally, to the frequency of quarrels with their parents. The particular problem to be investigated is the association between these relationships and the expression of attitudes toward Jews and Negroes.

A. POLAR TYPES OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ORIENTATION

It was pointed out in Chapter II that criteria for the measurement of orientation toward reference groups have never been established. This study offers the concept of polar types of positive and negative orientation as a methodological tool for analyzing the expression of prejudice. Orientation toward reference groups was assumed to be distributed along a continuum from extreme negativism, on the one hand, to extreme positivism, on the other. A typology of polar positive and negative categories based on extreme incidences seemed most fruitful for emphasizing differences in expressed attitudes. It was anticipated that the same criteria could be used to measure orientation toward all three reference groups. As this report of the findings will indicate, however, these were not equally effective. As might be expected, this first effort at a new approach met with mixed success. Nevertheless, the importance of even meager results in a pioneer study should not be underestimated. This author believes that the data to be presented justify further experimentation to refine the instrument and increase its efficacy.

In essence, the polar type of positive parental orientation was an extreme category including only those students who liked most to be with <u>both</u> of their parents in preference to any other family members.

The polar type of negative parental orientation, at the other extreme, included only those students who did not like to be with either their father or mother. There were 15 students in the negative category and 119 in the positive.

Expressed attitudes toward minority groups may be measured along a continuum ranging from complete intolerance to complete tolerance. The same person may assume various positions along this continuum, depending upon the role being played and the social context involved at any given time. The circumstances surrounding one social relationship may call forth the expression of a relatively tolerant view. With different people and under different conditions, another social relationship may evoke the expression of a relatively intolerant attitude. Thus, the young person who is positively oriented toward his parents assumes, as a part of this role, an attitude of conformity to the norms he believes are prevalent within this reference group. In the same manner, the negatively oriented adolescent assumes a role of resistance to the norms he thinks prevail within the parental reference group.

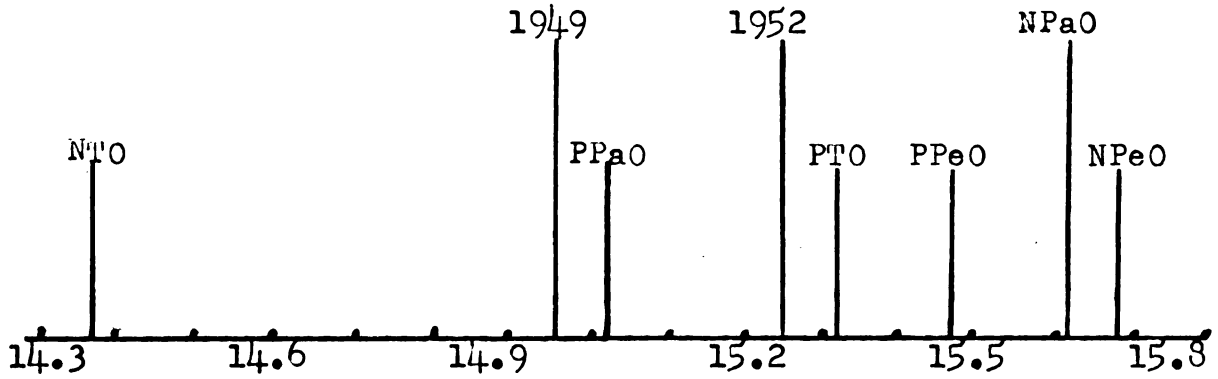
In other words, if the reference group expresses relatively tolerant attitudes, those who are positively oriented toward it tend to express similar attitudes. If the attitudes of the reference group were intolerant, then positive orientation would require the expression of intolerant attitudes.

In contrast, negative orientation toward a tolerant reference group is manifested in a rejection of its expressed attitudes. Negative orientation toward an intolerant reference group, on the other hand, tends to produce tolerant responses.

Jewish Prejudice Scores. It was indicated earlier that the structured statements concerning attitudes toward Jews showed the adults in Maple County to be less tolerant than the students. To the extent that parents of these students were representative of all Maple County adults, it was hypothesized that students positively oriented toward their parents tend to be less tolerant than those who are negatively oriented.

The raw Jewish Prejudice Scores were based on responses to six attitude statements about Jews. These scores were scaled so that the higher the score, the greater the tolerance displayed by the respondent. The same conditions apply with respect to the means of these raw scores: the higher the mean, the greater the tolerance.

A distribution of means of raw Jewish Prejudice Scores for various categories of Maple County students is presented in Figure 5. A comparison of the relative positions of these means supports the hypothesis that positive orientation toward parents is associated with less tolerance of Jews than is negative orientation. The mean prejudice score for negatively oriented students lies further along the continuum in the



1949: All students, 1949
1952: All students, 1952
PPaO: Positive Parental Orientation, 1952
NPaO: Negative Parental Orientation, 1952
PPeO: Positive Peer Orientation, 1952
NPeO: Negative Peer Orientation, 1952
PTO : Positive Teacher Orientation, 1952
NTO : Negative Teacher Orientation, 1952

FIGURE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF MEANS OF RAW JEWISH PREJUDICE SCORES FOR POLAR TYPES OF ORIENTATION OF MAPLE COUNTY STUDENTS*

*Summarized from data contained in Table I, in Appendix B.

direction of greater tolerance than the mean prejudice score for those oriented positively toward their parents. The mean prejudice score for those positively oriented lies between the means of the Jewish Prejudice Scores for all students in the years 1949 and 1952. This shows that those oriented positively toward their parents are relatively more like Maple County students as a whole than those who are negatively oriented. An analysis of the difference between the means shown in Figure 5, however, revealed none of them to be statistically significant.

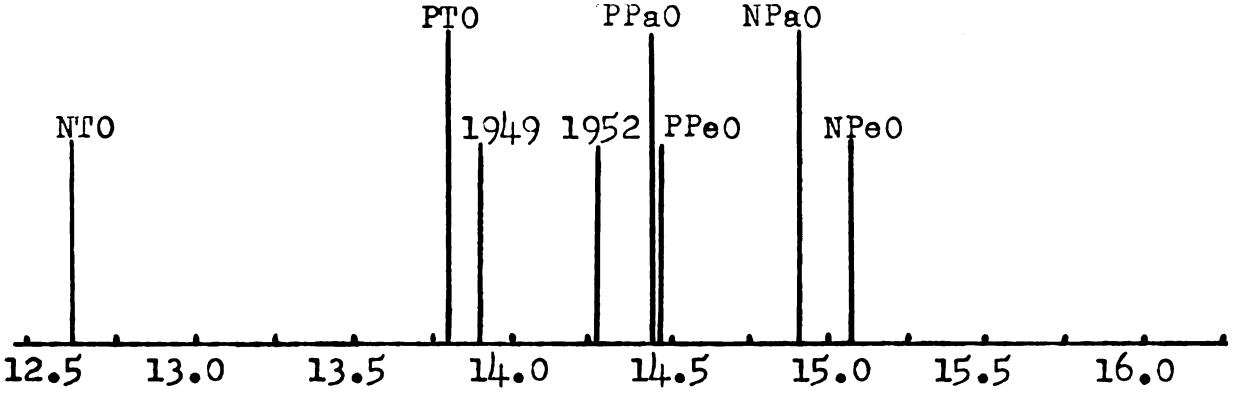
As positively oriented students grow older, it was assumed they tend to take on the attitudes of their parents. Since Maple County adults were known to be less tolerant of Jews, it was hypothesized that positively oriented students tend to become less tolerant. Negatively oriented students, on the other hand, were assumed to be in a state of rebellion against their parents as a reference group. Consequently, they would tend to reject the attitudes held by their parents. For them, then, it was hypothesized that negatively oriented students tend to become more tolerant.

The Change in Jewish Prejudice Score was computed by comparing a student's 1949 Jewish Prejudice Score with his 1952 Jewish Prejudice Score. About half of the students in both the negative and positive categories of orientation did

not change their attitudes from 1949 to 1952. Nearly all of those who became less tolerant were positively oriented. Also, a higher proportion of the negatively oriented changed toward tolerance than did the positively oriented. These findings supported the two hypotheses offered above. However, their importance was limited by two factors. First, the negative category was too small to test for the statistical significance of difference. Second, no data were available concerning change in parental orientation during the three-year period. In view of these two limitations, therefore, it must be said that the hypotheses concerning change in attitude toward Jews have not been adequately tested to permit generalizations.

Negro Prejudice Scores. It was indicated earlier that Maple County adults expressed less tolerant attitudes toward Negroes than did the students in 1949. Therefore, it was hypothesized that positive parental orientation is related to the expression of less tolerant attitudes.

The distribution of means of raw Negro Prejudice Scores in Figure 6 shows that negatively oriented students were more tolerant than those who were positively oriented. Thus, there is some evidence that students presumed to be in opposition to their parents reject the intolerant attitudes expressed by Maple County adults. On the other hand, the mean scores of



1949: All students, 1949
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PPaO: Positive Parental Orientation, 1952
NPaO: Negative Parental Orientation, 1952
PPeO: Positive Peer Orientation, 1952
NPeO: Negative Peer Orientation, 1952
PTO : Positive Teacher Orientation, 1952
NTO : Negative Teacher Orientation, 1952

FIGURE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF MEANS OF RAW NEGRO PREJUDICE SCORES FOR POLAR TYPES OF ORIENTATION OF MAPLE COUNTY STUDENTS*

*Summarized from data contained in Table II, in Appendix B.

positively and negatively oriented students did not differ dignificantly. Both categories of orientation expressed more tolerant attitudes toward Negroes than did the students as a whole in either 1949 or 1952. This is further evidence that positively oriented students were more like students in general than those who were negatively oriented toward their parents. This conforms with the phenomenon which Sumner has termed the "strain toward consistency."

It was also hypothesized that positively oriented students tend to become less tolerant since it was known that Maple County adults expressed intolerant attitudes toward Negroes. As in the case of the Jewish Prejudice Scores, about half of all students did not change their Negro Prejudice Scores. None of the negatively oriented students became less tolerant. The limitations noted in the discussion of the Jewish Prejudice Scores - - smallness of the negative category and lack of data concerning change in orientation - - were also applicable here. Therefore, all that can be concluded with respect to polar types of parental orientation and change in expressed attitudes toward Negroes is that differences exist which are consistent with the hypotheses, but that they are not great enough to be statistically significant.

B. LIKING TO BE WITH PARENTS

The polar types of orientation toward parents found comparatively few students admitting to negative relationships. To increase the validity of the results, it was decided to use the full range of responses to the question: "How do you usually feel most of the time about being with . . . your [parents] ?"

The Maple County adolescents in this study were slightly more positively oriented toward their mothers and slightly more negatively oriented toward their fathers, but the differences were not significant. The differences shown in Table III in Appendix B are in accord with the findings of Hirschberg and Gilliland.[1] Three-fourths of all students liked very much to be with their mothers, whereas only two-thirds of them expressed such a positive view with respect to their fathers. One in nine students expressed a relatively negative response toward his father in contrast to the one student in fourteen who felt negatively toward his mother. No significant differences in responses toward fathers and mothers were found between the adolescents of one sex and those of the other. That is, girls

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[1]G. Hirschberg and A.R. Gilliland, "Parent-Child Relationships in Attitude," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XXXVII (1942), 125-130. These authors found that mothers had a closer relationship with their children than did the fathers.

did not significantly prefer to be with their fathers and boys with their mothers; or girls with their mothers and boys with their fathers.

Jewish Prejudice Scores. Responses to the structured question posed above ranged on a four-point scale from "don't like to be with" to "like very much to be with." It was assumed that students who chose one alternative had different kinds of relationships with their parents than those who chose another alternative. Further, it was assumed that the differences in these relationships would be manifested in differences in attitudes toward Jews. The responses were presumed to increase in positive orientation toward parents.

It was hypothesized, therefore, that positive parental orientation, as measured by the extent students like to be with their parents, is related to the expression of less tolerant attitudes toward Jews. This hypothesis was examined with respect to fathers and mothers separately in order to eliminate any differences of opinion concerning the respective parents; that is, those instances where a student liked very much to be with one parent but didn't like to be with the other. Results of applying the analysis of variance to the distribution of responses throughout the various alternatives indicated no significant differences with respect to either fathers or mothers.

In consideration of the Change in Jewish Prejudice Scores, it was hypothesized that positive parental orientation is related to change toward less tolerant attitudes. Insofar as the responses toward fathers were concerned, Table IV, in Appendix B, reveals a linear trend in the change toward intolerance which supports this hypothesis. Nevertheless, the chi-square test indicated that the difference between categories was not significant. There were no significant differences with respect to responses toward mothers.

Negro Prejudice Scores. The same assumptions and the same hypotheses formulated in connection with the Jewish Prejudice Scores were applicable also with respect to the Negro Prejudice Scores. There was no evidence to support either hypothesis. It must be concluded, on the basis of these findings, that differences in responses to the question of liking to be with either father or mother were not associated with differences in the expression of attitudes toward Jews or Negroes by the adolescents of Maple County.

C. PARENTAL UNDERSTANDING OF ADOLESCENTS

Orientation toward parents as a reference group may also be measured along a continuum of parental understanding of adolescents and the problems of adolescence. Such a continuum was established on the basis of responses to question: "How well

do you think . . . [your parents] understand young people like you and their problems?" The responses were structured on a four-point scale of increased understanding; (1) don't understand us at all; (2) don't understand us very well; (3) understand us fairly well; and (4) understand us very well.

Slightly more than one-half of all students in the study felt they were very well understood by their parents. This seemed to be consistent with cultural expectations relative to this criterion of orientation. Two-thirds of the positive polar oriented students, but only one-eighth of the negative polar oriented, were of the opinion that their parents understood them very well. This was consistent with what would be expected if the categories of polar parental orientation were valid. Table V, in Appendix B, indicates that 3 per cent of the positive polar oriented students and 13 per cent of the negative polar oriented felt their parents did not understand them at all. The difference between the mean responses given by the positively and negatively oriented students was clearly significant ($P < .004$).

It was assumed that orientation toward parents tends to become more positive as their understanding increases. It was also assumed that students who were not understood at all had different relationships with their parents than those who were understood very well.

Jewish Prejudice Scores. These scores were examined to test the hypothesis that positive orientation toward parents, as determined by the degree of parental understanding, tends to be related to the expression of intolerant attitudes.

There was no support for this hypothesis when all students were considered together, or when the girls were considered separately. In the case of the responses made by the boys, the mean Jewish Prejudice Score increased for each category of increased understanding, as may be seen in Table III. This difference was significant at the five-per cent level of probability. Contrary to the hypothesis, the expression of tolerant attitudes increased with an increase in parental understanding.

TABLE III

1952 JEWISH PREJUDICE SCORES OF BOYS BY THE DEGREE PARENTS UNDERSTAND YOUNG PEOPLE

1952 Jewish Prejudice Scores	Degree parents understand young people: Not at all	Not very well	Fairly well	Very well
	%	%	%	%
Intolerant	50.0	13.2	11.4	5.6
Intermediate	50.0	39.6	36.3	27.0
Tolerant	0.0	46.2	52.3	67.4
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of cases	2	15	44	89
Means	1.50	2.33	2.41	2.62

Summary of analysis of variance:

Total sum of squares	63.48	
Between group sum of squares	3.99	$P(F_{3,146})=3.24<.05$
Within group sum of squares	59.49	

The hypothesis tested concerning Change in Jewish Prejudice Scores was that positive orientation toward parents, as measured by greater parental understanding, tends to be associated with change toward intolerance. As in the case of the 1952 Jewish Prejudice Scores, the responses of all students taken collectively, and of the girls taken separately, did not support the hypothesis. However,Table IV, reveals that the difference in change according to the replies of the boys was significant beyond the one-per cent level of probability. The direction of change was contrary to that hypothesized.

TABLE IV

CHANGE IN JEWISH PREJUDICE SCORES OF BOYS BY THE DEGREE PARENTS UNDERSTAND YOUNG PEOPLE

Direction of change	Degree parents understand young people			
	Not at all	Not very well	Fairly well	Very well
	%	%	%	%
Toward intolerance	50.0	35.7	31.7	14.5
No change	50.0	64.3	58.6	56.6
Toward tolerance	0.0	0.0	9.7	28.9
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of cases	2	14	41	83
X^2=13.63	d.f.=2	P>.001<.01		

With respect to Jewish Prejudice Scores, evidence has been presented to show that the understanding of adolescents possessed by parents tends to validate the categories of orientation established earlier. In relationship to varying degrees of parental understanding, the only significant differences in expressed attitudes were found to be in refutation of the orientation hypotheses. Inasmuch as these differences held only for boys and not when all students were considered together, it is possible that their explanation lies in the influence of other factors operating within the youth culture.

Negro Prejudice Scores. No significant differences in 1952 Negro Prejudice Scores were found, although the relationships of adolescents and parents were considered from three standpoints: (1) boys separately; (2) girls separately; and (3) boys and girls together.

The hypothesis concerning Change in Negro Prejudice Scores was not supported by the findings of this study. The trend of the responses for the boys showed that the proportion who made a change toward tolerance increased as the extent of parental understanding increased. This was contrary to the hypothesis as posed. The linear trend in the responses of the boys, however, did not hold when they were joined with those of the girls on the four-point scale. The results obtained on a three-point scale, formed by combining "don't understand

at all" and "don't understand us very well" as a single category of negative reply, were nearly significant at the five-percent level of probability as indicated in Table V.

TABLE V

CHANGE IN NEGRO PREJUDICE SCORES BY THE DEGREE PARENTS UNDERSTAND YOUNG PEOPLE

Direction of change	Degree parents understand young people		
	Not at all and not very well	Fairly well	Very well
	%	%	%
Toward intolerance	9.4	25.3	14.6
No change	65.0	47.1	54.4
Toward tolerance	25.6	27.6	31.0
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of cases	43	87	171

$X^2 = 7.91$ d.f. = 4 $P > .05 < .10$

These findings may now be summarized with respect to the relationship between parental understanding and the expression of attitudes toward Jews and Negroes. In the first place, no significant differences were found which involved either the 1952 Prejudice Scores or the change in these scores of the girls in this study. Insofar as parental understanding is related to minority attitudes, this may indicate that the attitudes of girls are less crystallized and more susceptible to unpredictable positions and shifts, not only with respect to their parents but to Jews and Negroes as well.

Which relationships were significant is a second feature to be noted. In the case of the Jewish Prejudice Scores, the relationships of boys and their parents were significant, but not those of boys and girls together. For the Negro Prejudice Scores, on the other hand, the significant relationship was one which involved all students together but did not hold for either sex alone. However, a trend did appear to be in the making among the boys.

Lastly, whenever there were significant differences, the direction was consistent in all three instances. Increased understanding, or positive parental orientation as this has been identified, was associated with the expression of tolerance. This relationship, of course, refutes the hypotheses formulated concerning the direction of association.

D. QUARRELING WITH PARENTS

On frequent occasions, one hears the youth culture of America described as a period of "stress and strain." To the extent that this is a realistic observation, part of this strain may be due to parent-child interaction arising as an outgrowth of adolescent strivings for independence. At the same time, this striving may be accompanied by a reluctance to abandon the comparative security of earlier childhood. Ambivalent feelings toward parents may develop from the incompatibility of this dependent-independent status.

The period of adolescence represents an expansion of cultural horizons for many youth. It is a time when high school attendance enlarges the circle of experiences and interpersonal contacts. Occupational aspirations and opportunities for achievement open up for more and more young people as they reach the legal age for commercial and industrial employment. Companionship with members of the opposite sex becomes more consciously sought after. These are all areas of potential conflict between the norms that prevail in the adolescent culture and those that function among the adults in the population of the community. The exclusiveness of the frame of reference which the children shared with their parents and which contributed in large measure to the commonality of their attitudes has begun to diminish considerably. Parents are often heard admonishing their children to do this way or to do that way in contrast to the way the young people are behaving. These admonitions, often in conflict with the value system of the adolescent peer group, thereby induce some degree of reluctance or even outright rebellion against conformity on the part of adolescents.

With this sort of parent-child relationship in mind, it may be assumed that young people of high-school age frequently find themselves in verbal conflict with the wishes of their parents. The frequency of these quarrels was used as another

criterion to determine the positive and negative orientation of adolescents toward their parents. All students were asked to respond to this question: "On about how many days over the past four weeks have you become 'good and mad' at your parents?"

From the theoretical range of responses, "none" to "every day," it was possible to identify four fairly distinct categories: (1) those who had no quarrels within the month; (2) those who had quarreled only once; (3) those who had quarreled twice during the month; and (4) those who had quarreled three or more times in a month.

Only one girl in four claimed to have had no quarrels with her parents during a whole month; but two boys in five professed to have had completely amicable relationships. This difference was significant at the two-per cent level of probability. In general, girls seemed more willing than boys to admit to frequent quarrels with their parents. On the other hand, a higher proportion of boys, about 8 per cent in all, refused to answer this question.

It was assumed that students who quarreled infrequently had different kinds of relationships with their parents than those who quarreled more often. It was also believed that infrequent quarrels indicated more favorable relationships and, thus, a kind of positive orientation toward parents. On the other hand, frequent quarreling was regarded as indicative of

a high degree of unpleasant relationships and, hence, a negative orientation toward parents.

Using frequency of quarrels as a criterion of orientation, it was hypothesized that positive parental orientation is related to the expression of intolerant attitudes toward Jews and Negroes. It was also hypothesized that positive orientation is related to change toward intolerance.

Jewish Prejudice Scores. An analysis of 1952 Jewish Prejudice Scores and Change in Jewish Prejudice Scores for boys and girls alone and together produced no significant relationships. Despite a slight linear trend toward increased intolerance among the negatively oriented boys, it must be concluded that the orientation of adolescents toward their parents, on the basis of frequency of quarrels, is not related to the expression of attitudes toward Jews.

Negro Prejudice Scores. The findings with respect to the 1952 Negro Prejudice Scores were so meaningless and inconclusive as to be unworthy of further comment.

Table VI, in Appendix B, discloses that the proportion of girls who changed toward tolerance was greater in every category of frequency than the proportion of boys. The difference between the change toward tolerance and the change toward intolerance was much more noticeable among the girls than among

the boys. None of these differences were statistically significant. As in the case of the Jewish Prejudice Scores, it must be concluded that there is no relationship between this criterion of parental orientation and the expression of Negro attitudes.

E. SUMMARY

This chapter was concerned with the association between various kinds of relationships that adolescents have with their parents and the expression by adolescents of attitudes toward Jews and Negroes.

Four kinds of relationships were examined from the standpoint of parents as positive and negative reference groups. The relationships in question were: (1) polar types of positive and negative orientation; (2) liking to be with parents; (3) parental understanding of adolescents; and (4) frequency of quarreling with parents. For each kind of relationship, categories were established which corresponded to points along a continuum of orientation toward parents ranging from negative on one extreme to positive on the other.

It was known that the adult population of Maple County expressed relatively intolerant attitudes toward both Jews and Negroes. It was assumed that adolescents positively oriented toward their parents would tend to become more like them than those who were negatively oriented. Thus, adolescent

attitudes would tend to approximate those of the adults if the young people were positively oriented toward their parents; and would tend to reject the attitudes of adults if the parents served as negative reference groups.

In light of this knowledge and these assumptions, the following hypotheses were formulated for testing according to each of the various types of relationships discussed:

1. That students who are positively oriented toward their parents tend to be less tolerant than students who are negatively oriented.

2. That students who are positively oriented toward their parents tend to become less tolerant than students who are negatively oriented.

The first hypothesis was tested on the basis of 1952 Jewish and Negro Prejudice Scores which were derived empirically from the data. The last hypothesis was tested according to Change in Jewish and Negro Prejudice Scores which were based on changes in scores taking place between 1949 and 1952.

The findings of this analysis, as presented in Table VI, may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. The polar types of positive and negative orientation toward parents were not significantly related to the expression of attitudes toward Jews and Negroes. What differences did exist were consistent with the hypotheses.

2. The extent to which adolescents liked to be with their parents generally appeared to be unrelated to the expression of attitudes toward either Jews or Negroes.

3. For boys alone, parental understanding was directly related to tolerance of Jews and lack of parental

TABLE VI

SUMMARY OF THE RELATION BETWEEN PARENT-YOUTH ROLES AND 1952 PREJUDICE SCORES AND CHANGE IN PREJUDICE

Criteria of youth's roles in relation to parents	1952 Prejudice Scores				Change in Prejudice			
	Jewish		Negro		Jewish		Negro	
	R[1]	D[2]	R[1]	D[2]	R[1]	D[2]	R[1]	D[2]
Polar types of positive-negative orientation	N		N		N		N	
Like to be with father	N		N		N		N	
Like to be with mother	N		N		N		N	
Parental understanding of adolescent problems	.05[3]	Pos[3]	N		.01[3]	Pos[3]	Near .05	Pos
Frequency of quarrels	N		N		N		N	

[1]Relationship between criterion and prejudice score or change in prejudice. N indicates no relation. When a relationship is indicated, the probability that it would occur by chance is given.

[2]Direction of the relationship. Pos indicates that youth with a positive orientation toward parents are more tolerant, or more likely to change toward tolerance, than youth negatively oriented toward parents.

[3]Relationship indicated applies only to boys.

understanding to intolerance. This significant relationship also applied to the change in attitudes toward Jews. Both of these relationships refuted the hypotheses presented.

4. For boys alone and all students together, the same findings were made with respect to Negroes; in this case, however, the differences were less significant.

5. There was no significant relationship between the frequency of quarrels with parents and the expression of attitudes toward Jews and Negroes.

If the same trends were to prevail with an increase in the size of the category, polar types of orientation might provide significant support for the hypotheses. Otherwise, the negative quality of these findings suggests their inadequacy as sufficient explanation for the dynamics of prejudice among the adolescents in Maple County.

While it would be easy to succumb to a temptation to reject these hypotheses as totally unfruitful, it must be borne in mind that the present project is in the nature of basic research into this aspect of the problem. There were no guideposts to the criteria of reference groups which were suitable for this study. The results might mean merely that the dimensions of orientation are not being adequately tapped rather than that the hypotheses themselves are unsound. Cultural expectations which surround the relationships of parents and their children may be too strong to secure discriminating responses using the technique employed herein. Some other method may be required to counteract the influence of cultural

compulsion toward positive orientation in order to probe more deeptly into the "true" orientation of adolescents toward their parents.

In some other social setting, such as the Cotton South, or urban centers of the North, where relations with Jews and Negroes may be more salient factors in intrafamily relationships, entirely different results might be obtained. Final judgment as to their merit should be withheld pending the refinement of the measuring instrument and its testing in other contexts. For the present, however, the tentative conclusion must be that these kinds of adolescent relationships with parents are not significantly related to the expression of attitudes, or to changes in these attitudes, toward Jews and Negroes.

CHAPTER V

ATTITUDES AS A FUNCTION OF RELATIONSHIPS WITH PEERS

Next to their parents, there is probably no other group with whom adolescents in this country have any more personal relationships than with their peers. Indeed, in the eyes of some youth, the contacts with peers may appear even more important than the experiences they have with their parents. Conflicts that occur between the value systems of peers and parents are frequently settled in favor of the former. Loomis and Beegle have pointed out that friendship groups "are very important in personality formation and, beyond the family, furnish the most important organizational basis for the security necessary to normal mental and emotional activity."[1] Since the influence of the peer group looms so importantly in the life of American youth, the focus of attention in this chapter is upon some of the relationships which adolescents have with their peers.

As in the previous chapter, the kinds of relationships to be investigated include: (1) the polar types of positive and negative peer orientation; (2) liking to be with peers; (3) peer understanding of adolescents; and (4) quarreling with peers. In addition, sociometric data are analyzed as to:

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[1]Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, Rural Social Systems (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc.,1950), pp. 170-171

(1) status as friendly; (2) status as seatmate; and (3) change in sociometric status and change in prejudice. The question to be answered is: "What association is there between these kinds of relationships and the expression of attitudes toward Jews and Negroes?" The guiding hypothesis for this analysis is that differences in the expression of attitudes are a function of differences in these kinds of relationships.

A. POLAR TYPES OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ORIENTATION

Adolescents who are positively oriented toward their peers assume an attitude of conformity toward the norms of this reference group in order to be included within its sphere of influence. Negatively oriented adolescents, on the other hand, tend to reject the norms of the peer group since they have no desire to submit to its influence. Differences in orientation, such as these, evoke differences in the expression of attitudes.

Polar types of peer orientation were established upon the basis of responses to questions concerning liking to be with other people, and which ones were most and least liked. These two categories included only those students making the most extreme responses at each pole of the continuum of peer group orientation.

The eighty-two students identified as positive polar oriented toward the peer group were those who most liked to

be with both fellows and girls their own age. The twenty-three students in the category of negative polar orientation, on the other hand, did not like to be with either fellows or girls their own age.

Jewish Prejudice Scores. As explained earlier in Chapter II, raw prejudice scores from fifteen to eighteen were classified as "tolerant." The mean score of 14.95 for all students in 1949, as shown in Figure 5 on page 66, indicates that the students of Maple County expressed moderately tolerant attitudes toward Jews. Therefore, it was hypothesized that students who are positively oriented toward their peers tend to be more tolerant than those who are negatively oriented.

It was found that both polar types of peer orientation had higher, or more tolerant, mean scores in 1952 than the student body as a whole. However, since the negatively oriented students were more tolerant than those positively oriented, the hypothesis was not supported by the data. The lower mean score of the positively oriented students showed them to be more like the student body as a whole than were the negatively oriented ones. It will be recalled that a similar result was noted with respect to positive and negative orientation toward parents. This finding indicates the existence of some nonconformity to the norms of the majority school group on the part of the negatively oriented students.

It was hypothesized that students positively oriented toward their peers tend to change more toward tolerance than students who are negatively oriented. The mean raw Jewish Prejudice Score for all students in 1952 was higher than it was in 1949 which was a general indication that the entire student body had become more tolerant of Jews. It was observed that the negatively oriented students were more likely to change toward tolerance; whereas those positively oriented were more likely to remain unchanged. The chi-square test, however, showed these differences could be due to chance. Therefore, it must be concluded that polar orientation toward peers is not related to the expression of prejudice toward Jews, nor to change in prejudice.

Negro Prejudice Scores. Figure 6, on page 69, shows that the raw mean Negro Prejudice Score for all students in 1949 was 13.92. This mean score was within the limits of the category defined in Chapter II as "intermediate." It was also very significantly ($P < .001$) less tolerant than the raw mean Jewish Prejudice Score for all students in 1949. For these reasons, it was necessary to reverse the hypothesis formulated concerning the Jews. Therefore, it was hypothesized that positively oriented students tend to be less tolerant toward Negroes than students who are negatively oriented toward their peers.

Both the positive and the negative polar types of peer orientation were more tolerant of Negroes than the student body in general. As in the case of the Jewish Prejudice Scores, the positively oriented students were less tolerant than those who were negatively oriented. Although this supported the hypothesis, the difference between means of the polar categories was not statistically significant.

Once again, it was observed that the attitudes of positively oriented students were closer to those expressed by the core of the student peer group than were the attitudes of negatively oriented students. This was further evidence that negative orientation toward the peer reference group tends to reflect less conformity to its norms than does positive orientation.

Students positively oriented toward their peers were hypothesized as changing more toward intolerance of Negroes than negatively oriented students. This, too, was the opposite of the hypothesis formulated concerning change in Jewish attitudes. The attitudes expressed in 1952 by the majority of the students were still classified as "intermediate." Half of the students in each polar category did not change their attitudes from 1949 to 1952. A larger proportion of positively oriented students than negatively oriented students changed toward tolerance. Although this supported the hypothesis,

the chi-square test showed the difference between polar categories was not significant ($P > .20$).

In this section, it has been shown that the expression of attitudes toward Jews was somewhat more tolerant than the expression of attitudes toward Negroes. This difference in adolescent attitudes made it necessary to formulate contrasting hypotheses with respect to the relationships students have with the reference group of peers.

Negatively oriented students were found to be more tolerant of both Jews and Negroes than positively oriented students. While this was not in accord with the hypothesis concerning the expression of attitudes toward Jews, it was in agreement with the one pertaining to Negroes. Among those who changed their attitudes, more negatively oriented students became tolerant of Jews and more positively oriented ones became tolerant of Negroes. Despite these mixed results, there were no significant relationships between polar orientation and the expression of minority attitudes.[2]

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[2]It was found, however, that students who were negative polar oriented toward their peers were significantly ($P < .01$) more tolerant of Negroes than students who were negative polar oriented toward their teachers. Since there was only one student who was negatively oriented toward both his peers and his teachers, these polar types of negative categories may be considered as two distinct subgroups of the youth culture of Maple County. There is strong cultural compulsion within the youth culture for young people to express loyalty to the peer group. In view of these cultural expectations, students who

B. LIKING TO BE WITH PEERS

It was indicated in the previous section that comparatively few students could be designated as being negative polar oriented toward peers. Therefore, this section presents the results of analyzing the responses of all students to the question: "How do you usually feel most of the time about being with . . . [fellows and girls your own age]?" The responses were on a four-point scale as follows: (1) don't like to be with; (2) makes no difference; (3) sort of like to be with; and (4) like very much to be with. The first response was assumed to represent negative orientation toward peers as a reference group. The fourth response was assumed to indicate positive orientation. The other responses were regarded as being intermediary between negative and positive orientation toward the reference group.

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have been identified as negative polar oriented toward their peers constitute, in reality, a very extreme group. Such negative orientation toward peers permits the expression of a greater degree of tolerance of Negroes than is the norm for all peers as a reference group. On the other hand, teachers as community agents for the development of the American ideals epitomized in the American's Creed presumably stand for equality and tolerance of minority groups. As a result, negative orientation toward teachers requires the rejection of the tolerant attitudes identified with teachers as teachers and not as individuals. This seems to be an explanation of the very significant difference in the expression of attitudes toward Negroes between the students who are negatively oriented toward their peers and those who are negatively oriented toward their teachers. This explanation is only tentative and presumptive but it does provide a hypothesis to be tested by some future research.

On the basis of these responses, the students in Maple County high schools were very significantly ($P < .001$) more positively oriented toward girls their own age than toward fellows their own age. Table VII, in Appendix B, shows that nearly two-thirds of all students liked very much to be with girls their own age. Only about half of them expressed such positive sentiments about the fellows their own age. Hardly anyone was willing to say that he didn't like to be with one or the other. Six fellows out of ten liked very much to be with other fellows, while five out of ten liked very much to be with girls their own age. As far as the fellows were concerned, there was no appreciable difference in the preference for one sex over the other. Girls, on the other hand, were extremely more favorable toward being with girls their own age than with fellows. While four girls in ten liked very much to be with fellows, there were eight in ten who liked very much to be with girls.

Jewish Prejudice Scores. As indicated earlier, it was hypothesized that students who are positively oriented toward their peers tend to be more tolerant than those who are negatively oriented. Specifically, for this criterion of peer group orientation, students who like very much to be with other young people tend to be more tolerant than those students who do not like to be with persons their own age. Analysis of the

1952 Jewish Prejudice Scores failed to reveal any significant relationship between this criterion of orientation toward peers as a reference group and the expression of attitudes toward Jews.

Change in Jewish attitudes was more noticeable in relation to orientation toward fellows than toward girls. But even here, as Table VIII in Appendix B shows, over half of the students in each of the four categories of responses concerning being with fellows did not change their attitudes from 1949 to 1952. The chi-square test indicated a high probability ($P > .50$) that changes in attitudes according to this criterion of peer orientation were due to chance.

Negro Prejudice Scores. It was pointed out earlier that the raw mean Negro Prejudice Score for all students in 1949 was classified as "intermediate." For analytical purposes, this classification was regarded as being more intolerant than tolerant and not as a neutral position. Accordingly, the hypothesis relative to Negro attitudes had to be restated. Thus, it was hypothesized that students who are positively oriented toward their peers tend to be less tolerant of Negroes than those who are negatively oriented. Students who didn't like to be with other young people were more tolerant than the students who liked very much to be with persons their own age. This difference was in the direction indicated by the hypothesis but was not great enough to yield significant results.

In view of the less tolerant attitudes expressed toward Negroes, it was hypothesized that students who like to be with other young people tend to change more toward intolerance than those who do not. This hypothesis received some general support insofar as the two extreme categories were concerned. However, the size of the category who did not like to be with other young people was too small for the difference to be meaningful.

It must be concluded, after this examination of the data, that they do not demonstrate any significant association between this kind of peer-group orientation and the expression of attitudes toward either Jews or Negroes.

C. PEER UNDERSTANDING OF ADOLESCENTS

A third criterion used to measure orientation toward the reference group of peers was the degree to which young people felt their peers understood them and the problems of adolescents. The degree was based upon student responses to the question: "How well do you think [young people your own age] . . . understand young people like you?" The responses were scaled along four points of increasing understanding: (1) not at all; (2) not very well; (3) fairly well; and (4) very well.

As might be expected, in view of cultural expectations concerning the in-group loyalty of adolescents, slightly more

than half of all students stated that adolescents "understand very well" their own special problems. Nearly two-thirds of the positive polar oriented students, but less than half of the negative polar oriented ones, agreed with this view. At the other extreme, about one in five of the negatively oriented, in contrast to only one in twenty of the positively oriented, felt that other young people did not understand them. The difference between these two polar types of peer orientation, shown in Table IX in Appendix B, was significant at the five-per cent level of probability.

It was assumed that as understanding increases, orientation toward peers tends to become more positive. Consequently, students who think that young people understand them very well are positively oriented toward their peers. At the same time, those who think that young people do not understand them at all are negatively oriented.

Jewish Prejudice Scores. The first hypothesis to be examined with respect to Jewish Prejudice Scores was that positive orientation toward peers, as determined by the greater understanding of adolescents, tends to be associated with tolerant attitudes toward Jews. In each of the four categories of understanding, about two-thirds of the students expressed tolerant attitudes toward Jews. The prejudice scores did not differ significantly in terms of relatively greater or lesser understanding.

The hypothesis concerning change in attitudes was similar to that formulated about the 1952 Jewish Prejudice Scores: greater understanding tends to be associated with change toward tolerance. The chi-square test indicated that the categorical differences in change were very probably ($P > .90$) due to chance. On the basis of this analysis, one must conclude that there is no significant relationship between the expression of attitudes toward Jews, or change in these attitudes, and the degree to which students think that other adolescents understand them and their problems.

Negro Prejudice Scores. For the reasons indicated above, the hypotheses concerning Negro Prejudice Scores were the reverse of those posed for the Jewish Prejudice Scores. Tolerant attitudes toward Negroes were hypothesized to be associated with negative peer-group orientation. In other words, those students who think other young people do not understand them express tolerant attitudes toward Negroes. A comparable hypothesis concerning change in attitudes was formulated to the effect that lack of understanding, or negative orientation, is related to change toward tolerance. An analysis of the 1952 Negro Prejudice Scores and of the Change in Negro Prejudice Scores yielded no significant findings. It must be inferred from these results that there is no relationship between differences in the extent of peer understanding and differences in attitudes expressed toward Negroes.

D. QUARRELING WITH PEERS

Casual observation shows that young people often engage in verbal disagreements or quarreling with others of their own age. Youth frequently express views and opinions which clash with those held by bosom companions. When tempers flare and argument results in a "falling out" among friends, the break in interpersonal relationships is most likely to be only temporary. The breach is usually healed a day or so later; and the old friendship flourishes once again. There are times, though, when intimate ties of long standing are permanently severed. The virtues of one's former companion are forgotten; instead, his real or imagined defects may be magnified beyond retraction. If carried to extremes, the schism may become permanent.

A certain amount of quarreling among peers is presumably the normal state of affairs among teen-agers. Yet, when this quarreling with other young people becomes a persistent characteristic of behavior, it manifests its deleterious effects upon the individual's interpersonal relationships in general. That is, if and when a person becomes known by others for his bickering, pugnacity, uncompromising attitude, or unfriendliness, his experiences with these other young people may begin to deteriorate to a considerable degree. It was decided, therefore, to use the frequency of serious quarreling with other

youths as an index of positive-negative orientation toward peers. It was assumed that young people who quarreled frequently with their peers would have rather different kinds of relationships with them than would those adolescents who quarreled only seldom, if at all.

To determine the frequency of quarreling, all students were asked to indicate how many times they had become "good and mad" at someone their own age during the past four weeks. Twenty-six per cent of all students answered that they had had no quarrels at all; another 23 per cent said they had had only one such quarrel; and 17 per cent had had two. Thus, two-thirds of all students professed to relatively infrequent quarreling of the type wherein one became "good and mad" at another person. The proportion of students who had infrequent quarrels with their peers was quite comparable to that found in the case of quarreling between young people and their parents. Girls did not differ noticeably from boys in frequency of their quarrels with other young people. This was in contrast to intrafamily quarreling where it was shown that girls quarreled with their parents much more often than did boys.

Jewish Prejudice Scores. Positively oriented students who seldom, if ever, quarreled with their peers were hypothesized to be more tolerant toward Jews than the negatively oriented who often quarreled. In reference to the relationship to change in

attitudes toward Jews, the hypothesis was that students who quarreled infrequently would become more tolerant than those who quarreled frequently. No support was found for either of these hypotheses. It may be presumed that frequency of quarrels with peers is not related to either the expression of attitudes toward Jews or to change in the expression of such attitudes.

Negro Prejudice Scores. In connection with Negro attitudes, it was hypothesized that those who seldom quarrel with their peers tend to express greater intolerance, and to change more toward intolerance, than those who quarrel frequently. The lack of significant differences leads one to infer that there is no relationship between the frequency of quarrels that adolescents have with their peers and the expression of attitudes toward Negroes.

E. SOCIOMETRIC STATUS AS FRIENDLY

The sociometric test. Another methodological approach to determination of orientation toward peers is the use of the sociometric test. "A sociometric test is a means for determining the degree to which individuals are accepted in a group, for discovering the relationships which exist among these individuals, and for disclosing the structure of the group itself."[3] Loomis

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[3]Mary L. Northway, A Primer of Sociometry (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), p. 1. Sociometry was established

and Pepinsky point out that the sociometric test offers a foundation for the objective measurement of the degree to which an individual is accepted, rejected, or isolated by his social peers on the basis of how he is oriented toward them and they toward him.[4] The degree of acceptance is called an individual's sociometric status.

The sociometric technique involves asking each individual in a group to state with whom among the members of a group he prefers to associate for specific activities or in particular situations. From the responses secured, the choices received by each individual are added to give him a sociometric score. In both 1949 and 1952, the youth in selected grades of Maple County schools were asked a series of questions in a sociometric test regarding their orientation toward the peers who were their classmates. These questions were:

1. Who are the <u>most</u> friendly boys or girls among your classmates?

2. Who are the <u>least</u> friendly boys or girls among your classmates?

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by J.L. Moreno in 1934 with the publication of his book <u>Who Shall Survive</u>? (Beacon, New York: Beacon House). This book marked the culmination of a long preparatory period during which Moreno and others had used the approach in social psychology and sociology. For a recent critique concerning the development of the field of sociometry in general, see Charles P. Loomis and Harold B. Pepinsky, "Sociometry, 1937-1947: Theory and Methods," <u>Sociometry</u>, XI (1948): 262-286

[4] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 266.

3. 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 <u>most</u> like to have sit next to you?

4. What person in your class would you <u>least</u> like to have sit next to you?

Four different categories of relationships were determined on the basis of the number of times a person was named as most or least friendly by his classmates. Of the 332 students in the study in 1952, 21 per cent of the students were never named as most friendly, while 40 per cent were never named as least friendly. Sixty-two per cent were named from one to four times as most friendly and 47 per cent were named the same number of times as least friendly. Seventeen per cent were named five or more times as most friendly, and 13 per cent were named as often as least friendly.[5] Students who were named five or more times as most friendly were identified as "highly chosen." Students who were named five or more times as least friendly were identified as "rejected." Students who were never named as either most or least friendly were identified as "isolated." All other students were placed in a residual category identified as "intermediate."

Students in any one category were assumed to have different kinds of relationships with their peers than those who were

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[5]In 1952, one Johnstown freshman boy was named eleven times as most friendly and twelve times as least friendly by his classmates.

identified as being in some other category. It was also assumed that highly chosen students tend to be more positively oriented toward their peers than other young people. Students who are rejected were assumed to be more negatively oriented toward their peers. The isolated students were assumed to be nearer to the negative pole of orientation than to the positive pole on the grounds that the expression of indifference toward another young person in the youth culture of America is tantamount to rejection.[6] The residual category, on the other hand, was placed nearer to the pole of positive orientation since other students did make some response to their presence in the school and classroom.

It seems appropriate to make a few preliminary statements relative to some of the more pertinent relationships between this and the other criteria of orientation. Highly chosen students liked to be with their peers more than students who were isolated. Highly chosen girls quite noticeably liked to be with other girls rather than with fellows. Rejected students expressed less liking to be with fellows their own age than did students who were isolated. More than twice as many of the

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[6]Jennings suggests that the isolated "neither desire this status in respect to their peers, or [sic] become reconciled and in time inured to it." Helen Hall Jennings, Leadership and Isolation (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, Second edition, 1950), p. 79.

rejected girls liked to be with girls their own age as liked to be with fellows.

Approximately 60 per cent of the highly chosen students thought that young people understood them very well. Eighty per cent of the rejected girls felt the same way, but only 40 per cent of the rejected boys agreed with them.

About 76 per cent of the highly chosen students belonged to some high school athletic organization. By way of contrast, 55 per cent of the rejected, and only 33 per cent of the isolated students participated in such activities. Farnham believes that athletics is the school activity which provides the greatest sense of belonging within the culture of the American school.[7] The evidence reported here seems to support her point of view. Isolated students were more likely to take part in dramatics and similar school activities than to participate in sport programs.

One-fifth of the highly chosen students belonged to four high school organizations; one-fifth of the rejected students were members of only two; and one-fourth of the isolated belonged to none at all. The greater activity on the part of the highly chosen could certainly be a factor in their being accorded this status in contrast to that given to the isolated students.

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[7]Marynia F. Farnham, The Adolescent (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952), p. 89.

Finally, it may be noted that, whereas 25 per cent of the students in the positive polar category of peer orientation were highly chosen, only 4 per cent of those in the negative polar category were highly chosen. On the other hand, 17 per cent of those in the negative polar group were rejected in contrast to only 9 per cent among the positive polar oriented students.

Jewish Prejudice Scores. Two hypotheses were formulated with reference to Jewish Prejudice Scores. They were: (1) that positive orientation toward the peer group, as determined by sociometric status as friendly, is related to the expression of tolerance; and (2) that positive orientation is related to change toward tolerance. Tables X and XI, in Appendix B, show the distribution of the 1952 Jewish Prejudice Scores and Change in Jewish Prejudice Scores according to sociometric status as friendly in 1952. Table XI shows a linear trend in the change toward intolerance, but the differences between categories were not statistically significant.

Negro Prejudice Scores. For reasons indicated earlier, the hypotheses concerning Negro attitudes were restated in the form: (1) that negative orientation toward the peer group, as determined by sociometric status as friendly, is related to the expression of tolerance; and (2) that negative orientation

is related to change toward tolerance. The distributions of 1952 Negro Prejudice Scores and Change in Negro Prejudice Scores according to sociometric status as friendly are shown in Tables XII and XIII in Appendix B. As measured by the analysis of variance and chi-square, the differences between categories were not statistically significant.

In summation of this section, one may say that there was no demonstrably significant relationship between the expression of attitudes toward Jews or Negroes and the frequency with which students were named as most or least friendly by their classmates.

F. SOCIOMETRIC STATUS AS SEATMATE

The sociometric test. It is one of the characteristics of sociometric testing that the responses to differing sets of questions provide diverse patterns of choice. That is, the patterns fluctuate with the kinds of situations presented in the test design. Therefore, the sociometric test of acceptance-rejection on the basis of responses to the two questions concerning seatmates represents a different criterion of orientation toward peers than that based on status as friendly.

Nevertheless, the same categories were established for this criterion as for the status as friendly. There was a slight adjustment in the limits of some categories due to the conditions imposed by the differences in questions. For

example, students could name as many of their classmates as they wished as either most or least friendly. Only one student, however, could be named as preferred or rejected seatmate. This limited the total number of times any student could be named in either category. It also increased the number of students who were never named in response to either question.

Six per cent of the 332 students in the study in 1952 were named three or more times in response to the question: "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?" These persons were identified as "highly chosen." Nine per cent of all students were named three or more times in response to the other question: "What person in your class would you least like to have sit next to you?" These persons were identified as "rejected." One-third of all students, never named in response to either question, were classified as "isolated." Slightly more than half of the students, named once or twice in response to both questions, were identified as "intermediates."

None of the highly chosen seatmates were in the polar category of negative orientation toward peers. Only two of the rejected seatmates were in the polar category of positive orientation. On the other hand, 35 per cent of the students

who were negatively oriented toward their peers, and 30 per cent of those who were positively oriented, were in the isolated category. The assumptions concerning the orientation of students toward their peers on the basis of these sociometric classifications were the same as those stated above in connection with status as friendly. The hypotheses concerning the relationship of sociometric status as seatmate and the expression of attitudes toward Jews and Negroes were also the same.

Jewish Prejudice Scores. Table XIV in Appendix B shows that the mean Jewish Prejudice Scores of highly chosen and intermediate students were higher than the mean scores of isolated and rejected students. This suggested possible support for the hypothesis that positive orientation toward relatively tolerant peers is related to the expression of tolerance. Change in Jewish Prejudice Scores by 1952 sociometric status as seatmate is shown in Table XV of Appendix B. The analysis of variance and chi-square tests indicated that all of the differences between the categories shown in these two tables could be due to chance.

Negro Prejudice Scores. Table XVI in Appendix B discloses that the most tolerant students were highly chosen as seatmates. It also reveals that the isolated students were the least tolerant of the four sociometric categories. While implying opposition

to the hypothesis, tests indicated that the differences were not significant. Categorical differences in change in attitudes toward Negroes presented in Table XVII were not significant as measured by chi-square.

To summarize this section, one can only repeat what was said above in connection with status as friendly. There was no demonstrably significant relationship between the expression of attitudes toward Jews or Negroes and the frequency with which students were chosen or rejected as seatmates by their classmates.

G. CHANGE IN SOCIOMETRIC STATUS AND CHANGE IN ATTITUDES

Change in sociometric status. Much has been written in the leterature of sociometry relative to the stability of patterns of acceptance-rejection derived from an analysis of the responses to sociometric questions. In one place, Jennings[8] reports that the same group retested every eight weeks for a period of over two years disclosed an apparent stability in the structure of choices. Criswell[9] found a relatively stable sociometric pattern among school children retested after an

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[8]Helen H. Jennings, "Structure of Leadership," Sociometry, I (1937): 99-143.

[9]Joan Criswell, "Social structure Revealed in a Sociometric Retest," Sociometry, II (1939): 69-75.

interval of six weeks. Bonney[10] obtained reliability coefficients as great as .84 for lower elementary grade pupils retested after a year.

Despite this kind of evidence, Jennings cautions that "it is to be expected that the results will change markedly over long periods. If correlations between occasions considerably distant were extremely high, it might be presumptive evidence even that the findings were invalid—that the test had not 'caught' the flux of psychological reactions between individuals which are ever in process of development."[11]

There is, then, nothing especially new about a study which reports on the constancy of choice patterns. What does appear to be a unique contribution of this research project, however, is the attempt to determine the relationship of change in sociometric status to change in the expression of attitudes toward Jews and Negroes. So far as could be determined from available sources, no previous study had ever explored this facet of the dynamics of prejudice.

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[10] M.E. Bonney, "The Constancy of Sociometric Scores and Their Relationship to Teacher Judgments of Social-Success, and to Personality Self-Ratings," Sociometry, VI (1943): 409-424. However, Loomis and Pepinsky, op. cit., p. 277, challenge the accuracy of his calculations which derived correlation coefficients from the use of percentages.

[11] Helen Hall Jennings, Leadership and Isolation, op. cit., p. 29.

Table XVIII in Appendix B shows that nearly 57 per cent of all students retained the same relative status as friendly in 1952 that they had in 1949. The proportion of boys who did not change their status was very significantly higher ($P < .001$) than the proportion of girls. In all other cases, however, the girls exceeded the boys. That is, more girls than boys became highly chosen, rejected, isolated, or moved into the residual intermediate category. This could be the result of awakened sex interest on the part of the maturing boys. It was pointed out earlier that girls liked to be with other girls their own age rather than with boys, whereas this feeling was not so strong among the boys. Among those who changed their status as friendly, the proportion of boys who became highly chosen was the same as the proportion who became rejected. Slightly more girls changed toward rejection than changed toward highly chosen, but these were insignificant differences.

Several factors made it likely that the change in the choice-pattern based on seatmate preference would differ from that involving friendliness. The scheduling of classes to fit administrative plans and policies would require some readjustment of choices from 1949 to 1952. Individual differences in the selection of courses in accordance with personal educational aspirations would cause further readjustments. Finally, the seatmate questions permitted naming only one student; but the

questions on friendliness allowed students to name as many persons as they wished. On these grounds alone, if for no others, one would expect to find less stability in the choice structure. Even so, nearly half of all students remained in their same relative positions as preferred seatmates after three years. There was almost no difference between the changes taking place with respect to boys and that occurring among the girls in any of the categories shown in Table XVIII.

Jewish Prejudice Scores. Nearly 66 per cent of those who changed their status as friendly did not change their attitudes toward Jews from 1949 to 1952. Of the remainder whose status changed, 13 per cent became less tolerant and 21 per cent became more tolerant. About 58 per cent of those whose status was unchanged made no change in their attitudes. An additional 17 per cent of this group became less tolerant, while 25 per cent became more tolerant. The chi-square test indicated that differences as great as these could occur by chance 30 times in 100. An analysis of the change in status as seatmate revealed the same general pattern. The differences were even less significant than in the case of change in status as friendly.

As far as these students were concerned, a change in status as friendly or as seatmate was not related to change in attitudes toward Jews.

Negro Prejudice Scores. The change in attitudes toward Negroes followed the same inconclusive course that was taken with respect to Jews. Over half of the students changed neither their status as friendly nor their attitudes. Nearly 60 per cent of those whose status did change still retained their former attitudes. When attitudes did change, the direction was toward more tolerance. An analysis of change in status as seatmate produced an almost identical picture. It was highly probable that whatever differences did exist could be attributed to chance.

It must be concluded that there was no significant relationship between change in the expression of attitudes toward Jews and Negroes and change in status as measured by these two sociometric tests. Despite this negative conclusion, there is still need to pursue this approach further. It is well known that the categories established by the use of this technique are always done so in reference to some criterion. For example, students identified as isolated by either of the two sets of questions employed herein would not necessarily be similarly classified if another question were asked. Consequently, it is possible that use of different criteria by the posing of diverse situations might achieve more positive results.

It must be pointed out, too, that although over half of all students received the same relative status when they were retested three years later, this does not necessarily imply the same high level of stability in individual choice patterns. A student might have been highly chosen in both 1949 and 1952, and yet be chosen by different people in each year. In fact, a concurrent but independent analysis of individual patterns revealed comparatively little stability in the extreme categories of highly chosen and rejected. Stars in 1949 might still retain their status as stars in 1952 but within a different constellation of choosers. Further study of patterns of individual preferences may still be essential in order to understand and to deal wisely with prejudice.

H. SUMMARY

In this chapter, attention was focused on the association believed to exist between various relationships which adolescents have with other young people and their expression of attitudes toward Jews and Negroes.

The relationships investigated included: (1) polar types of positive and negative orientation; (2) liking to be with peers; (3) peer understanding of adolescents; and (4) quarreling with peers. In addition, three other kinds of relationships were examined: (1) sociometric status as friendly; (2) sociometric

status as seatmate; and (3) change in sociometric status and change in attitudes. For the purpose of analysis, peers were regarded as constituting a reference group toward whom adolescents could be oriented along a continuum ranging from negative to positive poles.

Data collected in 1949 indicated that the youth of Maple County expressed more tolerant attitudes toward Jews than toward Negroes. It was assumed that students positively oriented toward their peers tend to resemble them more than do those who are negatively oriented. It was further assumed that change in attitudes would tend to be toward those of the positive reference group and away from those of the negative reference group.

Two sets of hypotheses had to be formulated for testing each of the above relationships because of the forementioned difference in attitudes expressed toward Jews and Negroes. The hypotheses may be stated as follows:

1. That students who are positively oriented toward their peers tend to be more tolerant, and change more toward tolerance, of Jews than students who are negatively oriented.

2. That students who are positively oriented toward their peers tend to be less tolerant, and change more toward intolerance, of Negroes than students who are negatively oriented.

The results of analyzing the data concerning these hypotheses are presented in Table VII and summarized below.

1. The polar types of positive and negative orientation toward peers were not significantly related to the expression of attitudes toward Jews and Negroes. What differences did exist showed negatively oriented students to be more tolerant.

2. Although girls liked to be with girls their own age very significantly more than with boys, the extent to which these adolescents liked to be with their peers seemed to be unrelated to the expression of minority attitudes.

3. The understanding of the problems of young people by adolescents was significantly greater among students in the polar category of positive orientation than among those negatively oriented; but there was apparently no relationship between this understanding and the expression or change in the expression of minority attitudes.

4. There was no significant relationship between the frequency of quarrels with parents and the expression of attitudes toward Jews and Negroes.

5. Sociometric status as friendly was not significantly related to the expression of attitudes toward Jews and Negroes.

6. Sociometric status as classmate was not significantly related to the expression of attitudes toward Jews and Negroes.

7. Sociometric status as friendly was significantly more stable among boys than girls; but there was no significant relationship between change in sociometric status as friendly or seatmate and change in attitudes.

On the basis of the available data, the only conclusion one can reach is that the hypotheses relative to the relationship between orientation toward peers and the expression or change in attitudes toward minority groups were not substantiated.

TABLE VII

SUMMARY OF THE RELATION BETWEEN PEER GROUP ROLES AND 1952 PREJUDICE SCORES AND CHANGE IN PREJUDICE

Criteria of youth's roles in relation to peers	1952 Prejudice Scores				Change in Prejudice			
	Jewish		Negro		Jewish		Negro	
	R[1]	D[2]	R[1]	D[2]	R[1]	D[2]	R[1]	D[2]
Polar types of positive-negative orientation	N		N		N		N	
Like to be with fellows my age	N		N		N		N	
Like to be with girls my age	N		N		N		N	
Peer understanding of adolescent problems	N		N		N		N	
Frequency of quarrels	N		N		N		N	
Sociometric status as friendly	N		N		N		N	
Sociometric status as seatmate	N		N		N		N	
Change in status as friendly	N		N		N		N	
Change in status as seatmate	N		N		N		N	

[1] Relationship between criterion and prejudice score or change in prejudice. N indicates no relation.

[2] Direction of the relationship.

Despite the seeming lack of fruitfulness of this approach so far, it must be borne in mind that this study represented a pristine effort into the application of role analysis to the dynamics of prejudice. When one is striking a new trail, the presence of even slight success must be regarded as making some contribution. Given more salient attitudes and a refined measuring instrument, this author is confident that this approach would bear fruit and be useful in increasing the knowledge now possessed concerning the problem of prejudice.

CHAPTER VI

ATTITUDES AS A FUNCTION OF RELATIONSHIPS WITH TEACHERS

By the time the young child is old enough to enter school, he has undoubtedly learned a large number of the attitudes and beliefs, the knowledge and prejudices, prevalent within his family group. These shared elements of a common culture are the major source of a child's attitudes. But as the child expands his horizon of social activities and perception, in and out of school, other influences come into play. Since the school occupies only a part of the child's waking hours, some authors have tended to minimize its influence in attitude reformation.[1] The basis for this presumption stems from an early study by Hartshorne and May.[2] These authors found that the moral judgments of a large number of children correlated .55 with those of their parents, .35 with their friends or peers, but only .03 with their teachers. The assumption was made, apparently, that the findings of this one study with respect to a particular set of attitudes

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[1]For example, Arnold Green reports that the influence of the play group exceeds that of the classroom in Sociology: An Analysis of Life in Modern Society (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952), p. 462.

[2]H. Hartshorne and M.A. May, "Testing the Knowledge of Right and Wrong," Religious Education, XXI (1926), 539-554.

necessarily held when other attitudes and other situations were concerned. The evidence which has been presented earlier in this study showed that a substantial number of children changed their attitudes considerably over an interval of three years. The implications of this change, therefore, lead one to question the constancy of the moral judgments reported above.

Actually, the school exerts its influence on students in manifold ways, some of which are directly observable and others which are not. The ordinary school and classroom, such as are typical of those in Maple County, tend to disconcert students greatly. For one thing, when the child enters the school, he must learn to subordinate much of his self to the exacting demands of a social institution. When all of the frustrations which are implicit in submission to a disciplined atmosphere are combined, it is relatively easy to understand the reluctance of students to cooperate wholeheartedly with the school's educational program developed ostensibly in their behalf.

Most people can conjure up a stereotype of the teacher in an environment similar to that sketched above which caricaturizes the personality of the teacher. There are two major aspects to this stereotype. On the one hand, the teacher is a disgruntled, thwarted individual ruling over a small domain of small concerns of small children, a creature hardly fit to

live in ordinary society. On the other hand, the teacher is endowed with attributes of wholesomeness and altruism far in excess of those possessed by his fellow beings.

In the event that the ever-present but latent resentment of the student concerning the restrictive school routine erupts into the open, the teacher must be able to play the role of domination. The teacher's role of institutional leader requires the maintenance of a high degree of social distance or aloofness between himself and his students. The concept of social distance implies that a person may be physically near another person while still psychically and socially inaccessible.

Despite these contradictory stereotypes and this environment of dominance-submission, the school has become almost as much a depository of ideals as the church. Like the minister, the teacher "possesses a high degree of social sacredness. He must be a little better than other men . . ."[3] One of these ideals is tolerance of the minority groups in our midst. The actual personal views of teachers tend to approximate the level of tolerance prevalent within the community of which they are members. Nevertheless, teachers as teachers, rather than as

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[3]Willard Waller, "The Teacher's Role," in Joseph S. Roucek, and others, Sociological Foundations of Education (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1942), pp. 204-222; p. 217 cited. For a recent study of public attitudes toward teachers, see Frederic W. Terrien, "Who Thinks What about Educators?" The American Journal of Sociology, LIX (1953), 150-158.

individuals, are assumed by their students to represent tolerant points of view.

This chapter considers some of the relationships which adolescents have with teachers. It also examines the association between differences in these relationships and differences in the expression of attitudes toward Jews and Negroes. Assuming that teachers represent tolerance in the minds of their students, it was hypothesized that positive orientation toward teachers tends to be associated with the expression of tolerance and negative orientation with the expression of prejudice.

A. POLAR TYPES OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ORIENTATION

There is cultural compulsion for young people to profess a high degree of in-group loyalty to their peers and to their parents. Students are not under similar compulsion to express favorable attitudes toward their teachers. There is a greater latitude of expression permitted when they are involved. If anything, the expression of relatively unfavorable opinions with regard to teachers seems to be a normal tendency among adolescents. Close association with teachers often results in being identified as a "teacher's pet" and thus the butt of peer disapproval.

For these reasons, the criteria of negative polar orientation toward teachers were more exacting than in the case of

either parents or peers. This category included the twenty-five students who said either that they did not like to be with both men and women teachers or that they "least" liked to be with them. On the other hand, the category of positive polar orientation was composed of twenty-seven students who liked "very much" to be with both men and women teachers.

Jewish Prejudice Scores. The distribution of mean raw Jewish Prejudice Scores, shown in Figure 5, on page 66, indicates that students who were negative polar oriented were considerably less tolerant than those who were positive polar oriented toward teachers. On the other hand, the latter were closer to the mean for all students in 1952. This was consistent with the findings relative to the positions occupied by students who were positively oriented toward their parents and peers. Students oriented negatively toward their teachers were the least tolerant of any of the six categories identified as polar types of orientation. An analysis of the differences in mean Jewish Prejudice Scores shown in Table I in Appendix B yielded no statistically significant results. An analysis of Change in Jewish Prejudice Scores according to polar orientation toward teachers revealed that differences between categories could be due to chance ($P > .50$).

Negro Prejudice Scores. The mean raw Negro Prejudice Score for students positive polar oriented toward their teachers,

shown in Figure 6 on page 69, was closer to the mean score of all students than was the score of negative polar oriented students. Figure 6 also shows that the latter group was less tolerant of Negroes than those who were positively oriented. These findings agreed with those discussed in the chapters dealing with parent and peer relationships. As in the case of the Jewish Prejudice Scores reported above, students negatively oriented toward their teachers were the least tolerant of any of the six types of polar orientation.

An analysis of the mean Negro Prejudice Scores shown in Table II in Appendix B produced three significant results. Students who were negative polar oriented toward their teachers were significantly ($P < .05$) less tolerant of Negroes than the student body as a whole in 1952. The former group was also significantly ($P < .02$) less tolerant than those negative polar oriented toward their parents. Students negative polar oriented toward teachers were likewise significantly ($P < .01$) less tolerant than those negative polar oriented toward their peers. Undoubtedly, this category included students who expressed extreme attitudes toward Negroes in comparison to students in other polar categories of orientation.

Students positive polar oriented toward teachers are shown in Table VIII to change significantly ($P > .02$) more toward tolerance of Negroes than students negative polar oriented.

TABLE VIII

CHANGE IN NEGRO PREJUDICE SCORES BY POLAR ORIENTATION TOWARD TEACHERS

Direction of change	Negative Polar Orientation		Positive Polar Orientation	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Toward intolerance	7	38.9	3	13.0
No change	9	50.0	11	47.9
Toward tolerance	2	11.1	9	39.1
Totals	18	100.0	23	100.0
$X^2=7.05$ 2 d.f.	$P>.02<.05$			

Due to the small size of the cells involved, the significance of this difference should not be overemphasized. Its importance would be increased if the same trends were to continue as the polar categories were enlarged. The findings with respect to the 1952 Negro Prejudice Scores and to the Change in Negro Prejudice Scores supported the hypotheses offered above.

The fact that negative polar orientation toward teachers was significantly related to the expression of prejudice toward Negroes places teachers in strategic positions for the implementation of programs designed to change existing attitudes. It appears possible, therefore, that steps taken to improve teacher-pupil relationships by reducing the latent or overt hostility

which students seem to express normally against teachers *per se* might, concomitantly, serve to reduce intergroup tensions between Negroes and whites.

It should be recognized, however, that the efficacy of such steps might not prove equally satisfactory under all circumstances or in all communities. Probably, since each situation is unique in itself, this would require a program which would be unique also. In other words, a "Johnstown Plan" might be ineffectual if it were imposed *in toto* on some other town. Nevertheless, the determination and application of basic underlying principles for the improvement of relationships between students and teachers should go far to speed up the overall process of improvement in majority-minority relationships.

B. LIKING TO BE WITH TEACHERS

Nearly 70 per cent of all Maple County students in this study expressed relatively indifferent attitudes about liking to be with either men or women teachers as can be seen by reference to Table XIX in Appendix B. There may be many reasons for such expression of sentiment, such as: (1) the role of the teacher requires the maintenance of a certain amount of social distance between teacher and student; (2) differences in age with attendant differences in interests may mitigate against

closer attachments; (3) the lack of opportunity for the development of such relationships outside of the classroom; and (4) a desire on the part of students to avoid close identification with teachers which would incur the disapproval of other members of the peer group. The student body as a whole was slightly more positively oriented toward men teachers than toward women teachers. This could be a reflection of differences in the personalities of the individual teachers which the students either had in their classrooms or knew about in the respective schools.

Boys tended to like being with men teachers more than with women teachers just as the girls liked to be with women teachers more than they liked to be with men teachers. Men teachers were most liked by the senior boys from the country while they were most disliked by the freshmen girls who lived in town. On the other hand, women teachers were liked most by senior girls who lived in the country and were disliked most by freshmen boys from the country. Although these differences were not statistically significant, further analysis of this criterion of orientation toward teachers will deal with student relationships with men and women teachers separately.

Jewish Prejudice Scores. Boys who did not like to be with men teachers were significantly ($P < .05$) less tolerant of Jews than boys who were either relatively indifferent or

positively oriented toward them. There were no significant differences in the attitudes of girls on the basis of this criterion of orientation toward men teachers. When all students were considered together, those who did not like to be with men teachers were significantly less tolerant, at the one-per cent level of probability, than those who "sort of liked" to be with them. This is shown in Table IX. It may be noted that the trend was slightly curvilinear.

TABLE IX

1952 JEWISH PREJUDICE SCORES BY THE EXTENT STUDENTS LIKE TO BE WITH MEN TEACHERS

1952 Jewish Prejudice Scores	Don't like to be with	Makes no difference	Sort of like to be with	Like very much to be with
	%	%	%	%
Intolerant	12.0	3.0	2.8	9.3
Intermediate	44.0	27.3	25.4	33.3
Tolerant	44.0	69.7	71.8	57.4
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of cases	25	132	71	54
Means	2.32	2.67	2.69	2.48

Summary of analysis of variance:

Total sum of squares	95.31	
Between group sum of squares	3.85	$P(F_{3,278}=3.88)<.01$
Within group sum of squares	91.46	

Students who were most negatively oriented toward women teachers were least tolerant, while those who were most positively oriented were the most tolerant. As indicated in Table X, analysis of variance applied to 1952 Jewish Prejudice Scores for the four categories of liking to be with women teachers revealed that these differences were nearly significant at the five-per cent level of probability.

TABLE X

1952 JEWISH PREJUDICE SCORES BY THE EXTENT STUDENTS LIKE TO BE WITH WOMEN TEACHERS

1952 Jewish Prejudice Scores	Don't like to be with	Makes no difference	Sort of like to be with	Like very much to be with
	%	%	%	%
Intolerant	13.3	3.7	3.1	2.3
Intermediate	36.7	25.9	31.3	25.6
Tolerant	50.0	70.4	65.6	72.1
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of cases	30	135	64	43
Means	2.37	2.67	2.63	2.70

Summary of analysis of variance:

Total sum of squares	87.50	
Between group sum of squares	2.46	$P(F_{3,268}=2.56)>.05$
Within group sum of squares	85.04	

Differences in change in attitudes toward Jews was not significantly related to this criterion of orientation toward either men or women teachers. However, change in attitudes was more noticeable in relation to orientation toward women teachers. Furthermore, the trend of change was in the direction hypothesized for each category even though the differences were too small to be significant.

Negro Prejudice Scores. Differences between the 1952 Negro Prejudice Scores of boys who did not like to be with men teachers and those who were more positively oriented were significant at the one-per cent level of probability. Girls displayed no such differences in their scores. However, as Table XI shows, students who did not like to be with men teachers were significantly less tolerant than students who "sort of liked" to be with them. The trend here was also slightly curvilinear although not as pronounced as in the case of the Jewish Prejudice Scores.

An analysis of Prejudice Scores in relation to orientation toward women teachers showed comparable results. Boys who did not like to be with women teachers were significantly ($P < .01$) less tolerant than other boys. Again, the girls did not differ materially. When the scores of all students were combined, the most negatively oriented students were the least tolerant as shown in Table XII.

TABLE XI

1952 NEGRO PREJUDICE SCORES BY THE EXTENT STUDENTS LIKE TO BE WITH MEN TEACHERS

1952 Negro Prejudice Scores	Don't like to be with	Makes no difference	Sort of like to be with	Like very much to be with
	%	%	%	%
Intolerant	28.6	10.5	5.3	12.2
Intermediate	42.8	32.2	34.7	43.9
Tolerant	28.6	57.3	60.0	43.9
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of cases	28	152	75	57
Means	2.00	2.47	2.55	2.32

Summary of analysis of variance:
Total sum of squares 145.84
Between group sum of squares 7.09 $P(F_{3,308}=5.24)<.01$
Within group sum of squares 138.75

TABLE XII

1952 NEGRO PREJUDICE SCORES BY THE EXTENT STUDENTS LIKE TO BE WITH WOMEN TEACHERS

1952 Negro Prejudice Scores	Don't like to be with	Makes no difference	Sort of like to be with	Like very much to be with
	%	%	%	%
Intolerant	31.2	7.6	10.6	8.3
Intermediate	34.4	33.1	40.9	41.7
Tolerant	34.4	59.3	48.5	50.0
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of cases	32	157	66	48
Means	2.03	2.52	2.38	2.42

Summary of analysis of variance:
Total sum of squares 139.77
Between group sum of squares 6.37 $P(F_{3,299}=4.71)<.01$
Within group sum of squares 133.40

There was no apparent relationship between orientation toward men teachers and change in attitudes toward Negroes. The proportion of students negatively oriented toward women teachers who became less tolerant was slightly greater than the proportion who became more tolerant. The proportion of students positively oriented who became more tolerant was much greater than the proportion who became less tolerant. The chi-square test revealed that differences between categories of liking to be with women teachers and changes in expressed attitudes toward Negroes were significant at about the two-per cent level of probability. These differences are shown in Table XIII.

TABLE XIII

CHANGE IN NEGRO PREJUDICE SCORES BY THE EXTENT STUDENTS LIKE TO BE WITH WOMEN TEACHERS

Direction of change	Don't like to be with	Makes no difference	Sort of like to be with	Like very much to be with
	%	%	%	%
Toward intolerance	38.0	15.6	16.9	10.9
No change	51.7	54.5	53.9	50.0
Toward tolerance	10.3	29.9	29.2	39.1
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of cases	29	154	65	46
$X^2=13.93$	d.f.=6	P>.02<.05		

In summation of this criterion of orientation, it may be said that significant relationships were found to exist between 1952 Jewish and Negro Prejudice Scores and the degree to which students liked to be with men teachers. Significant differences in Negro Prejudice Scores, and nearly significant differences in Jewish Prejudice Scores, were found with respect to liking to be with women teachers. Differences in liking to be with women teachers were also related significantly to changes in attitudes toward Negroes. While not all of the relationships were statistically significant, they were in the direction which supported the hypotheses examined. That is, students who were negatively oriented toward teachers, as measured by not liking to be with them, tended to become less tolerant than students who were positively oriented. Also, students who were positively oriented, as measured by some degree of liking to be with teachers, tended to become more tolerant than students who were negatively oriented. The differences between student relationships with teachers and the expression of student attitudes toward Jews were not as great as those concerning Negroes. One reason for this may be found in the lesser crystallization of the stereotyped imagery of Jews that existed in Maple County in comparison to the more definite image that prevailed with respect to Negroes.

C. TEACHER UNDERSTANDING OF ADOLESCENTS

Part of a teacher's professional training is usually devoted to the development of insight into the particular emotional and social problems which are likely to confront her students. In addition, many schools carry on programs of guidance which are specially designed to cope with these problems as they emerge. Presumably, students through daily contacts increase their awareness of the extent to which teachers possess this insight and understanding and react toward them accordingly. Students who felt that teachers understood the problems of young people were assumed to be positively oriented toward them. Conversely, those students who felt that teachers lacked understanding of the problems which adolescents must face were assumed to be negatively oriented.

Table XX, in Appendix B, discloses that only 22 per cent of the students identified as positive polar oriented toward teachers thought they did not understand young people; while 48 per cent of the students in the negative polar category felt the same. The difference in understanding between polar categories of orientation was nearly significant at the five-per cent level of probability.

Jewish Prejudice Scores. A significant association was found when Jewish Prejudice Scores of the students of Maple

County were analyzed in relation to the degree their parents understood young people. This was discussed in Chapter IV, where it was pointed out that the association refuted the hypotheses. An examination of these same scores with respect to the understanding of teachers also revealed differences significant at the one-per cent level of probability. This time, however, the findings were in substantiation of the hypotheses. In other words, as shown in Table XIV which follows, the expression of tolerance toward Jews increased as the degree of teacher understanding increased.

TABLE XIV

1952 JEWISH PREJUDICE SCORES BY THE DEGREE TEACHERS UNDERSTAND YOUNG PEOPLE

1952 Jewish Prejudice Scores	Degree teachers understand young people: Not at all	Not very well	Fairly well	Very well
	%	%	%	%
Intolerant	15.4	7.5	3.8	2.8
Intermediate	69.2	26.4	28.4	25.0
Tolerant	15.4	66.1	67.8	72.2
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of cases	13	53	183	36
Means	2.00	2.58	2.64	2.69

Summary of analysis of variance:

Total sum of squares	95.99	
Between group sum of squares	5.28	$P(F_{3,281}=5.50)<.01$
Within group sum of squares	90.71	

Students who were negatively oriented, as determined by a feeling that teachers lacked student understanding, were the least tolerant. Positively oriented students who felt very well understood by teachers were the most tolerant. These same findings prevailed for both boys and girls when their Jewish Prejudice Scores were analyzed separately. Differences in degree of teacher understanding, however, were not significantly related to change in attitudes toward Jews.

Negro Prejudice Scores. Teacher understanding was one criterion of orientation which did not indicate significant differences in either the expression of attitudes toward Negroes or changes in these attitudes. There was practically no difference between the mean Negro Prejudice Scores of those who felt that teachers had no understanding of young people and those who felt that teachers understood young people very well.

D. QUARRELING WITH TEACHERS

Quarreling with teachers does not occur in the same fashion as quarreling with parents or classmates. For one thing, the social role of teachers is usually one of dominance and discipline. Accordingly, the occasion for quarreling with teachers frequently occurs in relation to some alleged or actual breach of school discipline. Under such circumstances,

the student is probably more likely to suppress the resentment which might be openly displayed if parents or classmates were involved. Disagreements between students and teachers arising in the course of classroom recitations over points of fact are not to be considered as quarrels under most circumstances. Therefore, the opportunities for quarreling arise somewhat less frequently with teachers than with parents or peers.

All students were asked to respond to the question: "On about how many days over the past four weeks have you become 'good and mad' at your teachers?" About three students in ten had no quarrels, while about one in ten had had five or more. There was no difference between girls and boys in the frequency with which they quarreled with their teachers. It was assumed that infrequent quarrels indicated positive orientation, and that frequent quarrels were a sign of negative orientation toward teachers.

Jewish Prejudice Scores. Seventy-six students had never quarreled with their teachers during the previous month. Only one of them had an intolerant Jewish Prejudice Score. However, only three out of the ninety-two students who had quarreled frequently, three or more times, were intolerant. This is evidence of the lack of any significant difference between categories of frequency in quarreling. The mean Jewish Prejudice Score indicated that those who never quarreled were most

tolerant. At the same time, students who quarreled most often showed the greatest change toward tolerance.

Negro Prejudice Scores. The mean Negro Prejudice Score of students who quarreled with their teachers three or more times per month indicated that they were less tolerant than students who quarreled infrequently. There was no consistent or significant relationship between the frequency of quarrels and the expression of attitudes toward Negroes.

Methodologically, this criterion needs further sharpening before it can produce significant results. The general atmosphere of the public school environment is such that the relationship investigated under the rubric of quarreling was found to be less meaningful than similar relationships with parents and peers. This was the only relationship between teachers and students that produced no significant differences at any point. For that reason, its fruitfulness for future investigation seems doubtful.

E. SUMMARY

The focus of attention in this chapter has been upon some of the relationships that young people have with their teachers and the effect of these relationships upon the expression of attitudes toward Jews and Negroes.

In this chapter, students were regarded as occupying various positions on a continuum from negative to positive orientation toward teachers. Four criteria of student-teacher relationships were selected for examination. These relationships involved: (1) polar types of positive and negative orientation toward teachers; (2) the degree to which students like to be with men or women teachers; (3) the degree to which students feel that teachers understand young people and their problems; and (4) the frequency with which students quarrel with their teachers.

A belief in the "brotherhood of man" and in "equality" is part of the American value system.[4] Teachers as the duly selected agents charged by the community with the transmission and inculcation of the American heritage were assumed to represent these values in their classrooms. Regardless of the degree to which teachers as individuals might express tolerant or intolerant attitudes, it was presumed that as a reference group, students would view them as symbols of tolerance. On this basis, positive orientation toward the reference group would mean acceptance of the values of that group. Negative orientation toward the reference group, on the other hand, would imply a rejection of its values.

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[4]For a concise but comprehensive statement of the American value system, see Robin M. Williams, Jr., American Society: A Sociological Interpretation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), pp. 372-442.

Accordingly, the following hypotheses concerning student-teacher relationships were formulated:

1. That students who are positively oriented toward their teachers tend to be more tolerant than students who are negatively oriented.

2. That students who are positively oriented toward their teachers tend to change more toward tolerance than students who are negatively oriented.

Testing these hypotheses on the basis of 1952 Jewish and Negro Prejudice Scores and on the basis of change in these scores disclosed several significant findings. These results are summarized in Table XV and detailed below.

1. Students who were negative polar oriented toward teachers were significantly less tolerant of Negroes than students who were positively oriented.

2. Students who were positive polar oriented toward teachers changed significantly more toward tolerance of Negroes than students who were negatively oriented.

3. Students who did not like to be with men teachers were significantly less tolerant of Jews and Negroes than those who were positively oriented.

4. Students who did not like to be with women teachers were significantly less tolerant of Negroes, and nearly significantly less tolerant of Jews, than students who were more positively oriented.

5. Students who liked very much to be with women teachers became significantly more tolerant of Negroes than students who were negatively oriented.

6. Students who thought teachers understood young people were significantly more tolerant of Jews than students who were negatively oriented.

7. Teacher understanding was not significantly related to attitudes toward Negroes nor to changes in these attitudes.

8. Frequency of quarrels with teachers was not significantly related to the expression of attitudes toward either Jews or Negroes nor to changes in these attitudes.

Discovery of these significant relationships has implications for those who are interested in seeing current majority-minority attitudes and relationships changed. The laissez-faire gradualists who believe that human relationships will improve of their own accord if left alone may find comfort in the fact that none of the Maple County schools carried on any conscious or deliberate attempts to increase tolerance of Jews or Negroes during the three years covered by this study. On the other hand, those who advocate more rapid alteration of the status quo may argue that if this amount of change can be effected without a program consider how much faster changes would occur if a comprehensive program were attempted. Another implication of these findings is that expolitation of the factors responsible for positive orientation toward teachers as a reference group might at the same time contribute to changes in attitudes toward Jews and Negroes. Three of the significant relationships involved attitudes toward Jews and five involved Negroes. This would seem to indicate that a program designed to change the existing attitudes toward Negroes would not necessarily be equally effective in changing attitudes toward Jews. This means that two separate programs may have to be established if change in attitudes toward both groups is the objective.

TABLE XV

SUMMARY OF THE RELATION BETWEEN STUDENT-TEACHER ROLES AND 1952 PREJUDICE SCORES AND CHANGE IN PREJUDICE

Criteria of youth's roles in relation to teachers	1952 Prejudice Scores				Change in Prejudice			
	Jewish		Negro		Jewish		Negro	
	R[1]	D[2]	R[1]	D[2]	R[1]	D[2]	R[1]	D[2]
Polar types of positive-negative orientation	N		.01	Pos	N		.02	Pos
Like to be with men teachers	.01	Pos	.01	Pos	N		N	
Like to be with women teachers	Near .05	Pos	.01	Pos	N		.02	Pos
Teacher understanding of adolescent problems	.01	Pos	N		N		N	
Frequency of quarrels	N		N		N		N	

[1]Relationship between criterion and prejudice score or change in prejudice. N indicates no relation. When a relationship is indicated, the probability that it would occur by chance is given.

[2]Direction of the relationship. Pos indicates that youth with a positive orientation toward teachers are more tolerant, or more likely to change toward tolerance, than youth negatively oriented toward teachers.

From a methodological standpoint, these findings disclose a useful tool for analysis in the concept of orientation toward reference groups. When the expectations of the youth culture relative to a given reference group are less bound up with positive sentiments, as in the case of relationships with teachers, it seems that paper-pencil questionnaires of the type used herein might be productive of fruitful research. On the other hand, in those cases where cultural expectations require the expression of more positive sentiments, as in situations involving parents and peers, somewhat more intensive techniques might be necessary.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

This report has served a threefold purpose. In the first place, it has described the expression of attitudes toward Jews and Negroes by the adolescent population of a selected community in the Midwest. At the same time, it has described the change that occurred in these attitudes during the period from 1949 to 1952. In the second place, it has analyzed some adolescent relationships with parents, peers, and teachers which were believed to be associated with sub-cultural differences in the expression of these attitudes. And, in the third place, it has presented an instrument for the measurement of orientation toward these reference groups which might be fruitful in other aspects of role analysis as well as in the study of prejudice. Throughout the study, analysis has been guided by this working hypothesis: Differences in the expression of attitudes toward minority groups are a function of differences in role orientation among the members of a given group.

The community selected for this study was carefully chosen to be typical of the rural cornbelt area of the United States. After the community had been chosen, data were collected by means of questionnaires administered to all sixth, ninth, and twelfth grade students present in the public schools

of the community on a given day in 1949. Three years later, additional data were secured by similar but expanded questionnaires given to all ninth and twelfth grade students present in the high schools of the community on a particular day. There were 332 students for whom data from both questionnaires were available. These students constituted the adolescent subculture of Maple County which was the focus of attention in this study.

The method employed to describe the prevalent climate of opinion in both 1949 and 1952 entailed the use of Jewish Prejudice Scores and Negro Prejudice Scores. These scores represented summations of the responses made to pertinent attitude statements contained in the questionnaires. The responses were so coded that the higher the score, the greater the degree of tolerance that was expressed. Raw prejudice scores were converted into "intolerant," "intermediate," and "tolerant" scores for ease in handling. In subsequent analysis, the analysis of variance technique was applied to the means of these prejudice scores for the purpose of determining the significance of subcultural differences.

A comparison of 1949 and 1952 prejudice scores for the same student made it possible to compute the extent of change in expressed attitudes during the three-year interval. On this basis, students were identified as "changing toward intolerance," "making no change," and "changing toward tolerance"

of Jews and Negroes. The chi-square technique was used for assessing the statistical significance of subcultural differences.

In analyzing differences in the prejudice scores for 1949 and 1952, the dependent variables were the expressions of minority-group attitudes as manifested by the Jewish and Negro Prejudice Scores. In analyzing change in the expression of such attitudes, the dependent variables were the respective Change in Prejudice Scores. In both cases, the independent variables were certain specific relationships which young people had with their parents, peers, and teachers. These relationships were classified empirically into categories which represented points along a continuum ranging from negative to positive orientation toward each of the three reference groups.

A. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Attitudes toward Jews. About 92 per cent of the 332 students for whom questionnaires were available in both 1949 and 1952 responded to all six Jewish statements in both years. In 1949, less than 8 per cent of these students expressed intolerant attitudes; 32 per cent were intermediate; and 60 per cent professed tolerant attitudes toward Jews. The adults in Maple County expressed attitudes which were definitely less tolerant than those held by these young people.

By 1952, less than 5 per cent of the same students were intolerant; 30 per cent were intermediate; and over 65 per cent expressed tolerance for Jews. The changes in attitudes toward Jews are summarized in Table XVI. Over 42 per cent of the students changed their attitudes. One-fourth of the tolerant students became less tolerant. In marked contrast, 85 per cent of the intolerant students increased in tolerance; one-third of them moving all the way from intolerant in 1949 to tolerant in 1952. Only 2 per cent of the tolerant students changed all the way to intolerant during the same period.

Although the student body as a whole became more tolerant of Jews, the image of Jews possessed by most students in 1952 was still somewhat nebulous and not too clearly crystallized. Consequently, despite the pervasiveness of a general cultural sentiment of tolerance toward Jews, certain subcultural differences were found with respect to various of the relationships which adolescents had with other people.

Attitudes toward Negroes. Only 84 per cent of the 332 students in this study responded to all six Negro statements in both of the questionnaires. In 1949, over 15 per cent were classified as intolerant; 38 per cent as intermediate; and nearly 47 per cent as tolerant. The general level of sentiment expressed toward Negroes was less tolerant than that expressed

TABLE XVI

CHANGES IN PREJUDICE SCORES FROM 1949 TO 1952 AMONG STUDENTS RESPONDING TO ALL REPEATED ITEMS ON BOTH DATES

Classification of scores	1949 Prejudice Scores	1952 Prejudice Scores: No change from 1949	Changed from 1949: To intolerant	Changed from 1949: To intermediate	Changed from 1949: To tolerant	Total that made change	1952 Prejudice Scores
Jewish	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Intolerant	7.8	14.3	0.0	52.4	33.3	85.7	4.8
Intermediate	32.2	35.6	8.0	0.0	56.4	64.4	29.6
Tolerant	60.0	74.7	1.8	23.5	0.0	25.3	65.6
Totals	100.0	57.4	3.7	18.1	20.8	42.6	100.0
No. of cases	270	155	10	49	56	115	270
Negro							
Intolerant	15.6	27.0	0.0	56.3	16.7	73.0	9.8
Intermediate	37.8	44.0	7.6	0.0	48.4	56.0	36.5
Tolerant	46.6	70.8	5.4	23.8	0.0	29.2	53.7
Totals	100.0	53.8	5.5	19.9	20.8	46.2	100.0
No. of cases	307	165	17	61	64	142	307

toward Jews. Nevertheless, these young people were still more tolerant, on the whole, than was the adult group in general.

As a unit, the student body became more tolerant of Negroes between 1949 and 1952. In the latter year, less than 10 per cent were intolerant; 36 per cent were intermediate and almost 54 per cent were tolerant. Table XVI also shows that over 46 per cent of all students changed their attitudes toward Negroes. Nearly 30 per cent of the tolerant students became less tolerant; whereas, 73 per cent of the intolerant students became more tolerant. About one-sixth of the latter group changed all the way to tolerant by 1952. Over 5 per cent of the tolerant students became completely intolerant during the three-year interval.

It is possible, of course, that these results were functions of the particular sets of statements posed in the questionnaires. That is, the statements relative to one minority might have been more effective discriminatory devices than the statements presented concerning the other minority. Nevertheless, it cannot be assumed, either, that these differences resulted entirely as a consequence of deficiencies in the measuring instrument.

Criteria of role orientation. The role orientations of the young people in this study were derived from two sources: (1) their self-image of the kinds of relationships which they

had with their parents, peers, and teachers: and (2) their choice, rejection, and isolation by classmates on the basis of responses to two sets of sociometric questions. The data for deduction of the self-images were obtained from responses to questions 34 to 40 in the 1952 questionnaire as presented in Appendix A. These questions may be paraphrased as follows:

1. How do you usually feel most of the time about being with your father and mother?

2. How do you usually feel most of the time about being with fellows and girls your own age?

3. How do you usually feel most of the time about being with men and women teachers?

4. Which two do you most like to be with and which two do you least like to be with?

5. How well do you think your parents, young people your own age, and your teachers understand young people like you and their problems?

6. On about how many days over the past four weeks have you become "good and mad" at your parents, somebody your age, some teacher?

The sociometric questions, 22 to 25 in the 1952 questionnaire, may be summarized as follows:

1. Who are the most friendly boys or girls among your classmates?

2. Who are the least friendly boys or girls among your classmates?

3. 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?

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

Relationships with parents and the expression of prejudice. The presence of significant differences between the expression of attitudes by adults and adolescents in 1949 indicated that parent-youth relationships might be possible factors influencing the attitudes of young people. It was hypothesized that youth positively oriented toward their parents tend to express less tolerance, and become less tolerant, toward minority groups than those who are negatively oriented toward their parents. Table XVII summarizes the findings with respect to the relationship between parent-youth roles and the expression of attitudes toward Jews and Negroes. There was slight evidence that this role orientation was related to the expression of prejudice in 1952, or to changes in prejudice from 1949 to 1952.

It was found that positively oriented boys whose parents understood young people were significantly ($P < .05$) more tolerant of Jews than negatively oriented boys whose parents did not understand young people. A similar relationship was noted with respect to change in attitudes toward Jews and Negroes. Boys positively oriented toward their parents became significantly ($P < .01$) more tolerant of Jews than boys who were negatively oriented. For Negroes, this change was nearly significant at the five-per cent level of probability. Since the positively

TABLE XVII

SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN EXPRESSION OF PREJUDICE AND ROLE ORIENTATION TOWARD REFERENCE GROUPS

Criteria of role orientation	Parental Reference Group		Peer Reference Group		Teacher Reference Group	
	JPS[1]	NPS[2]	JPS[1]	NPS[2]	JPS[1]	NPS[2]
Positive-negative polar type	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Like to be with	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Understanding	Yes	Near	No	No	Yes	No
Frequency of quarrels	No	No	No	No	No	No
Sociometric status as friendly			No	No		
Sociometric status as seatmate			No	No		
Change in status as friendly			No	No		
Change in status as seatmate			No	No		

[1]Jewish Prejudice Score and/or Change in Jewish Prejudice Score

[2]Negro Prejudice Score and/or Change in Negro Prejudice Score

oriented boys were involved in each case, the hypotheses relative to this role orientation were refuted insofar as boys were concerned.

Relationships with peers and the expression of prejudice. The fact that young people were significantly more tolerant than adults in 1949 suggested that roles played within the peer group might also be factors influencing the attitudes of young people. Since Maple County youth were more tolerant of Jews than Negroes in 1949, it was hypothesized that positive orientation toward peers tends to be related to the expression of more tolerant attitudes toward Jews and less tolerant attitudes toward Negroes. The roles of the individual in his peer group were established according to his self-image of peer-group relationships. The basis for this analysis was the first set of questions presented above. Table XVII indicates there was no evidence that peer-group roles, as defined by these self-images, were related to the expression of prejudice among Maple County students.

The sociometric questions offered above were used as the basis for a second type of role analysis of an individual's relationship to his peer group. The responses to these questions afforded a picture of how each young person was viewed by his classmates. There was no evidence that choice, rejection, or

isolation by classmates on either of two criteria was related to the expression of prejudice toward either Jews or Negroes.

Changes in attitudes toward these two minorities from 1949 to 1952 were similarly analyzed according to peer-group role orientation. This analysis also included the relationship between changes in sociometric status and changes in attitudes. There was no support for the hypothesis that differences in peer-group roles affected changes in minority-group attitudes as expressed by the young people of Maple County during this three-year period.

Relationships with teachers and the expression of prejudice. It was assumed that teachers in the classroom generally express tolerant attitudes toward minority groups. The basic hypothesis relative to student-teacher role orientation postulated that positive orientation toward teachers would be related to the expression of tolerant attitudes by such students. The role of the student was evaluated according to his self-image of his relationships with teachers using the criteria indicated above. Table XVII shows that frequency of quarrels with teachers was the only criteria which revealed no significant relationship to the expression of prejudice toward Jews and/or Negroes.

The criterion of positive-negative polar orientation showed that positively oriented students were significantly ($P < .01$) more tolerant of Negroes than negatively oriented

students. Students who "like to be with" men teachers were significantly ($P < .01$) less prejudiced toward both Jews and Negroes than were negatively oriented students. The same was true of the expression of prejudice toward Negroes by the students who "like to be with" women teachers. In the case of Jews, the level of significance for this criterion was not quite so high: the probability was near .05. Finally, students who were understood by their teachers were significantly ($P < .01$) more tolerant of Jews than students who were not understood.

Such findings as these indicate that students tend to express the attitudes which are expected of them when they are positively oriented toward the reference group setting the norm. The relationship of a negative orientation toward the reference group may have an unfavorable affect on the attitudes of youth.

Changes in attitudes toward Jews were not significantly related to any of the student-teacher roles determined by these criteria. Youth who are negatively oriented toward teachers change more frequently toward intolerance of Negroes, while the positively oriented more often increase in tolerance but these differences were only slight. Insofar as two criteria--"polar types of orientation" and "like to be with women teachers"--are concerned, the differences were significant at the two-per cent level of probability. These significant relationships and the consistency of direction for all criteria were evidence

that student-teacher roles were related to attitudes toward minority groups and to attitudinal change.

To sum up, one may conclude that there is a diffused, permeative pattern of attitudes toward Jews and Negroes manifested throughout the youth culture of Maple County. There are also subcultural patterns which generally resemble the total pattern. However, these may differ from each other in intensity of attitudes. This has been noted with respect to attitudes toward both Jews and Negroes.

The major conclusion that seems warranted by the data is that adolescent attitudes toward these minorities, in terms of the total adolescent cultural pattern, are relatively favorable and becoming increasingly more so. The patterns of attitudes toward Jews and Negroes appeared about equally differentiated into significantly different sub-cultural patterns. Both of these conclusions are in contrast to those reached earlier by Holland with respect to the adult population of Maple County.[1]

Evaluation of the instrument. The use of a questionnaire does not permit intensive analysis of role relationships but

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[1]Holland concluded that the adults held unfavorable attitudes toward Jews and Negroes; op. cit., p. 253. He also found that adult attitudes toward Jews indicated greater subcultural differentiation than attitudes toward Negroes; ibid., p. 256.

the limited resources available made its employment necessary. Its use seems most effective when the cultural expectations surrounding given role relationships are neither pronouncedly favorable nor unfavorable. The expectations involved in student relationships with parents and peers are too definitely positive for the structured questionnaire to discriminate effectively. Student-teacher roles, on the other hand, do not involve such strong positive relationships. Under such circumstances, the questionnaire, as used in this study, does seem applicable and fruitful. Penetrating differentiation of the other role relationships necessitates the development and use of more intensive techniques, such as unstructured questions of a projective nature.

The concept of role relationships in positive and negative orientation toward reference groups is a useful analytical tool. Its merit is not diminished by the fact that many of the differences reported in this study were insignificant. The lack of a larger number of significant findings with respect to Jewish attitudes may be attributed, in part, at least, to the existence of a vague, ambiguous, stereotyped imagery of Jews which was somewhat less apparent in the case of Negroes. In some communities, interaction with Jews and/or Negroes is a salient feature of interpersonal relations between youth and their parents and peers. Where such conditions prevail, different

results might well be obtained. In conjunction with more intensive techniques for role analysis relative to these reference groups, it is quite possible that characteristics might be revealed which do affect attitudes toward minorities.

This attempt at defining role orientation is a pioneer one in the investigation of the dynamics of prejudice. The findings of significance gain additional importance since there were no guideposts for the prior assessment of the criteria of orientation toward reference groups applicable to this problem. The polar types of positive-negative orientation require more cases than were available in this study in order that the differences may become more meaningful.

The weakest section of the instrument and the concept lies in the area of peer-group roles. Group loyalties and cultural expectations are too strong to be discriminatingly assessed as this method of collecting data now stands. Likewise, the least adequate criterion was the frequency of quarrels. Further experimentation is needed to determine a more efficient substitute for this criterion.

B. THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS RESEARCH

The findings of this research must be understood solely in terms of the limitations imposed by the selection of these particular subjects, the instrument used, and the techniques

of analysis applied to the data. Nevertheless, there are broader implications which now need to be pointed out.

In the realm of theory, there have been at least four promising lines of development in sociology and social psychology which could contribute jointly to a functional theory of reference groups. Two of these lines emerge from the recent past. One line appears in the form of Sumner's concepts of in-group and out-group. The other line consists of those ideas of the social self developed by Cooley, James, and Mead.[2] More immediately, Sherif and Newcomb have begun systematic research into reference group behavior. This study contributes to the fourth line of special studies concerned with the dynamics of prejudice, acculturation, assimilation, social mobility, multiple roles, and other areas. The positive findings in this study suggest further extension of this theoretical approach into the special field of prejudice would be profitable.

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[2]George Herbert Mead's pioneer efforts in the history of reference group theory are seen especially with respect to his central conception formulated in this statement: "The individual experiences himself as such, not directly, but only indirectly from the particular standpoints of other individual members of the same group, or from the generalized standpoint of the social group as a whole to which he belongs." Mind, Self and Society (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. 138. Because of his abstention from empirical research, however, Mead overlooked or failed to foresee conditions whereby reference groups could likewise constitute significant frames of reference.

Since theory cannot be effectively divorced from research, this study has its implications for further investigations. The conclusions resulting from this study need to be tested by others of a like nature. The only way by which it is possible to verify and interpret meaningfully the positive and negative results of prior research is through carefully duplicated experimentation and observation. It is to be hoped that others may refine the instrument presented herein for measuring orientation. Experimantation may discover other criteria more productive than some of those used in this study. The greatest need of refinement lies in the area of role relationships between youth and their parents and peers.

The association between role orientation and change in prejudice could not be fully exploited since no data were available concerning orientation of the subjects to reference groups in 1949. Now that these data have been collected for 1952, further research into these relationships is possible. Change in prejudice may be a function of change in orientation. In any event, this would appear to be a fruitful hypothesis for research in 1955 when those ninth grade students of Maple County in 1952 will have become seniors.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that this study has its implications for action people who seek to alter the existing level of intergroup relations. The results suggest

that broad, comprehensive programs may not be the solution to problems of intergroup tension. To the extent that subcultural differences do exist in any larger culture, it would seem important that programs aimed at different groups should differ in terms of the cultural characteristics of the subgroups involved.

A large proportion of the young people of Maple County changed their attitudes toward Jews and Negroes from 1949 to 1952. These changes are evidence that prejudice is not fixed in the basic personality structure of all adolescents. This indicates that prejudice may be modified for such persons.

Teachers seem to occupy strategic positions as action agents in the implementation of action programs. Although persons positively oriented toward action agents may more readily accept the latter's attitudes, it must be borne in mind that those who are negatively oriented may reject the very things which the agents want them to accept. Educators and other agencies of action might well consider the personal relations which exist between the action agents and the objects of their programs.

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APPENDIX A

THE QUESTIONNAIRES

MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE
5-4-49

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

SOCIAL RESEARCH SERVICE
WB/CO/BC

The questions below are being asked by people from Michigan State College. It is a scientific study of how you think and feel. Your school superintendent has given us permission to take enough time from your other work to have you answer the questions.

The questions will be read to you. If you don't understand raise your hand and the question will be explained.

When you have answered all the questions, the papers will be put in an envelope. The envelope will then be sealed and delivered directly to the person in charge at Michigan State College.

Your Name _____ _____ Name of your School _____
(First) (Last)

1. Are you a boy or girl? (Put a circle around 1 or 2 below.)
   1. Boy
   2. Girl

2. How old are you? (Put a circle around the number that is your age.)

   8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

3. What grade are you in? (Put a circle around the number that is your grade.)

   4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

4. What is your postal address?
   Name of town where you get your mail? _____ Rural Route No. _____

   Name of street or road _____ House No. _____

5. How far do you live from school? (Put a circle around the right number.)

   Number of miles: ½ 1 1½ 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18

6. What direction is your home from school: (Put a circle around both directions if you live south and east, north and west, etc.)

   1. North 2. South 3. East 4. West

7. What is the name of the neighborhood you live in? _____

8. What is the first and last name of each of your parents?

   Father _____ _____ Mother _____ _____
   (first name) (last name) (first name) (last name)

9. Are the people you live with your parents?

   1. Yes
   2. No

   If no, who do you live with? _____

10. What does your father do for a living? _____

11. Does he do anything else to earn money?

   1. Yes
   2. No

   If yes, what else does he do? _____

12. If your father farms, does he do his own farm work or does he work for another farmers?

   1. He doesn't farm
   2. He does his own work
   3. He works for another farmer
   4. He hires other men to do his farm work

13. If your father is a farmer, does he rent or own the farm you live on? (Put a circle around the number of the right answer.)

   1. He does not farm.
   2. He owns the farm.
   3. He is buying the farm, but it isn't all paid for.
   4. He rents the farm.
   5. I don't know whether he owns the farm or not.

14. If your father is <u>not</u> a farmer, where does he work? _____

15. How many automobiles does your family own? (Put a circle around the right number.)

   0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

16. How many radios does your family own? (Count radio in your automobile if you have one there.)

   0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

17. How many tractors does your family own?

   0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

18. Does your family own a deep freeze?

   1. Yes
   2. No

19. Where does your family do most of its trading?

   1. Name of town _____

20. About how often do your folks go to [redacted]?
(Put a circle around number of the right answer.)

1. Every day
2. Twice a week
3. Once a week
4. Twice a month
5. Once a month
6. Less often than once a month.

21. Do your folks go to church anywhere?

1. Yes
2. No
If yes, what church?_____

22. Do you go to Sunday School?

1. Yes
2. No
If yes, what church?_____

23. If you go to Sunday School, about how often do you go?

1. Every week
2. Every two weeks
3. Once a month
4. Less often than once a month

24. How many schools have you gone to besides this one?

1. This is the only school I have gone to.

Besides this one I have gone to 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 other schools.

25. Most families sometimes go to other people's homes just to talk and visit. Write the names of the families where your folks go most often. If any are related to you, put a circle around those names.

1. _____ _____
(first name) (last name)

2. _____ _____

3. _____ _____

4. _____ _____

26. What families come to talk and visit with your folks most often?

1. _____ _____
(first name) (last name)

2. _____ _____

3. _____ _____

4. _____ _____

27. Have you ever known a boy or girl who is: (Put a circle around each of the ones you have known.)

A. German
B. Negro
C. Italian
D. Jewish
E. Mexican
F. Polish

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

28. 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. _____ _____

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

1. _____ _____
(first name) (last name)

2. _____ _____

3. _____ _____

30. Who are some of the well dressed boys and girls among your classmates?

Boys _____ _____ Girls _____ _____
(first name) (last name) (first name) (last name)

31. If you had a new sweater, which of your classmates would you want most to like it? (Name several if you want to.)

_____ _____
(first name) (last name)

32. When you have lots of visitors in school for a program, and you have to sit two in a seat, what person in your grade do you most like to have sit with you?

_____ _____
(first name) (last name)

33. When you have lots of visitors in school for a program, and you have to sit two in a seat, what person in school would you least like to have sit with you?

(first name) (last name)

34. Who is the most high hat, stuck up, or snobbish boy or girl in your school?

(first name) (last name)

35. Suppose your folks are making a trip to see a sick relative who lives in another town. You would like to go along, but it is on a school day. Would your parents let you miss school to go?

1. Yes
2. No

36. What boy or girl would you pick if your school wanted to send someone to Lansing to talk with the Governor? Remember, your school will be judged by the person you select. (first name) (last name)

37. Why would you pick this person? Write your answer in your own words.

38. What person in the whole school would you least like to have go to meet the Governor?

(first name) (last name)

39. Why would you not like to have this person go? Write your answer in your own words.

40. Of all the children who live <u>right around where you live</u>, which ones do you like the best? List as many as you want to.

(first name) (last name)

41. Why do you like them? Write your answer in your own words.

42. Of all the children who live right aruund where you live, which ones do you not like so well? List as many as you want to.

(first name)	(last name)

43. Why do you not like these? Write your answer in your own words.

44. Are there any kinds of people that your folks think are a bad influence?

1. Yes
2. No

If yes, why do your folks think they are a bad influence? (Write your answer below.)

45. Sometimes people talk about upper or lower 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 own folks belonged in? (Put a circle around the one you think)

Middle class
Lower class
Working class
Upper class

46. What organizations do you belong to? (Put a circle around each one that you belong to.)

1. Boy Scouts
2. Girl Scouts
3. 4-H Club
4. Junior Farm Bureau
5. Rural Youth
6. F.F.A.
7. F.H.A.
8. High Y
9. High School basketball, football, baseball, or track team
X. Other (name)_____

FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS: Here are some things on which a lot of people have different opinions. This is not a test, and there are no right or wrong answers. You may disagree with some of these statements and you may agree with others.

If you disagree with the statement, put an "X" in the space in front of "I disagree".

If you are not sure or cannot quite agree with the statement, put an "X" in front of "I cannot quite agree".

If you agree completely with the statement, put an "X" in front of "I agree completely".

Remember, this is not a test and there are no right or wrong answers. So just write down what you think.

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

_____ No
_____ I cannot quite agree
_____ I agree completely

48. "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
_____ It would make a little difference
_____ It would make no difference

49. "I would be just as satisfied if I were in a class which had a Mexican school teacher."

_____ No
_____ I cannot quite agree
_____ I agree completely

50. A dance hall should allow all kinds of people from all races to go into the dance.

_____ I disagree
_____ I cannot quite agree
_____ I agree completely

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

_____ I disagree
_____ I cannot quite agree
_____ I agree completely

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
_____ It would make a little difference
_____ It would make a difference

53. Mexicans should be allowed to eat in the same restaurants with white people.

_____ I disagree
_____ I cannot quite agree
_____ I agree completely

54. "I think that my family should allow those Mexicans who want to move onto the farm next to ours to do so."

_____ No
_____ I cannot quite agree
_____ I agree completely

55. "The county I live in should allow different kinds of people from different races to stay in the same hotel."

_____ I disagree
_____ I cannot quite agree
_____ I agree completely

56. It would be better for everybody if Negroes and white people were allowed to go to the same churches.

_____ No
_____ I cannot quite agree
_____ I agree completely

57. "I think it would be perfectly all right if a Mexican tried to dance with a girl or boy in my family or with a girl or boy I like."

_____ No
_____ I cannot quite agree
_____ I agree completely

58. Any kind of people, such as Negroes, Jews, and Mexicans can become 100% Americans.

_____ I disagree
_____ I cannot quite agree
_____ I agree completely

59. If more Mexicans want to come to Michigan, they should be allowed to enter.

_____ I disagree
_____ I cannot quite agree
_____ I agree completely

60. The Jewish people are just as honest and warm and friendly as other people.

_____ I disagree
_____ I cannot quite agree
_____ I agree completely

61. The white and Negro people would get along better if they both ate in the same restaurants.

_____ No
_____ I cannot quite agree
_____ I agree completely

62. Most Mexicans are kind and good and honest people.

_____ I disagree
_____ I cannot quite agree
_____ I agree completely

63. When white people are sick and need blood transfusions, they should be happy to get blood from other races and religions.

_____ I agree completely
_____ I cannot quite agree
_____ I disagree

64. Thousands of Jewish people have sacrificed unselfishly and generously and heroically to make America great.

_____ I disagree
_____ I cannot quite agree
_____ I agree completely

65. White Americans should become friends with Negroes, Jews, and Mexicans and stick up for all of them.

_____ No, white Americans should look out for themselves
_____ I cannot quite agree
_____ I agree completely

66. When a Jewish person wants to eat in a restaurant he should be allowed to eat in any restaurant.

_____ No
_____ I cannot quite agree
_____ I agree completely

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

_____ No
_____ I cannot quite agree
_____ I agree completely

68. The black and yellow races should be given as much chance to rule the world as the white race.

_____ No
_____ I cannot quite agree
_____ I agree completely

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

_____ I disagree
_____ I cannot quite agree
_____ I agree completely

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

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

71. Clothes make the man.

_____ I agree completely
_____ I disagree
_____ I cannot quite agree

72. A person is often judged by the clothes he wears.

_____ I agree completely
_____ I disagree
_____ I cannot quite agree

73. In order to keep up with the gang you must wear the right kind of clothes.

_____ I agree completely
_____ I disagree
_____ I cannot quite agree

74. Being well dressed makes a difference in how a person acts

_____ I agree completely
_____ I disagree
_____ I cannot quite agree

75. Clothes make the woman.

_____ I agree completely
_____ I disagree
_____ I cannot quite agree

76. You can tell what a person is like by the clothes he wears.

_____ I agree completely
_____ I disagree
_____ I cannot quite agree

Michigan State College
4-10-52

Student Questionnaire

Social Research Service
WBB:vb

170

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 both parents 8
Have always lived with both 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 1
I have played or gone out with Jewish boys or girls 2
I have known Jewish people well 3
I have known Jewish people but not very well 4
I have seen Jewish people but have not talked to them 5
I have never seen Jewish people 6

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

Before the sixth grade 1
Between the sixth and ninth grades 2
After the ninth grade 3
Both before and after the sixth grade 4
Both before and after the ninth grade 5
Have had no contacts 6

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

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

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

Before the sixth grade 1
Between the sixth and ninth grades 2
After the ninth grade 3
Both before and after the sixth grade 4
Both before and after the ninth grade 5
Have had no contacts 6

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

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?

	Don't like to be with	Doesn't make any difference	Sort of like to be with	Like very much to be with	I have no such relative
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 16 do not apply to you. Circle one number for each kind of person listed.)

	Don't like to be with	Doesn't make any difference	Sort of like to be with	Like very much to be with	Doesn't apply in my case
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 advise 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 grandfather's age	1	2	3	4	
16. Other women my grandmother'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

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

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 do 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

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 1
Disagree 2
Cannot decide 3
Agree 4
Strongly agree 5

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

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

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

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

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 1
Disagree 2
Cannot decide 3
Agree 4
Strongly agree 5

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 1
Disagree 2
Cannot decide 3
Agree 4
Strongly agree 5

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

APPENDIX B

TABLES DISCUSSED BUT NOT INCLUDED IN MAIN BODY OF TEXT

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION, MEAN, AND STANDARD DEVIATION OF RAW JEWISH PREJUDICE SCORES BY YEAR AND CATEGORY OF POLAR TYPES OF ORIENTATION

Raw scores	1949[1]	1952[2]	PPaO[3]	NPaO[4]	PPeO[5]	NPeO[6]	PTO[7]	NTO[8]
6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	4	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
9	9	6	2	0	2	0	0	1
10	7	7	1	1	1	1	0	2
11	19	13	7	1	2	0	1	0
12	14	25	11	0	7	3	3	2
13	27	18	8	0	7	0	2	2
14	45	29	13	1	4	1	2	2
15	31	38	12	1	7	3	3	4
16	41	33	12	2	9	1	1	3
17	41	45	13	5	14	3	5	3
18	71	73	26	2	21	7	5	2
Totals	311	288	106	13	74	19	22	21
Means	14.95	15.25	15.02	15.62	15.49	15.68	15.32	14.38
S.D.	2.70	2.52	2.57	2.43	2.49	2.52	2.30	2.57

[1]All students, 1949
[2]All students, 1952
[3]Positive Polar Parental Orientation
[4]Negative Polar Parental Orientation
[5]Positive Polar Peer Orientation
[6]Negative Polar Peer Orientation
[7]Positive Polar Teacher Orientation
[8]Negative Polar Teacher Orientation

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION, MEAN, AND STANDARD DEVIATION OF RAW NEGRO PREJUDICE SCORES BY YEAR AND CATEGORY OF POLAR TYPES OF ORIENTATION

Raw scores	1949[1]	1952[2]	PPaO[3]	NPaO[4]	PPeO[5]	NPeO[6]	PTO[7]	NTO[8]
6	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
7	7	4	0	0	1	0	2	0
8	9	8	1	0	2	1	0	2
9	14	10	2	0	3	0	1	3
10	17	12	8	0	3	0	0	2
11	18	16	6	0	7	0	2	2
12	23	36	17	3	7	3	5	2
13	31	27	6	0	5	2	2	0
14	49	36	12	2	6	1	3	3
15	41	38	18	3	6	5	1	0
16	41	51	20	2	17	2	2	1
17	33	37	12	1	11	6	1	3
18	35	43	17	2	13	3	6	3
Totals	320	319	119	13	81	23	25	22
Means	13.92	14.29	14.47	14.92	14.48	15.09	13.80	12.64
S.D.	2.94	2.82	2.58	2.02	2.94	2.45	3.27	3.73

[1]All students, 1949
[2]All students, 1952
[3]Positive Polar Parental Orientation
[4]Negative Polar Parental Orientation
[5]Positive Polar Peer Orientation
[6]Negative Polar Peer Orientation
[7]Positive Polar Teacher Orientation
[8]Negative Polar Teacher Orientation

TABLE III

ATTITUDES TOWARD PARENTS AS MEASURED BY STUDENT RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "HOW DO YOU USUALLY FEEL MOST OF THE TIME ABOUT BEING WITH . . . MEMBERS OF YOUR FAMILY?"

Student responses	Father		Mother	
	No.	%	No.	%
Don't like to be with	13	3.9	4	1.2
Doesn't make any difference	25	7.5	21	6.3
Sort of like to be with	42	12.7	35	10.6
Like very much to be with	221	66.6	251	75.6
I have no such relative	12	3.6	2	.6
No response	19	5.7	19	5.7
Totals	332	100.0	332	100.0

TABLE IV

CHANGE IN JEWISH PREJUDICE SCORES BY THE EXTENT STUDENTS LIKE TO BE WITH THEIR FATHERS

Direction of change	Don't like to be with	Makes no difference	Sort of like to be with	Like very much to be with
	%	%	%	%
Toward intolerance	10.0	16.7	17.6	18.7
No change	60.0	62.5	61.8	55.5
Toward tolerance	30.0	20.8	20.6	25.8
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of cases	10	24	34	182

TABLE V

PARENTAL UNDERSTANDING AS MEASURED BY STUDENT RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "HOW WELL DO YOU THINK . . . [YOUR PARENTS] UNDERSTAND YOUNG PEOPLE LIKE YOU AND THEIR PROBLEMS?"

Student responses	All students		PPaO[1]		NPaO[2]	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Don't understand us at all	11	3.3	3	2.5	2	13.3
Don't understand us very well	39	11.7	6	5.0	2	13.3
Understand us fairly well	97	29.2	29	24.4	8	53.4
Understand us very well	177	53.4	79	66.4	2	13.3
No response	8	2.4	2	1.7	1	6.7
Totals	332	100.0	119	100.0	15	100.0

[1]Positive Polar Parental Orientation

[2]Negative Polar Parental Orientation

TABLE VI

CHANGE IN NEGRO PREJUDICE SCORES OF BOYS AND GIRLS BY FREQUENCY OF QUARRELS PER MONTH WITH THEIR PARENTS

Direction of change	No quarrels		1 quarrel		2 quarrels		3 or more quarrels	
	B1	G2	B1	G2	B1	G2	B1	G2
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Toward intolerance	20	11	26	11	6	21	26	8
No change	55	51	63	52	65	38	51	55
Toward tolerance	25	38	11	37	29	41	23	37
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No. of cases	60	37	35	27	17	29	39	51

[1]Boys

[2]Girls

TABLE VII

ATTITUDES TOWARD PEERS AS MEASURED BY STUDENT RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "HOW DO YOU USUALLY FEEL MOST OF THE TIME ABOUT BEING WITH . . . [FELLOWS AND GIRLS YOUR OWN AGE]?"

Student responses	Fellows my age		Girls my age	
	No.	%	No.	%
Don't like to be with	8	2.4	6	1.8
Doesn't make any difference	49	14.8	38	11.5
Sort of like to be with	92	27.7	55	16.6
Like very much to be with	172	51.8	215	64.7
No response	11	3.3	18	5.4
Totals	332	100.0	332	100.0

TABLE VIII

CHANGE IN JEWISH PREJUDICE SCORES BY THE EXTENT STUDENTS LIKE TO BE WITH FELLOWS THEIR OWN AGE

Direction of change	Don't like to be with	Makes no difference	Sort of like to be with	Like very much to be with
	%	%	%	%
Toward intolerance	0.0	12.8	18.6	19.5
No change	50.0	58.9	60.0	55.5
Toward tolerance	50.0	28.3	21.4	25.0
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of cases	6	39	75	144

TABLE IX

PEER UNDERSTANDING AS MEASURED BY STUDENT RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "HOW WELL DO YOU THINK [YOUNG PEOPLE YOUR OWN AGE] . . . UNDERSTAND YOUNG PEOPLE LIKE YOU AND THEIR PROBLEMS?"

Student responses	All students		PPeO[1]		NPeO[2]	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Don't understand us at all	10	3.0	0	0.0	1	4.3
Don't understand us very well	29	8.8	4	4.9	4	17.4
Understand us fairly well	112	33.7	22	26.8	6	26.1
Understand us very well	172	51.8	55	67.1	11	47.9
No response	9	2.7	1	1.2	1	4.3
Totals	332	100.0	82	100.0	23	100.0

[1]Positive Polar Peer Orientation

[2]Negative Polar Peer Orientation

TABLE X

1952 JEWISH PREJUDICE SCORES BY 1952 SOCIOMETRIC STATUS AS FRIENDLY

1952 Jewish Prejudice Scores	Highly chosen		Inter-mediate		Isolated		Rejected	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Intolerant	2	3.9	10	5.4	0	0.0	2	5.5
Intermediate	15	29.4	53	28.7	9	45.0	9	25.0
Tolerant	34	66.7	122	65.9	11	55.0	25	69.5
Totals	51	100.0	185	100.0	20	100.0	36	100.0
Means	2.63		2.61		2.55		2.64	

TABLE XV

CHANGE IN JEWISH PREJUDICE SCORES BY 1952 SOCIOMETRIC STATUS AS SEATMATE

Direction of change	Highly chosen		Inter-mediate		Isolated		Rejected	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Toward intol-erance	5	25.0	23	16.1	14	16.9	6	24.0
No change	11	55.0	82	57.3	49	59.0	14	56.0
Toward tolerance	4	20.0	38	26.6	20	24.1	5	20.0
Totals	20	100.0	143	100.0	83	100.0	25	100.0

TABLE XVI

1952 NEGRO PREJUDICE SCORES BY 1952 SOCIOMETRIC STATUS AS SEATMATE

1952 Negro Prejudice Scores	Highly chosen		Inter-mediate		Isolated		Rejected	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Intolerant	3	13.6	18	10.9	12	11.3	2	7.7
Intermediate	4	18.2	57	34.3	44	41.5	10	38.4
Tolerant	15	68.2	91	54.8	50	47.2	14	53.9
Totals	22	100.0	166	100.0	106	100.0	26	100.0
Means	2.55		2.44		2.36		2.47	

TABLE XVII

CHANGE IN NEGRO PREJUDICE SCORES BY 1952 SOCIOMETRIC STATUS AS SEATMATE

Direction of change	Highly chosen		Intermediate		Isolated		Rejected	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Toward intolerance	3	14.3	27	16.8	16	15.8	5	20.0
No change	13	61.9	84	52.2	55	54.5	14	56.0
Toward tolerance	5	23.8	50	31.0	30	29.7	6	24.0
Totals	21	100.0	161	100.0	101	100.0	25	100.0

TABLE XVIII

CHANGE IN SOCIOMETRIC STATUS AS FRIENDLY AND SEATMATE BY SEX

Direction of change	Status as friendly			Status as seatmate		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%
No change	61.6	52.2	56.9	49.3	47.8	48.5
Toward intermediate	19.6	21.0	20.3	19.6	22.5	21.0
Toward highly chosen	7.2	9.4	8.3	5.1	3.6	4.4
Toward rejection	7.2	10.2	8.7	4.3	5.8	5.1
Toward isolation	4.4	7.2	5.8	21.7	20.3	21.0
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of cases	138	138	276	138	138	276

TABLE XIX

ATTITUDES TOWARD TEACHERS AS MEASURED BY STUDENT RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "HOW DO YOU USUALLY FEEL MOST OF THE TIME ABOUT BEING WITH . . . [MEN AND WOMEN TEACHERS] ?"

Student responses	Men teachers		Women teachers	
	No.	%	No.	%
Don't like to be with	31	9.3	36	10.8
Doesn't make any difference	158	47.6	160	48.2
Sort of like to be with	75	22.6	66	19.9
Like very much to be with	59	17.8	51	15.4
No response	9	2.7	19	5.7
Totals	332	100.0	332	100.0

TABLE XX

TEACHER UNDERSTANDING AS MEASURED BY STUDENT RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION: "HOW WELL DO YOU THINK . . .[TEACHERS] UNDERSTAND YOUNG PEOPLE LIKE YOU AND THEIR PROBLEMS?"

Student responses	All students		PTO[1]		NTO[2]	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Don't understand us at all	15	4.5	0	0.0	3	12.0
Don't understand us very well	57	17.2	6	22.2	9	36.0
Understand us fairly well	211	63.5	17	63.0	10	40.0
Understand us very well	42	12.7	3	11.1	3	12.0
No response	7	2.1	1	3.7	0	0.0
Totals	332	100.0	27	100.0	25	100.0

[1]Positive Polar Teacher Orientation

[2]Negative Polar Teacher Orientation