

A SOCIOMETRIC TEST OF ASPECTS OF REFERENCE
GROUP THEORY IN A STUDY OF PREJUDICE
AMONG YOUTH

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
Leah Stewart Houser
1956



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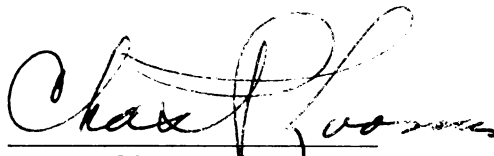
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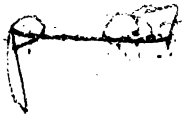
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A SOCIOMETRIC TEST OF ASPECTS OF REFERENCE GROUP
THEORY IN A STUDY OF PREJUDICE AMONG YOUTH

By

Leah Stewart Houser

An Abstract

Submitted to the School of Graduate
Studies of Michigan State University
of Agriculture and Applied Science
in Partial Fulfillment of the Require-
ments for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

1956

Approved

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Charles L. Houser", is written over a horizontal line.



AN ABSTRACT

This research is based on schedules taken from all ninth and twelfth graders in a Midwestern community who attended school on a certain day in the Spring of 1949. It is an ex post facto analysis of verbalized prejudice expressed toward Jews, Negroes, and Mexicans, and with attitudes of prejudice expressed toward ethnic groups in general as it was found in certain categorized reference groups. Students were classified according to their responses to a sociometric "seatmate" question permitting only one choice. Students who chose and were chosen by members of their own social group were considered as belonging to a "core" (membership) reference group; those who chose and were chosen by members of a social group other than their own were considered as belonging to a "peripheral" (nonmembership) reference group; and those who chose into a membership or nonmembership group, but remained unchosen by that group, were considered as belonging to a "core satellite" or a "peripheral satellite" group, respectively. The social group variables studied were residence, occupation, subjective socioeconomic status, religious preference and participation, and sociometric status.

Three general hypotheses were tested: (a) Sociometric reference groups that occupy different positions in the social structure require the expression of different degrees of prejudice or tolerance from their members; (b) Individ-

Leah Stewart Houser

uals who identify with a sociometric reference group in which they are not members and are accepted by them, take on the values of their reference group; and (c) Individuals who identify with a sociometric reference group of which they are not members tend to express its values before they begin to interact with its members. To assess these general hypotheses, null hypotheses were formulated and significance of difference scores were computed, employing White's test for the significance of difference between two groups. A level of five percent or beyond was deemed acceptable.

In general, "patterns of prejudice" appeared which tended to support the hypotheses consistently. About ten percent of the time these patterns were supported by significant differences. Since the County is characterized by a relatively high degree of tolerance, it must be concluded that minority group problems are not salient in this community. Had the research been conducted in an area where such problems were highly salient, it is reasonable to expect that significant differences might have occurred considerably more often.

Leah Stewart Houser

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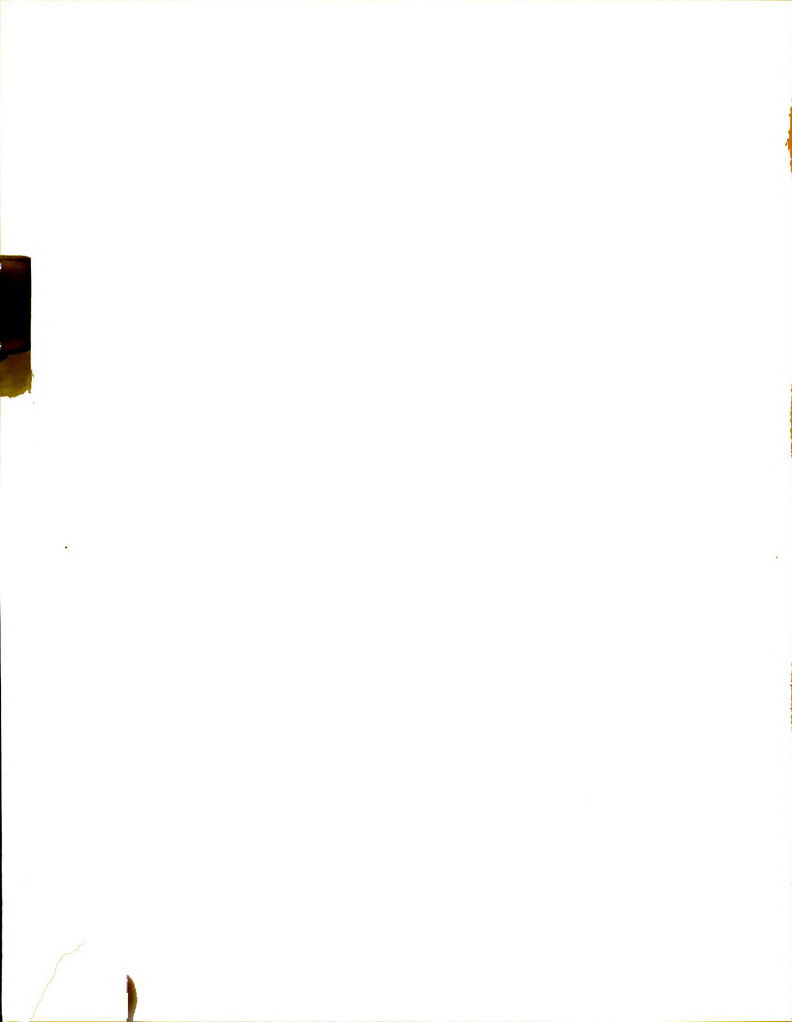
Department of Sociology and Anthropology

1956

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is an analysis of the extent to which verbalized prejudice among high school youth is associated with membership in certain specified sociometrically-determined reference groups. In addition to being an analysis of prejudice among adolescents in a rural county of the Midwest, it is also a partial test of the reference group hypothesis. Dr. Wilbur Brookover first called my attention to the availability of the data and the need for someone to analyze it.

Such a study gives rise to many problems and technicalities in the process of its completion. I wish to acknowledge the cooperation of Dr. Charles P. Loomis in making available certain data and technical equipment through the Social Research Service of Michigan State University. I wish to express also my appreciation in having shared in his ability to impart to students his interest and enthusiasm in social research. I am particularly indebted to Dr. Wilbur Brookover, not only for the time which he has spent with me in consultation, but also for the additional service of reading the entire manuscript and making important suggestions for improving it. His cooperation and evaluations have been a constant source of inspiration. The writer is also indebted to Dr. Charles Hoffer for professional counseling, to Dr. Orden Smucker for certain criticisms of sociometric procedure, to Dr. Leo Katz for suggestions relative to punching, sorting and listing the data, and to Dr.



Paul Houser for reading and criticizing the manuscript.

I wish, also, to acknowledge the invaluable services of the Davey Tree Expert Company, of Kent, Ohio, for placing at my disposal their International Business Machine equipment. The writer appreciates the valuable assistance of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and that of the Social Research Service, Michigan State University, in providing professional and technical assistance. I am likewise indebted to The American Jewish Committee and The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, co-sponsors of the larger Research Project of which this is a part.

The writer acknowledges, gratefully, the painstaking care with which the typists, Mrs. Raymond Dickinson, Mrs. Clarence Semans, and Miss Evelyn O'Brien prepared the copy. And finally, for the sympathetic encouragement of my husband, whose patience and understanding inspired me to the achievement of my goal, I am grateful.



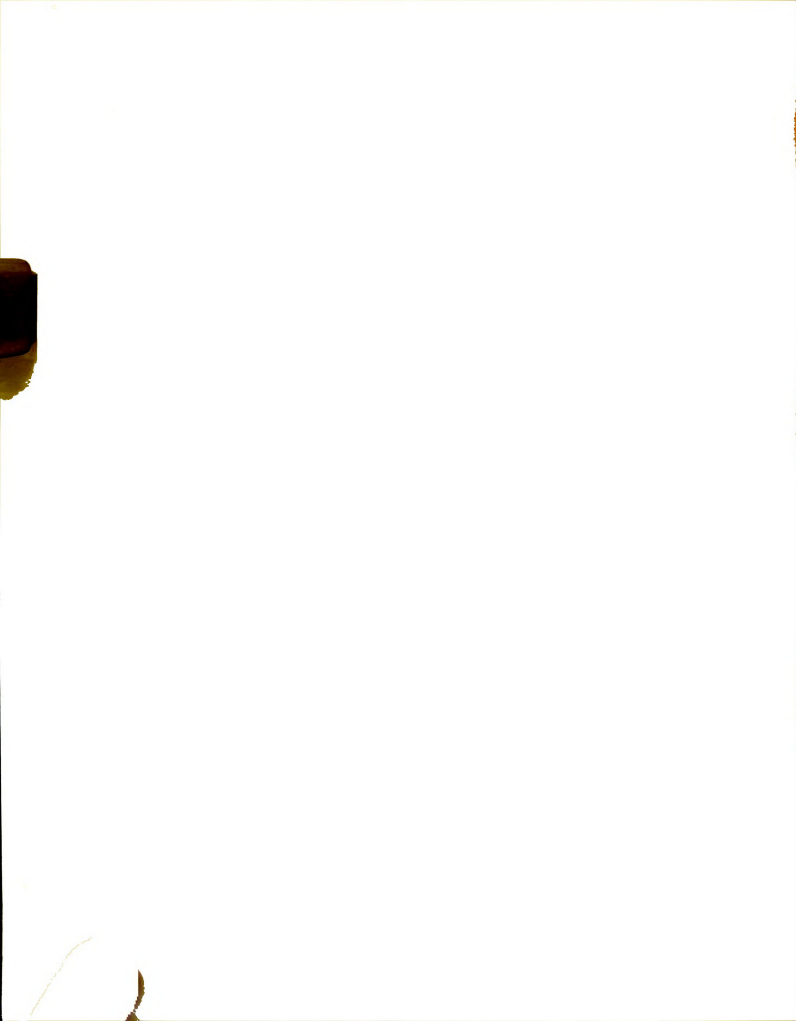
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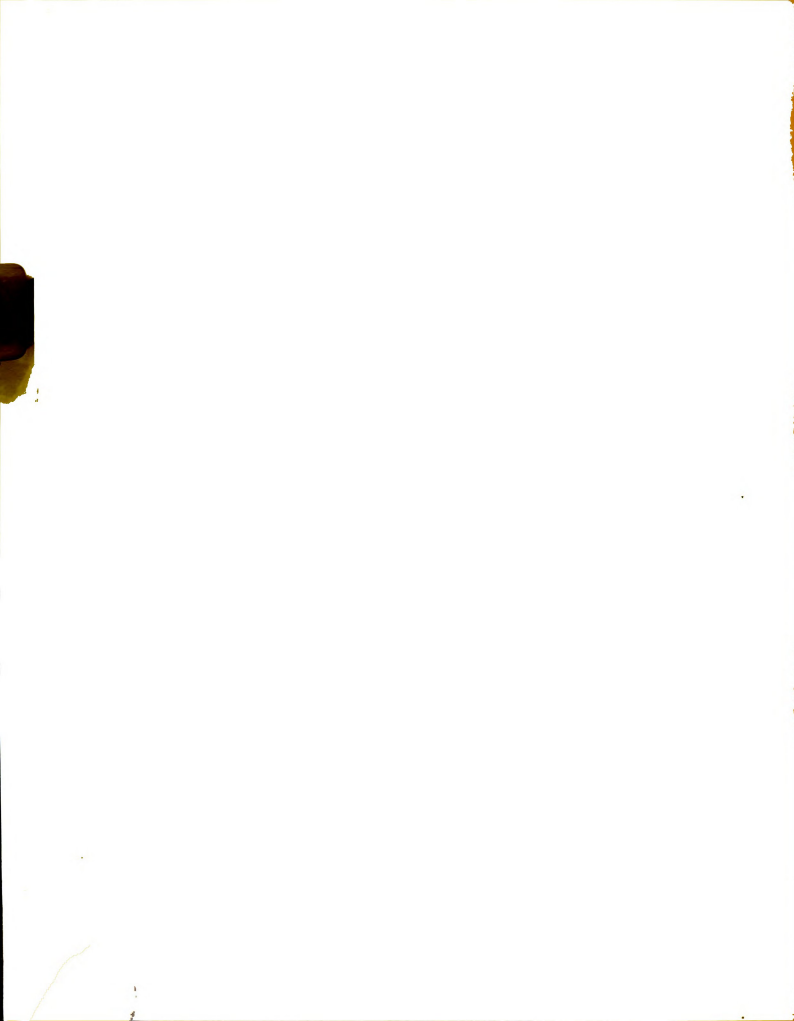


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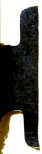
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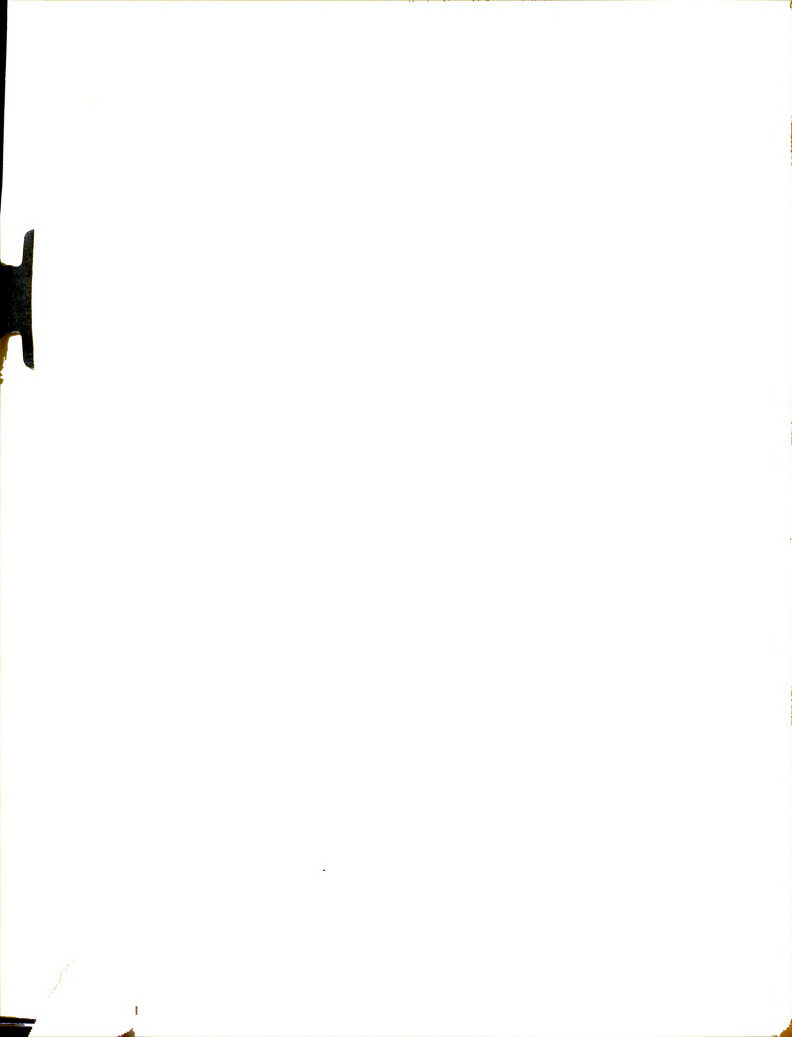


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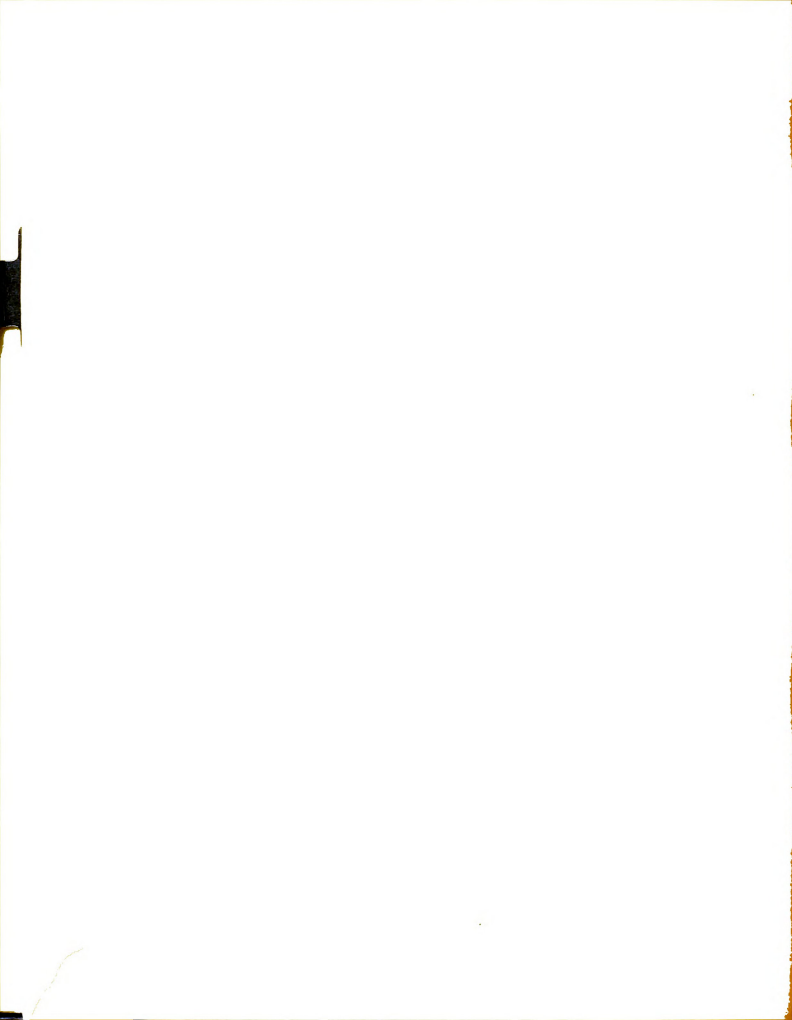


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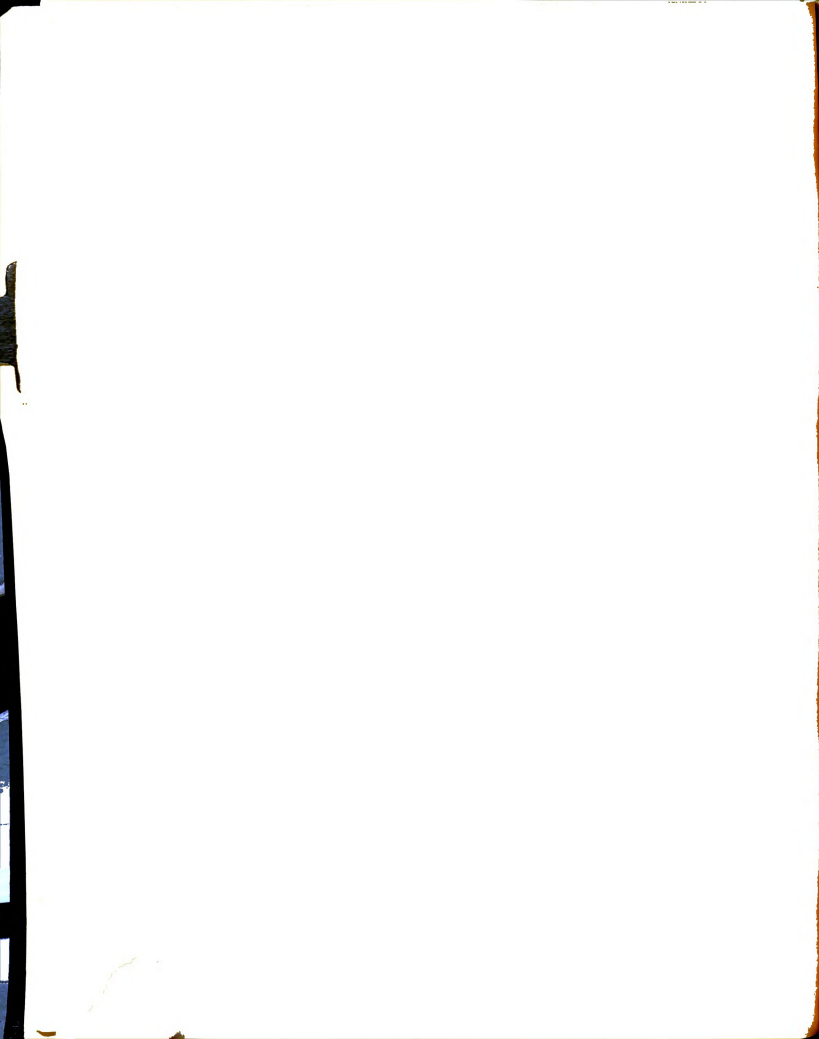
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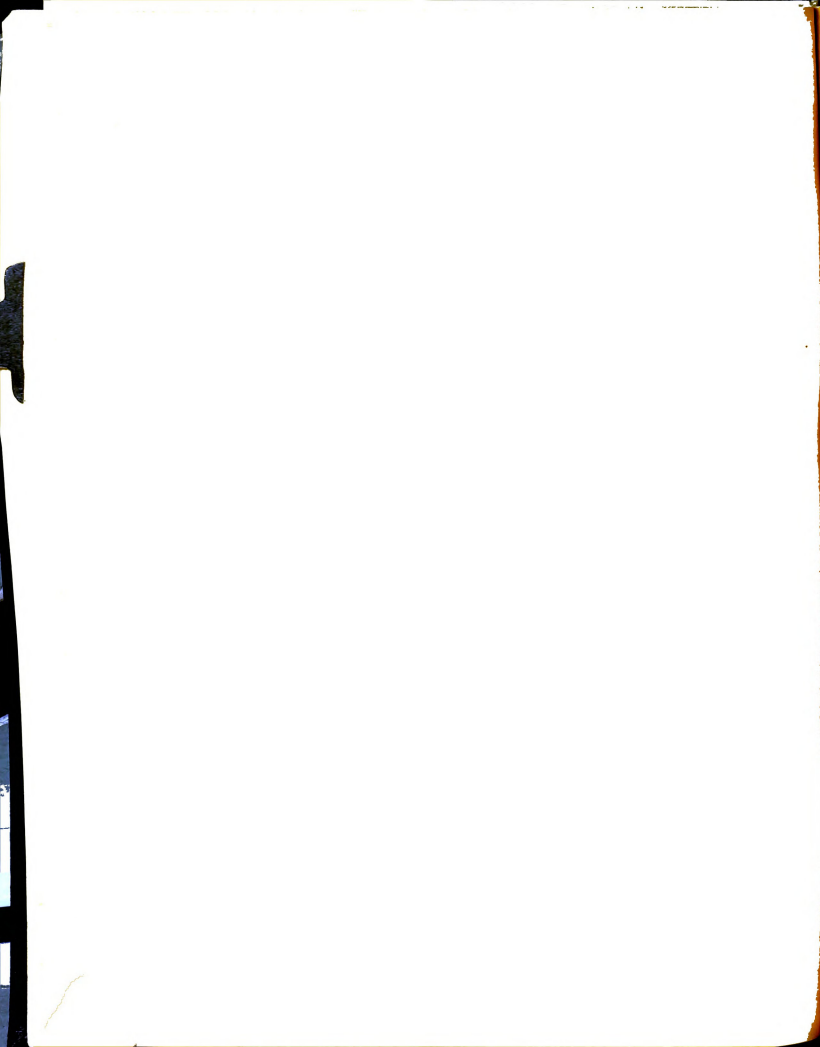


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PART I

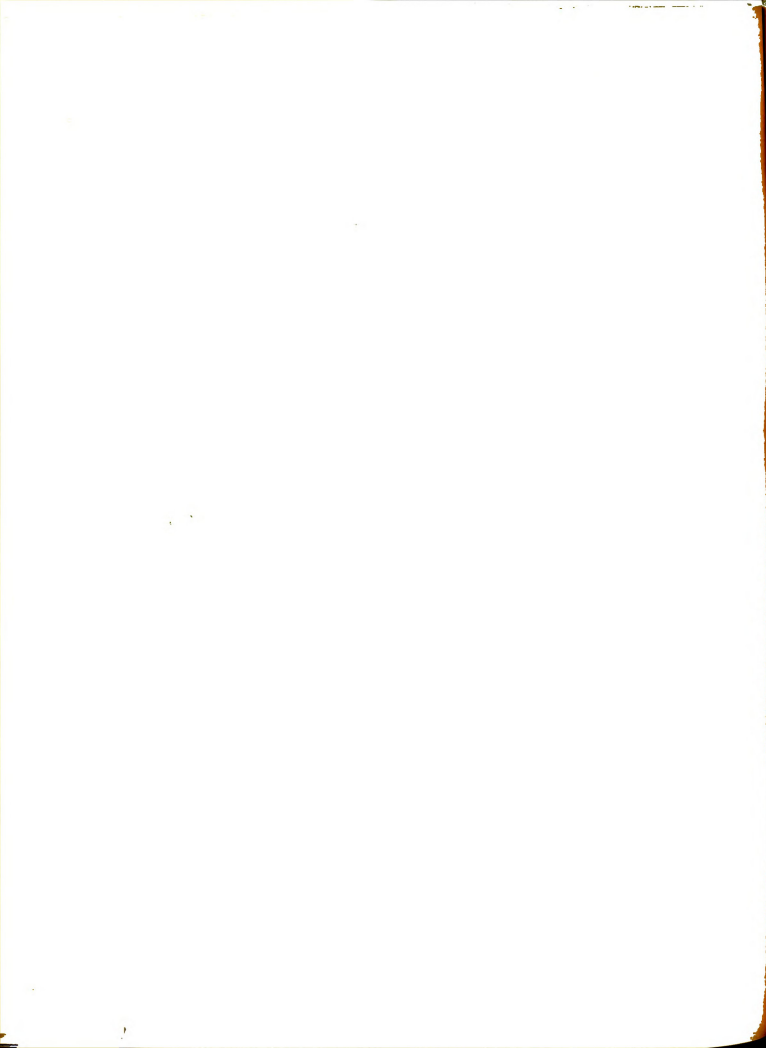
INTRODUCTION



CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION
ORIENTATION

The Problem. The problem with which this thesis is concerned is the extent to which sentiments and beliefs expressed by high school youth about ethnic groups other than their own are associated with membership in sociometrically-determined reference groups;¹ and further, the extent to which reference orientations to an out group result in corresponding differences in attitude. The sociometric reference groups are categorized on the basis of choices made to a sociometric question by members of a specified social group, or stratum, for example, the farm people. Each reference group is further categorized on the basis of whether its members are accepted, or not, by members of the group of its choice. Thus, one such sociometric reference group is comprised of sons and daughters of farm residents who chose and were chosen only by the children of farm residents; another is made up of children of farm residents who chose and were chosen only by children of town residents.²

-
1. A reference group may be either a membership or non-membership group. See this thesis page 28 for a definition of the concept.
 2. A detailed description of the possible subgroups for two attributes of X variable (for example, farm and town residence) and the method by which they are derived is given in Appendix D. This thesis is concerned with only selected reference groups.

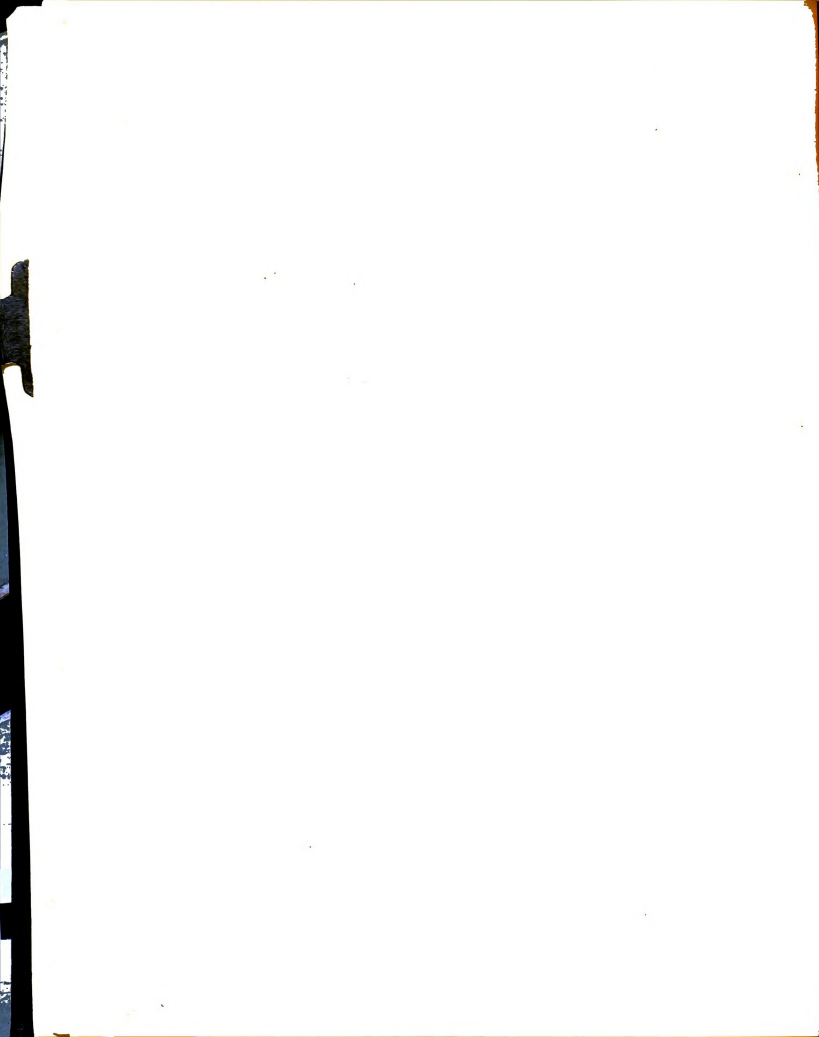


The assumption is made that choices are not, individualistic and hence "idiosyncratic," but that groups of people make similar choices on the basis of some organizing principle stemming from their group life.¹ To the extent that the organizing principles underlying choosing reflect salient group norms, any change in group identification on the part of a segment of students from a less prejudiced to a more prejudiced group (or vice versa) should be accompanied by a similar change in prejudice.

However, if their reference group does not reciprocate by choosing them, opportunities for acquiring the role perspectives of the reference group through direct associations are cut off. It is logical to expect, therefore, that students who identified with reference groups who did not reciprocate their choices would tend to have scores less like their reference group than those who identified with reference groups who did reciprocate their choices.

The focus of this study, however, is not on the prejudice scores of individual students, but rather on the comparison of the mean prejudice scores of members of certain sociometric reference groups of the student population, each being characterized by certain reference group

1. By "idiosyncratic choice" is meant one in which the determining factor in eliciting the response is basically, though not wholly, a need which stems from the basic drives of the individual, and not from socially derived factors, for example, the sex attraction of a boy for a girl. (Hereafter, the quotes will be omitted.)



orientations. It seeks to probe such general questions as the following:

1. In which social groups are "core" members as compared with "peripheral" members more or less prejudiced?
2. Do all highly integrated members in the respective categories of a social group (for example, town and farm groups) tend to have common levels of prejudice?
3. In what kinds of sociometric subgroups are expressions of prejudice found to be related to the reference group orientations of its members?
4. What effect does lack of orientation toward any reference group have upon expressions of prejudice?

Although numerous studies of prejudice have been made in the past, few of them have been concerned with expressions of prejudice among youth in the rural communities of the Midwest, and even fewer of them have been concerned with a functional analysis of sociometric reference groups and the part they play in attitude formation.

One reason for an absence of prejudice studies of the rural Midwest is the fact that the population of this region contains a below average number of members from minority groups toward whom hostility in other areas of the United States is, presumably, now being directed.¹

-
1. The percent of the total population which is Negro in the Midwest, by states, is as follows: United States 10.0, Illinois 7.4, Indiana 4.4, Iowa 0.7, Kansas 3.8, Michigan 6.9, Minnesota 0.5, Missouri 7.5, Nebraska 1.4, Ohio 6.5, N. Dakota ---, South Dakota 0.1, and Wisconsin 0.8. The Mexican population constitutes less than one percent of these respective populations. (From United States Census of Population, General Characteristics, Series P-B1, 1950, Table 59, p. 1-106, Table 60, p. 1-107 and Table 71, p. 1-123. The Jewish population is essentially urban. The World Almanac (1950), for example, records the Jewish population by cities only.



Moreover, the few that live in the rural areas of this region are not concentrated, as they are in urban centers. Because there is little awareness of these minorities, the problem motif is a relatively minor factor in stimulating studies of prejudice.¹

It does not follow, however, that there are no latent or manifest attitudes toward minorities held by this segment of the population, or that they have no influence on the larger society. No subarea can be considered operating in a social vacuum. It is in constant mutual interaction with other segments of the larger social system of which it is a part. As a result of this interaction, the needs of subareas and their definitions of situations are constantly being reenforced or modified. Although there may be no race problems, as such, in rural areas of the corn belt, there are attitudes about Negroes, Jews and Mexicans which senators will take to Washington, which John Doe may carry to his job in the automobile factory in Detroit, and which the community may express when the first Negro family moves into town. It is important to have some understanding of what these attitudes are.

There are probably at least two reasons why sociometric

1. According to Fuller and Myers the beginning of every social problem lies in the "awareness" of the group that certain cherished values are being threatened. Without this awareness, no problem can be said to exist. See Richard Fuller and Richard Myers, "The Natural History of a Social Problem," American Sociological Review, Volume 6, Number 3, (June, 1941), pp. 320-328.



reference groups have not been the objects of intensive research. Although Cooley and Mead indicated the nature and importance of the primary group for both society and the individual, and although Moreno developed techniques for laying bare both the structure and the dynamics of such groups, the great interest by social psychologists in the latter seems to have resulted in stressing the use of sociometric techniques in interpersonal relations; and its possible contributions to an understanding of group function and structure have remained under-explored.¹

Secondly, those sociologists who were concerned with the "rediscovery of the primary group" were largely interested in formalized interpersonal relations, that is, the formation of formal group norms and values and hence did not concentrate on the nature and function of the sociometric reference groups, themselves. This does not mean, however, that such an informal group structure is so simple and so undifferentiated that it can readily be understood without scientific inquiry.

Relation of This Study to Over-all Project. The larger Project of which this is a part seeks to examine some of the facets of prejudice relative to Jewish, Negro, and Mexican

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1. See Charles Horton Cooley, Social Organization, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909; George Herbert Mead, Mind, Self and Society, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1934, and J. L. Moreno and Helen Jennings, Who Shall Survive? A New Approach to the Problem of Human Relations, Washington, D. C., Nervous and Mental Diseases Publishing Company, 1934.



peoples in the rural Midwest.¹ It was organized under the sponsorship of the Social Research Service, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State University, in cooperation with The American Jewish Committee and The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. The Project Committee selected the region and county, and supervised the gathering of data. The over-all plan provided data for analyses of both formal and informal group structure. The research design for this dissertation, however, was developed independently by the writer, making use of the raw data collected by the Committee. It may, therefore, be regarded, technically, as an ex post facto study, because the data were not collected to fulfill all of the specific requirements of this particular design. Certain minor gaps will subsequently be indicated.

The Community Setting. Two major limitations were placed on the community to be studied; one, that it be in the Midwest, and two, that it be rural. In addition, the aim was to select a rural county seat community, and one which was reasonably accessible.

Procedures Employed in Selecting the County. The rural counties of the Midwest, following the classification used

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1. See John B. Holland, Attitudes Toward Minority Groups in Relation to Rural Group Structure, Ph. D. Thesis, East Lansing, Michigan State College, 1950; Wilbur Brookover, Dean Epley and G. P. Stone, Dynamics of Prejudice Among Maple County Youth, Mimeographed, East Lansing, Michigan State College, 1953; and Dean Epley Adolescent Role Relationships in the Dynamics of Prejudice, Ph. D. Thesis, East Lansing, Michigan State College, 1953.



by the United States Department of Agriculture, are defined as in the corn belt area. They are further classified as grain, livestock, and mixed grain and livestock. It was assumed that a county characterized by mixed grain and livestock might better approximate a typical pattern¹ than one of the other types.

To insure rurality, all counties of the corn belt within a specified distance of certain sized cities were eliminated as follows: (a) Cities of one million or more within a radius of 50 miles, (b) cities of 400,000 to 1,000,000 or more within a radius of 40 miles, (c) cities of 150,000 to 400,000 within a radius of 30 miles, and (d) cities of 100,000 to 150,000 within a radius of 20 miles. Neither was a county deemed typical if it was too far from a major city. Accordingly any county seat that was more than one day's trip (125 miles) from a major city was not included.

Since the aim was to select a rural county seat community, other variables considered in the selection of the county were: (1) That the dominant city be the county seat, (2) that the proportion of farm to nonfarm population be fairly typical, and (3) that the percent of employed workers in agriculture fall in the second or third quartile, that is, be neither extremely low or extremely high and that the rural

1. "Typical" as used in this section refers to an "ideal type" derivative of one of many actual patterns which prevail in the Midwest. Although statistics may be employed in arriving at an "ideal type," it is not a statistical average.



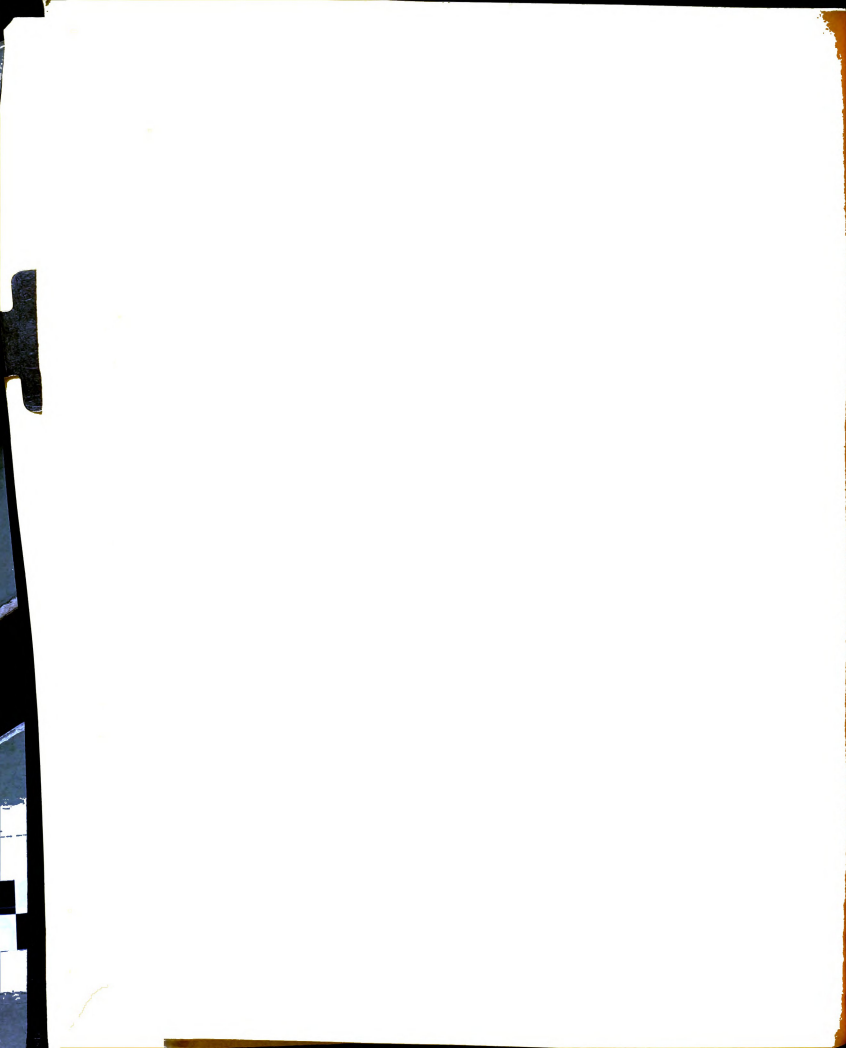
level of living indices fall in the second or third quartile. All the counties in the corn belt were examined for these characteristics and progressively eliminated until six counties remained. On the basis of the size and types of traditional minorities and on the basis of the nature of the trade center communities in them, one county, most accessible, was selected for study.¹ Henceforth it will be referred to anonymously, as Maple County.

The Study Group. This study is based on data from 432 ninth and twelfth graders in the Adams, Brownsville and Johnstown High Schools. These students represented the total number in Maple County in these grades except for a fragment in a small high school which draws largely from a neighboring county.

Origin of the Study. The writer's attention was called to the sociometric data in the Maple County Project, and to the need for someone to analyze it, by Dr. Wilbur Brookover, Chairman of the Project. The present thesis design grew out of findings presented in monographs previously completed from the Maple County data.² Three sentences, in particular, from the unpublished report of Brookover, Epley, and Stone caught the writer's interest. They were:

"About one-fourth of those students with tolerant scores in 1949 became less tolerant in 1952. Approximately three out of every five with intolerant or intermediate scores in 1949 changed to a more tolerant category in 1952."

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1. See John Holland, *op. cit.*, Appendix A, for detailed discussion of the method by which the region was selected, pp. 264-267.
 2. See footnote, page 6.

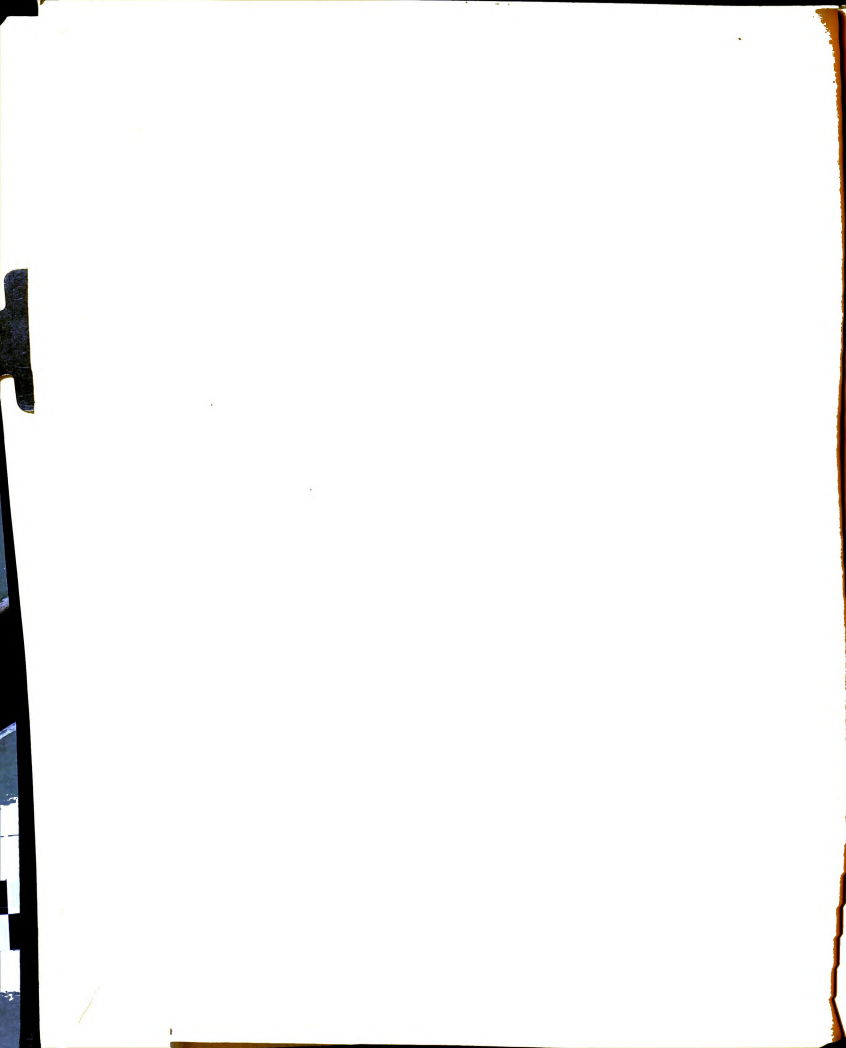


And then, somewhat later in the report, they said, "The data suggest that sons and daughters of farmers were more likely to have changes in the direction of intolerance than sons and daughters of the nonfarm group."¹

It occurred to the writer that the concept of relative deprivation in the form of ability or inability to acquire satisfying statuses and roles in the student situation might be utilized as an intervening variable to account for these changes in the expression of prejudice. Moreover, might it not also be true that a need for satisfying informal social roles and the need to gain acceptance in informal social groups would provide even more motivation for changes in group identification than such deprivations at the formal group level? This line of thinking takes one directly into reference group theory.

It did not appear that satisfactory answers to these questions would be forthcoming by simply examining the attitudes expressed in the formal social groups or strata within which students interact. The roots of the problem seemed to lay in the informal substructure of the educational system itself. This stimulated the writer to attempt the formulation of abstract sociometric reference groups based on the relationship of choices received to choices expressed, through which expressions of prejudice could be analyzed within a framework of reference group theory. The details involved in obtaining such reference groups are given in Chapter III, pp. 72-74 and in Appendix D. It is these

1. Wilbur Brookover, Dean Epley, and Gregory Stone, op. cit., pp. 7-8; 22-23.



groups which form the basic concepts of the study.

Importance of the Study. It is hoped that both practical and scientific contributions may result from this research. On the practical side, such a study should increase the working knowledge of practitioners in the field of ethnic relations by describing and generalizing findings on the patterns of sentiments and beliefs of a group which appears to have been little studied, namely, adolescents of the rural Midwest. Lack of information in any segment of a population constitutes a gap in scientific knowledge. Such gaps often are of crucial importance in that these little explored areas may contain unknown factors which become important components of national destiny. Loomis and Beegle illustrate this in their observations regarding the spread of German Nazism. They state,

"This finding (of high war-supporting morale) corresponds to the fact that immediately before Hitler came to power, the rural areas were relatively more Nazi in political affiliations than similar urban areas."¹

The results of this research should be particularly timely, also, because of the changes which the recent Segregation Decision will initiate. Information on patterns of prejudice among adolescents of all segments of the Nation's population will be needed if a thorough reorganization is to be hoped for.

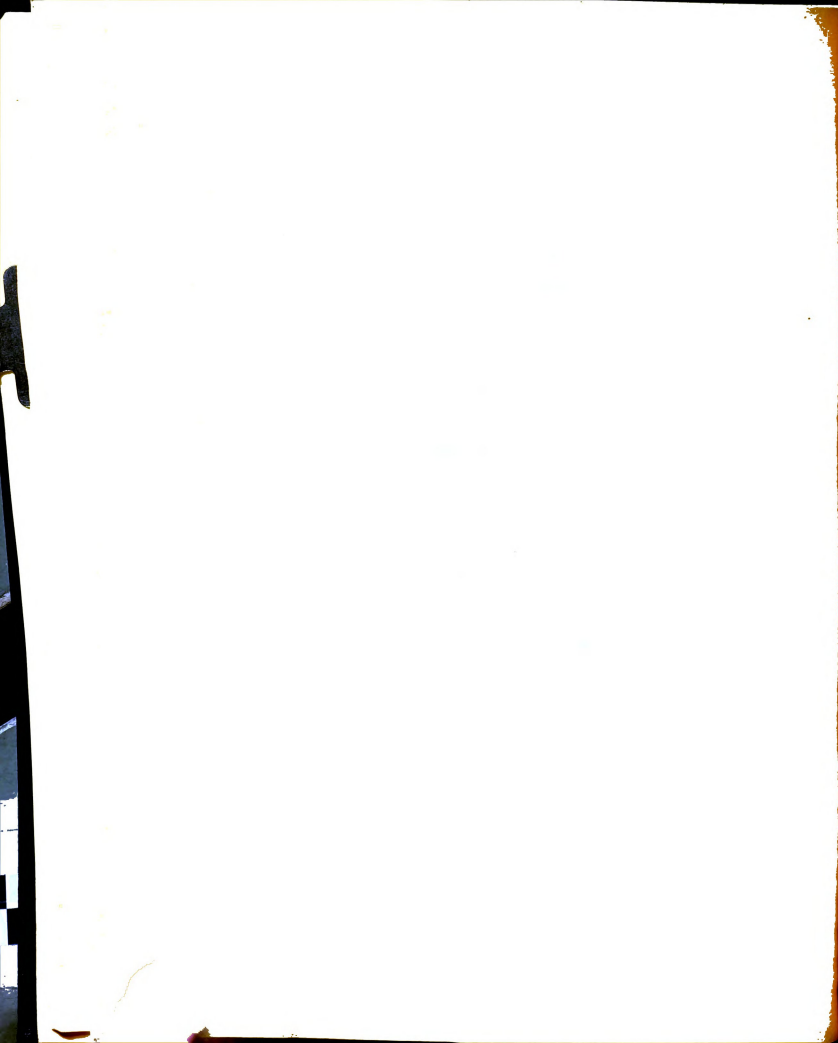
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1. Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, "The Spread of German Nazism in Rural Areas," from Studies in Applied and Theoretical Social Science at Michigan State College, by Charles P. Loomis, East Lansing, Michigan State College Press, 1950, p. 155. This article also appeared in the American Sociological Review, Volume 11, Number 6, December 1946. (Parenthetical phrase mine.)



From the point of view of the scientists, the conceptualization of the structural aspects of social groups into sociometric reference groups may result in the discovery of findings which will permit generalizations of underlying relationships in what appear now to be inconsistent data. In the review of the literature, one frequently finds research designs which make use of either "choices received" or "choices made" to set up subgroups variously employed.¹ Such designs are based on only one aspect of the sociometric situation. In reality, however, it is a two-way sequence. It is a matter of (1) Whom the subject chooses, and (2) Who chooses him. Some inconsistencies in current data might well be explained if both aspects of the relationship were considered.

Although both "choices made" and "choices received" have been employed in a matrix analysis of interpersonal relations and to establish group indices of various types,²

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1. See Harold Kelley, "Communication in Experimentally Created Hierarchies," pp. 443-461, in Dorwin Cartwright and Alvin Zander, Group Dynamics: Research and Theory, White Plains, New York, Row Peterson and Company, 1953.
 2. Sociometric theorists and methodologists have used "choices received" and "choices made" to set up matrices and have devised numerous sociometric indexes to aid in the conceptualization of sociometric data. See Gardner Lindzey and Edgar F. Borgatta, "Sociometric Measurements," pp. 405-448, in Handbook of Social Psychology, Gardner Lindzey, ed., Cambridge, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1954, for a description of several of these techniques.



and still more recently in scale analysis,¹ the writer, as yet, has not found a study which has employed both to set up sociometric reference groups comparable to those used in this study.²

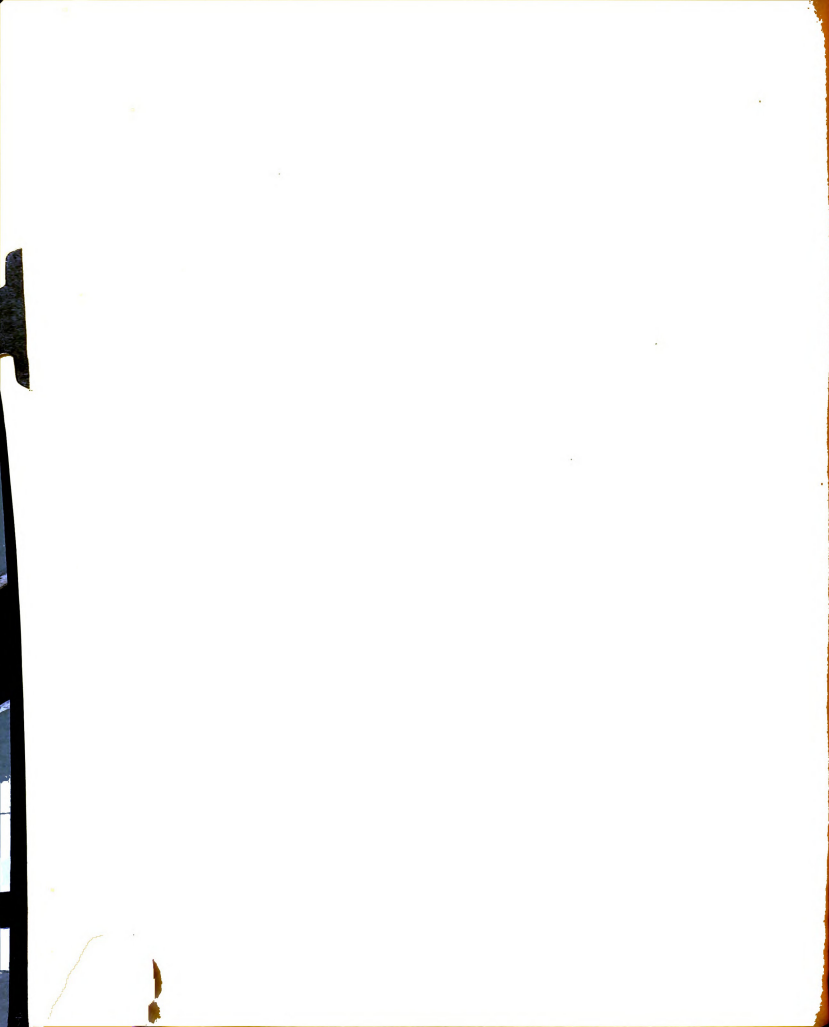
Finally, analysis through the manipulation of reference groups may contribute, not only to refinements in sociometric techniques and reference group theory but to the integration of the social sciences as well. Such integration could in turn extend the scope of usefulness of the sociometric reference groups as paradigms, not only in the analysis of prejudice, but for other variables as well.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Pertinent literature is organized here around the principal relevant approaches to the study of prejudice. Attention is directed to the current status of both the general approaches and the theories currently employed in studying prejudice with emphasis on reference group theory. Empirical findings of investigators which pertain to this study are omitted and are cited at appropriate places in the analysis of findings.

Approaches to the Study of Prejudice. Research done

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1. See Uriel Foa, "Higher Components of Dyadic Relationships," in Sociological Studies in Scale Analysis, by Matilda White Riley, John W. Riley, Jr., and Jackson Toby, New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1954, for a discussion of the application of scale analysis to sociometric data, pp. 183-187.
 2. The core, peripheral and satellite components, each analyzed as a group, are briefly characterized in Chapter III, pp. 73-74.



in the area of race relations has followed numerous and devious paths. Harding and associates maintain that it has developed from two main points of view.¹ In the first instance, the investigator is concerned with the groups under study themselves, their historical antecedents, their cultural tradition, and their socioeconomic organization and dynamics. Robert Park is credited with having contributed most to this approach. An outstanding example of research of this type is Thomas and Znaniecki's, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, and Gunnar Myrdal's, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy.

In the second instance, the research worker is concerned with the variations of attitude and behavior of particular individuals interacting with each other within a given group context. The popularity of this approach was established by a series of attitude studies made by the sociologist, E. S. Bogardus. Admittedly influenced by Park, Bogardus developed as his basic concept "social distance." An example of recent research using this focus and cited by these authors is The Authoritarian Personality by

1. See p. 1021, "Prejudice and Ethnic Relations," by John Harding, Bernard Kitner, Harold Proshansky, and Isidor Chein, in Handbook of Social Psychology, Gardner Lindzey, Editor, Cambridge, Mass., Addison-Wesley.

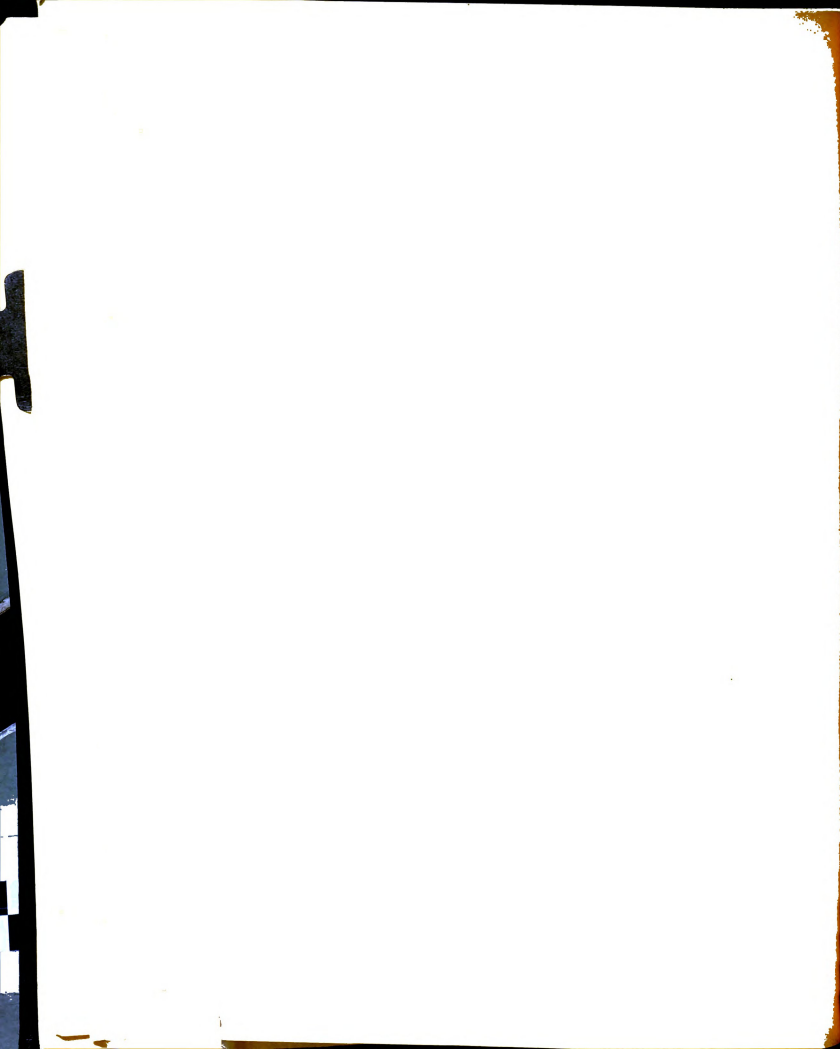


T. W. Adorno and Associates.¹

Simpson and Yinger suggest three approaches to the study of prejudice: (1) Prejudice viewed as a manifestation of needs of individuals, (2) Prejudice as a product of social structure, particularly of power arrangements, and (3) Prejudice derived from the cultural heritage.² A more detailed conceptualization of levels or perspectives is given by Allport. He describes six levels from which the social and psychological causation of prejudice may be examined:

1. The Stimulus approach which centers upon the nature of the stimulus object itself.
2. The Phenomenological approach oriented toward examining how the individual perceives the stimulus and integrates his responding behavior.
3. The Personality dynamics approach involving categorization, displacement, rationalization and projection in the formation of personality structure.
4. The Situational approach which deals with forces outside the person derived from the social situation and his conception of them.

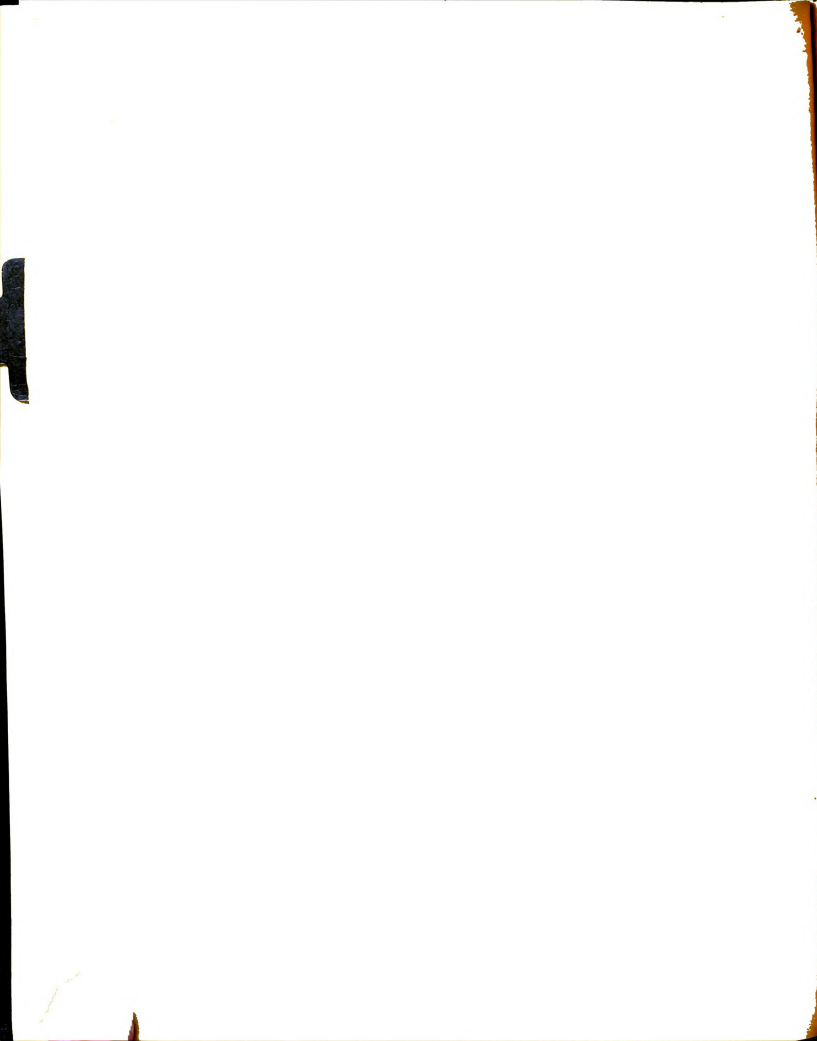
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1. T. W. Adorno, Else Frenkel Brunswick, et al; The Authoritarian Personality, New York, Harper and Bros., 1950. This book is one of the Studies in Prejudice Series. It combines a psychiatric and statistical approach. The other books in the series are: Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, Dynamics of Prejudice: A Psychological and Sociological Study of Veterans; Nathan W. Ackerman and Marie Jahoda, Anti-Semitism and Social Disorder: A Psychoanalytic Interpretation; Paul W. Massing, Rehearsal for Destruction: A Study of Political Anti-Semitism in Imperial Germany, and Leo Lowenthal and Norbert Guterman, Prophets of Deceit: A Study of the Techniques of the American Agitator.
 2. George G. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities, New York, New York, Harper Brothers, 1953, pp. 66-67.
For a complete discussion of theories at these three levels see Chapters 3-5.



5. The Socio-cultural approach in which it is held that prejudice is learned by the child as a member of groups.
6. The Historical approach in which understanding of prejudice is sought in the broad social context of the culture of which the individual is a part.¹

Theories currently attracting the most attention are arising for the most part from the situational approach and that of personality dynamics, often referred to as the socialization theories. To the present writer, these two foci of interest, namely the role of the group versus that of the individual in attitude formation, do not represent antagonistic and competing schools of thought so much as conceptually differentiated but mutually interdependent approaches. Most social scientists agree that the factors causing prejudice are multiple. They agree, for example, that frustration, on the one hand, and one's definition of the situation, on the other hand, may both be factors in its formation. Although this study is group focused inasmuch as it is concerned with expression of prejudice in selected sociometric reference groups, it is important, also, to have a working knowledge of certain theories underlying the individualistic approach which impinge upon reference group analyses. The most important of these are the frustration-aggression hypothesis and related displacement theories.

1. Gordon Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, Cambridge, Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1954, chapter 13; "Theories of Prejudice," pp. 206-218. See, also, Allport, "Prejudice," in Toward a General Theory of Action, Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, et al., eds. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952, pp. 365-387.



These will be discussed first, followed by an analysis of the development and current status of reference group theory, and finally by a discussion of the relation of reference group theory to the group norm theory of prejudice.¹

The Frustration-aggression Hypothesis. The frustration-aggression hypothesis was formulated by John Dollard and his associates in the Yale School.² In the first statement of the hypothesis the proposition was that a blocked frustration always provoked an act of aggression. Miller, in an article in the Psychological Review, stated that this was an unfortunate wording and not the intent of the writer. A more accurate statement was that aggression was one of many responses which might be made. He further clarified the hypothesis by saying that no assumption was made as to whether the behavior was innate or learned.³

1. Persons interested in a more complete survey of theories of prejudice and critiques of them are referred to the following authors: Simpson and Yinger op. cit., Allport, op. cit., Lindzey, op. cit., Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn Sherif, Groups in Harmony and Tension, New York, New York, Harper and Bros., Pub., 1953, chapters 1, 2, 5 and 7; Brewton Berry, Race Relations, New York, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1951, pp. 104-116; Eugene Hartley, Problems in Prejudice, N. Y. King's Crown Press, 1946; Arnold and Caroline Rose, Minority Group Relations in the United States, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1948, pp. 277-306; Gerhart Saenger, The Social Psychology of Prejudice, New York, New York, Harper Bros., 1953, pp. 88-138.
2. See John Dollard, L. Doob, N. E. Miller, O. H. Mowrer, and R. R. Sears, Frustration and Aggression, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1939.
3. Neal E. Miller, et al., "The Frustration-aggression Hypothesis," Psychological Review, Volume 48, 1941, pp. 337-340.
See page 338 and page 340.



Aggression, when expressed, according to Dollard, may be covert or overt, directed against oneself, or against others. The strongest kind of aggression is directed toward one who is perceived by the actor as the individual who blocked the instigation. If circumstances in the situation militate against direct aggression, displaced aggression may follow. Such displaced aggression may be directed toward members of minority groups in the society and may become casual factors in expressions of prejudice toward these groups. He goes on to point out that the inhibition of acts of direct aggression is an additional frustration to those already initiated which furthers the instigation to other forms of aggression in a kind of chain effect.

Nicholas Pastore observes that aggression is not the direct result of frustration but is derived from the meaning which the frustrated individual attaches to the occurrence. In an attempt to demonstrate this proposition, he conducted an experiment with two groups of students who had been deprived of 24 hours of sleep and upon whom frustrating incidents were inflicted. Although frustration was induced, it was his conclusion that the response was functional in nature and relative to the person's definition of the situation as unjust, or was an expression of his attempt to secure recognition.¹

1. Nicholas Pastore, "A Neglected Factor in the Frustration-aggression Hypothesis: A Comment," Journal of Psychology, Volume 29 (1950), pp. 271-279.

Sherif goes on to point out that certain other research findings are, as he puts it, "Out of tune" with displacement theories. For example, Lindzey has shown that highly prejudiced persons are no more likely to show outward aggression either displaced or direct, than relatively less prejudiced persons.¹

Srole found that the relationship between rigidity and ethnocentrism, on the one hand, and high test scores in prejudice, on the other, did not hold independently for groups from the lower educational stratum of society.² (Rigidity and ethnocentrism were hypothesized to be the result of childhood frustrations.) Moreover, Christie and Garcia found that rigidity and ethnocentrism may vary within the same social strata.³

Sherif declares that the crucial test of displacement theory rests in the fact that it must prove that individuals who have prejudices have been faced with greater frustrations and hence have greater repressions than nonprejudiced

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1. Gardner Lindzey, "An Experimental Examination of the Scapegoat Theory of Prejudice," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Volume 45 (1950), pp. 296-309.
 2. L. Srole, "Social Dysfunction, Personality, and Social Distance Attitudes," summarized in Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn Sherif, Groups in Harmony and Tension: An Integration of Studies on Intergroup Relations, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1953, p. 120.
 3. R. Christie and J. Garcia, "Subcultural Variation in Authoritarian Personality," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Volume 46 (1951), pp. 457-469. Summarized in Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn Sherif, ibid., p. 120-121.

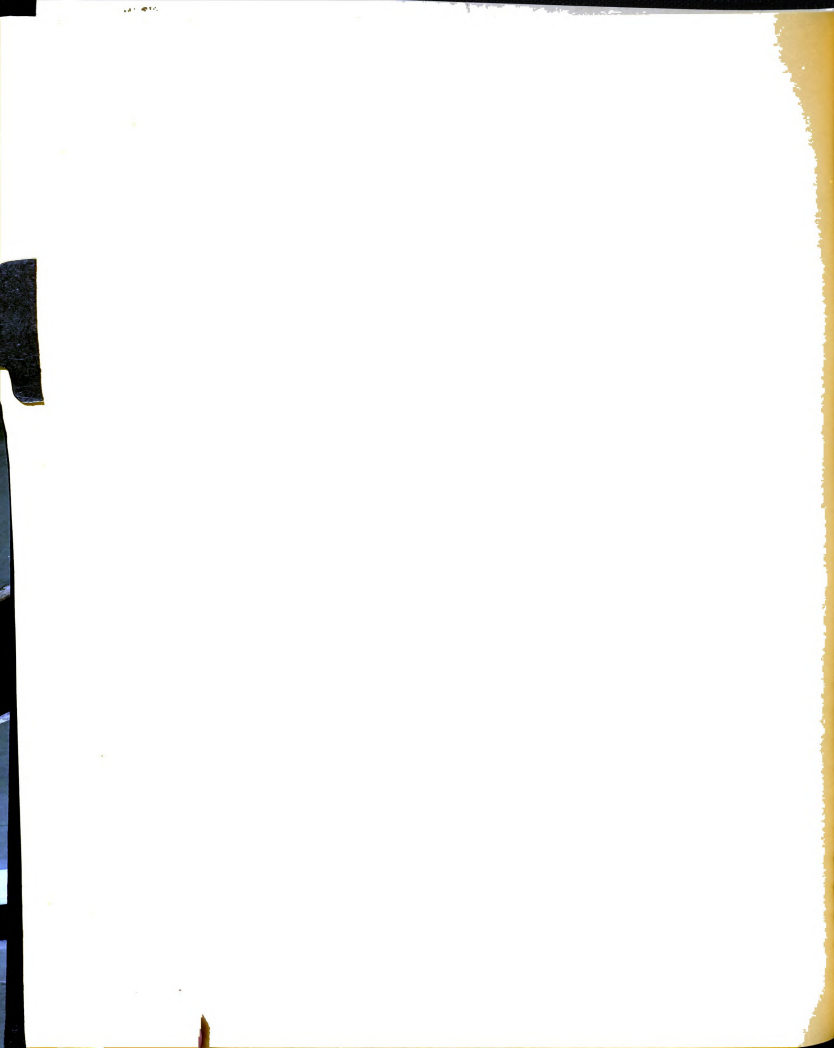
individuals. It is his opinion that such a test has not been made and that such a test would probably fail. He points to the fact that greater prejudice is reported for regular church goers and for extremely patriotic individuals. He adds that it is unlikely that individuals who are non-conformists in relation to the major institutions in which they grew up and must move are less frustrated than those who have conformed to institutional norms and values.

It is Sherif's opinion that the chief defect of the frustration-aggression hypothesis is that it is monistic, that is to say, that prejudice is "sought in factors coming from within the individual," and further, from only certain factors.¹

Talking to the same point, Zawadski poses four questions concerning prejudice which he claims these theories cannot answer.

- "1. Why, sometimes, a certain minority is selected to pick on where there are several to choose from.
2. Why there is sometimes a striking difference in intensity of dislike toward different minorities.
3. Why certain minorities are respected, if not liked, while others are disliked and despised.
4. Why it is that not only do majorities have their prejudices against minorities, but minorities also have their prejudice against majorities."²

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1. Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn Sherif, op. cit., p. 123.
 2. From B. Zawadski, "Limitations of the Scapegoat Theory of Prejudice," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Volume 43, 1948, p. 132. Quoted from Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn Sherif, op. cit., p. 124.



Insofar as the direction of hostility is concerned, Williams lists four factors which, in part, determine toward which group hostility will be directed:

- (a) The visibility of the group. (Visibility applies to both physical and social categories.)
- (b) The nature of the contacts prevailing between groups.
- (c) The extent to which the groups are in competition with each other.
- (d) The relative differences in values and behavior patterns believed to express these values.¹

Allport summarizes criticisms of the frustration-aggression hypothesis and other displacement theories as follows:

- "1. Frustration does not always lead to aggression.
- 2. Aggression is not always displaced.
- 3. Displacement does not, as the theory seems to imply, actually relieve the feeling of frustration.
- 4. The theory says nothing concerning the choice of scapegoats.
- 5. It is not true that a defenseless minority is always chosen for displacement purposes.
- 6. Available evidence does not indicate that the displacement tendency is any more common among people high in prejudice than among those low in prejudice.
- 7. Finally, the theory itself overlooks the possibility of realistic social conflict."²

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- 1. See Robin M. Williams, Jr., The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions: A Survey of Research on Problems of Ethnic, Racial, and Religious Group Relations, New York, Social Science Research Council, Undated, p. 54.
 - 2. Gordon W. Allport, op. cit., pp. 350-351. By permission of Addison-Wesley Press, Inc., Publishers.

He then sounds two warnings; namely, that a single theory of prejudice is not adequate, and that the theory is stated too broadly.¹

Going back to Allport's first point, the next step, seemingly, is to relate the scientific findings of this theory to others. An important question, then, is what direction should these new endeavors take. As was mentioned in the previous discussion, the frustration-aggression hypothesis does not take account of group pressures operating upon the individual and his definitions of the situation. One such factor is the role which reference group identification or aspiration plays in the development of attitudes toward minority groups. For example, do farm students who prefer to associate with town students always take on the attitudes of town students toward ethnic groups? If not, under what circumstances do they assume these attitudes? Since these and similar relationships are the basic concern of this thesis, it is important to examine the present status of reference group theory.

Reference Group Theory. The concept "reference group" was first used by Hyman in 1942 in his book The Psychology of Status. It is particularly useful in the analysis of a complex society which is characterized by "vertical mobility" and "multiple membership groups." This derives from the fact these societies are organized about a variety of roles and statuses many of which are often competitive or incompatible.

1. Ibid., p. 352.



Like other concepts, in the field of sociology and social psychology, the term "reference group" has come to mean a number of things. Cleavage in usage and definition is particularly apparent between the sociologists and psychologists. From the point of view of the psychologist, Sherif has probably given the most comprehensive analysis.¹ He defines a reference group as "those groups to which the individual relates himself as a part or to which he aspires to relate himself psychologically."² Hence a reference group may be a membership or nonmembership group. He goes on to say that many of the individual's so-called "weighty attitudes" are the values and norms of these reference groups which become major anchoring points for his perceptual organization. But they are not the only anchoring points. Earlier studies have been preoccupied with external anchorings in the form of stimulus object. Thus there arises the problem of the relative weights of external versus internal anchoring. Internal anchorings may be more determinative when the situation is relatively unstructured.

Sherif distinguishes between a "reference group" and a "frame of reference" which he claims are confused in the

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1. Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn Sherif, op. cit., Chapter 7, pp. 157-181. See also, Muzafer Sherif "Reference Groups in Human Relations," pages 203-231, in Muzafer Sherif and M. O. Wilson, Group Relations at the Crossroads, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1953.
 2. Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn Sherif, ibid., p. 161. See also Muzafer Sherif and M. O. Wilson for a discussion of this material.



literature. He defines the latter as follows: "--- the functional relatedness of all factors, external and internal, that are operative at a given time."¹ A person's reference group is a part, but only a part, of his frame of reference.

Since an individual has many reference groups and since the norms of these reference groups are internalized, he is faced with competing and conflicting norms and values to the extent that they do not occupy the same place in the positional hierarchy of the culture. How then are these variations in reference group perspectives to be reconciled? Benoit-Smullyan suggests what he calls the concept of "status equilibration," the tendency for various statuses to converge at a common level. Moreover, this level presses toward the individual's highest status.²

If a man occupies a position in which two groups are serving as points of reference, for example, a foreman in a factory, a member of a minority group, or the modern adolescent, he occupies a marginal position, in which he finds it necessary to identify with two reference groups. This is the basic problem of marginality. When individuals cannot identify with the scale of values of the group within which

1. Ibid., p. 165.

2. E. Benoit-Smullyan. "Status Types, and Status Interrelations," American Sociological Review, Volume 9, 1944, pp. 151-161. See also Eugene Hartley, "Multiple Group Membership," in John H. Rohrer and Muzafer Sherif, Social Psychology at the Crossroads, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1951, pages 383-384.

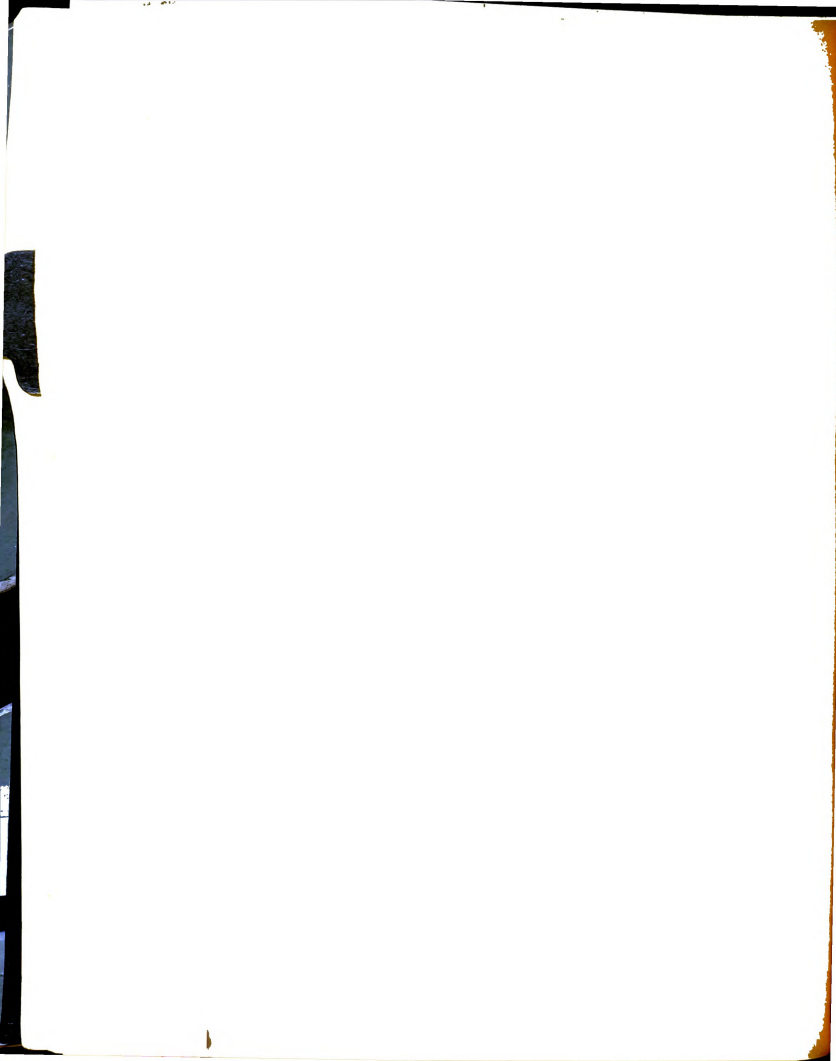
they have membership, there is a tendency for them to gravitate toward one another and hence to form informal reference groups. The attitudes of members of minority groups toward members of the majority group, or vice versa, are not so much a matter of ecological position, as Horowitz has pointed out, as one of social distance, defined in terms of the particular reference group which prevailed in the formation of the attitude.¹ The most exhaustive treatise of reference groups from the point of view of the sociologist, is that of Merton and Kitt. They define reference group theory as follows:

"... Reference group theory aims to systematize the determinants and consequences of those processes of evaluation and self-appraisal in which the individual takes the values or standards of other individuals and groups as a comparative frame of reference."²

These writers use a functional approach; the basic technique involved is comparison. The group used for comparison may, or may not, be one in which the individual is a member or to which he aspires to become a member. The authors then categorize three frames of reference within which this comparison occurs:

1. Comparisons based on actual association such as a soldier who compares himself with a married civilian friend.

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1. E. Horowitz, "Development of Attitudes Toward the Negro," Archives of Psychology, No. 194, 1936. Discussed in Muzaffer and Sherif and Carolyn Sherif, op. cit., pp. 167-168.
 2. Robert K. Merton and Alice S. Kitt, "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior" in Robert K. Merton and Paul Lazarsfeld, Continuities of Social Research; Studies in the Scope and Method of "The American Soldier," Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1950, pp. 40-105. (See pp. 50 - 51.)



2. Comparisons with others of the same status or social category, as captains with captains.
3. Comparisons with those of different status or social category as a noncombat soldier compared with a combat soldier.¹

The authors state that comparison does not necessarily imply social interaction.

Seemingly incongruous research findings in the analyses of attitudes of soldiers toward military life could be generalized when the concept of relative deprivation as an intervening variable in the evaluation of status was utilized.² For example, Northern Negro soldiers in the army, comparing their life with that of the Southern Negro civilian might well feel they were better off, whereas had they compared themselves with the Northern white soldier they would have felt differently.

Reference group theory, then, is concerned with the dynamics of the selection and the evaluation of reference groups as processes. Evaluations based on personal idiosyncracies would vary at random; but those based on group norms and values would structure numerous individuals, on the basis of some organizing principle, into some common comparative group context.³ For example, in the case of the research involving combat and noncombat soldiers, it was hypothesized that the organizing factor in the consensus of

1. Ibid., p. 47.

2. Ibid., p. 51 ff.

3. Ibid., p. 65.

attitudes might have been the degree of closeness to combat, or again, in the comparison of married veterans to civilian married men, the organizing factor might have been the institutional norm, which the draft boards themselves recognized, that service was a greater hardship on married than single men.¹

The writers then summarize by pointing out that reference group comparisons involve the following research problems:

1. The need for institutional definitions of social structure which focus attention of a group or occupants of a social status upon common reference groups.
2. The problem of the relative effectiveness of frames of reference yielded by actual associates versus impersonal status categories.
3. The problem of the effects of distorted knowledge in reference group comparisons, that is, the further study of the dynamics of perception from the psychological point of view and the channels of communication from the sociological point of view.
4. The further examination of the empirical status of reference group concepts; for example, there is the particular problem of converting the concept of intervening variable from assumption to fact.
5. The problem of developing techniques for uncovering the dynamics of group reference which is "unwittingly" made rather than consciously so.²

The writers contend also that the functional theory of reference group behavior could be furthered by the development of certain social indices, namely:

1. An index of actual social relations between the prestige stratum of a group and the newcomers to it.

1. Ibid., p. 64 ff.

2. Ibid., p. 64 ff.

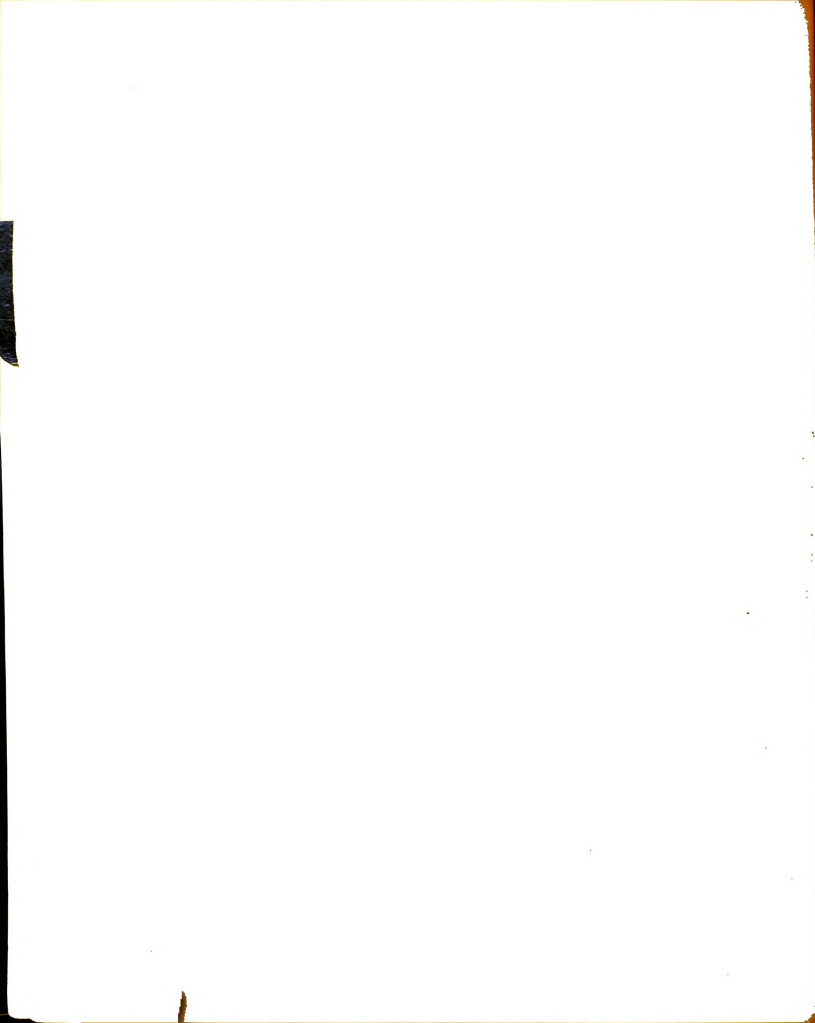


2. An index of motivation. Current theory assumes that newcomers wish to assimilate with the prestige group. To what extent is this true?
3. An index of social cohesion and associated values. There is the pertinent question for example of whether newcomers are scattered aggregates of people or whether they constitute organized subgroups.¹

The Merton-Kitt argument is not clear, however, at certain points. For example, the authors differentiate between reference group theory and role theory by pointing out that the latter as developed by Mead, Cooley and others, clearly applied to the socialization process within an "in" or membership group, whereas reference group theory refers to role orientations derived from an "out" or reference group. A bit later, however, in discussing multiple group membership, the authors hasten to add that eventually reference group theory must concern itself with membership orientation.²

In a recent article, Shibutani, in a discussion of the concept reference group and its perspectives, observes that the concept has three points of reference:

-
1. Ibid., p. 79 ff.
 2. In discussing this problem Merton says, "There is, however, the further fact that men frequently orient themselves to groups other than their own in shaping their behavior and evaluations, and it is the problems centered about this fact of orientation to nonmembership groups that constitute the distinctive concern of reference group theory. Ultimately, of course, the theory must be generalized to the point where it can account for both membership - and nonmembership - group orientations..." Ibid., p. 50. For Mead's approach, see George H. Mead, Mind, Self and Society, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1934. p. 138.



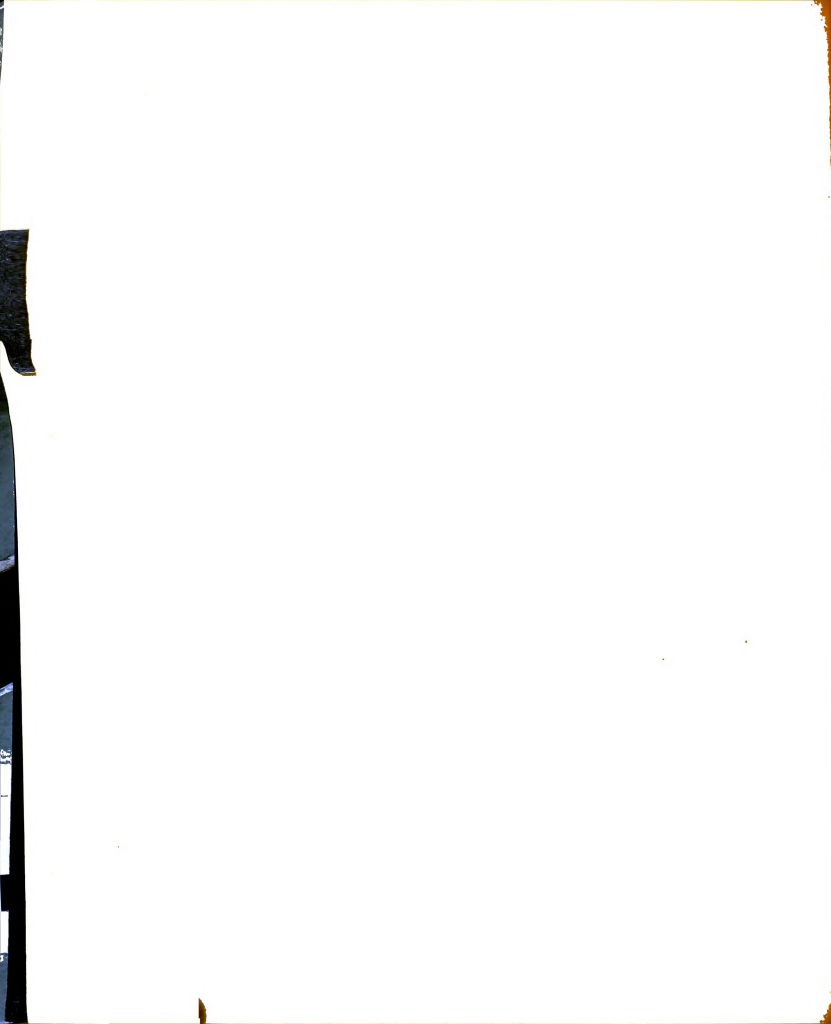
1. It is used as a point of reference in making comparisons or contrasts, especially in arriving at self-judgments. Thus the reference group is a standard for making a judgment. This was the sense in which Hyman used the term and likewise Merton and Kitt.
2. It is also used as a point of reference for a group in which the actor aspires or expects to gain or maintain acceptance. In other words, it is a status to be gained or maintained.
3. It is the group whose perspective is taken by the actor; that is, an organization of the actor's experience. Shibutani favors the third definition.

It seems to the present writer that the third definition is implied in the second. When one aspires to a group or recognizes his membership in a group, he ordinarily takes on the perspective of that group.¹

Accordingly, for purposes of this thesis, a reference group is defined as one whose perspective is taken by the actor, to the extent that he aspires or expects to gain or maintain acceptance in it. Hence, a person's reference group may be his formal membership group, or it may be a nonmembership group.

Granted that reference group orientation occurs, the problem still remains as to the nature of the forces operating on an individual to induce the taking on of perspectives and the development of motives expressed in a desire "to belong" or "to maintain the state of belonging" to a reference group. The Sherifs offer one explanation in what is called "the Group Norm Theory."

1. Tamotsu Shibutani, "Reference Groups as Perspectives," American Journal of Sociology, Volume 60, Number 6, May, 1955, p. 562-563.



The Relationship of Reference Group Theory to the Group Norm Theory of Prejudice. The group norm theory as advanced by the Sherifs maintain that all groups have norms and beliefs with respect to which subtle pressures from the group induce conformity.¹ They continue by pointing out that the factors which lead individuals to form attitudes of prejudice are not accidental but are functionally related to becoming a group member, one aspect of which is adopting the group's values. The individual's conformity may arise from external group pressures or, on the other hand, because he has internalized the norm and has thus made it a part of his need system. To the extent that an individual internalizes the standards of a particular group, it becomes a reference group for him.

Selection of Approach. A basic hypothesis of reference group theory is that when an individual aspires to be in a group, or identifies with a group, he tends to take on the norms of that group. What norms are taken over, however, and the extent to which they are internalized, depends on the saliency of the norm, both for the group and for the individual. This leads us back to the fundamental question with which this thesis is concerned: Are differences in reference group identifications associated with differences in verbalized expressions of prejudice. An answer to this question will not only serve to increase our knowledge about prejudiced attitudes but it will also serve to further test the applicability of the reference group hypothesis itself.

1. Sherif and Sherif, op. cit., pp. 218-219.



CHAPTER II

SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF MAPLE COUNTY YOUTH

The Ecological Setting. Maple County, with a population of 30,202, is located in the southern part of Midstate on flat to rolling terrain. Like much of the remainder of this part of the state, its soil was reclaimed from swamps and marshland, some of which still dot the landscape. One river flows through the heart of the county, and served as a stimulus for trade and settlement in the early days. The county seat of Johnstown, centrally located, is built on its shores. Five miles to the east, is the small town of Adams. It has a population of 1,527, chiefly widows and retired farmers. Twelve miles southwest of Johnstown, is Brownsville, a town of 2,106 in 1950. A fourth town, Edgerton, lies to the northwest. It is about the size of Adams and similar to it in many ways. Both are high school communities. Since Edgerton draws a large number of students from the neighboring county, it was not included in the study.

Two major highways, one running east and west, the other north and south, bisect each other at Johnstown, dividing the city into quadrants. Two other east-west highways run to the north and to the south of the county, respectively. One large railroad runs through the county-seat, and the other towns, mentioned above, have railroad services. Although each of the four towns has sufficient retail services to support a rural community, social life is dominated by the county seat, Johnstown. It has the only radio station,



the only daily paper, and the county hospital. The offices of the major farm organizations, and, of course, those of the county government are likewise located here.

The Educational System. Like many other midwestern areas, much of Maple County has reorganized and consolidated her school facilities. This reorganization has been town-centered, following the directional patterns established by secondary school attendance. The 121 independent rural school districts operating elementary schools in 1935 were reduced to 53 by 1950. They had united with the Brownsville, Adams and Edgerton town districts. The Johnstown district did not encourage such reorganization and, here, rural youth came as tuition-paying students,--chiefly at the secondary level. In some instances, districts which might have joined Johnstown were attracted elsewhere. For the most part, however, high school attendance areas have remained relatively traditional, certain districts sending their students to certain high schools. This has provided a channel of communication between town and country which has probably had considerable effect in modifying the attitudes of these two groups, not only toward each other, but toward other groups as well.

Socio-economic Organization: (1) Residence. Maple County is predominantly rural. Out of a total population of 30,202 in 1950 (the census was taken a year after this study), only 28.5 percent lived in the only urban center, Johnstown. The farm population comprised 32.8 percent of



the total, and the nonfarm population, 38.7 percent. In this study, the nonfarm population, has been differentiated into two groups (those living in towns of 1,000 to 2,499 population), and those living in smaller villages or open country.¹ The town population, as defined above, included 17.0 percent of the total population of the county, and the balance of the nonfarm group, 21.7 percent. For purposes of this research the urban population and the town population of the area under study have been combined into an urban-town population. This latter group included 45.6 percent of the total county population. It should be recalled however that the town of Edgerton was excluded from the study. The total urban-town population under study in the county was 40.5 percent. Henceforth the urban-town group will be referred to, simply, as the town population.

An examination of Table 21 reveals some rather sharp residence differentials in the school as compared with the total population of the county, with the farm group occupying the most unfavorable position. Although about one-third of the county population is rural-farm, only a little more than one-fifth of the ninth and one-fourth of the twelfth grade are from the farm. The nonfarm population is also under-represented in the twelfth grade. In contrast, the town segment is over-represented for both grades. Although

1. See Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, Rural Social Systems, New York, Prentice-Hall, 1950, p. 177 for a complete subclassification of the nonfarm population.



Table 2.1. NUMBER AND PERCENT OF PERSONS IN THE NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADE AND IN THE COUNTY POPULATION, BY RESIDENCE, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

County and Grade	Residence (a)					
	Total (100%)	Farm		Nonfarm		Town
		No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No. Percent
		1	2(b)	3	4(b)	5 6(b)
County	30,202	9,913	32.8	6,512	21.6	13,777 45.6
Twelfth	173	45	26.0	26	15.0	102 59.0
Ninth	226	51	22.6	50	22.1	125 55.3

Note : Eleven ninth graders and three twelfth graders failed to respond to the residence question. They are not included in the totals.

- (a) Residence data for the County are given for nonfarm and town categories as employed in this thesis. For a definition of them, see Appendix A, Table 1, Footnote 2, page 197.
- (b) Since the population base for Maple County appears to be relatively stable, it was not considered necessary to estimate a population base for 1949. The population as given in the Census of Population: 1950 was employed.

Note: Since the figures used in this table are based on enumerated rather than sample data, and since no inferences to hypothetical populations are intended, tests of significance were not computed.

Source: Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A, pages 189 ff.; United States Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1950, Volume II, "Characteristics of the Population," Part 22, Michigan, Table 6, p. 22-15, Table 12, p. 22-46.



they comprise about 46 percent of the county population, they represent 55 percent of the ninth and 59 percent of the twelfth grade. The farm and town students gained representation, relatively, as between the ninth and twelfth grades, but the nonfarm group lost ground.

Socio-economic Organization: (2) Occupation. The industrial activity of the county is located chiefly in Johnstown and Brownsville. Workers in Adams not engaged in retail trade, commute to these, or other, centers for employment. Industries are diversified and, for the most part, are home-owned. Johnstown, for example, has foundries, a furnace factory, a plastic manufacturing company, and a shoe factory.

Agriculturally, the county is classified in the corn-belt region and is a mixed grain and livestock farming area. Many farm families have members who are full or part-time workers in towns. They serve as cultural links between the farm and nonfarm, and the farm and town groups. Even so, there are three distinct groups in the community which may be identified: (1) the white collar group including the business and professional people, (2) manual workers, and (3) farmers.

There were 10,706 persons in the experienced labor force in 1950. Of that number, slightly under one-half were blue collar workers, over one-fourth were white collar employees, and about one-fourth were farmers (Table 2.2).

In high school, the children of blue-collar workers greatly out-number those of farmers and of white-collar



Table 2.2 •

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF PERSONS IN THE NINTH
AND TWELFTH GRADE AND IN THE COUNTY POPULA-
TION, BY OCCUPATION, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

County and Grade	Occupation (a)					
	Total	Farm		Blue Collar		White Collar
	(100%)	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No. Percent
		1	2(b)	3	4(b)	5 6(b)
County	10,706(c)	2,532	23.7	5,078	47.4	3,096 28.9
Twelfth	156	47	30.1	67	43.0	42 26.9
Ninth	212	53	25.0	101	47.6	58 27.4

Note: Twenty-five ninth graders, twenty twelfth graders and 364 from the County failed to respond to the occupation question. They are not included in the totals.

(a) For a definition of the occupational categories, see Appendix A, Table 1, Footnote 3, p. 198.

(b) See Table 2.1, Footnote (b), page 33.

(c) This total includes employed and experienced unemployed persons in the labor force.

Note: Since the figures used in this table are based on enumerated rather than on sample data, and since no inferences to hypothetical populations are intended (the material being purely descriptive of Maple County), tests of significance were not computed.

Source: United States Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1950, Volume II, "Characteristics of the Population," Part 22, Michigan, Table 43, p. 22-137; and Resource Tables 1 - 6 (this thesis).



workers. They comprise 43 percent of the twelfth and 48 percent of the ninth grade. The children of white-collar and farm parents occur in about the same proportions. Each group include a little over one-fourth of the total.

Subjectively-defined Socio-economic Status. The stratification process in Maple County is not clearly discernable. Maple County residents believe that they are all alike. As one's familiarity with the community and its people increases, certain distinctions appear.¹ Symbols for allocating prestige are not quite the same for newcomers as for older members of the community. They are more highly secularized for the town and nonfarm groups. Type of occupation, size of income, educational achievement, and differences in housing areas are important indicators of social status. To have status in the farm group, one must "belong" in the primary group sense. One must have the attitudes and goals of farmers. Even so, certain secular symbols seem to be emerging. There are the "real" farmers who make farming a business, a commercial enterprise run for profit. At the top of this group are the "big" farmers who have increased their holdings and exploited, fully, the advantages of mechanization. At the bottom, are the traditional farmers who farm for a living. They are partially mechanized. They have tractors but not bale lifters. Lastly, there are the part-time farmers who hope to become full-time operators when they can acquire the needed capital. They are the sons of

1. This material is taken from John Holland, op. cit., pp. 37-38.



real farmers, usually, forced off the farmstead because it was not large enough to support all its members.

The nonfarm group appear similar to the town group. They fall into two major classes, the working group, who are manual workers, and the middle class, who are clerks and business or professional people. There are no elite families, as such, but there are a few who consider themselves upper class. At the bottom is the "no good, lazy people who won't work." They are definitely excluded from the farm community.

In both the adult sample and the student universe, respondents were asked to evaluate their socio-economic status. Adults were asked to evaluate their own status, and students were asked to evaluate the status of their parents. The former were far more realistic in making an assessment of their status than the latter. Thirty-nine percent of the adults as compared with 61 percent of the twelfth grade and 72 percent of the ninth felt they were middle class. While it is reasonable to expect a higher percentage of individuals in the middle class in a high school group than in the general population, differences of 22 and 33 percent seem to indicate a variation in perspective. (Table 2.3). One intervening variable which might contribute to such differences in class self-identification is aspiration ideals. Students may tend to equate their status levels to their aspiration levels. As they approach maturity and are faced with the responsibility of entering the adult society, they become more realistic in their self-evaluation of class. Hence

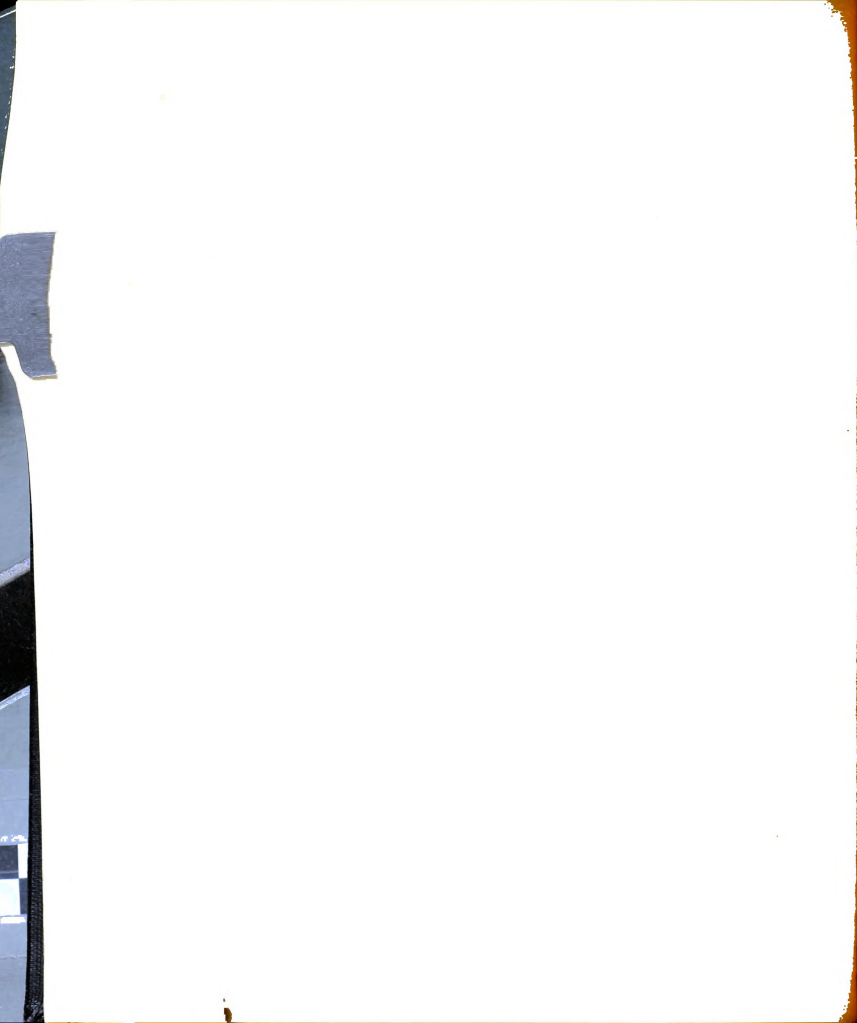


Table 2.3 -

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF PERSONS IN THE NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADE AND IN A SAMPLE OF ADULTS, BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (SUBJECTIVELY DEFINED), MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Adult Sample and Grade	Socio-economic Status(a)				
	(100.00)	Working		Middle	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
		1	2	3	4
Adults (b)	418	254	60.8	164	39.2
Twelfth	170	66	38.8	104	61.2
Ninth	221	62	28.1	159	71.9

χ^2 equals 68.1(c) (d.f. = 2)

Note: Sixteen ninth graders and six twelfth graders failed to respond to the question on socio-economic status. These were not included in the totals.

- (a) For a definition of socio-economic class categories, see Appendix A, Table 1, Footnote 3, p. 198.
- (b) This was a stratified, proportionate sample of male and female heads, chosen randomly. For a detailed discussion of the sampling procedure, see John B. Holland, op. cit., pp. 6-11.
- (c) To be significant at the one percent level, χ^2 must equal 9.2, at the 5 percent level, 6.0.

Source: Computed from Resource Tables 1 - 6 (this thesis) Appendix A, pp.195ff, and John B. Holland, Attitudes toward Minority Groups in Relation to Rural Group Structure, Ph. D. Thesis, East Lansing, Michigan State College, 1950, Table 41, page 164.



twelfth graders may be less inclined to overrate their class status than ninth graders.

Religious Preference. The majority of the people of Maple County are Protestants. Among the student population, they comprise 65 percent. Holland, in his sample of adults, found a slightly higher proportion, namely 69 percent. (See Table 2.4). A large range of denominations are represented: the Methodists had the largest membership and Roman Catholics had the next largest group.¹ Other denominations included the Baptists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Free Methodists, Church of God, Nazarenes, Adventists, Congregationalists, and, in the rural areas, interdenominational groups. In Johnstown, aside from the Methodist, the most active of these appeared to be the Presbyterian, Baptist, and Episcopal churches.

Those of Catholic faith are most numerous in Brownsville where a large percentage are of Polish extraction. In Johnstown, numerous ethnic groups are represented in the Catholic church,--Polish, Italian, German, Irish and others. For the most part, they have been acculturated.² Both parishes maintained elementary schools but there were no parochial schools beyond the ninth grade at the time of this study.

1. Ibid., p. 29.

2. In 1950, there were less than 700 foreign-born whites in the entire county, 79 Negroes, and no Mexicans. (From the Census of Population: 1950, Volume II, "Characteristics of the Population," Part 22, Michigan, Table 42, p. 22-129 and Table 42a, p. 22-134.)



Table 2.4. NUMBER AND PERCENT OF PERSONS IN THE NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADE AND IN A SAMPLE OF ADULTS, BY RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Adult Sample and Grade	Religious Preference ^(a)					
	Total (100%)	Catholic		Protestant		No Preference
		No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.
		1	2	3	4	5
						6
Adults (b)	428	62	14.5	295	68.9	71
Twelfth	171	18	10.5	111	64.9	42
Ninth	229	18	7.9	150	65.5	61

χ^2 ^(c) equals 14.82 (d.f. = 4)

Note : Eight ninth graders and five twelfth graders failed to respond to the religious preference question. They are not included in the totals.

- (a) For a definition of the religious preference categories, see Appendix A, Table 1, Footnote 5, p. 199.
- (b) For a description of this sample, see Table 2.3, Footnote (b) of this thesis.
- (c) To be significant at the one percent level, χ^2 must equal 13.3, at the five percent level, 9.5.

Source: Computed from Resource Tables 1 - 6 (this thesis), Appendix A, p. 195 ff., and John B. Holland, Table 52, page 198.



Rural churches had felt the pressures of urbanization. Over one-third of the country people attended church in town.¹ Many of the rural churches had disbanded and others had reorganized as interdenominational congregations. Very few could be considered strong or active. This does not mean that Maple County residents did not consider religion important. Most of them had had some contact with the church. Only 17 percent of the adults said that they had no church preference. However, about 25 percent of the students indicated that their parents had no church preference (Table 2.4).

The distribution of the Catholic students is concentrated in the Brownsville high school, where over a fourth of the group in both classes came from Catholic homes.² In contrast, less than one percent of the Johnstown ninth grade and less than four percent of the twelfth grade were of this faith.

Religious Participation. Since religious preference has little meaning outside a frame-work of participation, some effort was made to assess the participation factor. Students who attended Sunday School three or more times per month, or who attended church but not Sunday School, were considered church-oriented (Table 2.5). There was no significant difference in the attendance patterns of students and

1. John Holland, op. cit., p. 31.

2. Fourteen (78 percent) of the eighteen Catholic students in the ninth grade and 13 (72 percent) of the eighteen Catholics in the twelfth grade were in the Brownsville high school.

Source: Appendix A, Resource Tables 2 and 5.

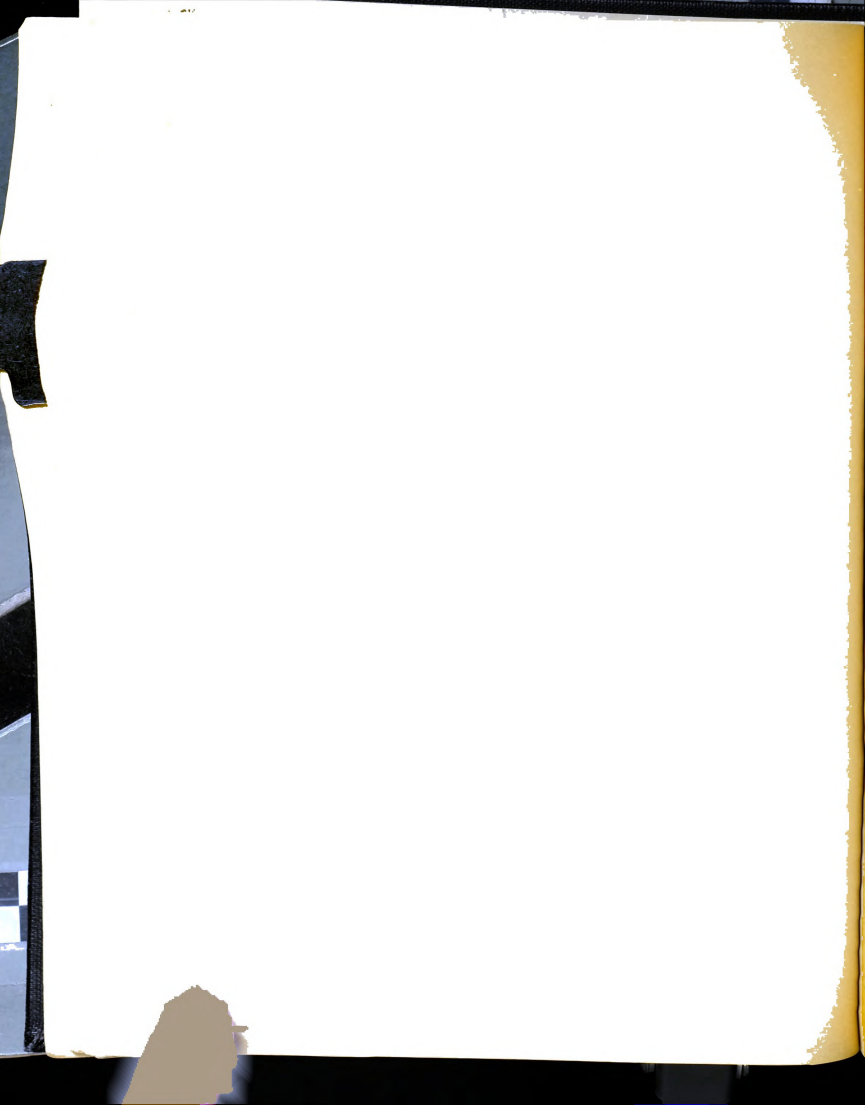


Table 2.5. NUMBER AND PERCENT OF PERSONS IN THE NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADE AND IN A SAMPLE OF ADULTS, BY RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Adult Sample and Grade	Religious Participation ^(a)				
	Total (100.00)	Church- oriented		Nonchurch- oriented	
		No.	Percent	No.	Percent
		1	2	3	4
Adults (b)	429	262	61.1	167	38.9
Twelfth	171	99	57.9	72	42.1
Ninth	227	151	66.5	76	33.5

χ^2 equals 3.3 (c) (d.f. = 2)

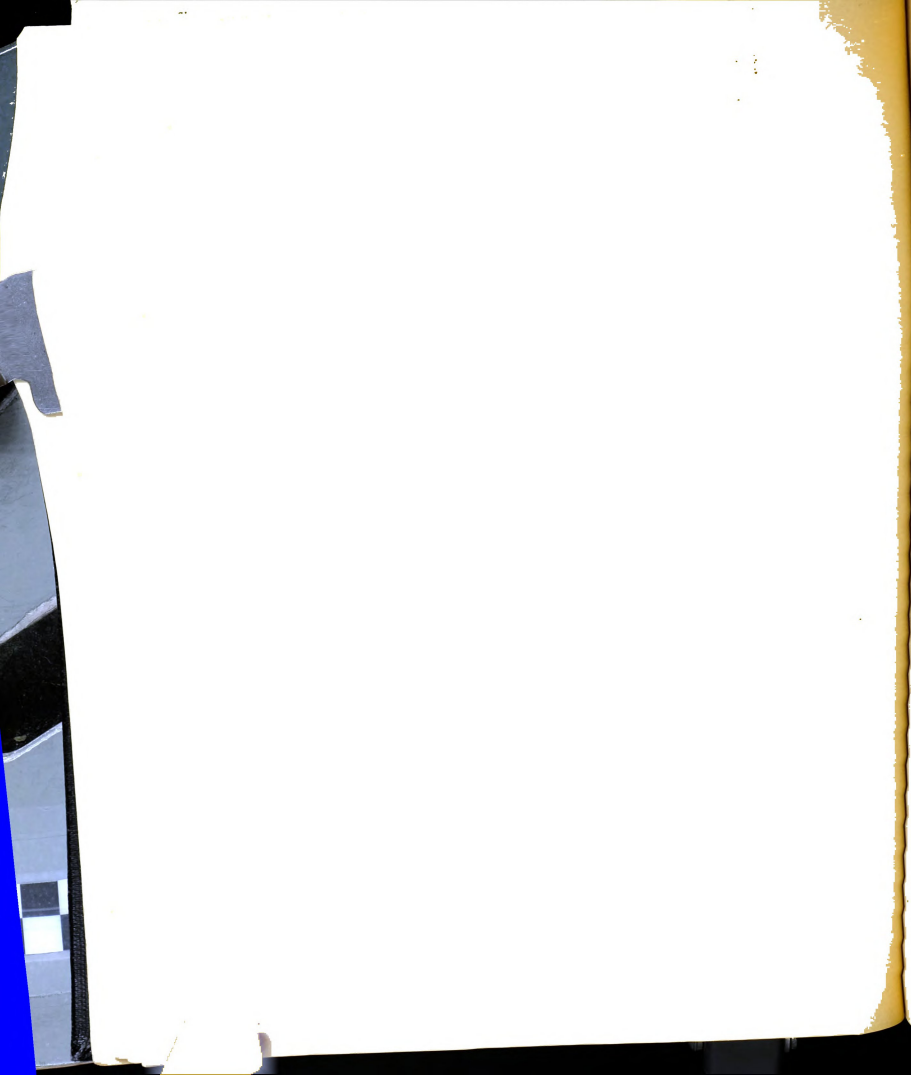
Note: Ten ninth graders and five twelfth graders failed to respond to the religious participation question. They are not included in the totals.

(a) For a definition of the religious participation categories, see Appendix A, Table 1, Footnote 4, p. 198.

(b) This was a stratified, proportionate sample of male and female heads, chosen randomly. For a detailed discussion of the sampling procedure, see John B. Holland, *op. cit.*, Chapter I, pp. 6-11.

(c) To be significant at the one percent level, χ^2 must equal 9.2, at the five percent level, 6.0.

Source: Computed from Resource Tables 1 - 6 (this thesis), Appendix A, p. 195 ff. and John B. Holland, *op. cit.*, Table 61, p. 222. These categories are not exactly comparable as a small number of students attending less than once a month are included under "non-church-oriented" in this Table, and were included under "nominally-active" by Holland. His "active" and "nominally-active" are combined here in the category "church-oriented."



adults. Slightly under two thirds of the members of both groups attended once per month or more.

Sociometric status. Sociometric status is based upon the nature and degree of social acceptance which is extended to an individual in an informal group situation. It is determined by examining the choices which an individual receives from the group. A sociometric leader is defined as one upon whom there has been a concentration of three or more choices. His leadership role derives from the fact that he occupies a pivotal position in a communication network of people, potential or real. Theoretically such a network possesses some common interest around which it was structured. The degree of integration in an informal group can be measured in part by the relative number of members who remain unchosen. The response of the individual to acceptance or nonacceptance by his associates is also an important factor in determining the nature of group relations. A group made up of individuals whom the group wants and who, in turn wants to be in the group, has a different social climate than one composed of members oriented to individuals outside the group, irrespective of whether the group accepts them or not. Some individuals are "Isolates." They receive no choices, nor do they make any. They occupy a detached position, outside the usual paths of informal communication and social stimulation.

Sociometric behavior showed some interesting differences in the twelfth as compared with the ninth grade.



The relative number of sociometric leaders (hereafter in this section referred to as leaders) was less in the twelfth than in the ninth grade. In the latter grade, there was an average of one leader for every 17 students, in the former, one leader for every twenty-five students. (See Table 2.6). A little under one-half of the ninth grade (43.5 percent) but a little over one-third of the twelfth grade (37.5 percent) both received and made choices within their grade. Approximately four percent of the students in both grades made choices outside their grade. (This was a violation of the instructions they received at the time the sociometric test was given.) For every ninth grader who received but made no choice at all, there were two twelfth graders, although the percentage was small for both grades, 2.1 and 5.1, respectively.

About five percent of the ninth and six percent of the twelfth grade were pure isolates, neither receiving nor making any choices. It should be remembered, however, that the sociometric question permitted only one choice. On a second or third choice some of these students, no doubt, would have been selected. For these, contacts were marginal, not lacking, necessarily.

An examination of Table 2.6 suggests the converging and consolidation of social prestige and power in the twelfth as compared with the ninth grade. At the same time, a larger group of people appear to become detached from the group in the twelfth grade carrying out roles which may be the

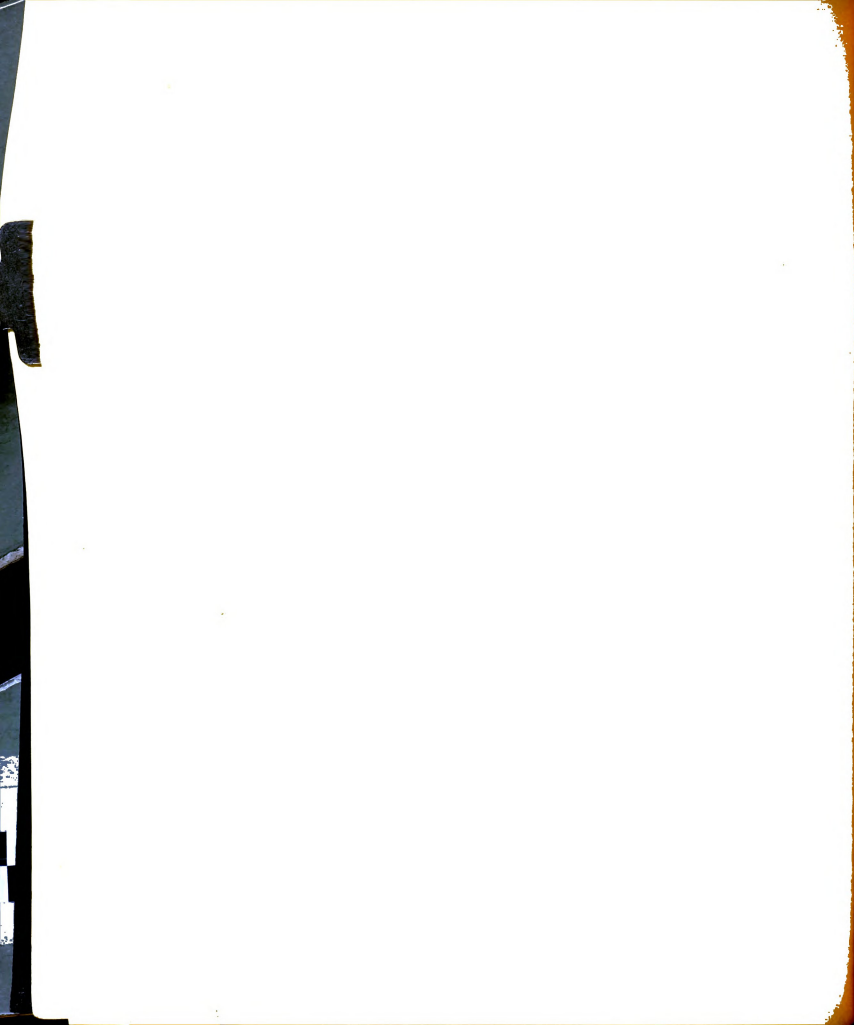


Table 2.6. NUMBER AND PERCENT OF PERSONS IN THE NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADE, BY SOCIOMETRIC STATUS, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Sociometric Status	Grade			
	Ninth		Twelfth	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	237	100.00	176	100.00
Leaders: Students Receiving 3 or More Choices	15	6.3	7	4.0
Followers: Not Leaders Oriented In Grade	222	93.7	169	96.0
Choices Made and Choices Received Within Grade	103	43.5	66	37.5
Oriented Outside of Grade	15	6.3	16	9.1
Choices Received but Choices Made Outside of Grade	10	4.2	7	4.0
Choices Received but No Choices Made	5	2.1	9	5.1
Unchosen by Group No Choices Received and Choices Made Outside of Grade	93	39.3	77	43.7
No Choices Received and Choices Made Within Grade	13	5.5	10	5.7
No Choices Received and Choices Made Within Grade	80	33.8	67	38.0
Pure Isolate No Choices Received No Choices Made	11	4.6	10	5.7

Source: Computed from Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A, p. 195 ff.

Note: This table is based on an enumerated population and tests of significance were not made. See "Note," Table 2.2, p. 35.



product of their personal idiosyncracies and the fortuities of the ir situation.

Student and Leader Memberships in Formal Organizations.

The participation patterns of sociometric leaders in formal organizations vary from those of the student body as a whole (Table 2.7). Farm oriented groups attracted the student body in higher proportions than any other set of organizations. They comprised 35 percent of all memberships held by ninth graders and 39 percent of all those held by twelfth graders. The leaders, on the other hand, participated most in school activities other than athletics, 37 percent of all memberships of ninth grade leaders and 42 percent of twelfth grade leaders being in these groups. Athletics ranked second, however, for both students and leaders in the ninth grade. In the twelfth grade, neither leaders nor students made athletics their second most important source of participation. (Athletic pursuits, comprising 30 percent of all ninth grade activities for leaders dropped to 17 percent in the twelfth grade and was replaced by activities in farm organizations, while students as a whole participated more in other school activities in the twelfth grade. Leaders increased their community activities from the ninth to the twelfth grade whereas the reverse was true for the students as a whole.

These data suggest that sociometric leadership is related to the power structure of the student body insofar as participation is concerned, but it was impossible with the present data to relate this type of leadership to roles



Table 2.7. NUMBER AND PERCENT OF MEMBERSHIPS IN ORGANIZATIONS, AND AVERAGE MEMBERSHIPS, BY GRADE, FOR ALL STUDENTS, AND FOR SOCIOMETRIC LEADERS, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

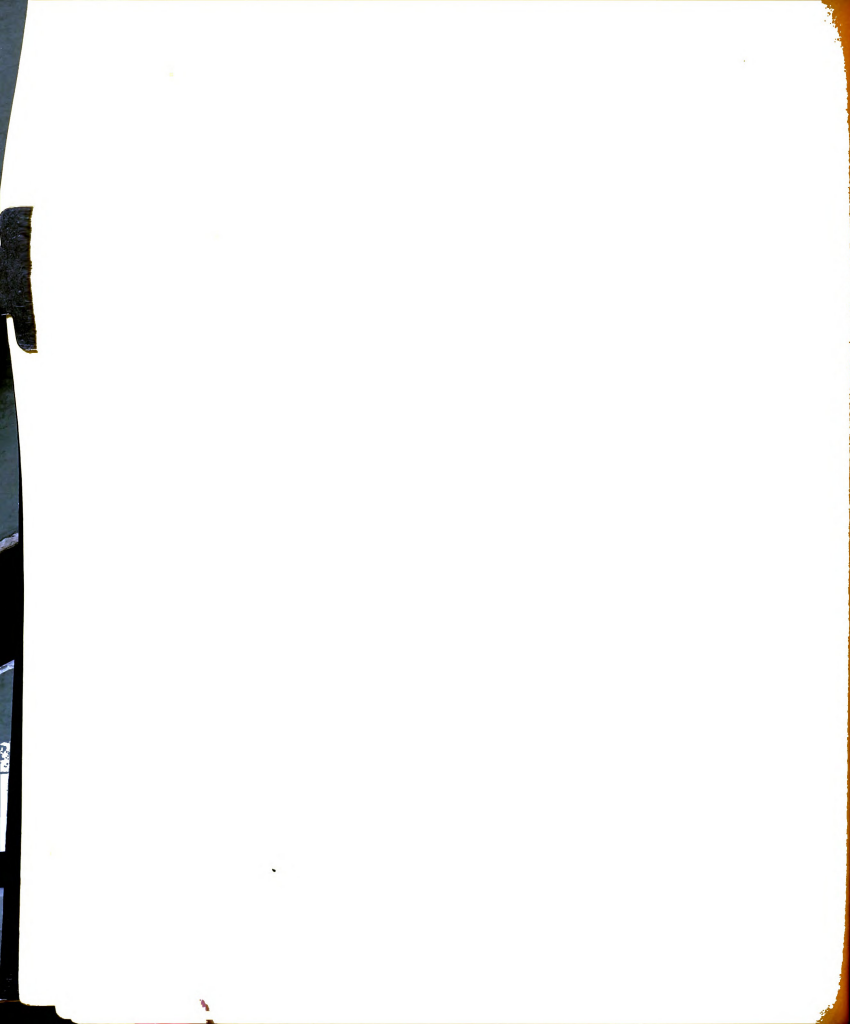
Organ i - zation	Memberships in Organizations							
	Ninth				Twelfth			
	Leaders ^(a)		Students ^(b)		Leaders ^(a)		Students ^(b)	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Total Mem- berships	27	100.0	394	100.0	12	100.0	269	100.0
Farm ^(c)	6	22.2	138	35.0	3	25.0	104	38.7
Athletics	8	29.6	103	26.2	2	16.7	59	21.9
Other School Organ. ^(d)	10	37.1	60	15.2	5	41.6	70	26.0
Community Activities	3	11.1	58	14.7	2	16.7	26	9.7
Scouts			35	8.9			10	3.7
Total Students	15		218		7		172	
Number & Percent: Members of No Organ.			5	2.3			6	3.5
Memberships per Student		1.8		1.8		1.7		1.6

Note: Nineteen ninth and four twelfth graders did not respond to the question and are not included in the totals.

- (a) A leader is one who received three or more sociometric choices.
- (b) This column includes both leaders and nonleaders.
- (c) The farm organizations include 4-H Clubs, Junior Farm Bureau, Rural Youth, Future Farmers of America, and Future Home Makers of America.
- (d) Includes Hi-Y, Y-teens, and all others.

Note: This table is based on an enumerated population. See "Note," Table 2.2, p. 35.

Source: Computed from Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.



performed in specific school or community organizations. There is also some evidence to indicate the hypothesis that newcomers use athletic participation to gain status with their peers and then to move on to membership in other prestige organizations. There was no difference in the extent of membership of students and leaders in the ninth grade, but in the twelfth grade leaders averaged 1.7 memberships and all students only 1.6. There were proportionately more twelfth than ninth graders who did not have a membership in any organization. This may derive from the fact that there were less organizations to join.

Ethnic Minorities and the Attitudes of Maple County Residents Toward Them.¹ Maple County is composed essentially of old-American stock. Native whites comprised 97.4 percent of the total county population. The largest ethnic group is found in the Brownsville community, and the second largest concentration around Johnstown. The former are Poles, the latter, Italians.² The Poles, mostly of the second and third generation, are rapidly becoming acculturated into the farming and working class groups. Since they have not struggled to acquire higher status, little

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1. Unless otherwise indicated, descriptive material was taken from John Holland, op. cit., and from the Report of the Research Committee (Unpublished), op. cit. Percentages were computed from the Census of Population: 1950, op. cit., Tables 38, p. 22-99; 48, p. 22-153 and 49, p. 22-158.
 2. John F. Thaden, Map: "The Farm People of Michigan according to Ethnic Stock," 1945, East Lansing, Michigan State College.



antagonism is expressed by Maple County residents toward them.

Those minorities against whom the most animosities are directed in the United States as a whole, are scantily represented in Maple County, as is typical of midwestern rural communities. According to the 1950 census, the 79 Negroes in Maple County were dispersed. Twelve resided in Johnstown, one each lived in Adams and Brownsville, sixteen were found in the rural-farm population and the remainder were classified as nonfarm. Practically all of the latter were in the State Home and Training School. Holland reports that except for kinship association, they had little contact with each other. They seemingly occupied low status positions, although Holland found some college graduates in his adult sample. With small exception, they seemed to accept their lowered status and considered Maple County (perhaps as compared with others) a pleasant place to live. While there is no overt hostility expressed toward the Negroes already in the community, by whites, there is a general feeling that there are "enough of them."

There are even fewer Jews than Negroes in the county, according to estimates based on Holland's adult sample. They are chiefly-urban oriented, white collar people. Even so, they are not highly visible to the residents at large. In fact, it was found that some of the Jews were not labelled such by the residents. On the other hand, some non-Jews, possessing characteristics in accord with the general Jewish



stereotypes (grasping junk-dealer, dry-goods merchants, jewelers, etc.), were considered Jews.

There were no Mexicans at all in the county. However, some Maple County residents had acquaintance with transient Mexican laborers. It was this image of the Mexican that was ordinarily held by the people.

In general, Jewish persons occupied a more favorable position in the group than either Negroes or Mexicans. Holland found middle class people more tolerant than working class individuals. Farmers were the most intolerant of both residential and occupational groups. There was no significant difference between Catholics and Protestants, although active church members were more tolerant than nonchurch members. Unpublished data of the Committee indicate that students were more tolerant than adults. However, the attitude tests employed were not identical and direct comparison should not be made.

It may be said that Maple County residents expressed little overt hostility toward ethnic minority persons in their midst. Nevertheless potential, latent hostility is indicated in the general acceptance of common cultural stereotypes held by the larger society about minority peoples.

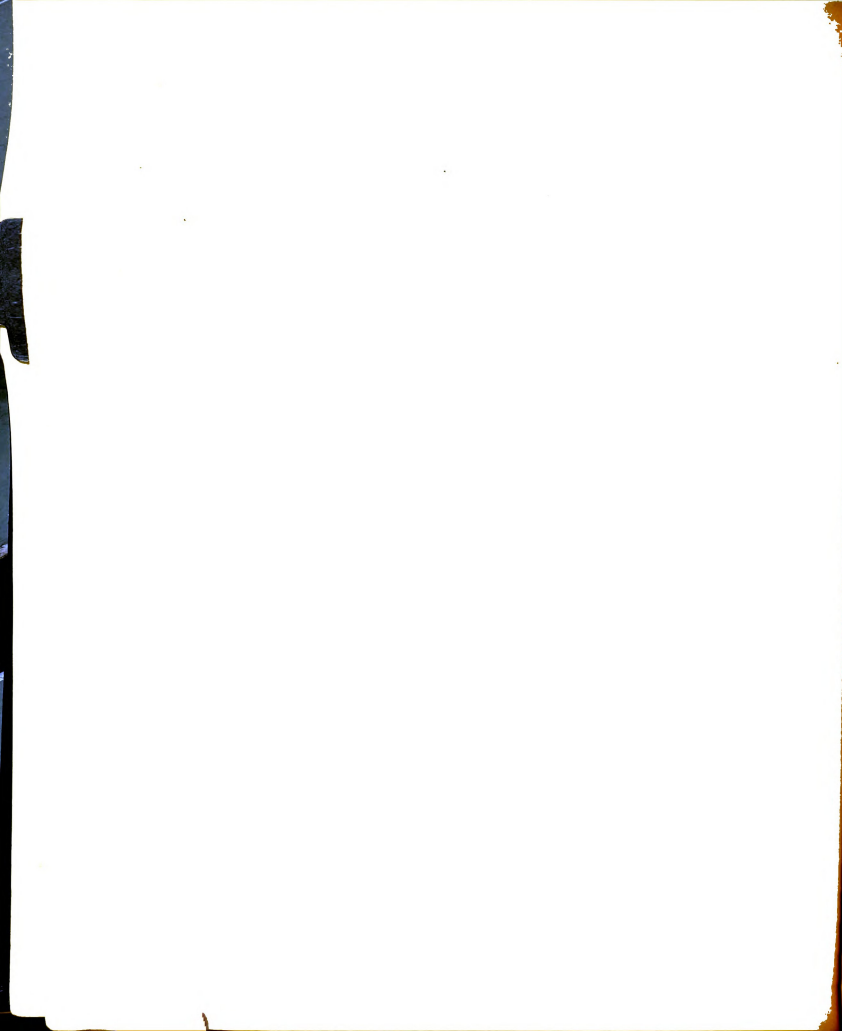
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

INTRODUCTION

The Orienting Idea. Social groups have many parts but in this study they will be examined in terms of three socio-metric components.

The first is a core component, or subgroup, which is the interaction center of the group. It is comprised of all those individuals in a given social category who chose and were chosen by members of the same category, for example, farm students who chose and were chosen by farm students. The second is a peripheral component in which members are making use of avenues of association entirely with outsiders. It is comprised of all those students who chose and were chosen by members of a designated nonmembership category, for example, farm students who chose and were chosen by town students. The third is a satellite component comprised of individuals fixed in a position by virtue of their choosing but not having been chosen. These are of two types, core satellite and peripheral satellite groups. The core satellite group includes students who chose from their membership category, for example, farm students who chose farm students but received no choices at all. The other, the peripheral satellite group, is comprised of students who chose from a designated nonmembership category, for example, farm students who chose town students but received no choices at



all.¹

Each of these sociometric groups may be thought of as reference groups, and hereinafter will be referred to as such, their reference group orientation being conceptualized on the basis of the sociometric choices they made to the question, "If you have lots of visitors in school for a program, and you have to sit two on a seat, what person in your grade do you most like to have sit with you?" The formation of these sociometric reference groups within designated social groups are for the purpose of fulfilling two objectives (1) to uncover, if any, differences in patterns of prejudice prevailing in sociometric reference groups occupying different social positions and (2) to provide a test of the reference group hypothesis that individuals who identify with a given reference group tend to take on the norms of that group. Before developing further the orienting idea in the analysis of data, it is necessary to present some information on the instrument used and the obtaining and processing of the data.

THE INSTRUMENT USED

The Schedule. The schedule provided for three basic types of data: First, social data, such as age, occupation, and social class; second, responses to eight near sociometric questions; and third, an attitude test comprised of responses

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1. For a description of the manner in which sociometric reference groups were formed, and for a complete Chart of the sociometric subgroup types possible in a two-fold matrix of "choices made" and "choices received," based on one choice only, see Appendix D.



to 24 statements designed to reveal attitudes toward certain racial and ethnic groups.¹ The schedule was prepared by a committee comprised of professional members from the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, and graduate students. Since it was planned in terms of the entire Research Project only a part of the data were used in this study.

Social Data. The social groups or strata with which we deal, directly or indirectly, are residence, occupational and subjectively-defined socioeconomic status groups, groups based on religious preference and participation, and sociometric status groups (those sociometrically categorized in terms of leader-follower functions). Certain subcategories as used in this thesis are not classified in terms of the standardized definitions usually found in other research. They are discussed below.

Residence. For purposes of this study, the rural-urban dichotomy will not be followed, nor will the census classification of farm and nonfarm be used. Instead, the residence categories will include: (1) farm people, (2) nonfarm people living outside of towns, and (3) the town population.² It has long been recognized that the terms "rural" and "non-farm" are omnibus terms, sociologically. A rural-urban

1. A copy of the schedule may be found in Appendix E.

2. See page 32 of this thesis for a definition of the town population.



dichotomy tends to blur farm-urban differences.¹ The nonfarm population, conceived as a social group, is, likewise, an over-generalized concept, comprising the urban fringe, the population of small villages and unincorporated places, and the nonfarm population living in the open country. There is general concensus, however, that farm people occupy a different social position in the United States than urban people, and that the social position of nonfarm people relative to these two groups probably varies in some intermediate position on the rural-urban continuum. McKain and Burnight hypothesize that the nonfarm population is composed of what they call limited and extended fringes both of which occupy positions along the intermediate sector of the rural-urban continuum, the former nearer the urban pole, the latter nearer the rural pole. The residence categories for this study are defined in terms which conform to these hypothetical refinements.

Occupation. As Miller and Form indicate, studies over the last three decades have largely corroborated the white collar-blue collar dichotomy.³ But farmers appear to occupy a unique position, sometimes falling in the white collar and

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1. See Paul K. Hatt's discussion of Stuart Queen and David Carpenter's paper, "From the Urban Point of View," in Rural Sociology, Volume 18, Number 2, June, 1953, pp. 102-108, on page 118 of the same volume.
 2. See Walter McKain and Robert Burnight, "From the Rural Point of View," Rural Sociology, Volume 18, Number 2, June, 1953, p. 110.
 3. Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, Industrial Sociology, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1951, p. 369.



sometimes in the blue collar group. This lack of stability in social position is apparently derived from the proprietorship function. Smith found, for example, that an owner-operator of a general farm had a mean score of 53.64 whereas the score of a farm tenant operator was only 30.57.¹ Deeg and Paterson found that they fell in the upper prestige ranks along with white collar workers.²

In this study, because of the farmer's unique position in the hierarchy, the analysis of prejudice according to occupational groupings will be based on three categories of students, the major wage-earning parent of whom were (1) farmers, (2) blue collar workers, and (3) white collar workers. The white collar group includes the children of business and professional people.

Subjective Socio-economic Status. Early analysis of social stratification tended to concentrate on hierarchal, socially visible components of the social structure, such as occupation or income, as differentiating factors in the formation of social strata or classes. During this period, a social class was identified, more or less, as an aggregate of people. Warner and his associates attempted to objectify certain subjective and intangible prestige factors which

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1. Mapheus Smith, "An Empirical Scale of Prestige Status of Occupations," American Sociological Review, Volume 8, Number 3, April, 1943, p. 188.
 2. M. E. Geeg and D. G. Paterson, "Changes in the Social Status of Occupations," Occupations, January, 1947.



made up one's "social reputation" as determinants of class.¹ Since these factors were derived from a common system of group values and beliefs, they raised the question as to when a class might be considered a social group.² Centers went still further. He hypothesized that what a person thinks is his own or another's class is as real a determinant of his class identification and subsequent role behavior as is any set of objective criteria based on social reputation or socioeconomic status.³ For purposes of this thesis, socioeconomic status is defined as the evaluation that the students made of their parents' socioeconomic status. Only two categories are employed, the middle class and the working class. The middle class includes those students identifying with the middle and upper classes, and the working class, those students identifying with the lower class or working class.

Religious Preference. Religious preference is reported under three categories: Catholic, Protestant and those with no religious preference. No further break down by denomination was attempted because it was important to keep the number of social categories low. This was necessary because,

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1. Warner, W. Lloyd, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, Social Class in America, A Manual of Procedure for the Measurement of Social Status, Chicago, Illinois, Science Research Associates, 1949.
 2. Davis, Allison W. and Robert J. Havighurst, Father of the Man, How Your Child Gets His Personality. Boston, Mass., Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947.
 3. See Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1949, p.148.



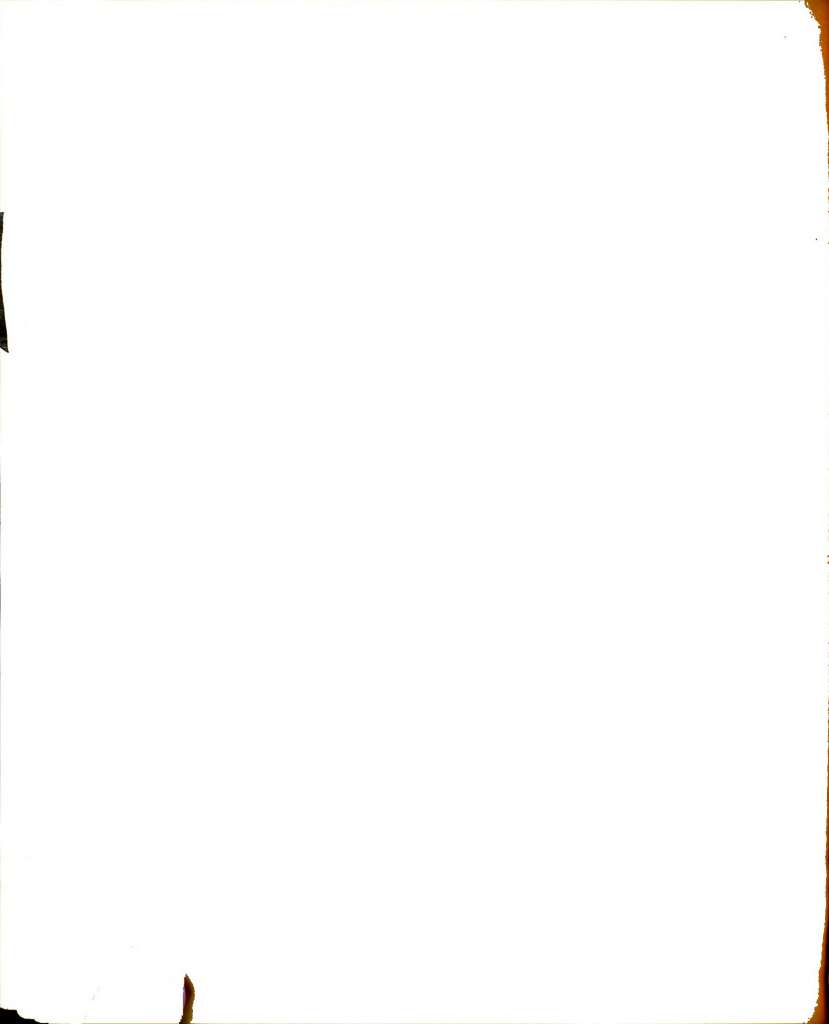
subsequently the students in each category were broken down still further into sociometric reference groups, thus reducing the theoretical size of the cells to small group proportions.

Those without religious preference should not be equated with nonattenders. Some nonattenders indicated a religious preference, and some who claimed a religious preference said they were nonattenders.

Religious Participation. Religious participation is measured in terms of attendance. A high attender is defined as a student who attended Sunday School (or church) twice a month or more. In contrast a low attender is one who went less than twice a month. A nonattender is one who reported flatly that he did not go at all.

Sociometric Status. Sociometric status is concerned with leader-follower relations as they are revealed through sociometric choices. Status, in this sense, is relative to the number of choices one receives. The concepts currently employed by sociologists, however, have been adapted from research on institutions. It is not surprising, therefore, that they sometimes prove inadequate. This was particularly true for the present study which is focused upon sociometric reference groups which are theoretical abstractions, that, to the writer's knowledge, have not been used before. For this reason the following terminology has been developed.

1. **Pivot leader:** Any student who made a choice and who received three or more choices.



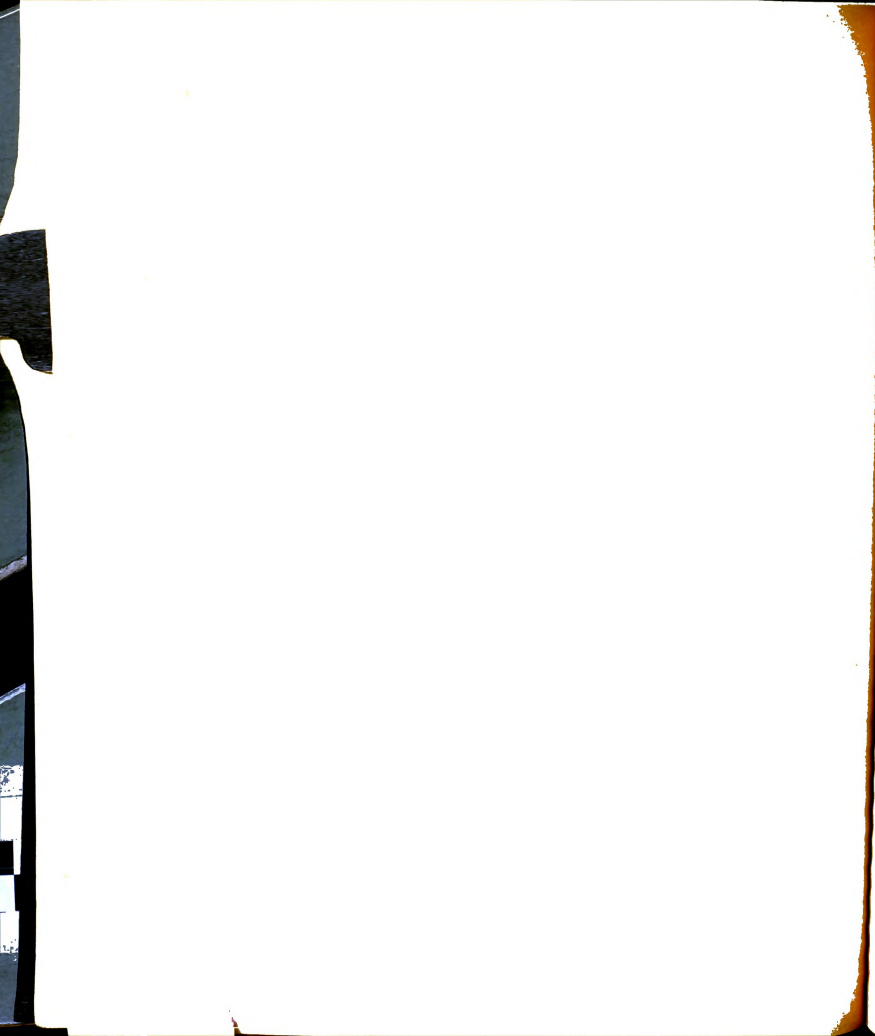
2. Pivot-links: Students other than pivot leaders who both made and received choices, (that is, performed both leader and follower roles).
3. Satellites: Students who made choices but received none (had no observable leadership role).
4. Self Isolates: Students who made no choices but received choices (unrecognized or repudiated leadership roles).
5. Group Isolates: Students who received no choices and made no choices (had no observable leader or follower roles).

The Sociometric Question Used. Although eight sociometric type questions were included in the schedule, five measuring acceptance and three rejection, only one is employed in this research.¹ It is stated as follows: "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?"

There were several criteria which were employed in the selection of this particular sociometric question:

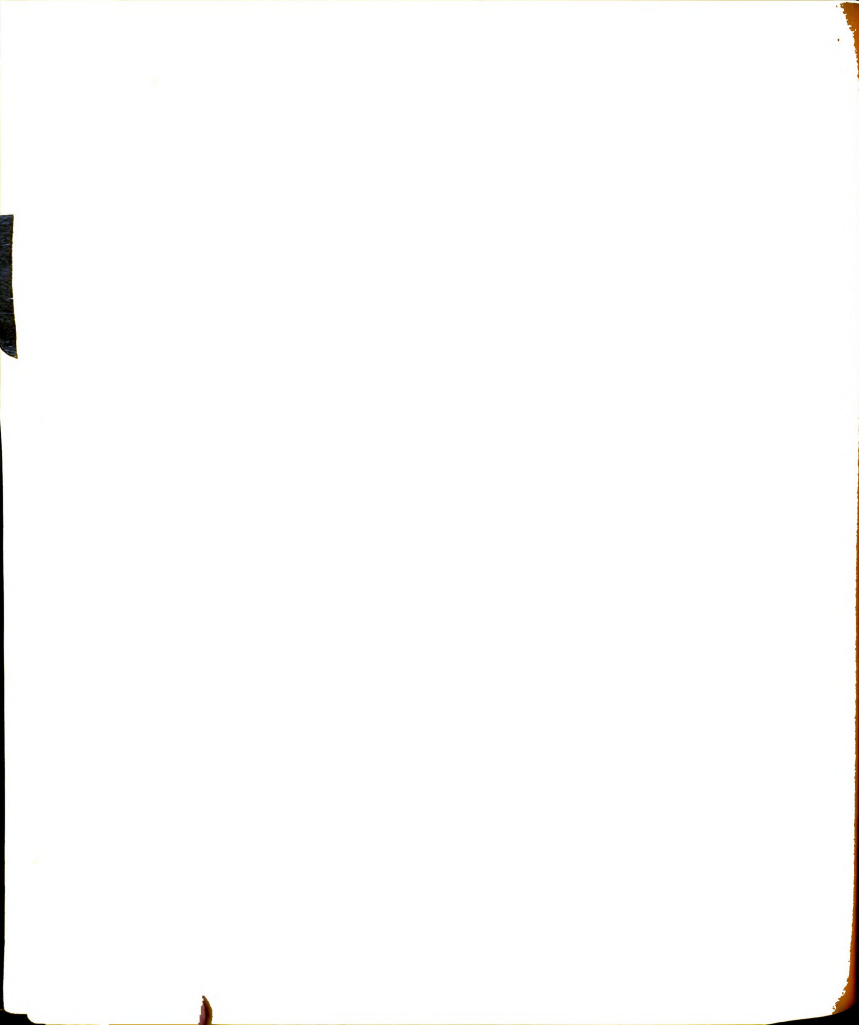
1. The question was to be directed insofar as possible toward the measurement of realistic behavior rather than toward "aspired" behavior or hero worship.
2. The question was to measure acceptance, that is, positive orientation to the group.

1. The eight questions were of the near-sociometric type. A near-sociometric question is one which pertains to a hypothetical situation; the sociometric question pertains to a real life situation. The former reads, "if we were to have visitors,---,---, the latter, "we are going to have visitors ---,---."



3. A single answer question was desired. Multiple answer questions presented two serious difficulties: (1) the data, which had already been processed when this design was developed, were not tabulated to show second and third choices, and (2) a multiple answer question distributed too much of the student universe into "mixed" rather than "pure-type" sociometric subgroups. Although a single answer question is perhaps more influenced by "idiosyncratic choice," it was assumed, as mentioned above, that such choices would distribute themselves randomly, and would not seriously affect a sociological study of informal group structure. On the basis of these criteria, the "seat mate" question, stated above, was selected.

The Attitude Test. The twenty-four statements for the attitude test are taken, verbatim, from the California Attitude Scale. They were developed by the Institute of Child Welfare of the University of California, for use in their studies of prejudice. The test may be broken down into four parts: One pertaining to Jews; a second, to Negroes; a third, to Mexicans and a fourth, on General attitudes of prejudice. There are six statements in each part. Each statement elicits a verbal response to a social situation involving social distance between the respondent and the particular racial or ethnic group being considered, and provides for a response on a three point scale of agreement as follows:



(a) disagree, (b) cannot quite agree and (c) agree completely. They were given a weight of one, two and three, respectively.

The Independent and Dependent Variables. Three sociometric groups, which we have identified as the core, the peripheral and the peripheral satellite groups comprise the independent variables of the study. Although these groups are theoretical constructs, they may be treated as concrete groups.

The dependent variables are the mean tolerance scores of the members of the sociometric reference groups. The individual's tolerance score from which the mean tolerance score is computed is a summarization of the responses obtained on the individual items of the attitude test. The total score of any part of the test is the numerical sum of the weights of the responses to the six items included in that part. The theoretical score range for each part is six to eighteen. The total prejudice score is the sum of the weights of the responses to all 24 questions. Its theoretical range is 24 to 72.

The Validity and Reliability of the Instrument. The validity of a study rests upon two factors; (1) the extent to which the data collected are relevant to the problem being considered, and (2) the extent to which the data are free from systematic errors. Although direct estimates of validity are difficult to make, it is possible to conform to certain prerequisites which, it is known, will increase



validity, such as, expanding the number of questions, increasing the size of the sample, or by using trained workers.

Insofar as the schedule for the over-all Project was concerned, it was not considered feasible by the Committee to increase the number of questions. It was important to keep the size of the schedule small enough so that it could be administered within a classroom period, and so that elements of fatigue would not affect the reliability of the data. Inasmuch as the schedule was given to the total universe of students, problems of sampling were not applicable. However, there was a question of the extent to which absences might introduce a constant bias. Since no advance publicity was released regarding the dates on which the schedules were to be given, it was assumed the effect of such absences on the arrangement of the prejudice scores would be distributed randomly. All investigators employed were carefully trained, and the schedule was pretested several times. On the basis of these pretests, certain revisions in vocabulary and in the sequence of questions resulted.

Insofar as this study is concerned, it is reasonable to contend that the rigid categorization of the members of a social category into sociometric reference groups served to increase validity in that it contributed to the further refinement of the data into "empirically visible" homogeneous subgroups which, theoretically, served the purpose of increasing the relevancy of the data to the problem. At the same time, it reduced the possibility of systematic error



by uncovering subgroup classes which in this research design could not logically be classified together.

In addition to questions concerning the general problem of validity as it applies to the design of this study and the Instrument used, there are two points at which particular questions of validity might be raised:

1. In measurements derived from the attitude tests.
2. In considering the results of the sociometric tests.

The Validity and Reliability of the Attitude Test. This research is concerned with an analysis of verbalized responses which are assumed to be manifestations of an underlying system of sentiments and beliefs prevalent in the society about racial and ethnic minorities. Employed in this sense, the verbalized responses made to the items of the attitude test are indexes of the underlying system, and hence consideration of questions of validity can only be correlative. One estimate of the validity of a test can be obtained by determining whether it discriminates between the tolerant and the intolerant in different situations where prejudice is known to exist. The items of the attitude test used here were taken from the California Attitude Scale which had been used on various groups and examined in detail by the California group. Furthermore, to the extent the data based on the Scale showed significant differences in prejudice, the scale could be assumed to be valid.

However the fact of discrimination is not enough. One must know, also, how consistently an instrument discriminates. Estimates of reliability for the California Attitude



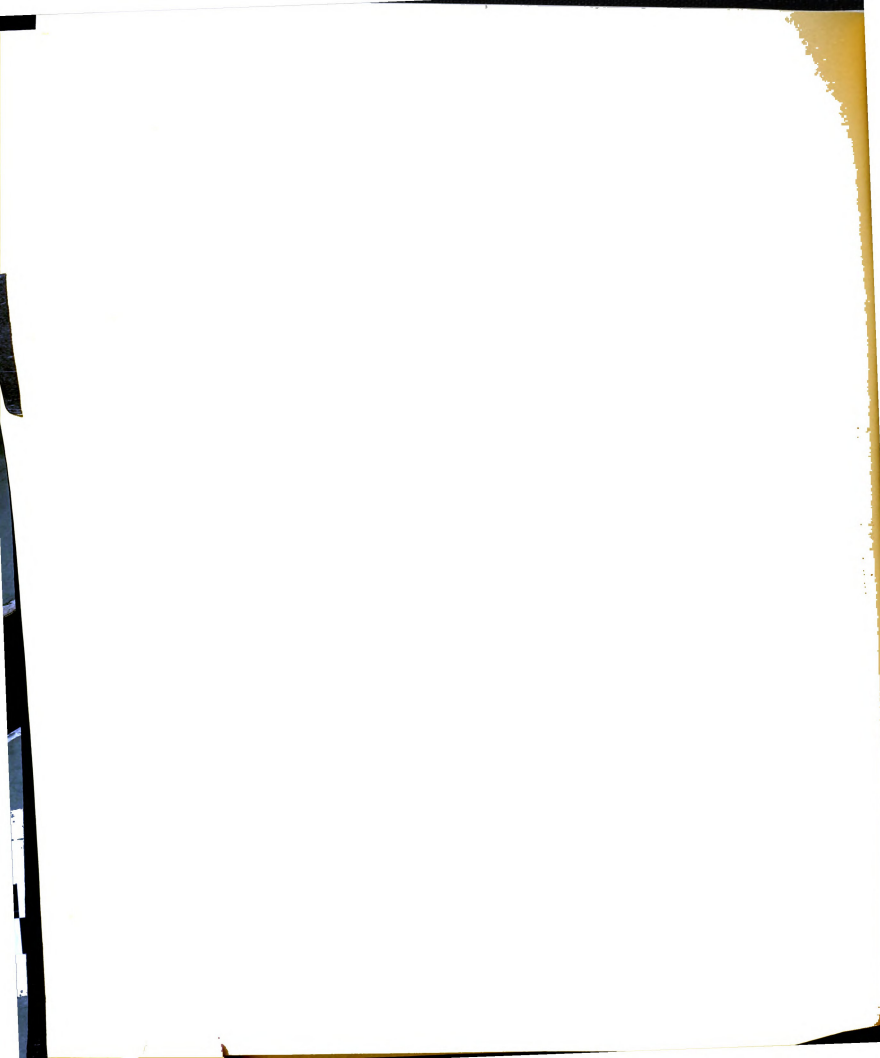
Scale were made by Milton Rokeach, who also participated in the over-all Project of which this study is a part. Only those items showing the highest reliability were selected by the Research Committee for inclusion in the attitude test employed in this research. It was assumed that psycho-social factors contributing to bias, or non-bias, in the wording or interpretation of test items were not materially different in California than in Maple County and did not warrant the additional expense of retesting for reliability with this population. As Myrdal has pointed out in numerous places, the United States subscribes to the American Creed which outlines the basic norms and values of the society relative to liberty, equality, and other humanitarian rights and duties.¹

The statements are worded in terms of positive stereotypes to preclude any possible resistance or hostility which negative phrasing sometimes arouses.² Since the items are not identical for each part of the test, inter-group comparisons are not appropriate and do not comprise a part of this thesis.

The Reliability of the Sociometric Test. Pepinsky notes that the concept of "reliability" as currently employed by social scientists is of doubtful value in the analysis of

1. Gunnar Myrdal, op. cit.

2. See Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch and Stuart W. Cook, op. cit., pp. 163-164, for a discussion of the effect of the use of positive versus negative stereotypes in the items.



sociometric data.¹ This stems from the fact that instruments now in use to estimate reliability are based on the assumption that the variable being measured is relatively stable and hence not subject to change. This assumption violates the basic hypothesis of sociometric theory which assumes that choice behavior is a reflection of the structure of the group. Consequently if the group is unstable or is altered, this is reflected in the sociometric pattern. She continues by pointing out that estimates of reliability oftentimes result in dilemmas. If the reliability coefficient is high the problem is that of whether the data are free from random errors or whether the test of reliability is insensitive to the changes which have occurred in the choice patterns of the group. If, on the other hand, the coefficient is low, the problem then becomes one of whether the choice patterns in the data have undergone real change, or whether the presence of random error is very high. Operationally, an investigator takes the steps necessary to insure reliability while securing and interpreting sociometric data, but it appears almost impossible in the present state of knowledge to make any definitive tests of it.

Every effort was made to eliminate such random factors as failure to establish rapport, factors contributing to fatigue, inadequate motivation of the subjects, vague or

1. Pauline Pepinsky, "The Meaning of 'Validity' and 'Reliability' as Applied to Sociometric Tests," Educational and Psychological Measurement, Volume 9, (1949), pp. 39-49.



nonuniform instructions, and such mechanical factors as checking in the wrong box, illegibility, and mistakes in punching, coding, or computing the data. In addition, previous studies in sociometry were examined for findings which might relate to problems of reliability as they pertain to this thesis. Several investigators have found a high degree of consistency in the choice status of individuals even though shifts in the individuals making these choices might occur.¹ Brookover in his sociometric analysis of changes in clique structure occurring among students in Brownsville from 1949 to 1952, found them to be highly dynamic.² But a shift in interpersonal relations does not necessarily mean a shift of reference group. Thus the choice status of an individual with respect to his reference group might be found to be relatively stable, although the individuals choosing him might vary. This furnishes empirical support for the logic behind the abstraction of the sociometric reference groups as structural entities. According to Pepinsky, there is some evidence also that adults are more consistent than children in their choice behavior. Only high school students were selected for this study. And finally, both Criswell and Moreno report greater shifts in second and third choices in a retest situation than in first choices.

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1. For a discussion of these researches see Helen Jennings, op. cit., pp. 29-31.
 2. Wilbur Brookover, A Sociology of Education, New York, American Book Company, 1955, Figure 8, pp. 214-215.



In this research, only a single answer question was employed. Although the single answer question is more subject to variations resulting from idiosyncratic choice, such choices, it is assumed, would tend to vary at random and would not seriously affect group patterns.¹

The Validity of the Sociometric Test. Since the choice behavior resulting from a sociometric test is a direct response to a stimulus situation, its face-validity is self-evident; that is to say, it can be seen on a common sense basis that the response (choices) derives directly from the stimulus situation (sociometric questions). A more difficult problem regarding the validity of the data arises in considering whether this response is a falsification, or not; that is, whether it truly represents what the respondent would do if he were confronted with the choice in a real life situation. It is in this sense that the concept has meaning for sociometric data. It is for this reason, also, that Moreno makes the distinction between the sociometric and the near-sociometric question.

It could be argued, that the two types of questions serve different ends. A sociometric question, since it structures the response in terms of a future real life situation, elicits a kind of behavior in which factors which pertain to the immediate adjustment of the individual are paramount. The near-sociometric question, on the other hand, sets up a more permissive situation in which internalized

1. For a discussion of these researches see Pepinsky, op. cit.



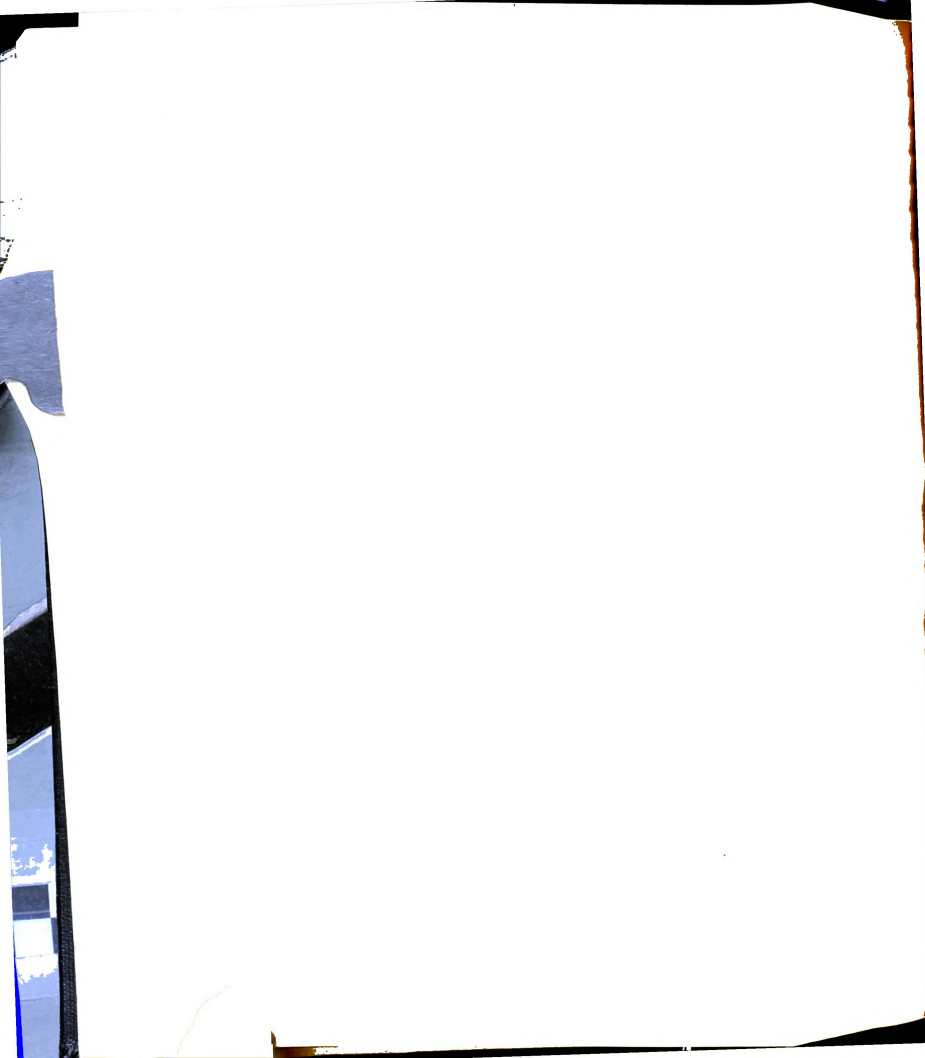
cultural definitions of the situation are more likely to be evoked than a particular adjustment pattern of the chooser in making choices. This should contribute to the sociological objectives of the present study.

Once again, every effort was made to conduct the research in such a manner as to insure a maximum of validity. The ex post facto nature of the present study permitted the writer to examine the sociometric questions of the schedule critically for incomplete answers, or blocking, or bias in the responses. These factors together with the criteria previously mentioned were considered in selecting the question which was used.

OBTAINING AND PROCESSING THE DATA

The raw data for this research were obtained from schedules and placed on IBM Cards as a part of the over-all project under the supervision of the Project Committee. The IBM listings and subsequent processing procedures were planned by the writer.

Administration of the Schedule. The schedules were group-administered by a trained staff who were thoroughly familiar with the content and with the objectives of the committee. The time schedule for taking the data was so arranged that communication among the schools was reduced to a minimum, and no class discussion was permitted. The data was edited in the field and later punched onto IBM cards in the research laboratory of the Social Research Service of Michigan State University.



Organization of Data. Three types of data are punched on the IBM cards: Personal and social data, sociometric data and results of the attitude tests. The coding of the sociometric data varies somewhat from the usual approach. These data are coded so that it can be determined exactly whom an individual chose and exactly who chose him. This is accomplished by assigning each student in a given grade, a column number on the card corresponding to his case number. The choices made by the students are then coded into this section. When the cards are sorted and listed by case number, one may read down the column number of a given student to determine the choices he received, and across his row number to determine whom he chose.

Responses to each item of the attitude test, as well as the summary scores for the six items comprising each part of the test and for the twenty four items as a whole, are coded for each student.

Since all eighty columns of the IBM card were used in this research, it could not be reproduced in a single listing. Two were required: One is a listing of the sociometric data, the other, a listing of the responses to the attitude test and the summary scores. Both listings carry the personal and social data of the student.

The listings, however, are only preparatory to the actual categorizing of the sociometric reference groups. To accomplish this, a summary sheet for each student was prepared from the two IBM listings, an illustrated copy of



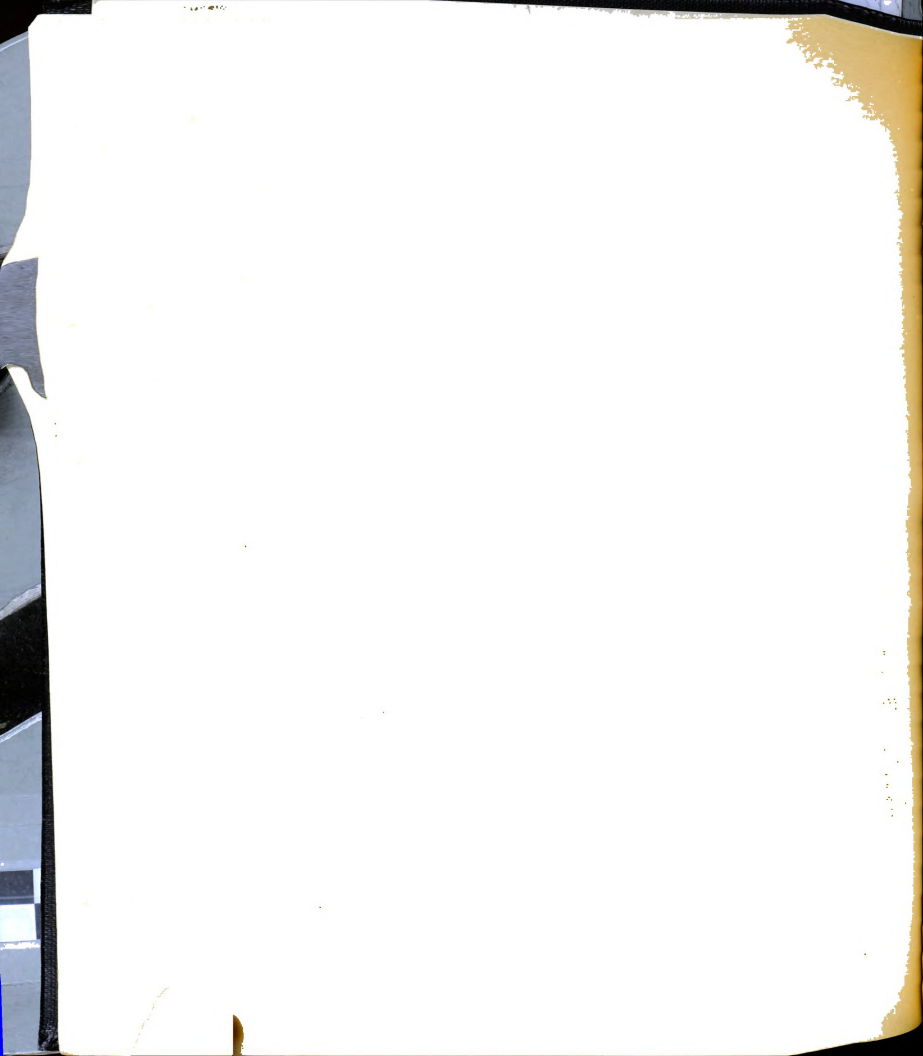
which is attached. Section A of Part I provides space for tabulating and coding the social characteristics of the respondent as compared with those of the students who chose him; and Section B of Part I provides space for tabulating and coding the social characteristics of the respondent as compared with those of the student he chose.¹

The latter coding (Part I) shows his reference group orientation, and the former coding, acceptance or nonacceptance by his reference group. The middle section of Part I provides space for coding the respondent into his appropriate sociometric reference group on the basis of these two relationships. Part II of the Summary Sheet gives the prejudice scores of the respondent. From these, the mean tolerance scores of each reference group can be computed and later the appropriate tests of significance can be made.

ANALYZING THE DATA

For convenience "analyzing the data" is defined broadly as that part of the research design which describes how to organize and test the crude data obtained, in such fashion as to carry out the purpose of the study in a scientifically meaningful way. The purpose of this particular analysis, as indicated earlier, is to organize the data so that they will show the functional relationships that may exist between

1. The codes are given in Chart 1, Appendix D, pp. 234-238. Codes in parentheses are for choices received and choices made, respectively, and the numeral above is the code of the sociometric reference group having this composition.



SUMMARY SHEET
(Illustrated)

Part I. Sociometric Data (from IBM listing 1)

Case Number	Residence	Occupation	Socio-econ. Status	Religious		Sociometric Status
				Pref-erence	Participation	
SECTION A						
Respondent 16017	F	Blue	Middle	Cath.	High	Pivot-link
Persons Choosing Respondent 16023	F	Blue	Middle	Cath.	Low	Pivot Leader
16021	F	White	Working	Cath.	Low	Pivot Leader

Code (from Chart 1)	(a)	1	3	3	1	2	2
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Sociometric Subgroup Code of Respondent 1	(b)	1	7	8	2	4	5
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SECTION B						
Code (c)	1	1	2	2	1	2
Respondent 16017	F	Blue	Middle	Cath.	High	Pivot-link
Person Chosen by Respondent 16013	F	Blue	Working	Prot.	High	Pivot Leader

Part II. Attitude Scores (from IBM listing 2)
(Illustrated)

Respondent's Case Number	Prejudice Scores				
	Total	Jewish	Negro	Mexican	General
16017	63	18	14	15	16

- (a) This code is read from Chart I, Appendix A. The first entry in parentheses indicates the source of choices received, the second, of choices made. An "in-group" is a membership group, an "out-group" is a nonmembership group.
- (b) The subgroup code is found in Chart I below the word subgroup. The data in parentheses indicate its composition.
- (c) See footnote (a).



sociometric reference group structure and differences in attitudes expressed toward racial and ethnic groups. To avoid repetition, the discussion below will be limited to four aspects of the analysis: (1) Guiding hypotheses, (2) Analytical design, (3) Techniques of analysis and (4) Specific Hypotheses.

Guiding Hypotheses. The guiding hypotheses of this study are stated as follows:

1. Sociometric reference groups that occupy different positions in the social structure, require the expression of different degrees of prejudice or tolerance from their members.
2. Individuals who identify with a sociometric reference group in which they are not members and are accepted by them, take on the values of their reference group.
3. Individuals who identify with a sociometric reference group of which they are not members tend to express its values before they begin to interact with its members.

In broad theoretical terms, these hypotheses deal with problems in group solidarity. Attitudes of tolerance or intolerance result from the impact of group living upon personality. As Parsons points out the basis on which a social group may be integrated is for the interests of its members "to be bound to conformity with a shared system of value-orientation standards."¹

Not all members of such a group, however, will internalize and conform to these standards equally. Individuals are selective. They may internalize norms from other groups. If these norms are incompatible to those of the group of

1. See Talcott Parsons, The Social System, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1951, p. 38.



which he is a member, he is a source of nonconformity and hence of instability. If he stays in the group, he is a potential source of social change. On the other hand, if too many members leave, it is likewise a threat.

Nevertheless, if the group is to demonstrate any real solidarity, we may assume a core of members relatively completely indoctrinated to its values, and, on the basis of role expectations, mutually committed to them, and likewise, other members in difference stages or gradations of acceptance or disorientation.

Analytical Design. The analytical design provides a basis for categorizing the members of social groups into reference groups with different degrees of group acceptance, by means of sociometric choices. If we assume that the choices which the members of a given social category make are indicative of their reference group orientation, the members may be categorized into (a) those who make choices from a membership group and (b) those who make choices from a nonmembership group.¹ For example a group of farm students may choose other farm students or they may choose town students, or nonfarm students. The choices which the members of a group receive are indicative of their group acceptance. Either the "a" or the "b" group described

1. The near-sociometric question used in this study permitted only one choice. If second and third choices are allowed, a mixed group results, composed of members who choose both from their membership and nonmembership groups which may be reduced further to a constant though mixed number of subgroups on the basis of their composition.



above may be further broken down according to whether they in turn were chosen by individuals from their membership group, by individuals from a nonmembership group, or by individuals from both their membership and nonmembership groups. The six resulting groups are sociometrically determined reference groups, representative of different degrees of solidarity. It will be recalled that only the pure types are utilized in this study. As indicated earlier, they are:

1. Core sociometric reference groups.
2. Peripheral sociometric reference groups
3. Core satellite sociometric reference groups
4. Peripheral satellite sociometric reference groups

They will be referred to hereafter as (1) core, (2) peripheral, (3) core satellite and (4) peripheral satellite groups. Their characteristics are discussed below.

The Core Group. The core group is the most ingroup-oriented of the four. In addition to the fact that its members chose from and were chosen by individuals in their own membership group, by virtue of their formal group affiliation, they are most familiar with the role prescriptions which are handed down in their culture.

The Peripheral Group. In contrast to the core group, members of the peripheral group are the most out-oriented in that they chose from and were chosen by individuals outside their own membership group. To the extent that the norms and values of their nonmembership reference group differ from those of their formal membership group,



peripheral members are faced not only with the responsibility of acquiring new role perspectives but also of reducing or cutting off their ties with their membership group. They do have the opportunity, however, of learning the new roles through direct participation.

The Core Satellite Group. Although members of the core satellite group choose from their membership group, they are not chosen by that or any other group in return. Because of this, role learning by direct participation is limited or cut off. The individual has not withdrawn psychologically from his membership group, however.

The Peripheral Satellite Group. The individual in the peripheral satellite group, chooses from a nonmembership group, but receives no choices in return. He is isolated from his own group, and he is shut out from his nonmembership reference group as well. Furthermore, he has oriented himself toward the group, it is reasonable to believe, he least understands. One would expect the role interpretations of a peripheral satellite to be the least accurate of the four.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The discussion in this section will be limited to the following topics: (A) The Statistical Universe, (B) General Procedures, (C) Tests of Significance Employed and (D) Research Models.

Statistical Universe. The statistical universe comprises the prejudice scores of members of core peripheral,



and satellite sociometric reference groups for the combined ninth and twelfth grades of Maple County. This combining was necessary in order to secure even small group representation in the various sociometric reference groups. It will be remembered that twenty different types of groups result from a two-fold classification based on choices received and choices made, although only four of these (the pure types) are a concern of this study. Furthermore, certain types, for example, the core groups, include a much larger proportion of the total number in the universe than other types.

It is believed that the combining of grades and schools will not result in any serious distortion of data because this study is concerned with patterns of prejudice rather than with magnitudes of prejudice. Moreover, the nature of the analytical design is such that by virtue of definition the specified core, peripheral and satellite groups bear the same patterned relationship to each other irrespective of where found. Since the prejudice score is used as an index of pattern, however, spurious factors influencing the prejudice score, if severe enough, could blur the pattern.

Two precautions were taken. First, the H-test was done on the total universe, by school, to test the null-hypothesis that the respective school populations were from a common universe.¹ Only one significant difference resulted. That was for the twelfth grade Jewish prejudice

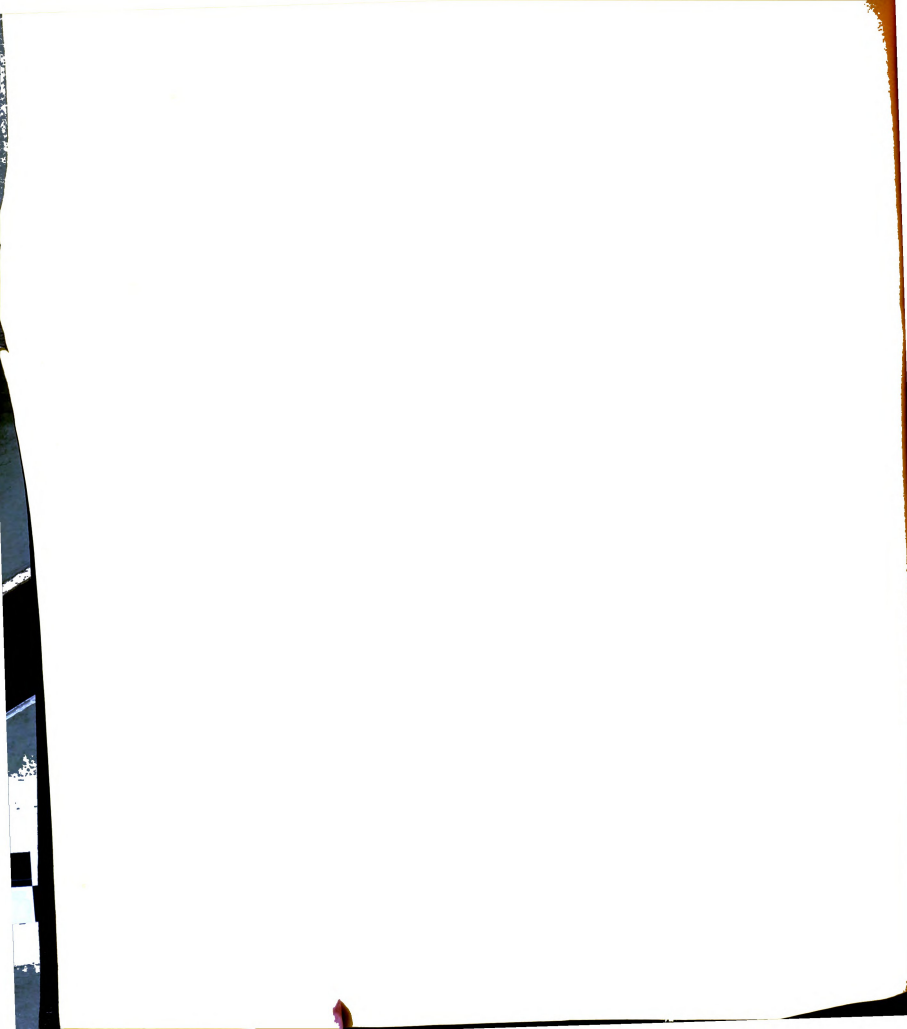
1. See Appendix B for the computation and results of the H-test.



score (Table C.1). Adams and Brownsville students had significantly lower prejudice scores (were more prejudiced) than Johnstown students. In view of this finding, a second precaution was taken. Tests of significance of differences for the Jewish score were computed by grade (a) for all ninth and twelfth grade students, and (b) for those in the core groups under study. With respect to the first test, the ninth grade students were significantly more prejudiced toward Jews than were those in the twelfth grade (Table C.2). However, when tests of significance for the core groups were made, only one of the fifteen completed was significant (Table C.3). Ninth grade core students who considered their parents of the middle class were more prejudiced toward Jews than the corresponding group in the twelfth grade. Since there was only one exception, and since it was greatly neutralized by the formation of the sociometric groups, it was deemed acceptable to make the combination by grade and school.

General Procedures. Null-hypotheses have been employed to test differences in mean prejudice scores among core, peripheral and satellite reference groups. In order to test these relationships, distribution-free tests of significance were selected for two basic reasons: First, the number of items in some of the sociometric reference groups are small and required that the test of significance employed be appropriate to small group analysis. In the second place, the

-
1. See Appendix C, White's Rank Test of the Significance of difference of means for two groups.



heoretical framework imposed restrictions on the data which made an assumption of normality within the sociometric reference groups dubious. This arises from the fact that the research design categorizes individuals into subgroups on the basis of their degree of prejudice. Although it is hypothesized that the scores of members of a given sociometric reference group will fall within a certain sector of the prejudice continuum, they are permitted to vary within the complete theoretical range of the continuum. Under such circumstances, a heavily skewed distribution could well result. The distribution-free tests do not require any assumption of normality. Significance levels of five percent or beyond have been taken as indicative of a significant difference.

Tests of Significance. White's rank test of the significance of difference of means for two groups will be relied upon chiefly. It is a distribution-free test which may be substituted for the t-test when the observations are not normally distributed. It can be used as a one- or two-tailed test. Since it is important to know whether the hypotheses are either refuted or upheld, a two-tailed test will be employed. The distribution "T" approaches normality as the number of observations become large, hence if such observations exceed those given in a table for T, the observed value of T may be expressed as a normal deviate. Since the number of cases in the sociometric reference group varies greatly, the z-score rather than the "T" will be employed



out. Corrections for tied scores and for lack of
 ability have been formulated. Computations for White's
 are based on the rank rather than on the size of the

The Kruskal-Wallis H-test is used with three or more
² The H-test, which is also based on ranks, employs
 analysis of variance technique. It has the advantage,
 of testing differences among means without requir-
 the assumption of homogeneity of variance. If the null-
 hypothesis is rejected, it is generally possible to conclude
 the population means are not equal. H is distributed
 with $k - 1$ degrees of freedom, if the observations in
 group are not too small. The X^2 table may be used if
 number of observations in each group exceed five and if
 or more samples are used. This test may also be cor-
 for tied ranks. If only two groups are used, the
 Kruskal-Wallis test and the White test give the same re-

This test was used only once, namely, before com-
 ing the schools.

Research Models. In formulating the null hypotheses,
 research models were followed. The first model, de-
 to test the hypothesis that groups occupying different
 positions have different degrees of prejudice, set up

Allen, Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral
Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954,
 p. 417-422, 426-427, 429-430.

ibid., pp. 425-426, and p. 433.



nua for selected social groups in which categories of group were assigned statuses on a continuum of social on the basis of concensus found in previous research. ore groups of these categories were then tested for dif- e in prejudice employing appropriate null hypotheses. cond model is used when comparing two groups with dif- reference orientations; a comparison is made of the ion and degree of prejudice expressed by (a) members pecified group who identified with a peripheral ref- group, as compared with (b) the core members of their nbership group. The third model is employed for com- three or more groups occupying different positions on nnuum in which prejudice varied directly with social n: a comparison is made of the direction and degree udice expressed by (a) members of a specified group ntified with a reference group at one point on the um, (b) compared with members of the same group who ied with a reference group at a different point on tnuum. These relationships are then expressed in late hypotheses.

HYPOTHESES

hypotheses of the Project Committee. The Project Com- which initiated the over-all project in Maple County ed the basic hypotheses. They were:

rejudice is called out by the social roles which the ndividual assumes as he participates in specific roup situations.

pecific positions within the social structuring of lolescence require the expression of different



degrees of prejudice or toleration by different individuals occupying different positions.

The hypotheses of this thesis tie into both.

Levels at which Hypotheses of the Present Study are

Formulated. The hypotheses of this study are formulated at different but closely related analytical levels:

Two general hypotheses which are stated in terms of general sociological theory.

Two specific theoretical hypotheses which are re-statements of the general hypotheses in terms of the abstract sociometric reference groups on which this research is based.

Restatements of the specific theoretical hypothesis in terms of empirical sociometric reference groups. These hypotheses are based directly on the data and can be tested by null-hypotheses.

Statements of General and Specific Theoretical Hypoth-

Hypothesis I

Informal social groups that occupy different positions in social structure, require the expression of different degrees of prejudice or toleration from their members.

Specific Theoretical Hypothesis I

Core members in one social category have different prejudice scores than members in another social category, providing the respective social categories occupy different positions in the social group.

Hypothesis II

Members of a group who identify with a reference group and are accepted by it, take on the core values of that group.

Specific Theoretical Hypothesis II

Members of peripheral and peripheral satellite groups have prejudice scores unlike those of their own core membership group and like those of the core membership group with whom they are identifying.



pothesis III

bers of a group who aspire to belong to a nonmem-
reference group express the values of the refer-
group before they begin to interact with its members.

cific Theoretical Hypothesis III

members of peripheral satellite groups have prej-
dice scores unlike those of their core membership
group and like those of the core members of their
reference group.

third general and specific hypotheses apply only to
satellite groups. If the second general and spe-
cific hypotheses are upheld in these groups, the third set
of hypotheses are supported also. Hence no separate tests

This is true because peripheral satellite groups
are characterized by mutual interaction with their ref-
erence group. They receive no choices.

Empirical hypotheses based on each of the specific
hypotheses postulate differences in prejudice
scores of core, peripheral, and peripheral satellite refer-
ence groups, classified by residence, occupation, religious
affiliation, subjectively-determined socioeconomic status
and ethnic status. The empirical hypotheses will be
tested and examined in the succeeding chapters.

Finally, the writer wishes to emphasize that this re-
search must be interpreted strictly in relation to the limi-
tations imposed by the research design, the measuring in-
struments used, and the analytical techniques employed.



PART II

EXPRESSIONS OF PREJUDICE IN CORE GROUPS

The organization of this thesis provides for two of analyses. The first one is a test of the relation found between core reference groups occupying different social positions and differences verbalized expressions of prejudice. The second is a test of the association found between verbalized expressions of prejudice and peripheral reference group identification. Part II is concerned with the former and Part III with the latter analyses.



CHAPTER IV

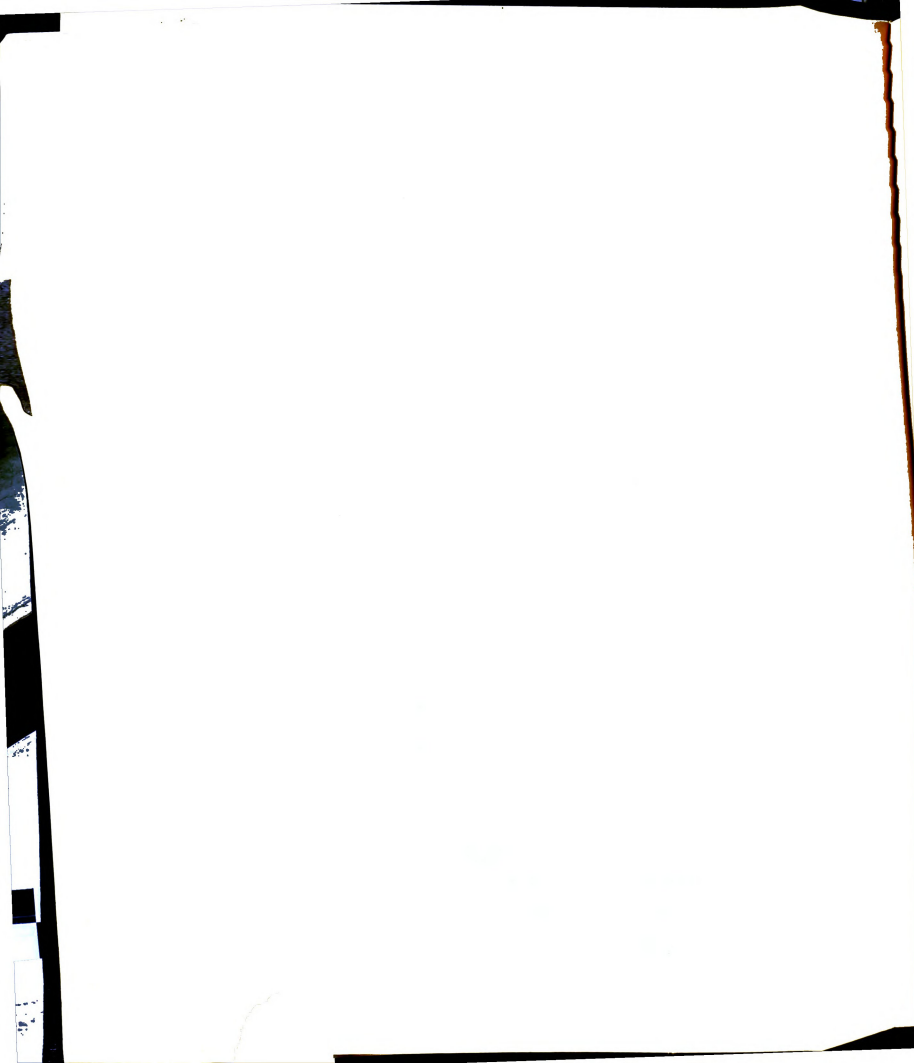
PREJUDICE AMONG CORE GROUPS

Chapter IV is concerned with differences in expressed attitudes found in selected core groups. Since these groups are most in-oriented and hence the most "bound" to the values of their membership group, the expressed attitudes of core members will be taken as the most representative of the basic norms of the social category of which they are a part. The categories of a given social group are placed on a continuum of social position on the basis of the consensus expressed by research authorities in that area of investigation. Differences in the attitudes expressed by core members of these social categories are examined to determine whether the guiding hypothesis of this chapter, namely, that core groups occupying different positions in the social structure will show differences in attitudes toward racial and ethnic minorities, is supported. Specific tests of this hypothesis will be made employing data for core groups based on residence, occupation, self-defined socioeconomic status, religious preference, participation and sociometric status.

RESIDENCE

As indicated, in an earlier discussion of this problem, there is a general consensus that farm people occupy a different position than town people, and that the nonfarm people outside of towns occupy some intermediate position.¹

¹ This thesis, pp. 53-54.



thesis. The specific hypothesis to be tested is follows:

the core farm, nonfarm and town groups occupy different social positions, they will have different prejudice scores.

findings. In general the findings tended to support the hypothesis. In only one instance, however, was the difference definitive. Town core students were more liberal in attitude toward Jews than farm core students (Table 4.1). Differences for the Total prejudice score and the prejudice score for the same core groups, though not statistically significant, followed the pattern established by the significant difference, the town core students being more tolerant.

Farm core students did not have attitudes significantly different from nonfarm core students. Neither did differences form strongly consistent patterns. (Tables 4.2). Nonfarm core students compared with farm core students were more liberal in attitude toward Jews and Mexicans, and their Total prejudice score was more tolerant. Thus the over-all pattern established with respect to attitudes expressed by farm versus nonfarm and town core students tended to show the core farm students to be the most prejudiced of the three residence groups.

Differences between nonfarm and town students were

statistically significant, as employed in this study, refers to statistical significance.

The findings are in agreement with those of Meltzer; Larson and Burch; and Holland. Meltzer found a tendency for rural children to be less tolerant than urban. Larson and Burch found urban students at North Carolina

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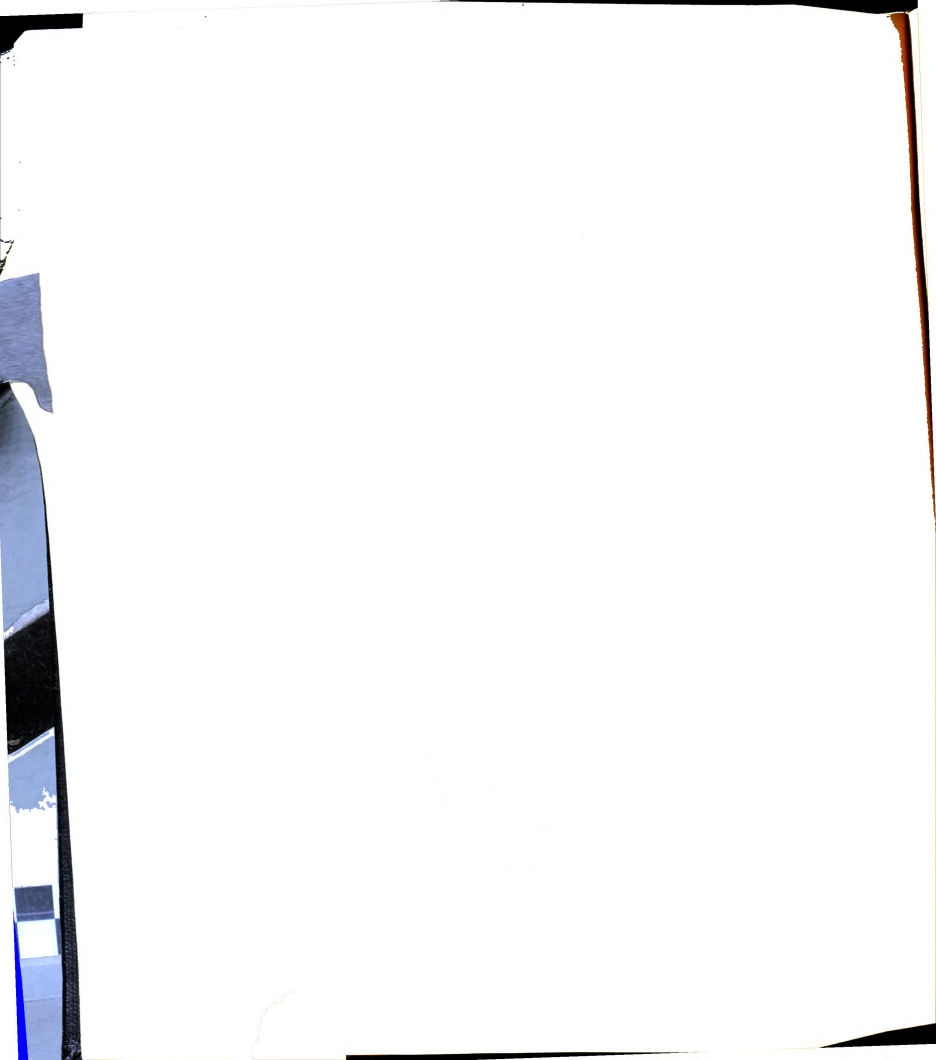
MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF CORE FARM AND CORE TOWN STUDENTS, COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
Core Farm Students Choosing, Chosen by Farm Students		Core Town Students Choosing, Chosen by Town Students		Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
7	58.6	48	59.3	214.5	39.53	.46	.65
7	14.4	48	16.3	283.5	38.33	2.27	.02
7	14.0	48	14.1	202.0	39.03	.14	.89
7	14.9	48	14.0	181.0	39.27	- .37	.71
7	15.3	48	14.8	180.0	39.20	- .40	.69

a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

e's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, 1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix C.

Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.



MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF CORE FARM AND CORE NON-FARM STUDENTS, COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
One: Farm Students Choosing, Chosen by Farm Students		One: Nonfarm Students Choosing, Chosen by Nonfarm Students		Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
7	58.6	6	60.7	38.0	6.97	-.50	.62
7	14.4	6	15.8	35.5	6.90	-.87	.38
7	14.0	6	14.3	41.5	6.92	.00	1.00
7	14.8	6	15.3	38.5	6.92	-.43	.67
7	15.3	6	15.2	43.0	6.87	.07	.94

a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

b's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, 1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix C.

Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.



gnificant nor consistent (Table 4.3).

OCCUPATION

indicated earlier, occupations have become relative-symbols of differential social positions.¹ One
 ct differences in prejudice, therefore, to be as-
 ith differences in occupational status. For pur-
 his chapter, the analysis of prejudice in core
 al groups will be based on three categories com-
 students, the major wage-earning parent of whom

mers
 e collar workers
 te collar workers

they will be referred to as farm, blue and white
 ups.

thesis. The hypothesis to be tested is stated as

College more tolerant than rural students, and
 d in his adult study of Maple County, reported
 s more intolerant than nonfarmers. They are con-
 to the findings of Sims and Patrick, and Harlan.
 rmer found no relationship between size of com-
 es and attitudes toward Negroes and Harlan found
 subjects more prejudiced toward Jews than rural
 ts. See: H. Meltzer "Group Differences in
 ality and Race Preference of Children," Sociometry,
 2, Number 1, 1939, pp. 86-105; K. C. Garrison and
 Burch, "A Study of Racial Attitudes of College
 ts," Journal of Social Psychology, Volume 4 (1933),
 4-235; John Holland, op. cit., p. 128; V. M. Sims
 R. Patrick, "Attitudes toward Negroes of Northern
 uthern College Students," Journal of Social Psy-
ry, Volume 7 (1936), p. 202; Howard H. Harlan,
 Factors Affecting Attitude Toward Jews," American
logical Review, Volume 7 (1942), p. 827.

discussion of this point, see this thesis, p.



MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF CORE NONFARM AND CORE
TOWN STUDENTS, COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES,
MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
Core Nonfarm Students Choosing, Chosen by Nonfarm Students		Core Town Students Choosing, Chosen by Town Students		Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
5	60.7	48	59.3	152.0	36.27	- .34	.73
5	15.8	48	16.3	188.0	34.92	.64	.52
5	14.3	48	14.1	167.0	35.81	.04	.97
5	15.3	48	14.0	126.0	36.05	-1.07	.28
5	15.2	48	14.8	148.0	35.88	- .46	.65

description of the sociometric subgroups and how
were formed, see Appendix D.

's test for the significance of difference be-
two groups is employed. It is described in
L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Be-
ral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company,
1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis,
dix C.

esource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.

177

core farm, blue collar and white collar groups by different social position, they will have different prejudice scores.

ings. In general, the data relative to differences between core farm as compared with core blue and white collar groups respectively, tend to support the hypothesis. Core farm workers were significantly less tolerant of Jews than either of either the core blue or white collar groups (4 and 4.5). The levels of significance were one percent respectively. Differences for the Total, the Mexican and the General prejudice scores of core farm and blue collar workers were consistent with the Jewish score; the core farm group was the less tolerant. In the comparison of core farm versus white collar groups, differences for the Mexican, the Mexican and the General prejudice scores were consistent with the Jewish score, the farm workers being the most prejudiced. Differences between the core blue and white collar groups were neither significant nor consistent (6). The over-all pattern resulting on the basis of significant and consistent differences shows the core farm as the most prejudiced of the occupational core groups. Differences between core blue and white collar groups, however, are not apparent in the student population.

Findings of this study tend to support those of Westie and Beers. Westie, making use of a social distance scale, made an analysis of expressions of prejudice of white, male adults in the city of Indianapolis, classified by occupation. He concluded that there was a systematic relationship between expressions of prejudice toward Negroes and sociometric status,-- the higher the status the less the prejudice. Beers found in his analysis of public opinion polls, 1946-1950, that farm



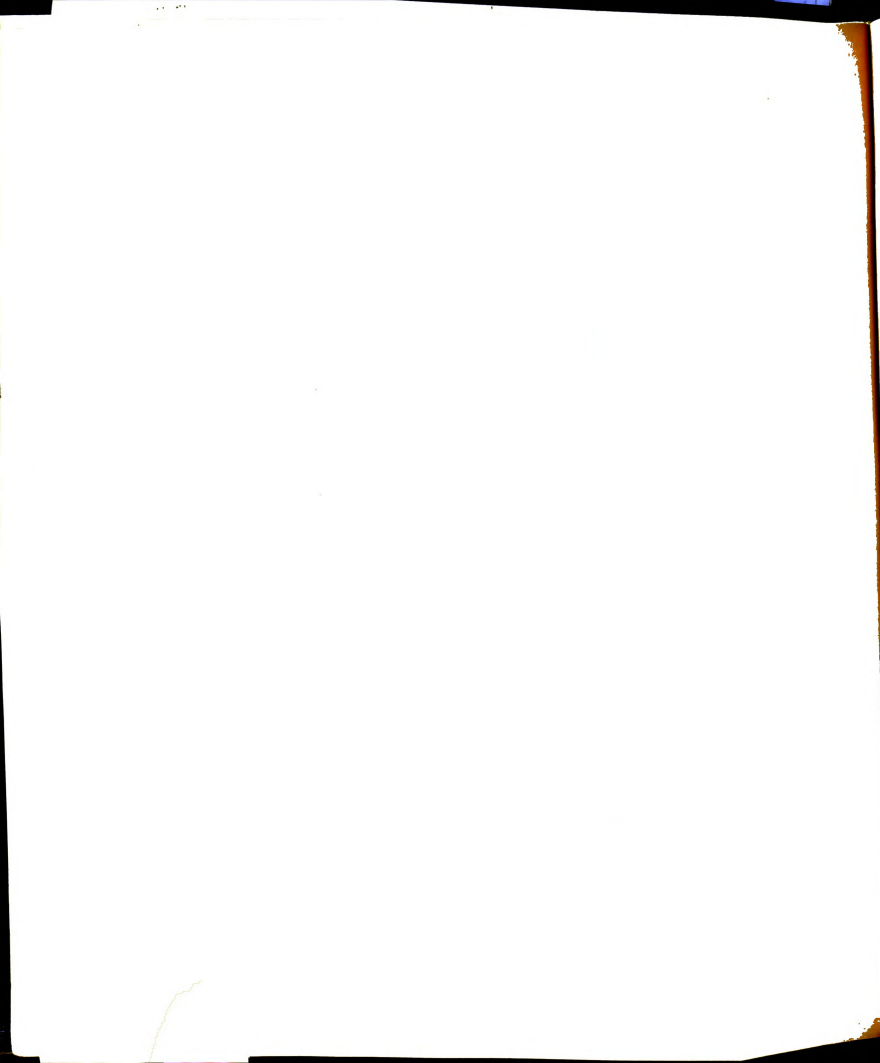
MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF CORE FARM AND CORE BLUE
COLLAR STUDENTS, COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH
GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
Core Farm Students Choosing, Chosen by Core Farm Students		One: Blue Collar Students Choosing, Chosen by Blue Collar Students		Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
0	57.1	28	59.3	235.0	30.10	1.31	.19
0	14.6	28	16.4	273.5	29.39	2.65	.01
0	13.4	28	13.9	218.0	29.69	.76	.45
0	15.2	28	14.0	167.5	29.92	-.90	.37
0	13.9	28	15.1	223.0	29.67	.93	.35

description of the sociometric subgroups and how
were formed, see Appendix D.

's test for the significance of difference be-
two groups is employed. It is described in
L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Be-
ral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company,
1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis,
dix C.

resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.



MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF CORE FARM AND CORE
WHITE COLLAR STUDENTS, COMBINED NINTH AND
TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
One: White Collar Students choosing, Chosen by White Collar Students		One: Farm Students Choosing, Chosen by Farm Students		Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
4	61.8	10	57.1	22.5	7.02	-1.00	.32
4	17.5	10	14.6	14.0	6.96	-2.23	.03
4	13.8	10	13.4	32.0	6.93	.22	.83
4	14.5	10	15.2	28.5	6.97	- .14	.89
4	16.0	10	13.9	22.5	6.99	-1.00	.32

a description of the sociometric subgroups and how
were formed, see Appendix D.

e's test for the significance of difference be-
n two groups is employed. It is described in
n L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Be-
oral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company,
, 1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis,
ndix C.

Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.



MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF CORE BLUE COLLAR AND
CORE WHITE COLLAR STUDENTS, COMBINED NINTH AND
TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
One: White Collar Students Choosing, Chosen by White Collar Students		One: Blue Collar Students Choosing, Chosen by Blue Collar Students		Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
4	61.8	28	59.3	64.5	17.49	- .06	.95
4	17.5	28	16.4	51.0	16.67	- .87	.38
4	13.8	28	13.9	79.5	17.23	.75	.45
4	14.5	28	14.0	58.0	17.42	- .43	.67
4	16.0	28	15.1	59.0	16.87	- .39	.70

a description of the sociometric subgroups and how
were formed, see Appendix D.

b's test for the significance of difference be-
two groups is employed. It is described in
L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Be-
oral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company,
1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis,
ndix C.

Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.

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SUBJECTIVE SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

ctively-defined evaluations of socioeconomic status
 ticular importance in the United States because,
 cultures of Europe and Asia, the occupation of
 es not necessarily set the social and economic
 hich the child will operate. In this country,
 n material success and the belief in unlimited

dents were least tolerant of Negroes and profes-
 s most tolerant. Other writers, whose research
 ed on socioeconomic indexes in which occupation
 e of the items, have come to varied conclusions.
 d found that upper status persons were more tol-
 of both Negroes and Jews than were lower status
 . On the other hand, Harding and others report
 f education is controlled, socioeconomic status
 itively correlated with Anti-Semitism. Bettel-
 and Janowitz found no significant differences in
 ades expressed toward either the Jew or the Negro
 the various socioeconomic groups. The above dis-
 on indicates that the relationship of prejudice to
 economic status is complex, and, hence, requires a
 or refinement of concepts and methods which will
 adequately pin-point structural differences and the
 hey play in the formation of prejudice. See:
 Westie, "A Technique for the Measurement of Race
 ades," American Sociological Review, Volume 18,
 r 1, February, 1953, p. 76; Howard W. Beers, "Rural-
 Differences: Some Evidence from Public Opinion
 ," Rural Sociology, Volume 18, Number 1, March,
 Table 4, p. 9; H. G. Gough, "Studies of Social
 erance: Some Psychological and Sociological Cor-
 es of Anti-Semitism," Journal of Social Psychology,
 Volume 33, p. 244; John Holland, op. cit., pp.
 28; John Harding, Bernard Kutner, Harold Prochansky,
 sidor Chein, "Prejudice," p. 1039, in Gardner Lind-
 ed., Handbook of Social Psychology, Volume II, op.
pp. 1021-1061; Bettelheim and Janowitz, op. cit.,
 -56; Howard Harlan, op. cit., p. 827; Fortune, op.
 D. J. Levinson and R. N. Sanford, "A scale for
 easurement of Anti-Semetism," Journal of Psychology,
 e 17, 1944, p. 369; A. A. Campbell, "Factors Asso-
 d with Attitudes toward Jews," in Theodore Newcomb
 ugene Hartley, Readings in Social Psychology, New
 Henry Holt and Company, 1947, pp. 520-521; Gordon
 rt, op. cit., p. 223; and Robin Williams, op. cit.,
 .



ty stimulates the child to aspire to status levels parents did not attain. These ambitions, one would could be reflected in the self-evaluation which a es of his own roles and his role expectations of logically, the most extreme case of subjective class on from a sociometric point of view would be that ent who considers himself of a given class and then nd is chosen only by individuals who likewise con- t they belong to that class. If differences in toward minority groups are associated with social ntification then such core groups should clearly hese differences.

thesis. The above viewpoint may be stated as an s as follows:

students who consider themselves from the middle s have different scores than core students who ider themselves from the working class.

ings. The data tend to support the hypothesis. he differences found are not in the direction or- postulated by other investigators. The core work- group is significantly ($P = .01$) more tolerant of than the core middle class group, (Table 4.7). ning prejudice scores are also consistent with this Contrary to this pattern, Centers reported that urban and rural middle classes of his cross sec- le of the male, white population of the United re more tolerant of Negroes than the respective



MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF CORE WORKING CLASS STUDENTS AND CORE MIDDLE CLASS STUDENTS, COMEINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
One: Working Class Students Choosing, Chosen by Working Class Students		One: Middle Class Students Choosing, Chosen by Middle Class Students		Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
13	61.2	72	58.3	424.5	81.77	-1.64	.10
13	16.1	72	16.0	523.0	79.65	- .45	.65
13	15.3	72	13.6	356.5	80.49	-2.51	.01
13	14.8	72	14.1	466.5	81.18	-1.13	.26
13	14.9	72	14.6	540.5	80.97	- .22	.83

a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

Le's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, 1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix C.

Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.



class groups.¹ How might this reversal be explained?²

In the first place, the subjectively-defined core socio-status groups under study in this chapter are socio-reference groups derived not from objective social categories, but instead, from a student's evaluation of status categories as they pertain to his situation. They do not include the entire group of students who identified themselves middle class or working class respectively. Sociometrically they comprise only the most in-middle-class or working-class oriented and hence the core group, by definition, they comprised the most socially mobile of all mobility-oriented students.

The core groups are homogeneous only at the aspiration level. They actually include members from all three occupational categories. The white collar group in a core working group may be considered downwardly mobile, the blue collar and farm groups may be assumed to be stationary. The white collar group is assumed to be largely tenant). In the middle class group, the blue collar group may be considered upwardly mobile, the farm and the white collar group, stationary. (The farm group is assumed to be mostly pro-

Examination of Table 4.8 reveals that the core working group has proportionately fewer white collar

Card Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1949, p. 148.

Also John Holland, op. cit., p. 163.



NUMBER AND PERCENT OF CORE STUDENTS WHO CONSIDER
THEMSELVES WORKING OR MIDDLE CLASS WHOSE PARENTS
WERE BLUE OR WHITE COLLAR, OR FARM PEOPLE,
MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Total		Farm		Blue Collar		White Collar		No Reply
No.	Per-cent	No.	Per-cent	No.	Per-cent	No.	Per-cent	No.
13	100.0	3	23.1	7	53.8	3	23.1	0
69	100.0	17	24.6	32	46.4	20	29.0	3

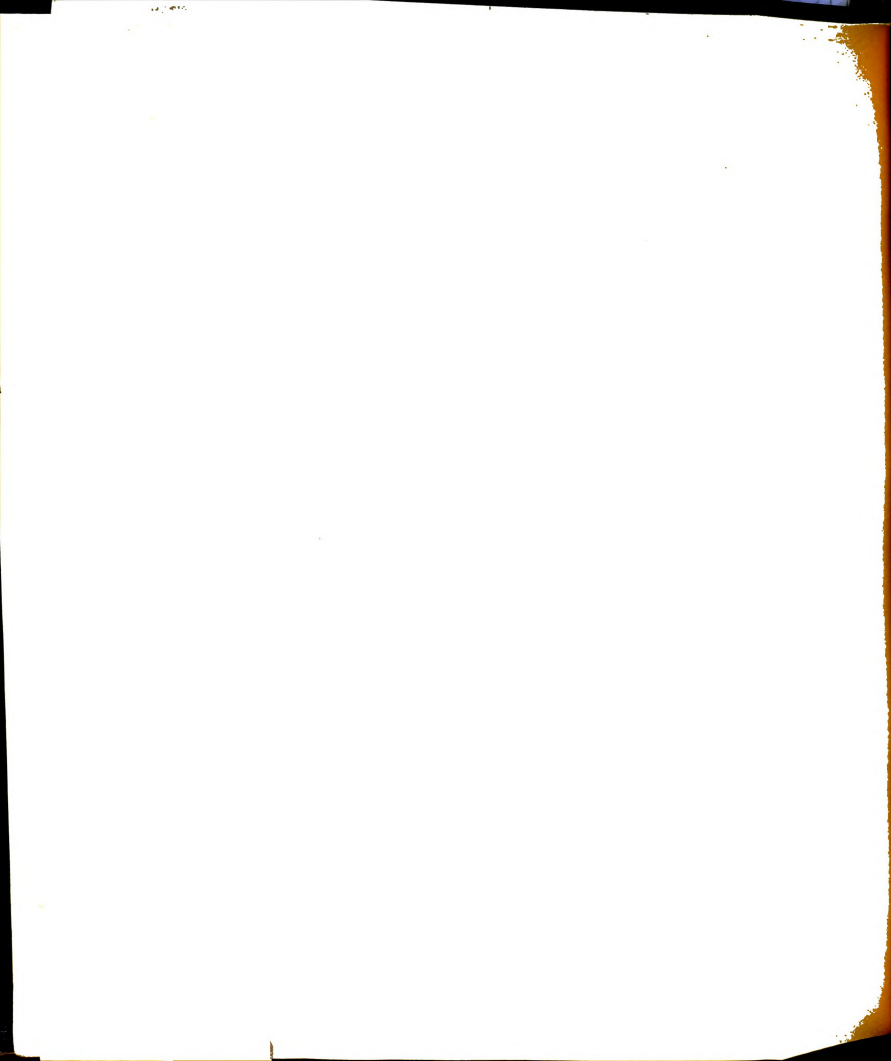
Appendix; Resource Tables.

than the core middle class has blue collar. Green-Pearlin found that occupationally mobile groups, downward, were more often prejudiced than station-s.¹ Since the core middle class group has propor-more upwardly mobile students (46.4 percent) than ng class has downwardly mobile (23.1 percent), it reduce the mean average score of the core middle up.

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

e all religions subscribe to norms of truth, jus-brotherhood, one might reasonably expect those ex-some church affiliation to be more tolerant of groups than those expressing none. Insofar as the

n Greenblum and Leonard Pearlin, "Vertical Mobility
rejudice: A Socio-psychological Analysis," in Rein-
Bendix and Seymour Lipset, Class, Status and Power,
oe, The Free Press, 1953, p. 483.



ould determine, however, the more important research
 end to place the latter at the tolerant end of a
 continuum.¹ It has been found, however, that in-
 stability in religious experience appears to be as-
 with increased tolerance.² In a rural county where
 behavior is approved and supported by a large per-
 of the population, one would expect to find religious
 relatively stable influence in the life of the people,
 one would expect to find that individuals who ex-
 church preference would occupy a different social
 than those with no preferences.

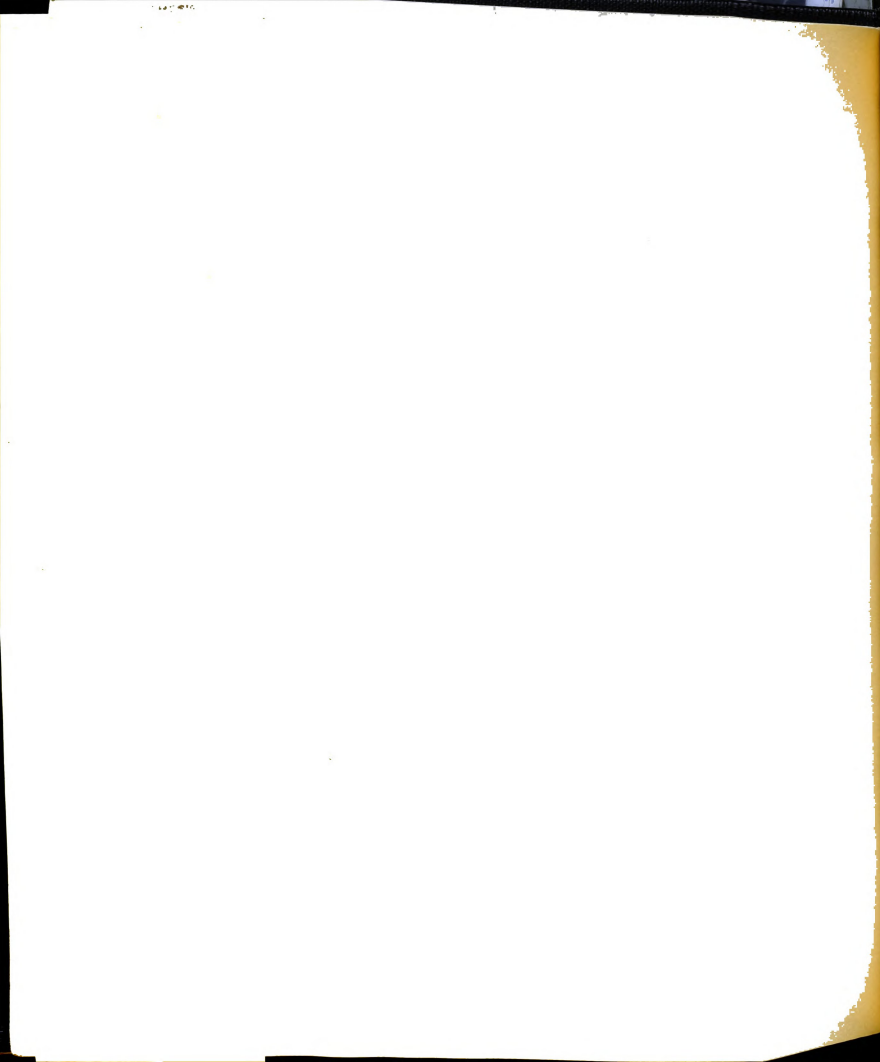
thesis. The specific hypothesis is stated as fol-

students expressing a church preference have
 erent prejudice scores than core students ex-
 sng no church preference.

ings. An examination of Table 4.9 shows that there
 lgnificant differences between core students who
 a religious preference and those who did not for
 various prejudice scores, but there was a rela-
 nsistent pattern of differences. Except for

Adorno and Else Frenkel-Brunswik, et. al., report
 subjects who profess some religious affiliation are
 prejudiced than those who do not. Op. cit., p.
 Robert Merton found those with no affiliation the
 prejudiced. See "Fact and Fictitiousness in Eth-
 questionnaires," American Sociological Review,
 e 5, Number 1, January, 1940, p. 15. Gordon All-
 and Bernard Kramer concluded that only the Jews
 led the nonaffiliates in tolerance among the groups
 study. See "Some Roots of Prejudice," Journal
Psychology, Volume 22, 1946, p. 27.

heim and Janowitz, op. cit., p. 52.



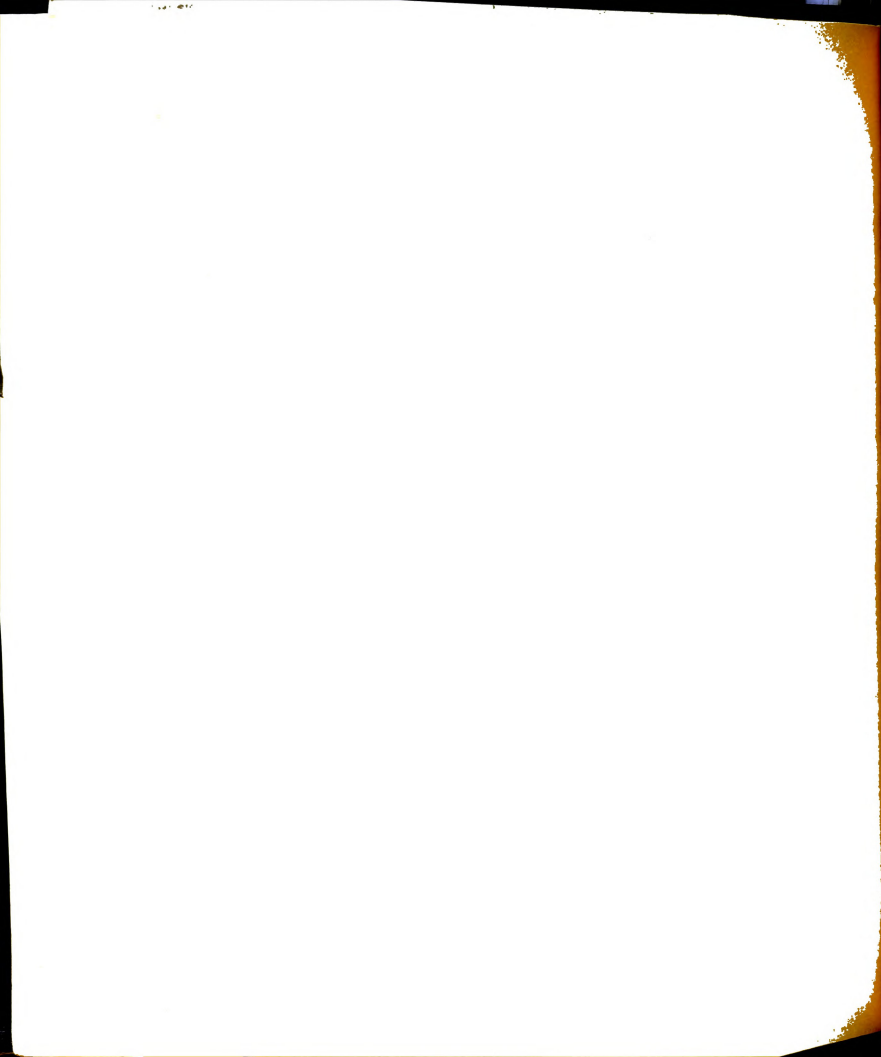
9 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF CORE STUDENTS EXPRESSING
A CHURCH PREFERENCE AND CORE STUDENTS EXPRESSING
NO CHURCH PREJUDICE, COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH
GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
One: Students Having no Church Preference Choosing, Chosen by Students Having No Church Preference		One: Students Having A Church Preference Choosing, Chosen by Students Having a Church Preference		Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
16	58.8	114	59.1	1111.0	140.97	.44	.66
16	16.1	114	16.1	1049.0	136.73	.00	1.00
16	14.3	114	13.8	985.5	139.89	-.44	.66
16	14.3	114	14.4	1121.5	140.01	.52	.60
16	14.1	114	14.8	1216.0	139.82	1.20	.23

a description of the sociometric subgroups and how
were formed, see Appendix D.

e's test for the significance of difference be-
n two groups is employed. It is described in
n L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Be-
oral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company,
, 1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis,
ndix C.

Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.



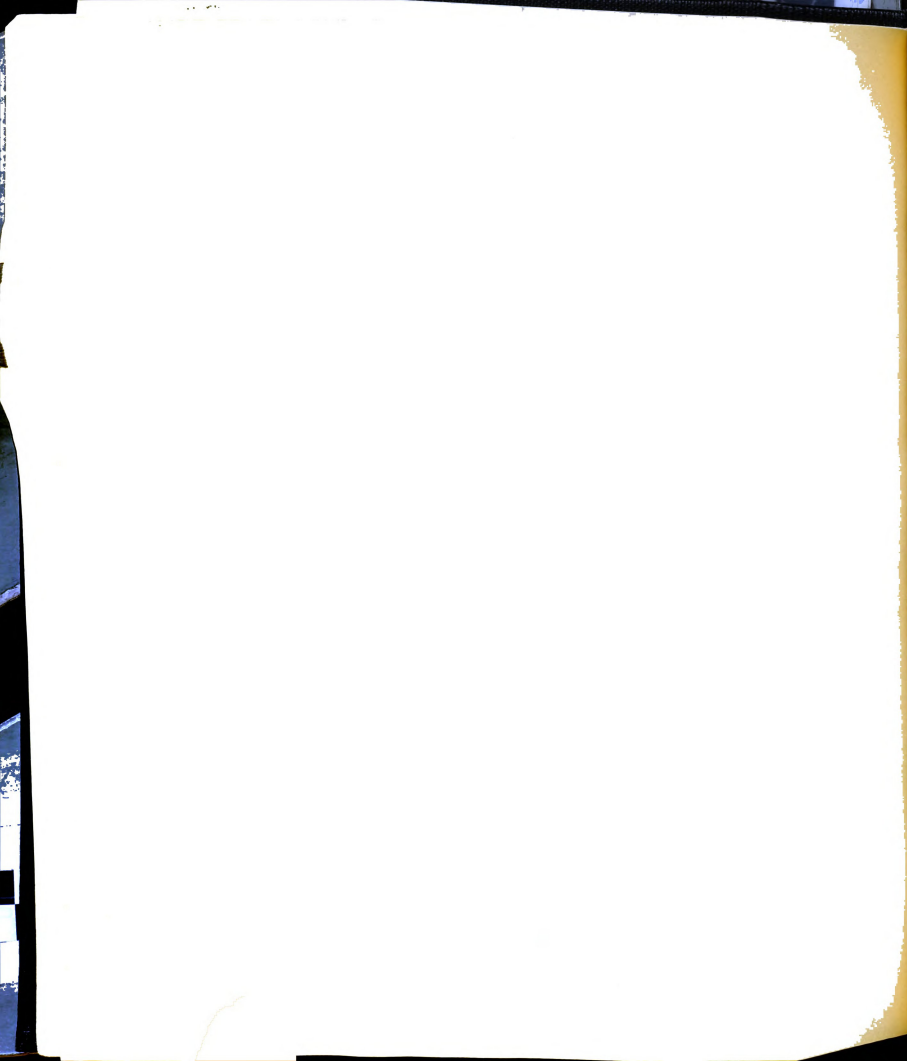
es expressed toward Negroes, core students designating
h preference were consistently more tolerant than core
s who did not have any church preference.¹

Catholic and Protestant Differences. One might expect
ious religious bodies and denominations to be similar
r attitudes toward minorities since all of them ac-
common set of basic norms and values. But findings
s respect are, as Allport puts it, "equivocal."² The
n seems to lie, not in differences in ultimate goals
lues, but in the intermediate means-ends schema by
they are strived for, and the relationship which they
o other institutional aspects of the total social
of which the religious group is a part. This en-
frame of reference requires the individual as a mem-
numerous supporting and conflicting groups to per-
and select his social beliefs according to his role
finition of the social situation. Hence the more a

though there are no other studies exactly comparable
this one, if we make the assumption that core students
ong religious affiliates as compared with nonaffiliates
ve a more stable religious experience, the findings of
is study are in support of those of Bettelheim and
nowitz previously cited, and those of Allport (1954),
p. cit., p. 451.

the other hand, a lack of any significant difference
between the two groups suggests that their basic values
nd to converge. Actually a case could probably be
ade that there is no true nonreligious group, per se,
asmuch as religious norms are incorporated into the
ole structure of every group, and hence, indirectly,
very member of it receives some exposure to its ethical
alues. This would be particularly true for children
nd adolescents since in their training the emphasis is
laced on the ideal rather than the actualities of adult
lving.

ordon Allport (1954), op. cit., p. 449.



religious group relates a particular means-end schema believing ultimate values to roles which members of the group can perceive as useful and constructive in other areas of life, the more its members will reflect its basic values.

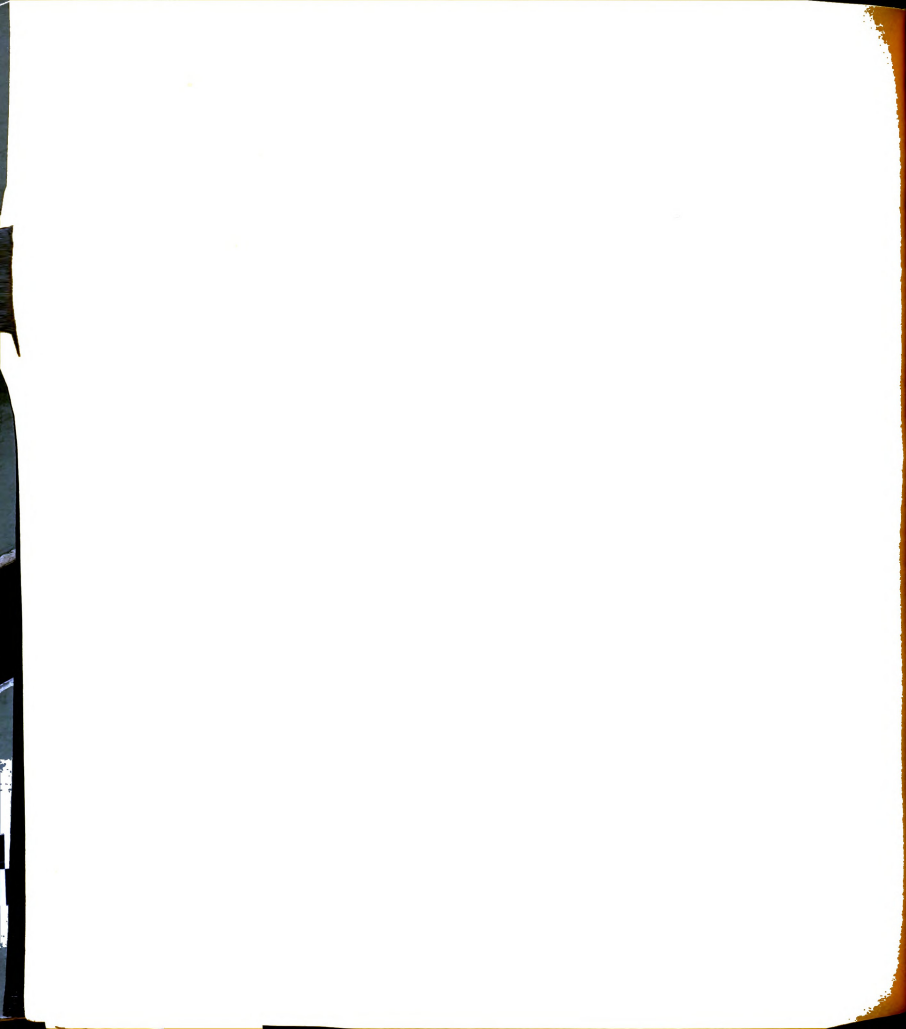
Since in most instances there is more than one means-end schema available for achieving a goal, the role perception of various religious groups may vary considerably as to type and effectiveness. Hence the social norms of various religious groups may differ also. For purposes of this study only Catholics and Protestants will be considered. In view of the fact that the prejudice scores of the ninth as compared with the twelfth grade showed a completely consistent reversal of pattern, the results for this section will be presented for each grade rather than for the combined grades.

Hypothesis. The hypothesis to be tested is stated as follows:

1:

Core students of Catholic groups will have different prejudice scores than core students of Protestant groups.

Findings. Although adequate testing of this hypothesis was limited by the small number of Catholic students in the groups of the grades under study, some important observations may be made. In spite of the fact that none of the scores were significantly different for the two groups, all but one of them, the twelfth grade Jewish score, showed consistent differences. Core students of Catholic faith in the twelfth grade were more tolerant than were those of Protestant

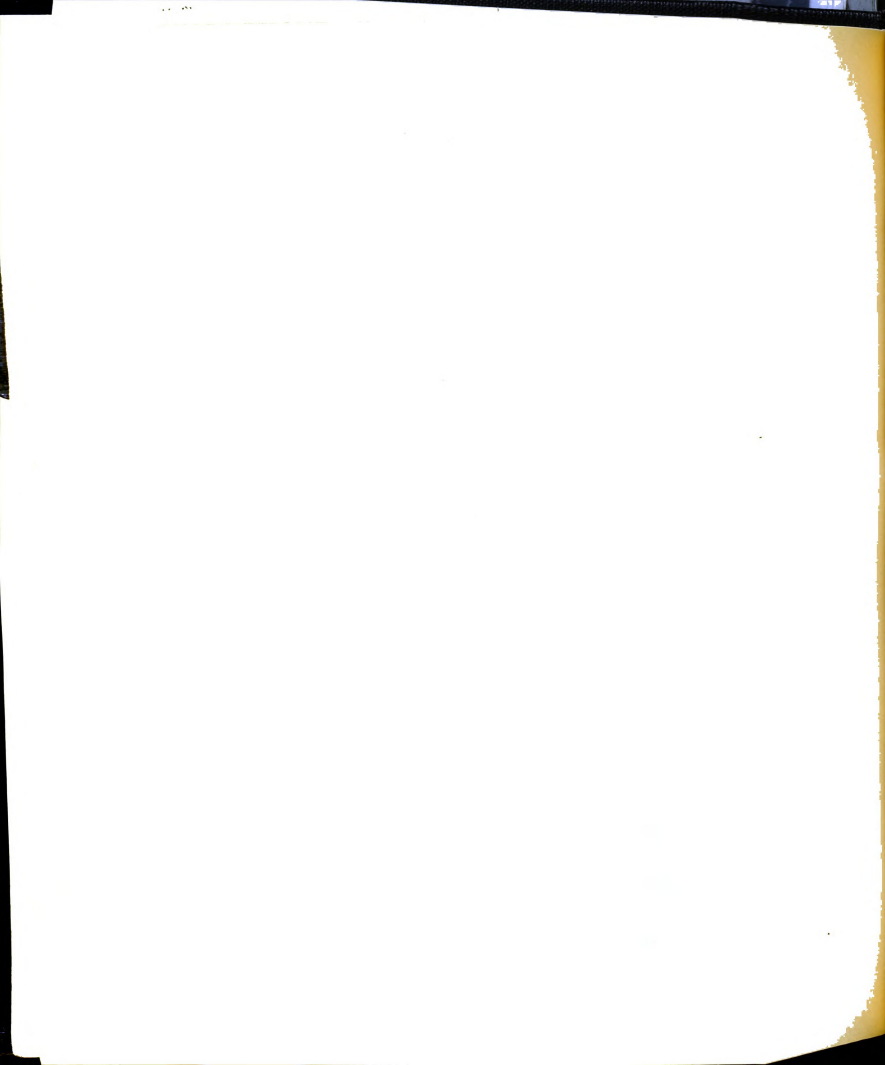


but the reverse was true in the twelfth grade.¹ (See .10.) Thus the tendency for Catholics to become more prejudiced than Protestants seemed to be associated with an increase of age and grade levels.

There are a number of factors which might contribute to the general position taken by ninth grade Catholics. As Allport and Yinger point out, the Catholic church has taken a general position toward segregation and other discriminatory practices.² Since many Catholic students come from parochial grade schools to the public high school, perhaps they would more clearly represent the position of the church regarding these issues than do Protestants. However, when Catholic students enter the public high school, they are a minority group position and doctrinal differences

Allport and Kramer, Merton, Sappenfield, and Prothro all found that high school and college students of the Catholic faith more prejudiced. This is in line with the twelfth grade trend reported in this study. On the other hand, Parry, in his study of anti-Semitism in Denver found Protestants more prejudiced, and Holland, in his adult sample of Maple Valley, found no difference between the two religious groups. See: Gordon Allport and Bernard Kramer, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Robert Merton, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Bert Sappenfield, "The Response of Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish Students to the Menace Checklist," *Journal of Social Psychology*, Volume 20, 1944, p. 297; and E. T. Prothro, "Group Differences in Ethnic Attitudes of Louisiana College Students," *Sociology and Social Research*, Volume 34, 1950, p. 258, cited in Gerhart Saenger, *The Social Psychology of Prejudice*, New York, Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1953, p. 98; H. J. Parry, "Protestants, Catholics and Prejudice," *International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research*, Volume 3, 1949, pp. 205-213, cited by Saenger, *ibid.*, p. 98; and John Holland, *op. cit.*, p. 196, 203-204.

George Eaton Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities: and Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination*, New York, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1953.



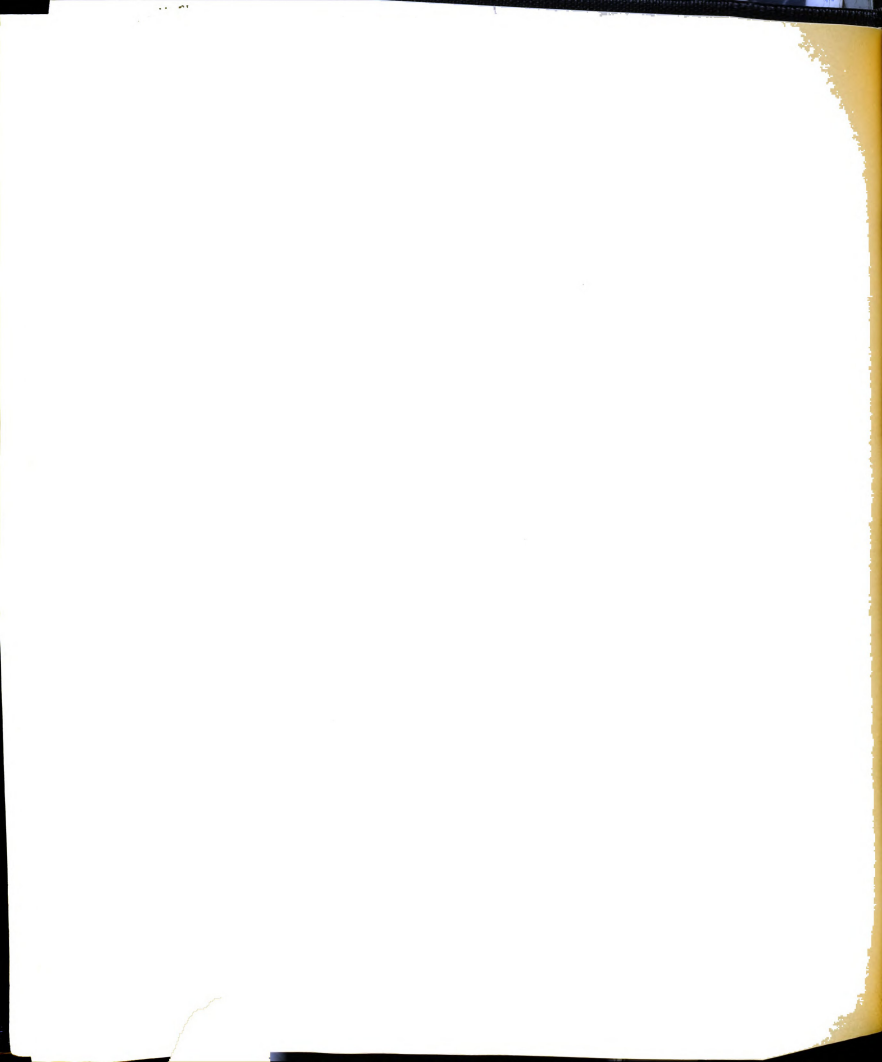
e 4.10 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF CORE CATHOLIC AND CORE
PROTESTANT STUDENTS, NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES,
MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Sociometric Subgroup (a)								
u-	One:		One:		Computations for			
	Catholics	Protestants	Catholics	Protestants				
e	Choosing,	Choosing,	Choosing,	Choosing,	Significance of	(b)		
	Chosen by	Chosen by	Chosen by	Chosen by	Differences:			
	Catholics	Protestants	Catholics	Protestants				
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
1								
n	3	62.3	68	58.3	75.5	34.95	- .92	.36
el	3	55.3	40	60.6	92.0	20.96	1.22	.22
sh								
n	3	16.0	68	15.8	91.0	33.89	- .49	.62
el	3	16.0	40	16.6	61.5	20.10	- .20	.84
o								
n	3	15.7	68	13.6	68.5	34.67	-1.12	.26
el	3	12.7	40	14.2	80.0	20.67	.65	.52
can								
n	3	14.7	68	14.3	96.5	34.73	- .32	.75
el	3	13.0	40	14.6	86.5	20.70	.97	.33
al								
n	3	16.0	68	14.7	82.0	34.66	- .74	.46
el	3	13.7	40	15.2	98.0	20.64	1.53	.13

For a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix C.

e: Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.

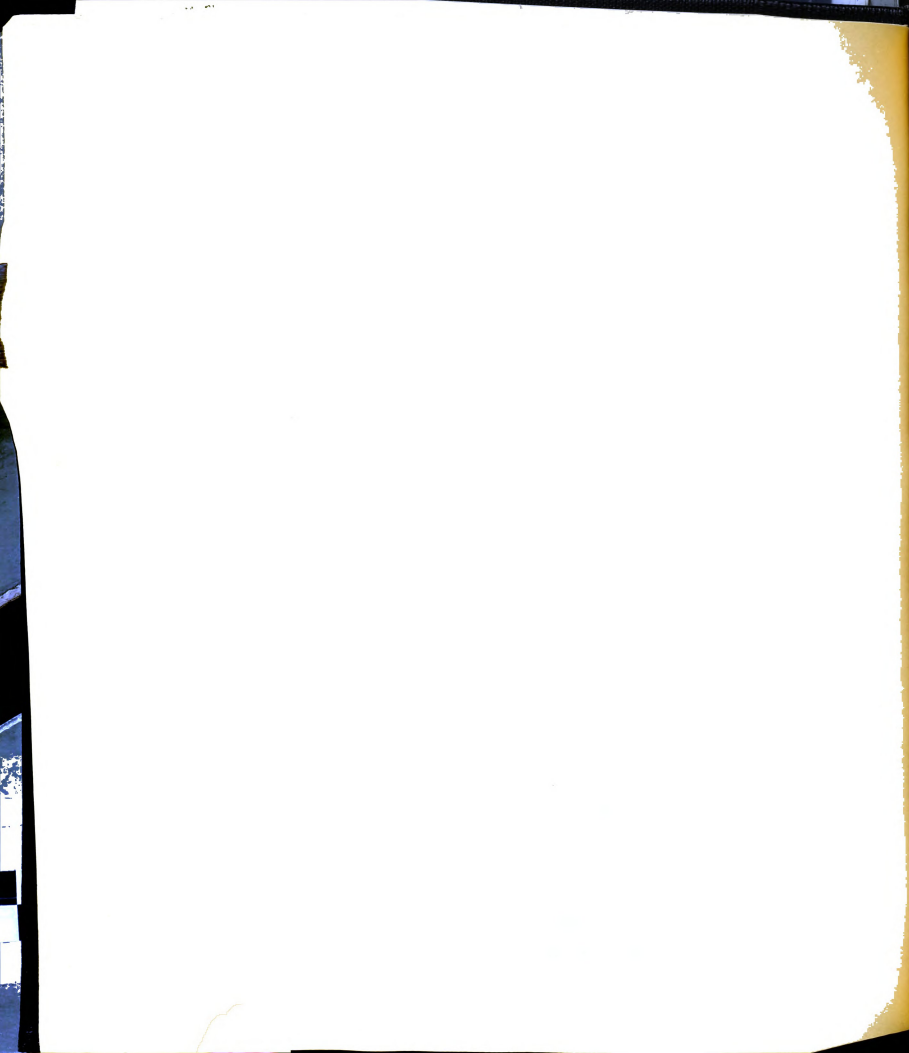


come more salient with the passage of time, giving rise to re-orientation of values. In other words their attitudinal responses become less oriented to the impersonal traditional norms of the church and more oriented to role factors found in the group situation. Since these are unfavorable status-roles they tend to encourage the development of prejudice.

RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION

Another approach to the study of the influence of religious behavior on prejudice is to compare the attitudes of respondents who do not participate in religious activities with those who are high and low participators. If stability and persistence of religious experience are important factors in developing tolerant attitudes, then it is logical to expect that high attenders of religious activities as compared with low or nonattenders, would be most exposed to and would have more fully accepted religious norms and values and, therefore, would be more tolerant.¹ This would be especially true for core members of the respective groups since their membership group is their most familiar anchorage point, not only in selecting informal group associates, but also for their social normative orientation. In such a group, the shared values of the members are believed mutually reinforcing. The low attender group is in a different situation. They can neither accept nor reject their religious

A high attender is one who attended Sunday School (or church) twice a month or more, a low attender, one who attended less than twice a month.



perience, and from this ambivalence, many frustrations emerge. For one thing, the religious institution itself, assigns such members inferior status even to the point of applying sanctions to enforce conformity. Consequently, we would expect them to be more prejudiced than high attenders. In contrast, from the point of view of the church, the nonattender has no status. It cannot be assumed, however, that the nonattender represents one pole of a unidimensional continuum of participation. It is possible that nonattendance is symbolic of lack of interest in certain religious values and goals shared with others. It is also possible that it is symbolic of deviant religious values. In other words, the nonattender group may be a multi-dimensional category.

Hypothesis. The hypothesis to be tested is stated as follows:

Core members from the high attender group have different prejudice scores than core members of the low attender group, and core members from the nonattender group have different prejudice scores than either of the other two groups.

Findings. The data consistently support the hypothesis. For core high and low attenders, the latter being the more prejudiced. It is interesting to note also that the levels of significance for these differences are relatively high. They range from a level of eight percent for the Mexican group to a level of 34 percent for the general score.

Differences for core high attenders as compared with nonattenders were not significant nor did they approach

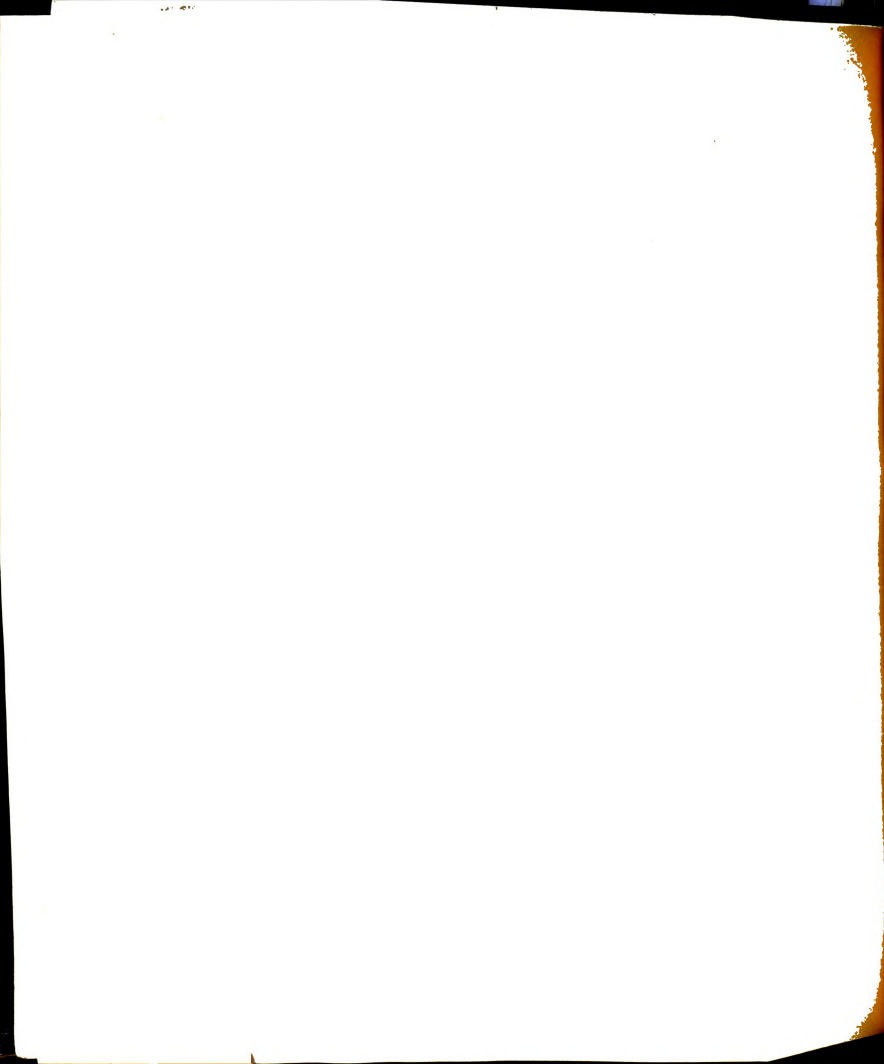


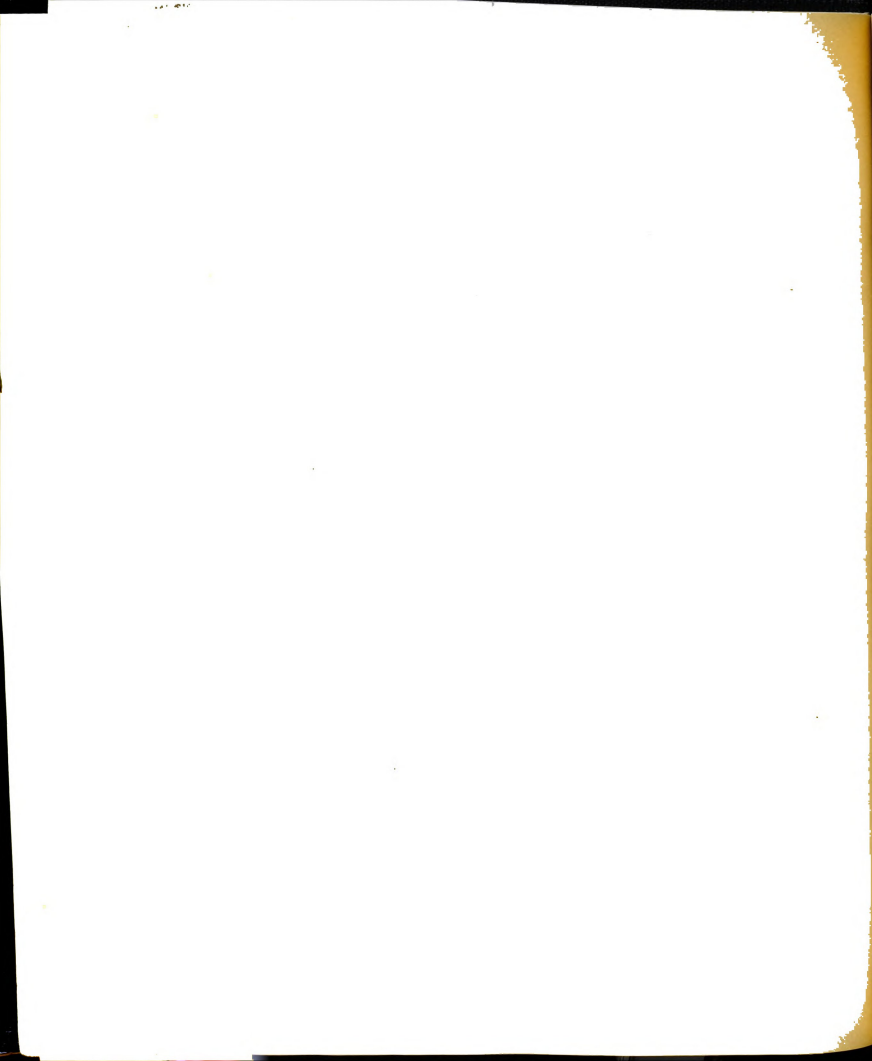
Table 4.11 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF CORE HIGH AND CORE LOW ATTENDER STUDENTS, COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Sociometric Subgroup (a)								
	One: Low Attender Students Choosing, Chosen by Low Attender Students		One: High Attender Students Choosing, Chosen by High Attender Students		Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
u-	10	54.0	55	58.6	421.0	54.93	1.65	.10
e	10	14.8	55	16.0	400.5	53.74	1.30	.19
	10	12.7	55	13.7	388.5	54.47	1.06	.29
an	10	12.8	55	14.4	427.5	54.61	1.78	.08
al	10	13.7	55	14.5	382.5	54.53	.95	.34

For a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix C.

Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.



significance level (Table 4.12). Neither were they content.

Differences between the prejudice scores of core lowlanders and the corresponding nonattender group were not significant at the five percent level, or beyond, but levels of significance were relatively high, except for the General prejudice score (Table 4.13). All five scores followed a consistent pattern, the core nonattenders being the more prejudiced.¹

Sociometric Status and Prejudice. Recent research on leadership at the formal, or institutional level, has been concerned with the relationship of leadership roles to the exercise of power within a bureaucratic frame of reference. One approach hypothesizes an hierarchy of leaders, each of which employs different leadership techniques and functions in keeping with their differential functions such as minimizing social action, initiating it, or executing administrative detail. Each rung of leaders also enjoys a different social status.² An important further consideration is the extent to which bureaucratic organizational patterns permeate the informal group structure. It is with respect to leadership and its relation to prejudiced attitudes that this section of the study is concerned. It will be recalled that for purposes of this study

These findings tend to corroborate those of Allport and, T. M. L. Telheim and Janowitz cited on p.100 of this thesis to the effect that stable religious roles are associated positively with tolerance.

See page 56 of this thesis for a list of writers concerned with this problem, Footnotes 1 and 2.



4.12 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF CORE HIGH ATTENDERS AND CORE NONATTENDERS, COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Preju- dice Score	Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
	One: Nonattender Students Choosing, Chosen by Nonattender Students		One: High Attender Students Choosing, Chosen by High Attender Students		Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
Total	17	59.2	55	58.6	608.5	75.30	-.15	.88
Jewish	17	16.2	55	16.0	586.5	73.10	-.46	.65
Negro	17	14.4	55	13.7	562.0	74.62	-.78	.44
Mexican	17	14.4	55	14.4	643.0	74.82	.29	.77
General	17	14.2	55	14.5	656.5	74.74	.47	.64

(a) For a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

(b) White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix C.

Source: Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.



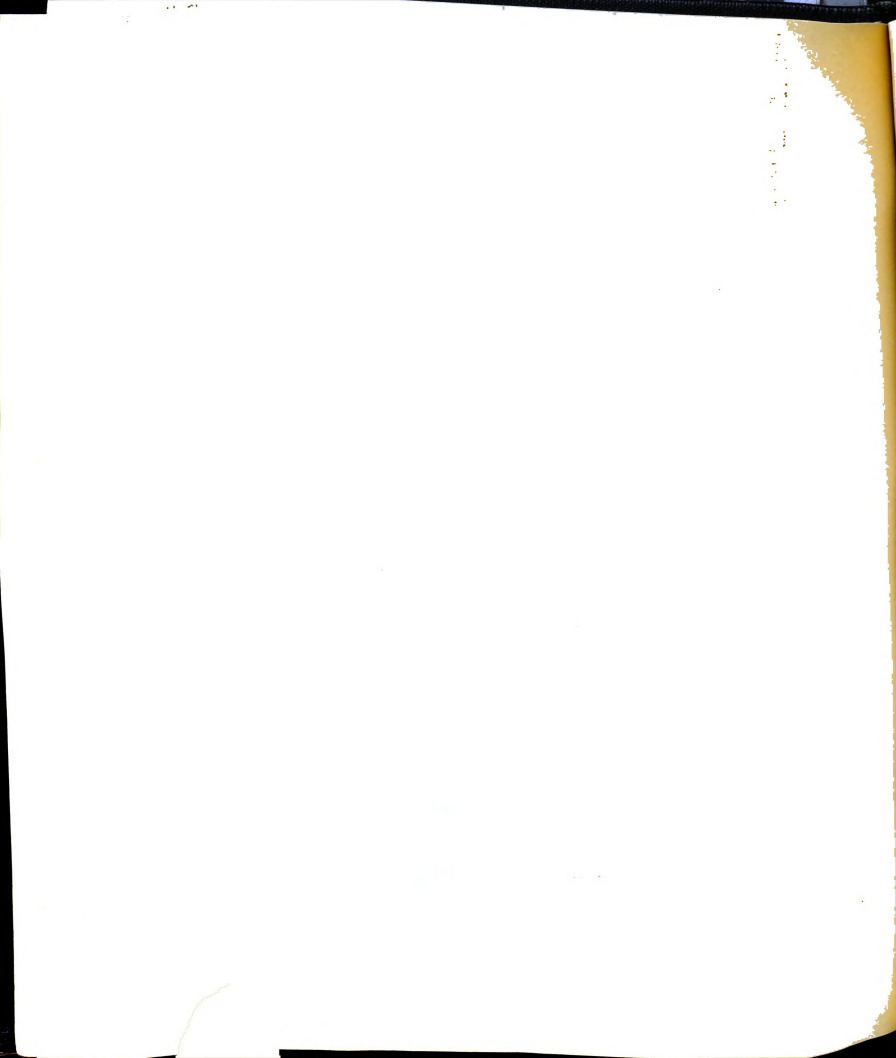
Table 4.13 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF CORE LOW ATTENDER AND CORE NONATTENDER STUDENTS, COMEINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Preju- dice Score	Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
	One: Low Attender Students Choosing, Chosen by Low Attender Students				One: Nonattender Students Choosing, Chosen by Nonattender Students			
	Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)							
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
Total	10	54.0	17	59.2	170.0	19.85	1.49	.14
Jewish	10	14.8	17	16.2	164.0	19.30	1.22	.22
Negro	10	12.7	17	14.4	169.0	19.57	1.46	.14
Mexican	10	12.8	17	14.4	171.5	19.71	1.57	.12
General	10	13.7	17	14.2	151.0	19.76	.53	.60

(a) For a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

(b) White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix C.

Source: Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.



leader-follower groups were categorized into pivot-leaders pivot-links, satellites, self-isolates and group isolates. However, only the first three will be examined inasmuch as the last two categories have no reference group orientation. It is reasonable to suppose that the relationships maintained among them may be indicative of the types of structure prevailing. For example, the presence of a leader clique plus a strong pivot-link group suggests the possibility of a bureaucratic type sociometric structure, while the absence of a pivot leader clique, combined with a strong pivot-link group seems more indicative of a moderately integrated non-bureaucratic sociometric structure. On the other hand, absence of a pivot leader clique plus a large number of satellites may result in a nonintegrated sociometric structure. Since the pivot leaders, pivot-links and satellites occupy different social positions, one would expect them to have different attitudes toward minorities.

Hypothesis. The hypothesis to be tested is stated as follows:¹

Core members of the pivot leader group have different prejudice scores than core members of the pivot-link group.

Findings: Upon examining the data, it was found that there was no core pivot leader group. Instead every pivot leader had some direct association with followers and his

1. The satellites are not included in these hypotheses. Since they receive no choices they have no "true core group."



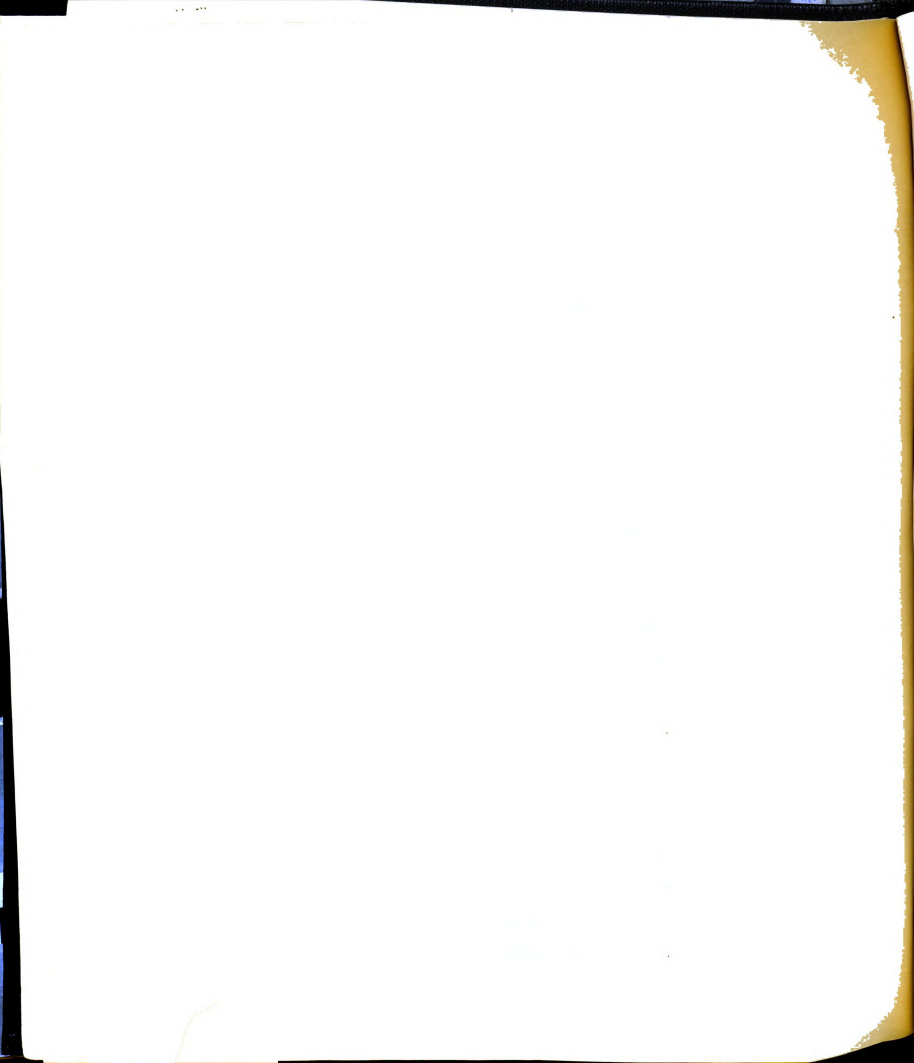
social power was dependent upon maintaining that association. However leader-follower relations will be discussed later when peripheral and satellite groups are taken up.

Summary. The guiding hypothesis of this Chapter may be stated as follows:

Prejudice toward minorities expressed by core members of different social groups will vary as the social position of their respective groups varies.

Residence. Differences for core farm and town residents tended to support the hypothesis, the town core group being the more tolerant. The difference for the Jewish score was significant at the two percent level. The Mexican and Total Prejudice Scores were consistent with the pattern established by the Jewish Score. Differences between core farm and nonfarm students were not significant, although three out of the five scores showed the former group to be the more prejudiced. Three of the five prejudice scores of core nonfarm students were more liberal than those of the corresponding town group, but differences were not significant.

Occupation. Differences in prejudice scores by core occupational groups supported the hypothesis. Two of the differences were significant, namely, for core farm versus corresponding blue collar students, and for the core farm versus the core white collar group. With one exception in each comparison, the remaining prejudice scores followed the pattern established by the Jewish scores. Core white collar students, except for attitudes expressed toward the



, were consistently more tolerant than the corresponding blue collar group.

Subjective Socioeconomic Status. The socioeconomic groups supported the hypothesis as stated. Differences, however, were not in the direction usually hypothesized in other studies.

With respect to the Negro, core working class students were significantly (01) more liberal than the core middle class, and all of the remaining scores were consistent with the pattern. It appears unlikely that the pattern is a result of chance variation.

Religious Preference. Differences were not significant, although the predominant pattern showed those with a church preference to be more tolerant. There were no significant differences among core Protestants and Catholics, although the former were predominantly more tolerant when all types of prejudice scores were considered.

Religious Participation. Data on religious participation tended to support the hypothesis. Core high attenders were consistently but not significantly more tolerant than the corresponding low attender group. Core nonattenders were not significantly more tolerant than core high attenders although their scores were predominantly in that direction. Core low attenders were consistently but not significantly more prejudiced than corresponding nonattenders. Overall levels of significance were relatively high.



PART III

EXPRESSIONS OF PREJUDICE AMONG PERIPHERAL GROUPS

INTRODUCTION

The data in Part II substantiated to a degree the hypothesis that differences in the social position of core groups are associated with differences in expressions of prejudice, and likewise outlined the basic pattern of prejudice, that is, which of a pair of core groups being compared tended to be more or less tolerant.

Part III of the study, which includes Chapter V and VI, returned with the problem of whether students who identify with a group of which they are not a member tend to give prejudice scores closer to their nonmembership reference group than to the one of which they are a member, provided the two groups occupy different positions in the social structure.

Chapter V is concerned with expressions of prejudice among peripheral sociometric reference groups, and Chapter VI with prejudice as it is found in peripheral satellite sociometric reference groups.¹ Religious preference was dropped because there was an insufficient number of peripheral and peripheral satellite cases to make analysis.

a definition of core, peripheral, and peripheral satellite sociometric reference groups, see pages 73-



CHAPTER V

PREJUDICE IN PERIPHERAL SOCIOMETRIC
REFERENCE GROUPS

This chapter deals with the nature and extent of reference group identification as it is found in peripheral reference groups. It will be recalled that structurally they consisted of students who have aligned themselves with a group.¹ Theoretically, these groups should most closely reflect the norms of a nonmembership as compared to a membership reference group.

Residence. As was pointed out in Chapter IV, the farm students of Maple County occupy a different social position than those of nonfarm students, and Holland also found this to be true of adults. Hence one would expect differences in attitude.

Hypotheses. Assuming that prejudice differs in groups having varying social positions according to the patterns established among the core groups of Chapter IV, and assuming that students tend to assimilate sentiments and beliefs of the group with which they identify, the following hypotheses with regard to residence may be formulated to test reference group relationships. They are based on the third research model:

1. Farm students who chose and were chosen by nonfarm students have lower prejudice scores (are less tolerant) than farm students who chose and were chosen by town students.

See this thesis, pp. 73-74, for a discussion of this group.



Town students who chose and were chosen by farm students have lower prejudice scores (are less tolerant) than town students who chose and were chosen by nonfarm students.

Nonfarm students who chose and were chosen by farm students have lower prejudice scores (are less tolerant) than nonfarm students who chose and were chosen by town students.

Findings. In general, differences found relative to the hypotheses are in the directions hypothesized. As seen in Table 5.1, farm students who chose and were chosen by nonfarm students were consistently but not significantly less tolerant than those who identified with town students. The levels of significance for the General Jewish prejudice scores came the nearest to approach-significance. They were eight and eleven percent respectively.

There was one significant difference among the scores of town students (Table 5.2). With respect to the General Jewish prejudice score, town pupils who identified with farm students were significantly more prejudiced than those who identified with nonfarm persons. Differences for all the other prejudice scores consistently followed the pattern set by the General Jewish prejudice score.

Differences in the prejudice scores of nonfarm students who chose farm versus town associates were not as stable as those of the other two residence groups. There were no significant differences, and the Mexican score reversed the patterns set by the other four (Table 5.3). For the latter four types of scores, nonfarm students who identified with

MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF FARM STUDENTS, BY
REFERENCE GROUP IDENTIFICATION, FOR THE COMBINED
NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
Five Farm Students Choosing, Chosen by onfarm students		Five Farm Students Choosing, Chosen by Town Students		Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
8	48.0	11	56.0	94.5	12.09	1.16	.25
8	13.0	11	15.3	99.5	11.87	1.60	.11
8	12.0	11	13.0	84.5	12.17	.33	.74
8	11.8	11	13.7	93.0	12.01	1.04	.30
8	11.2	11	14.0	102.0	12.05	1.78	.075

a description of the sociometric subgroups and how
were formed, see Appendix D.

e's test for the significance of difference be-
n two groups is employed. It is described in
n L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Be-
oral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company,
1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis,
ndix C.

Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.



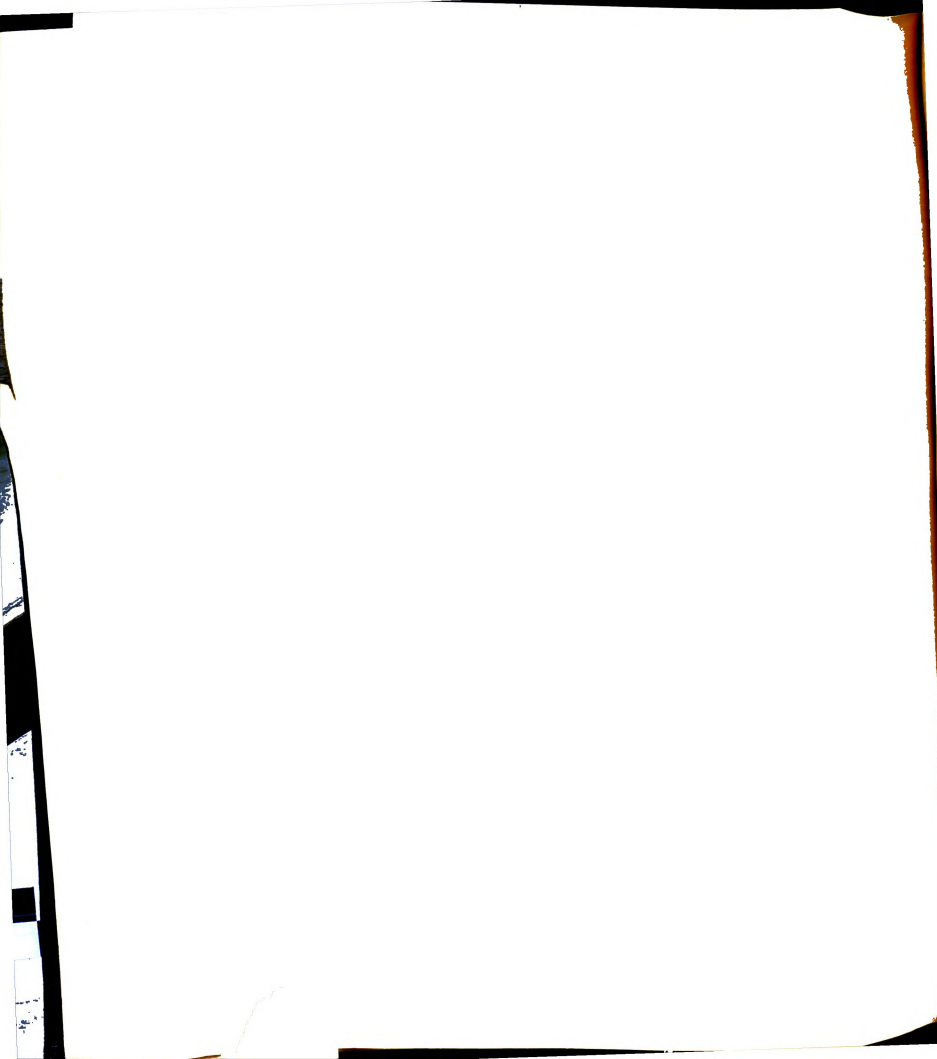
MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF TOWN STUDENTS, BY
REFERENCE GROUP IDENTIFICATION, FOR THE COMBINED
NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
Five: Town Students Choosing, Chosen by Farm Students		Five: Town Students Choosing, Chosen by Nonfarm Students		Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
0	55.2	5	62.6	26.5	8.16	-1.59	.11
0	15.5	5	16.4	32.5	7.97	- .88	.38
0	12.8	5	15.6	27.0	8.13	-1.54	.12
0	13.7	5	14.4	37.0	8.09	- .31	.78
0	13.2	5	16.2	22.0	8.03	-2.18	.03

description of the sociometric subgroups and how
were formed, see Appendix D.

's test for the significance of difference be-
two groups is employed. It is described in
L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Be-
ral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company,
1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis,
dix C.

Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.



MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF NONFARM STUDENTS, BY
REFERENCE GROUP IDENTIFICATION, COMBINED NINTH
AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
Five: Nonfarm Students Choosing, Chosen by Farm Students		Five: Nonfarm Students Choosing, Chosen by Town Students		Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
5	57.6	11	61.7	50.5	8.76	.86	.39
5	14.4	11	16.6	56.5	8.60	1.57	.12
5	13.8	11	14.8	46.0	8.76	.34	.73
5	15.0	11	14.6	39.5	8.56	-.29	.77
5	14.4	11	15.6	47.0	8.56	.47	.64

a description of the sociometric subgroups and how
were formed, see Appendix D.

e's test for the significance of difference be-
n two groups is employed. It is described in
n L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Be-
pral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company,
1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis,
ndix C.

Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.



compared with town students were less tolerant.
 ous investigators have recorded a tendency for
 ho are identifying with a reference group to
 t" their mark. For example under this condition,
 nts who chose farm students would tend to be even
 duced than the core farm group itself, or vice

 amination of the data shows that nonfarm and town
 students tended to exaggerate the norms of their
 group. Nonfarm students who identified with town
 ad a Total prejudice score of 61.7, as compared
 re of 59.3 for the town core group.¹ Those who
 students had a Total prejudice score of 57.6,
 ore group, a score of 58.6 (Tables 4.1 and 5.3).
 pattern prevailed for peripheral town students.
 chose farm students had a Total prejudice score
 compared with 58.6 for the core farm group;
 identified with nonfarm students had a Total prej-
 e of 62.6, the core nonfarm group a score of 60.7
 2 and 5.2).

attern for peripheral farm students is quite dif-
 hey were not only more prejudiced than the nonfarm
 groups when one would expect them to be less so,

the chief concern of this study is with reference
 behavior itself, and not with relation to frustra-
 nd other phenomena, and since these data are based
 escriptive universe of students, and not a sample,
 of significance were not computed; the lower the
 ice score the more the prejudice.



they were more prejudiced than the core farm group. Farm students who chose nonfarm students had a To-
dice score of 48.0, those who chose town students
56.0 (Table 5.1). The scores for the core groups
58.6, nonfarm 60.7 and town 59.3 (Tables 4.1 and

Important observations can be made. First, it has
that vertical mobility among farm residence groups
to be associated with increases in prejudice. This
agreement with the findings in other research. Green-
Pearlin, for example, found this to be true and at-
tributed it to frustration factors.¹ But a second pattern
is very important. Once the scores have been depressed,
from frustration or other causes, the patterned re-
sponses characteristic of reference group identification
that is, farm students who chose nonfarm students
have lower scores than farm students who chose town students
(more prejudiced). But they did not have scores like
the objective reference groups. Thus differences in di-
rections are consistent with the reference group hypothesis
and differences in magnitude. However none were statis-
tically significant at the five percent level. These data
show the possibility that reference group relationship
are highly stable and tend to persist even in ad-
verse circumstances.

Conclusion. In Chapter IV, it was found that prejudice
in County was associated with social position, and



farm groups were the most prejudiced and core
lar groups tended to be the least so. Accordingly,
who identified with the core farm group should be
judiced than those who identified with the core white
oup, or the core blue collar group, if the refer-
o hypothesis holds.

theses. The specific hypotheses are stated as fol-

rm students who chose and were chosen by blue col-
r students have lower prejudice scores (are less
lerant) than farm students who chose and were
osen by white collar students.

ue collar students who chose and were chosen by
rm students have lower prejudice scores (are less
lerant) than blue collar students who chose and were
osen by white collar students.

ite collar students who chose and were chosen by
rm students have lower prejudice scores (are less
lerant) than white collar students who chose and
re chosen by blue collar students.

ings. The data presented in Tables 5.4, 5.5 and
stently support the hypotheses, but differences are
ificant. This was true for all prejudice scores and
ccupational categories. Farm boys and girls who
e collar students were consistently but not signif-
ore prejudiced than those who chose white collar
(Table 5.4); blue collar students who identified
students were more prejudiced than those who iden-
th white collar students (Table 5.5); and white
uth who chose farm students were less tolerant than
chose blue collar associates (Table 5.6).

as true of residence categories, farm students who



MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF FARM STUDENTS WITH BLUE
AND WHITE COLLAR REFERENCE GROUP IDENTIFICATIONS,
COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY,
1949

Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
Five: Farm Students Choosing, Chosen by Blue Collar Students				Five: Farm Students Choosing, Chosen by White Collar Students			
				Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
10	54.0	5	59.2	36.5	8.16	- .37	.71
10	14.1	5	16.4	30.0	7.91	-1.20	.23
10	12.8	5	14.0	37.0	8.12	- .31	.76
10	13.5	5	14.6	38.0	8.08	- .19	.85
10	13.6	5	14.2	36.5	8.10	- .37	.71

a description of the sociometric subgroups and how
were formed, see Appendix D.

's test for the significance of difference be-
a two groups is employed. It is described in
L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Be-
ral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company,
1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis,
dix C.

Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.

MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF BLUE COLLAR STUDENTS,
BY FARM AND WHITE COLLAR REFERENCE GROUP IDEN-
TIFICATIONS, COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES,
MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
Five: Blue Collar Choosing, Chosen by Farm Students		Five: Blue Collar Choosing, Chosen by White Collar Students		Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
8	55.0	10	60.4	85.5	11.24	.80	.42
8	14.8	10	16.5	89.0	10.99	1.14	.25
8	13.2	10	14.0	78.0	11.15	.13	.90
8	13.9	10	14.5	80.5	11.15	.40	.69
8	13.1	10	15.4	91.5	11.04	1.36	.17

a description of the sociometric subgroups and how
were formed, see Appendix D.

e's test for the significance of difference be-
n two groups is employed. It is described in
n L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Be-
oral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company,
1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis,
ndix C.

Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.

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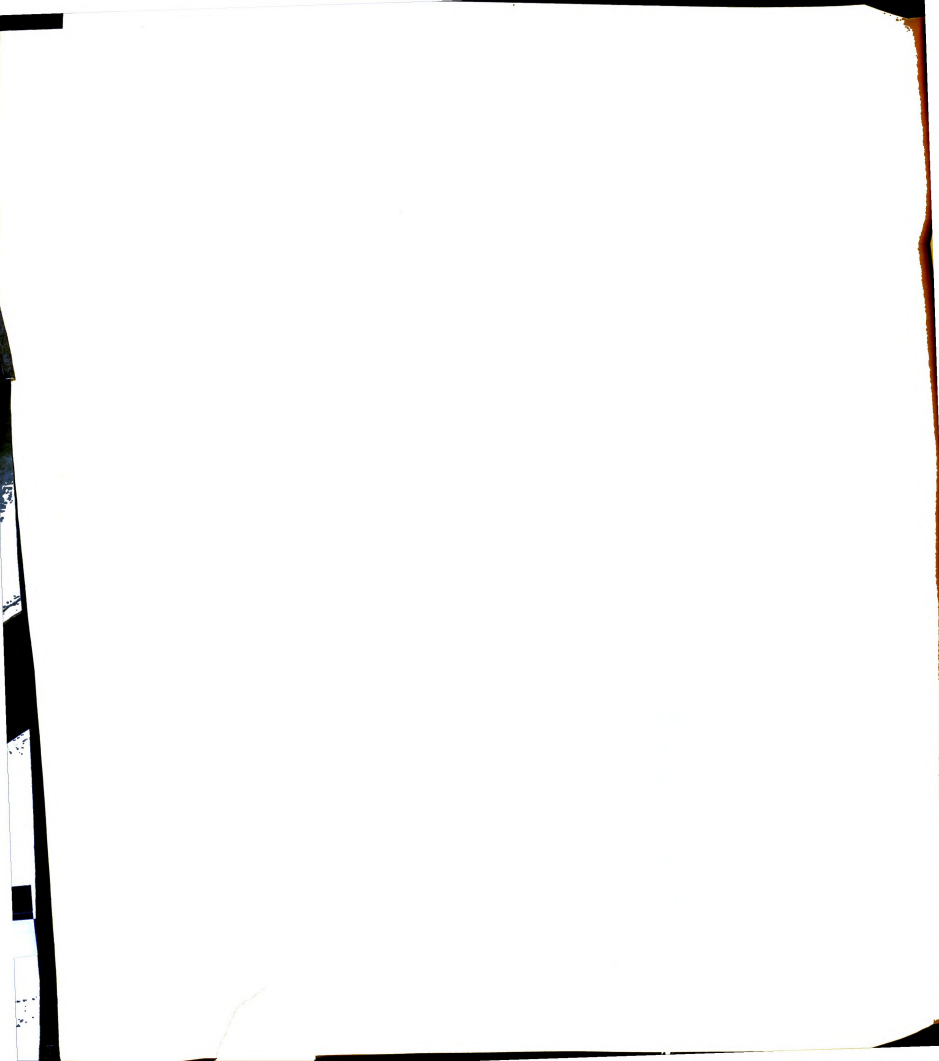
Table 5.6 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF WHITE COLLAR STUDENTS,
BY BLUE COLLAR AND FARM REFERENCE GROUP IDENTI-
FICATIONS, COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES,
MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Sociometric Subgroup (a)								
	Five: White Collar Choosing, Chosen by Farm Students		Five: White Collar Choosing, Chosen by Blue Collar Students		Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
1	5	57.4	9	60.9	49.0	7.46	1.47	.14
sh	5	15.4	9	16.2	44.5	7.33	.89	.37
o	5	13.6	9	15.3	48.5	7.39	1.42	.16
an	5	14.0	9	14.2	40.0	7.30	.27	.79
al	5	14.4	9	15.1	43.0	7.34	.68	.50

For a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

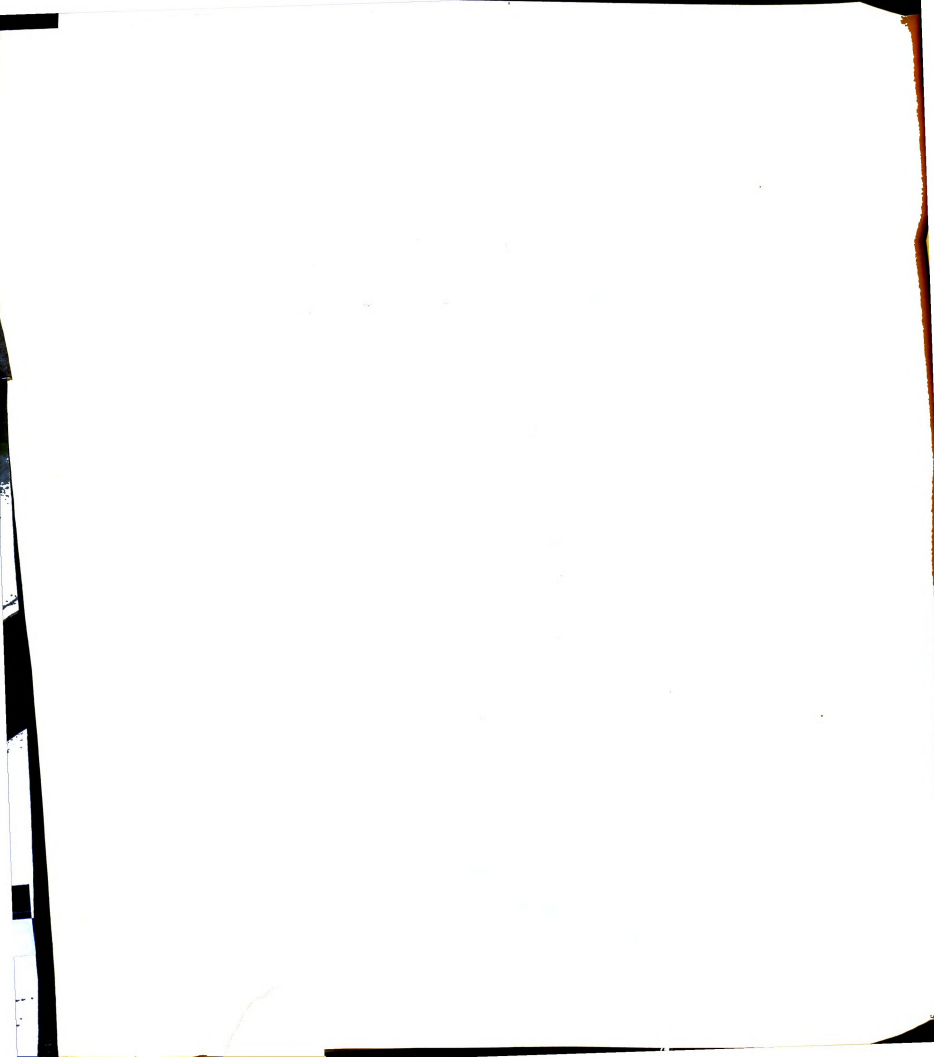
White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis, appendix C.

: Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.



those blue or white collar students were consistently more prejudiced than their respective core reference groups, and the former were more prejudiced than their own core farm group; even though differences were in the direction hypothesized. The Total prejudice score of farm students in the peripheral blue collar group was 54.0 as compared with 59.3 for the core blue collar group (Tables 5.4 and 4.4); those farm students in the peripheral white collar group was 52.2 as compared with 61.8 for the core white collar group (Tables 5.4 and 4.5). The Total prejudice score of the core blue collar group was 57.1 (Table 4.5). Of the three occupational groups, the prejudice scores of the white collar students most closely approximated the scores of core members of the groups with which they identified. These data give some weight to the contention that the members of a high status group are in a more advantageous position to evaluate and emulate the attitudes and roles of others than are members of low status groups. Differences, however, though consistent were not significant at the five percent level.

Subjective Socioeconomic Status. In Chapter IV, it was noted that adult groups in Maple County who considered themselves of the working class were more prejudiced than those who considered themselves of the middle class. These conclusions are in agreement with those of Centers. Although findings relative to the core working and middle class student groups of the study did not support these data, there



evidence that this reversal derived from differences in occupational composition of the two status groups. For purposes of this analysis the hypotheses will be stated to conform with the findings of Holland and Centers.¹

Hypotheses. The hypotheses are as follows:

- . Working class students who chose middle class students and were chosen by them have higher prejudice scores (are more tolerant) than those of the core working group.
- . Middle class students who chose and were chosen by working class students have lower prejudice scores (are less tolerant) than core students of the middle class group.

Findings. The data do not support the hypotheses. Except for the General prejudice score, all scores of the peripheral working class group showed them consistently but not significantly less tolerant than members of the core working group (Table 5.7). On the other hand, the prejudice scores of the middle class students who made and received choices from the working class students were all consistently but not significantly more tolerant than those of the middle class group (Table 5.8). Thus the patterns of preference orientation found in peripheral student groups are not consistent with adult patterns. Their reference behavior is consistent, however, with the status patterns estimated by the core students of this study.

Religious Participation. As indicated in Chapter IV, students of the nonattender group had the highest Total

Holland, op. cit., page 166, and Centers op. cit., page 148.

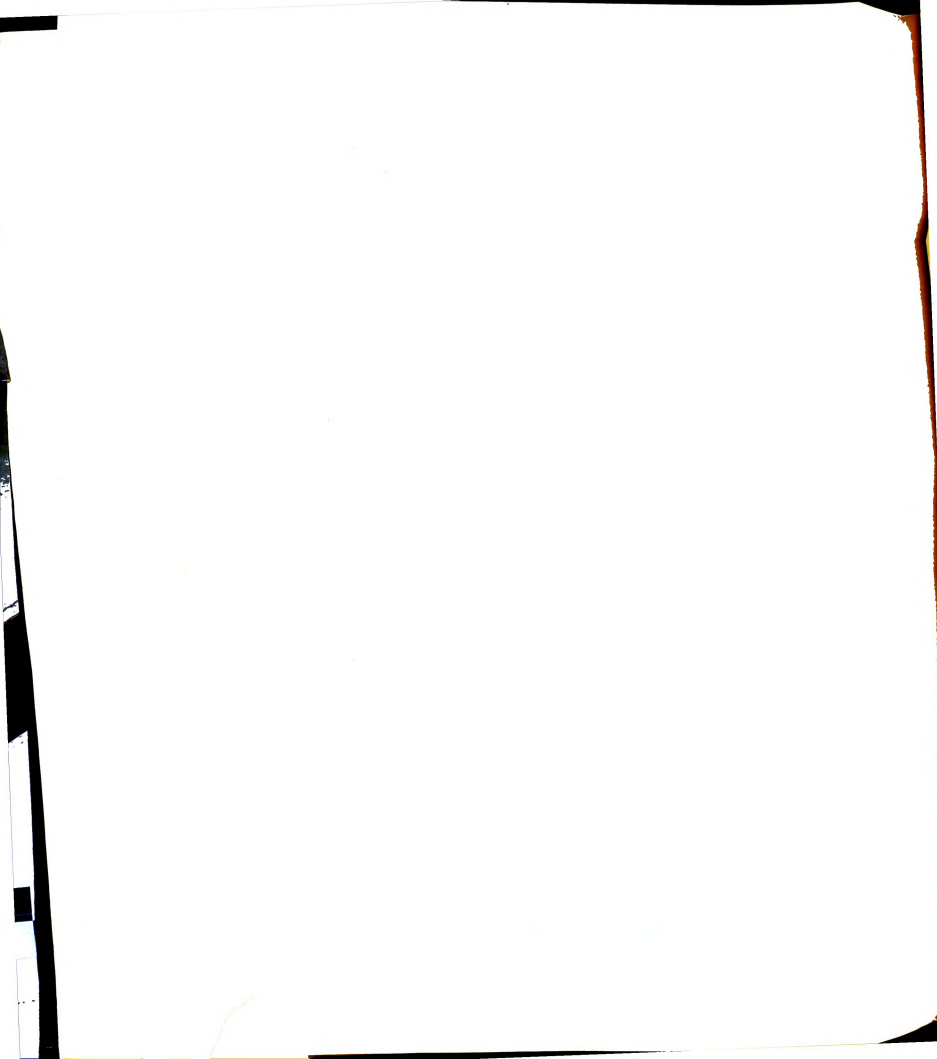


Table 5.7 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF CORE WORKING CLASS STUDENTS, AND WORKING CLASS STUDENTS WITH MIDDLE CLASS REFERENCE GROUP IDENTIFICATION, COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Sociometric Subgroup (a)								
	One: Working Class Students Choosing, Chosen by Working Class Students		Five: Working Class Students Choosing, Chosen by Middle Class Students		Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
l	13	61.2	26	59.3	224.5	33.48	-1.05	.29
sh	13	16.1	26	15.9	245.0	32.58	- .45	.65
b	13	15.3	26	13.8	201.0	33.22	-1.76	.08
an	13	14.8	26	14.6	227.5	33.13	- .97	.33
al	13	14.9	26	15.0	274.5	33.03	.42	.67

For a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis, appendix C.

: Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.

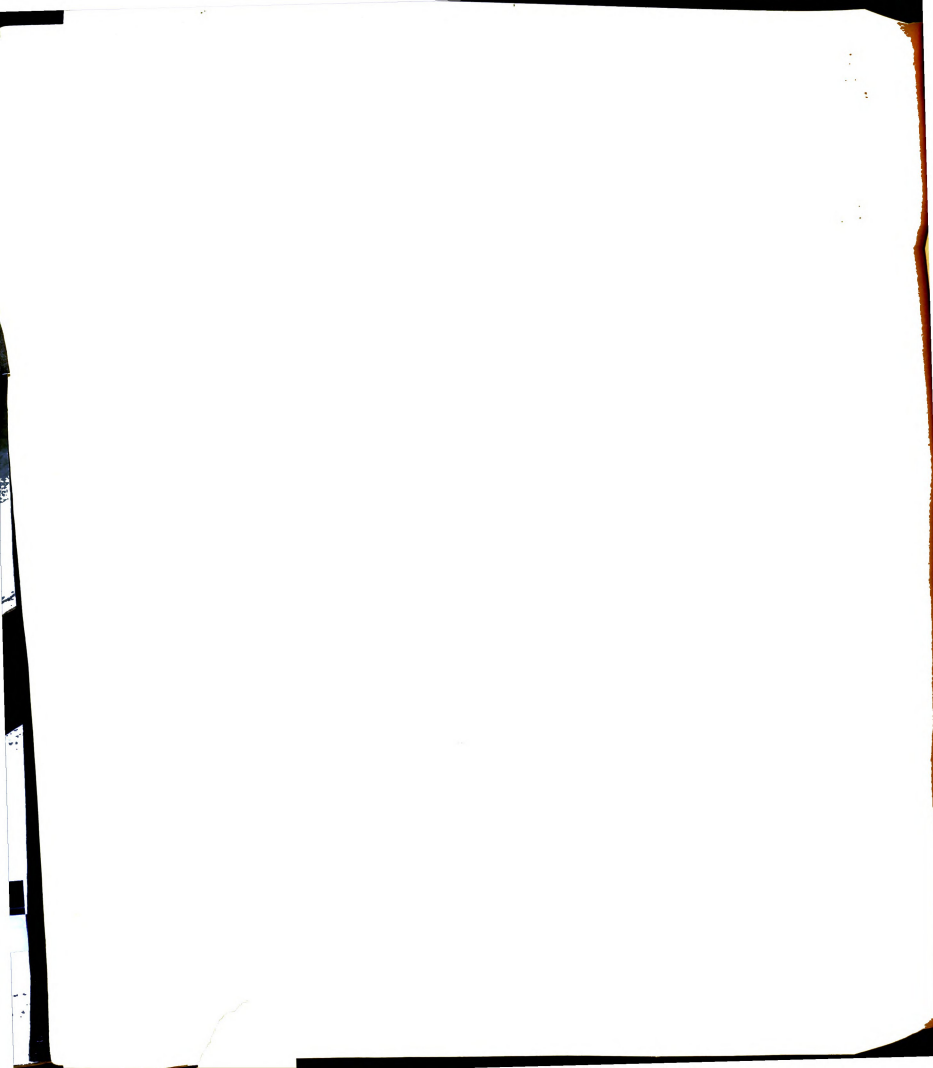


Table 5.8 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF CORE MIDDLE CLASS STUDENTS, AND MIDDLE CLASS STUDENTS WITH WORKING CLASS REFERENCE GROUP IDENTIFICATION, COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Sociometric Subgroup (a)								
	One: Middle Class Students Choosing, Chosen by Middle Class		Five: Middle Class Students Choosing, Chosen by Working Class		Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
1	72	58.3	14	61.3	488.5	85.28	-1.41	.16
sh	72	16.0	14	16.1	599.5	83.30	- .11	.91
o	72	13.6	14	14.6	508.5	84.24	-1.19	.23
an	72	14.1	14	15.3	460.5	84.71	-1.64	.10
al	72	14.6	14	15.3	552.0	84.56	- .67	.50

For a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix C.

2: Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.



prejudice score, namely, 59.2, that is, were most tolerant, core students of the high attender group were next with a score of 58.60, and core students of the low attender group had the lowest score, 54.0. These findings are in accord with those reported upon earlier in the study.¹ The core groups will be used as controls in the analysis of peripheral reference group identification. The prejudice scores of core members will be compared with peripheral members of the same group.

Hypotheses. The hypotheses to be tested are stated as follows:

1. Core students among high attenders have higher scores (are more tolerant) than high attenders who chose from and were chosen by the low attender group.
2. Core students of the low attender group have lower prejudice scores (are less tolerant) than low attenders who chose from and were chosen by the high attender group.

Findings. Data pertaining to the first hypothesis are given in Table 5.9. They did not support the hypothesis as stated. To the contrary, high attenders who identified with the low attender group were significantly less prejudiced than students in the core high attender group for both the Jewish and the Negro prejudice scores. They were also consistently more tolerant with respect to the Total and the General prejudice scores. It is possible, however, that this apparent reversal of the hypothesis is only seeming,

1. See this thesis, pp. 97-98 for a discussion of these studies, and pp. 104-109 for the findings of this study.

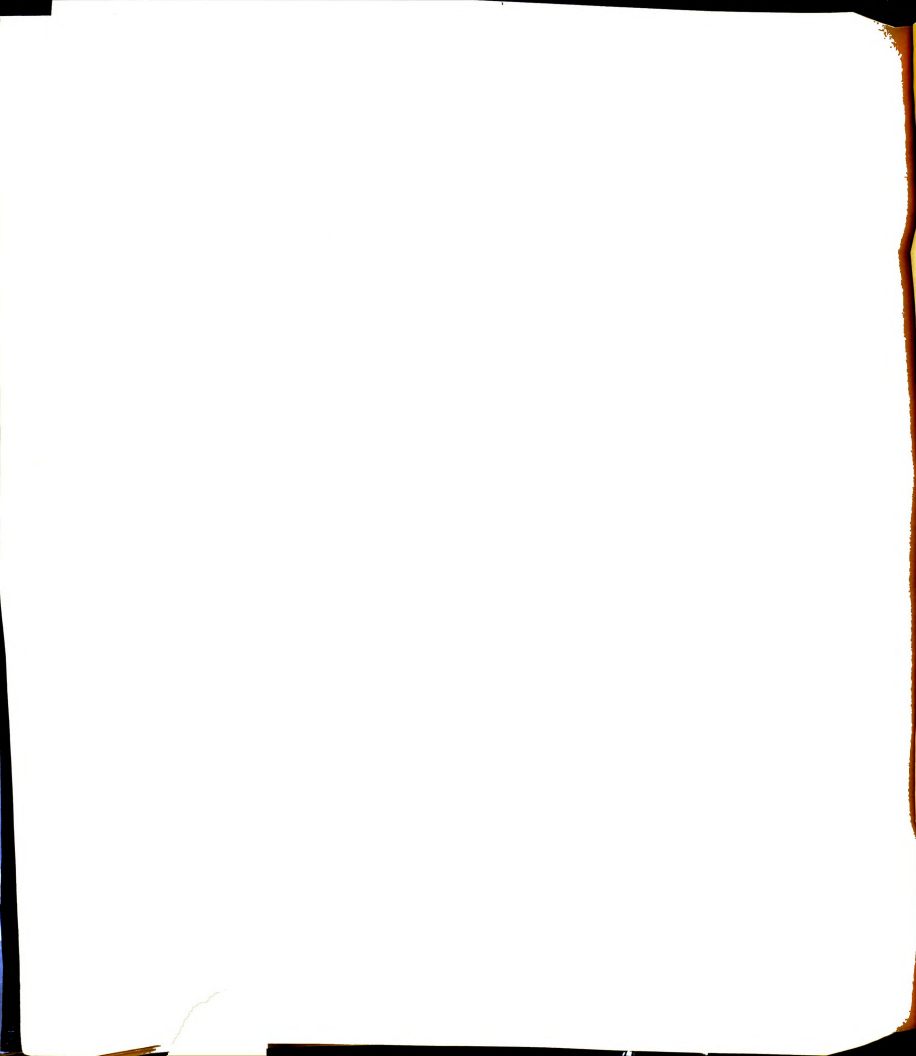


Table 5.9 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF CORE HIGH ATTENDERS, AND HIGH ATTENDERS WITH LOW ATTENDER REFERENCE GROUP IDENTIFICATION, COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Preju- dice Score	Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
	One: High Attender Students Choosing, Chosen by High Attenders		Five: High Attender Students Choosing, Chosen by Low Attenders		Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
Total	55	58.6	3	65.7	42.0	28.44	-1.62	.11
Jewish	55	16.0	3	18.0	33.0	27.66	-1.99	.05
Negro	55	13.7	3	16.7	29.0	28.20	-2.09	.04
Mexican	55	14.4	3	14.3	97.5	28.24	.30	.76
General	55	14.5	3	16.7	44.0	28.23	-1.56	.12

(a) For a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

(b) White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix C.

Source: Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.



and that it still falls within a reference group context but at a different level of abstraction. It is suggested that these individuals may have as their anchorage point, the abstract humanitarian values of the religious system of which they were a part, and hence the values of members of a particular subgroup of that system were not salient factors for them. It is the obligation of the high attender, for example, to have missionary zeal and to woo his low attender brother back to the church.

The second hypothesis was supported by the data (Table 5.10). Low attenders who chose and were chosen by high attenders were significantly more tolerant of Mexicans and had a significantly higher Total prejudice score than core low attenders. The remaining scores were consistent with these patterns. There was a considerable tendency to over-shoot the mark; for example, core high attenders had a Total prejudice score of 58.6 whereas low attenders who identified with them had a corresponding score of 64.8 (Tables 5.9 and 5.10).

Prejudice Among High Versus Nonattenders. It will be recalled that core students of the nonattender group tended to be consistently more tolerant than core students of the high attender group. These may be utilized as control groups to test association between peripheral reference group orientation and prejudice.

Hypotheses. Employing the second research model, the hypotheses are formulated as follows:

1. Core students of the nonattender group have higher prejudice scores (are more tolerant) than nonattenders



Table 5.10 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF LOW CORE ATTENDERS, AND LOW ATTENDERS WITH HIGH ATTENDER REFERENCE GROUP IDENTIFICATION, COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Preju- dice Score	Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
	One: Low Attender Students Choosing, Chosen by Low Attenders		Five: Low Attender Students Choosing, Chosen by High Attenders		Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
Total	10	54.0	4	64.8	14.5	7.03	-2.13	.03
Jewish	10	14.8	4	17.2	19.5	6.84	-1.46	.14
Negro	10	12.7	4	15.8	18.5	6.84	-1.61	.11
Mexican	10	12.8	4	15.8	15.5	6.90	-2.03	.04
General	10	13.7	4	16.0	22.5	7.03	-1.07	.28

(a) For a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

(b) White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix C.

Source: Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.

who chose from and were chosen by students from the high attender group.

2. Core students of the high attender group have lower scores (are less tolerant) than high attenders who chose from and were chosen by members of the non-attender group.

Findings. An examination of Table 5.11 shows that the data consistently supported the first hypothesis, namely, that nonattender students in the peripheral high attender group were more prejudiced than those in the core nonattender group but differences were not significant. The data were also consistent, but not significant, in support of the second hypothesis (Table 5.12).

When the scores of high attenders who identified with the low attender group and those of high attenders who identified with the nonattender group were compared, the former were consistently higher (more prejudiced) than the latter with the exception of the Mexican score, but the differences were not significant (Table 5.13). This suggests a further area of investigation with more controlled groups.

Sociometric Status. An analysis of prejudice based on sociometric reference group identification is concerned with leader-follower relations.¹ Since the core groups comprised of pivot-links includes all students other than pivot leaders who both made choices to and received choices from students who were not pivot leaders, it represents a lower eschelon

1. For a definition of the leader-follower concepts used in this section, see pp. 57-58 of this thesis. The sociometric reference groups are described on pages 73-74.



Table 5.11 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF CORE NONATTENDERS, AND NONATTENDERS WITH HIGH ATTENDER REFERENCE GROUP IDENTIFICATION, COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Preju- dice Score	Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
	One: Non- attender Students Choosing, Chosen by Non- attenders				Five: Non- attender Students Choosing, Chosen by High Attenders			
					Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
Total	17	59.2	15	57.1	263.0	27.10	.55	.58
Jewish	17	16.2	15	15.3	286.0	25.94	1.46	1.14
Negro	17	14.4	15	14.0	247.5	26.01	.00	1.00
Mexican	17	14.4	15	14.1	247.0	26.22	.00	1.00
General	17	14.2	15	13.7	261.0	26.28	.49	.62

(a) For a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

(b) White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis Appendix C.

Source: Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.



Table 5.12 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF CORE HIGH ATTENDERS,
AND HIGH ATTENDERS WITH NONATTENDER REFERENCE
GROUP IDENTIFICATION, COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH
GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Preju- dice Score	Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
	One: High Attenders Choosing, Chosen by High Attender Students		Five: High Attenders Choosing, Chosen by Non- attender Students		Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
Total	55	58.6	10	60.9	257.0	54.93	-1.32	.19
Jewish	55	16.0	10	15.9	321.5	53.57	- .15	.88
Negro	55	13.7	10	14.5	272.0	54.42	-1.06	.29
Mexican	55	14.4	10	14.7	298.5	54.58	- .57	.57
General	55	14.5	10	15.8	244.0	54.70	-1.56	.12

(a) For a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

(b) White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis Appendix C.

Source: Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.

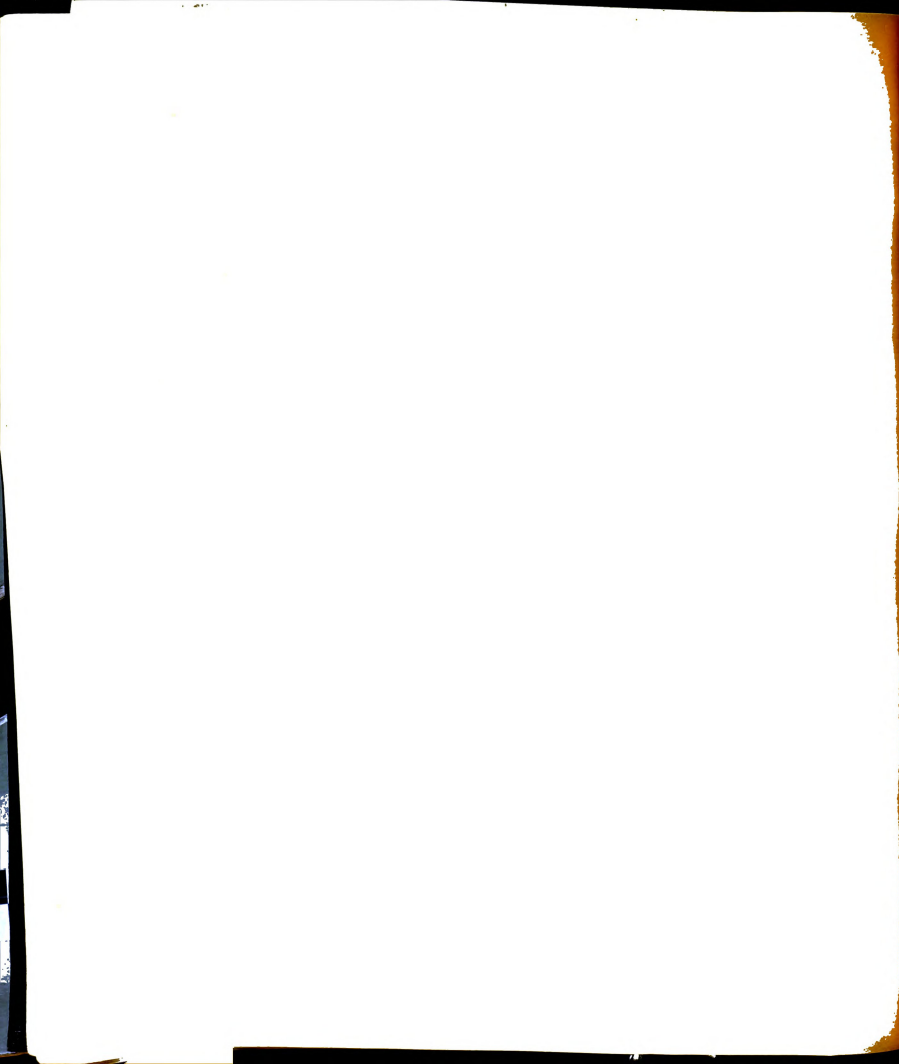


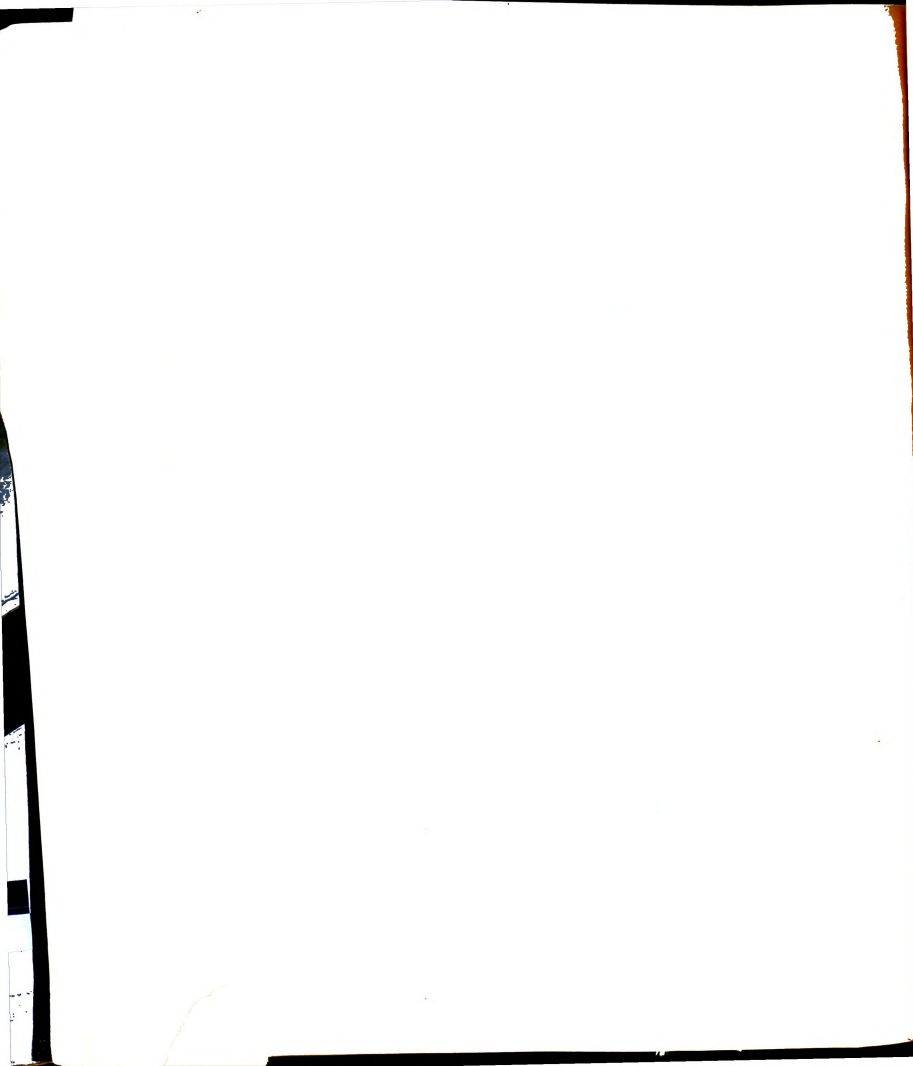
Table 5.13 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF HIGH ATTENDERS, BY LOW AND NONATTENDER REFERENCE GROUP IDENTIFICATIONS, COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Preju- dice Score	Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
	Five: High Attender Students Choosing, Chosen by Low Attenders				Five: High Attender Students Choosing, Chosen by Non- attenders			
	Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)							
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
Total	3	65.7	10	60.9	14.0	5.87	-1.11	.27
Jewish	3	18.0	10	15.9	10.5	5.58	-1.79	.07
Negro	3	16.7	10	14.5	12.0	5.81	-1.46	.14
Mexican	3	14.3	10	14.7	26.0	5.82	.77	.44
General	3	16.7	10	15.8	17.5	5.71	-.53	.60

(a) For a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

(b) White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix C.

Source: Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.



leader-follower group which provides channels of communication (both direct and indirect) for the pivot leader group. On a leader-follower continuum, this group occupies an intermediate position, with the pivot leaders at one pole and what might be called the "true followers," or satellites, (those who made choices but received none), at the other pole.

It will be recalled that the assumption is made that it is the core members of a given group who most clearly reflect its norms and values.¹ An analysis of sociometric reference group attitudes is complicated by the fact that there is no core pivot leader group as defined in the research design. One must conclude that the informal power structure for this student group had not become stratified at this level and that the core values were maintained at a different level. The next most homogeneous pivot leader group, as defined by the research design, is the peripheral pivot leader group five, whose members chose from and were chosen by only pivot-links. They are the only group which have observable leader as well as follower roles. The prejudice scores of this group will be assumed to be the most representative of the core values of pivot leaders, and in testing the hypotheses peripheral rather than core members of the pivot leader group will be considered the core pivot leader group.

1. For a further discussion of this assumption, see p. 83 of this thesis.



Hypothesis. The hypothesis relative to peripheral reference group identification may then be formulated as follows:

Pivot-links who chose from and were chosen by pivot leaders; and pivot leaders who chose from and were chosen by pivot-links have similar prejudice scores (are from a common population universe).

Findings. The hypothesis was not supported (Table 5.14).

Pivot-links who chose pivot leaders were more prejudiced than pivot leaders for three of the five prejudice scores, namely, the Total, the Negro and the General prejudice scores. The Mexican score fell only a little under the five percent level reaching the seven percent level. Pivot-links also were more prejudiced than the core members of their own membership group.¹

Summary. The general hypothesis for this chapter may be formulated as follows:

The prejudice scores of students in peripheral reference groups will be more like the core members of their peripheral reference group than like the core members of their membership group, and they will vary directly as the position of the core members of their reference group varies.

The data employed in the testing of this hypothesis are the prejudice scores of the combined ninth and twelfth grades. The variables considered are residence, occupation, subjective socioeconomic status, religious, and sociometric status. Core subgroups of the respective variables are placed on a continuum of prejudice from low to high and

1. Scores computed for the core pivot-link group run as follows: Total prejudice score, 58.4; Jewish prejudice score, 15.7; Negro prejudice score, 13.8; Mexican prejudice score, 14.2; and General prejudice score, 14.6.



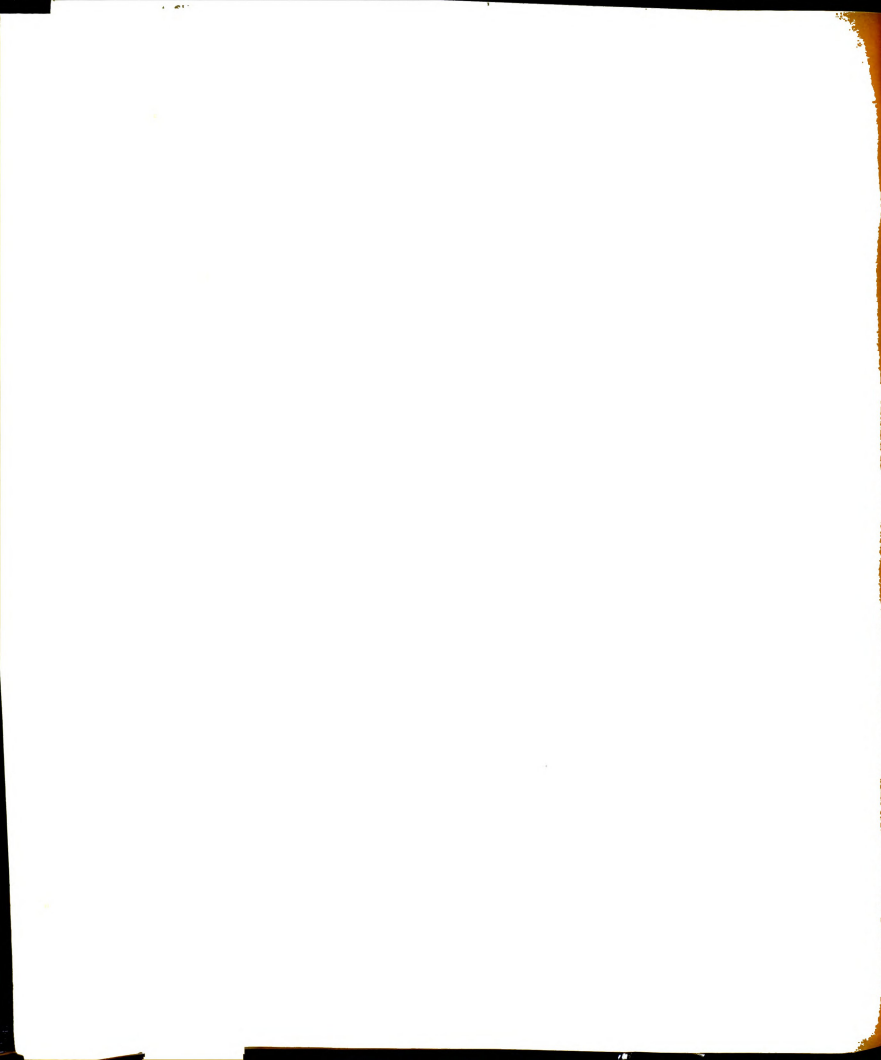
Table 5.14 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF PIVOT LEADERS AND PIVOT-LINKS, BY REFERENCE GROUP IDENTIFICATION, COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Preju- dice Score	Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
	Five: Pivot- links Choosing, Chosen by Pivot Leaders				Five: (Core) Pivot Leaders Choosing, Chosen by Pivot- links			
					Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
Total	7	54.6	13	62.5	100.0	12.33	2.11	.03
Jewish	7	15.9	13	16.4	79.0	12.24	.41	.68
Negro	7	12.7	13	14.7	98.5	12.52	1.96	.05
Mexican	7	12.9	13	15.4	97.0	12.47	1.84	.07
General	7	13.1	13	16.0	100.0	12.45	2.09	.04

(a) For a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

(b) White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix C.

Source: Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.

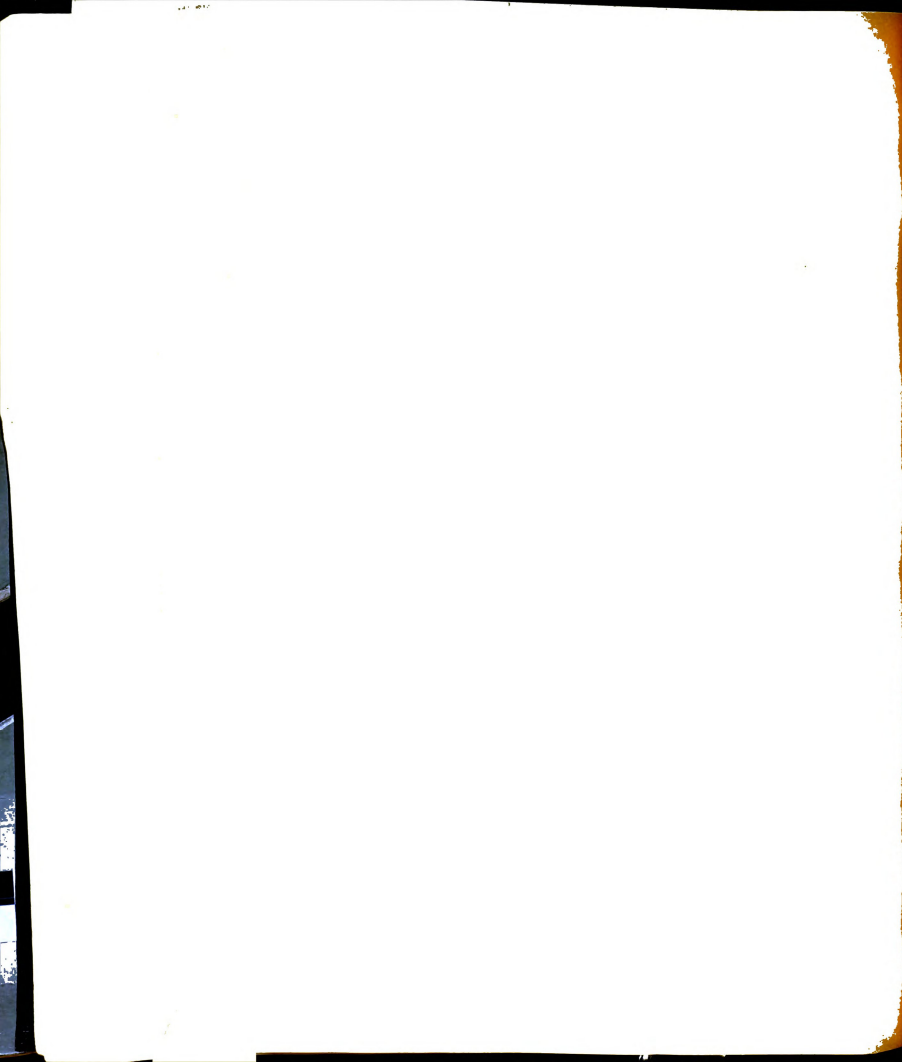


these are used as points of reference in formulating and testing the nature and extent of peripheral reference group identification.

Residence. Data for nonfarm and town students consistently supported the hypothesis but only one difference was significant. Town students who identified with farm students were less tolerant than those who identified with nonfarm students. The scores of peripheral farm students were consistently lower than either core farm or core town groups, but those who identified with nonfarm as compared with town students had consistently but not significantly lower scores.

Occupation. There were no significant differences by occupation. Peripheral blue and white collar students expressed attitudes consistently as hypothesized. Farm students whose reference group was either core blue or core white collar students had lower scores (were more prejudiced) than were core members of their reference groups although those identifying with the core white collar group as compared with the corresponding blue collar were consistently more tolerant.

Subjective Socioeconomic Status. The data supported the reverse of the hypotheses, consistently but not significantly. Working class students who chose from and were chosen by the middle class (subjectively defined) were less tolerant than core members of the working class group but the reverse was true of middle class students who identified with the working class.



Religious Participation. The Jewish and Negro scores of high attenders who identified with low attenders were significantly higher than core members of the high attender group for the Jewish and Negro prejudice scores and were consistently higher for the General score and the Total score. These data did not support the hypothesis at the level of abstraction employed.

The data for low attenders with high attender reference group identification for the Total prejudice score and the Mexican score supported the hypothesis and differences were significant. The remaining scores supported the hypothesis consistently.

The scores of nonattenders with high attender reference group identifications and those of high attenders with nonattender identifications both tended to support the reference group hypothesis consistently but not significantly. High attenders who identified with low attenders were consistently and significantly less prejudiced than those identifying with nonattenders for all scores except the Mexican. The hypothesis was not supported.

Sociometric Status. The hypothesis to the effect that pivot-links who identified with core pivot leaders had scores similar to the latter was not supported. Three out of the five prejudice scores were significantly different, and the remaining two were in accordance with this pattern.

1890
1891
1892
1893
1894
1895
1896
1897
1898
1899
1900

CHAPTER VI

PREJUDICE AMONG PERIPHERAL SATELLITE GROUPS

Chapter V was concerned with expressions of prejudice in peripheral reference groups, that is, groups in which all the members both made and received choices, and these choices were all either from or to a nonmembership reference group. This Chapter is concerned with the analysis of expressions of prejudice in peripheral satellite reference groups in which members made choices only to nonmembership reference groups but received no choices in return, neither from their membership nor from a nonmembership group. Obviously, the fact that an individual received no choices does not mean that he has no associations but it does mean that the intimacy of the association is considerably curtailed. Such curtailment should be reflected not only in an individual's ability to evaluate the norms and values of his reference group but also in his ability to carry out his roles accurately.

This chapter will make use of the same research models, the same guiding hypotheses (but not specific ones), and the same variables employed in Chapter V and a discussion of them will not be repeated here.¹ It should be recalled however, that the specific hypotheses are so worded that support of them is likewise support of the reference group

1. For a discussion of these items see this thesis pp. 53-58; 78-79 and hypotheses II on page 80.

hypothesis, namely, that students identifying with a given group by sociometric choice, tend to have attitudes toward racial and ethnic minorities like the group with whom they identify.

Residence. The hypotheses to be tested with respect to the association between reference group identification and residence are stated as follows:

1. Satellite farm students who chose nonfarm students have lower prejudice scores (are less tolerant) than satellite farm students who chose town students.
2. Satellite nonfarm students who chose farm students have lower prejudice scores (are less tolerant) than satellite nonfarm students who chose town students.
3. Satellite town students who chose farm students have lower prejudice scores (are less tolerant) than satellite town students who chose nonfarm students.

These hypotheses employ the third research model.

Findings. As indicated in Table 6.1, farm satellite students selecting nonfarm associates were significantly more prejudiced than those choosing town associates with respect to the Total prejudice score and the Negro prejudice score. The remaining prejudice scores followed the same pattern consistently, the General prejudice score having a significance level of eight percent.

Nonfarm satellites who identified with farm as compared with town students showed neither significant nor consistent differences in their expressions of tolerance. One must assume that for these students residence was not a salient category in the establishing of reference group identifications (Table 6.2).



Table 6.1 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF SATELLITE FARM STUDENTS
BY RESIDENCE REFERENCE GROUP IDENTIFICATIONS,
COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY,
1949

Preju- dice Score	Sociometric Subgroup (a)				Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
	Eleven: Farm Students Choosing, Nonfarm Students: No choices Received		Eleven: Farm Students Choosing, Town Students: No choices Received (n ₁)					
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
Total	10	55.0	10	63.6	77.0	13.17	-2.09	.04
Jewish	10	14.7	10	16.2	90.0	12.97	-1.12	.26
Negro	10	13.2	10	16.0	78.0	13.10	-2.02	.04
Mexican	10	13.1	10	15.3	85.0	13.15	-1.48	.14
General	10	14.0	10	16.1	81.5	13.09	-1.76	.08

(a) For a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

(b) White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix C.

Source: Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.

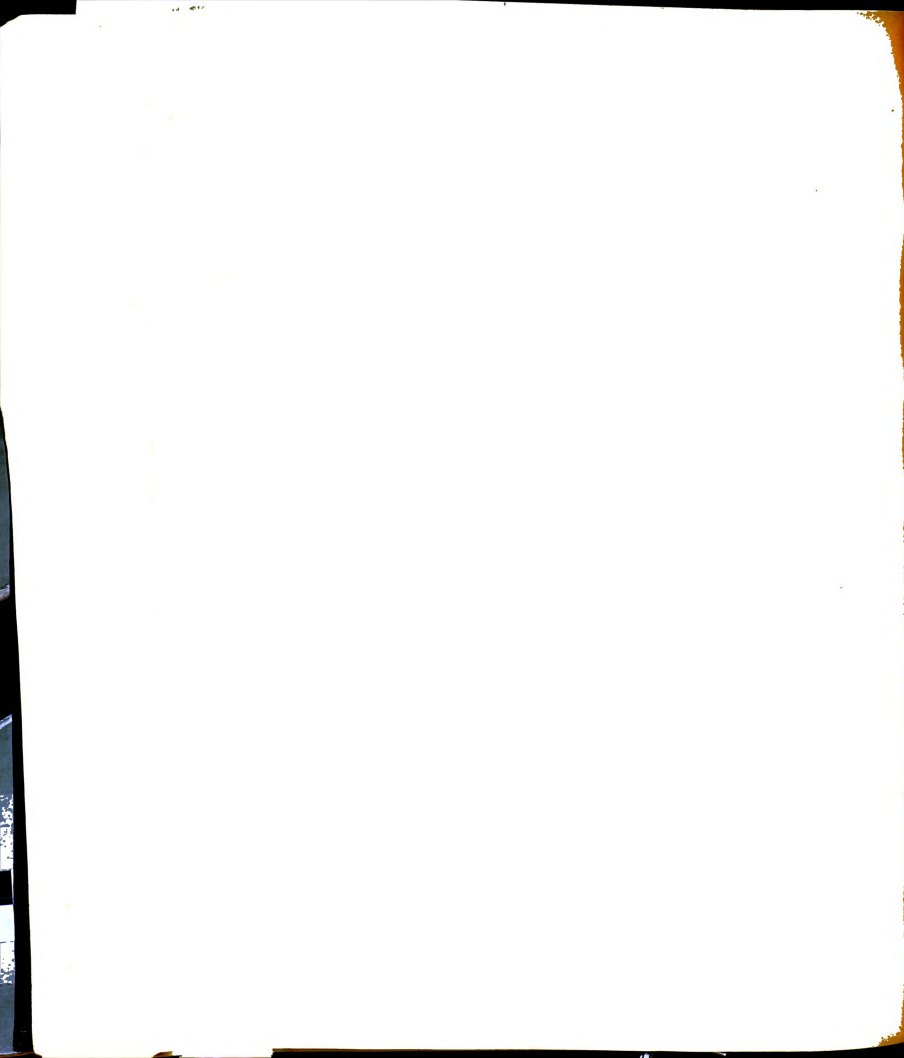


Table 6.2 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF SATELLITE NONFARM STUDENTS, WITH REFERENCE GROUP IDENTIFICATIONS, COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Preju- dice Score	Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
	Eleven: Nonfarm Students Choosing Farm Students: No choices Received				Eleven: Nonfarm Students Choosing Town Students: No choices Received			
	Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)							
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
Total	9	57.1	10	57.9	88.0	12.21	-.12	.90
Jewish	9	15.6	10	15.1	79.5	11.98	-.83	.41
Negro	9	14.3	10	14.1	81.5	12.05	-.66	.51
Mexican	9	13.2	10	13.9	95.0	12.16	.37	.71
General	9	14.0	10	14.8	93.5	11.93	.25	.80

(a) For a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

(b) White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix C.

Source: Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.



Satellite town youth who identified with farm students were consistently more tolerant, with one exception, -- the Jewish prejudice score, than were those who identified with nonfarm youth (Table 6.3). This is contrary to the findings established between the corresponding peripheral groups described in Chapter V. However, none of the differences were significant for the peripheral satellite groups, and only one for the latter (Table 5.2).

Occupation. The hypotheses to be tested relative to occupational differences in reference group identification may be stated as follows:

1. Satellite farm students who chose blue collar students have lower prejudice scores (are less tolerant) than satellite farm students who chose white collar students.
2. Satellite blue collar students who chose farm students have lower prejudice scores (are less tolerant) than satellite blue collar students who chose white collar students.
3. Satellite white collar students who chose farm students have lower prejudice scores (are less tolerant) than satellite white collar students who chose blue collar students.

Findings. An examination of Tables 6.4, 6.5, and 6.6 reveals that none of the differences based on occupation were significant nor did they approach significance. However, the data for the satellite farm and blue collar students consistently supported the hypotheses with only one exception. In this instance, blue collar satellites who identified with farm students were more, not less, tolerant of Negroes than were those who identified with white collar students.

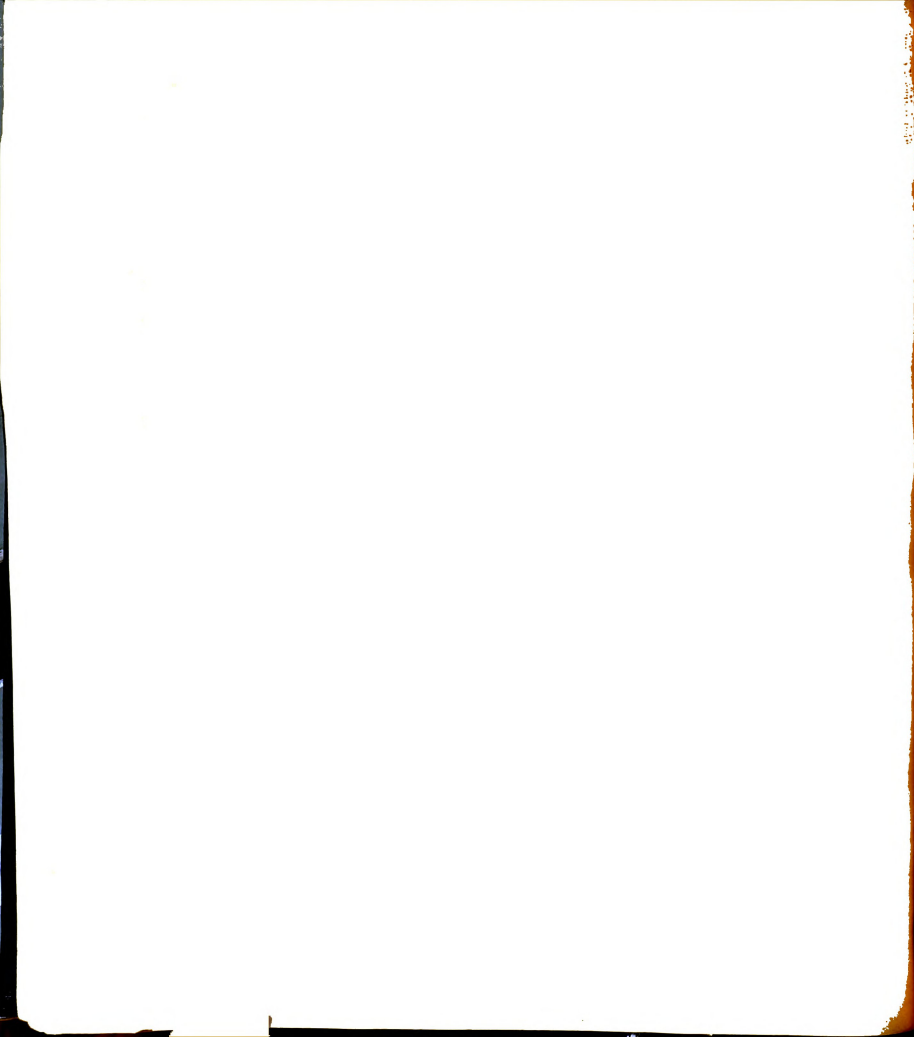


Table 6.3 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF SATELLITE TOWN STUDENTS,
BY RESIDENCE REFERENCE GROUP IDENTIFICATIONS,
COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY,
1949

Preju- dice Score	Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
	Eleven: Town Students Choosing Farm Students: No choices Received		Eleven: Town Students Choosing Nonfarm Students: No choices Received		Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
Total	12	60.9	16	57.7	148.0	21.51	-1.19	.23
Jewish	12	15.3	16	16.0	184.5	21.01	.48	.63
Negro	12	14.9	16	13.1	145.5	21.35	-1.31	.19
Mexican	12	14.9	16	14.1	148.5	21.32	-1.17	.24
General	12	15.8	16	14.6	148.5	21.26	-1.18	.24

(a) For a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

(b) White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix C.

Source: Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.

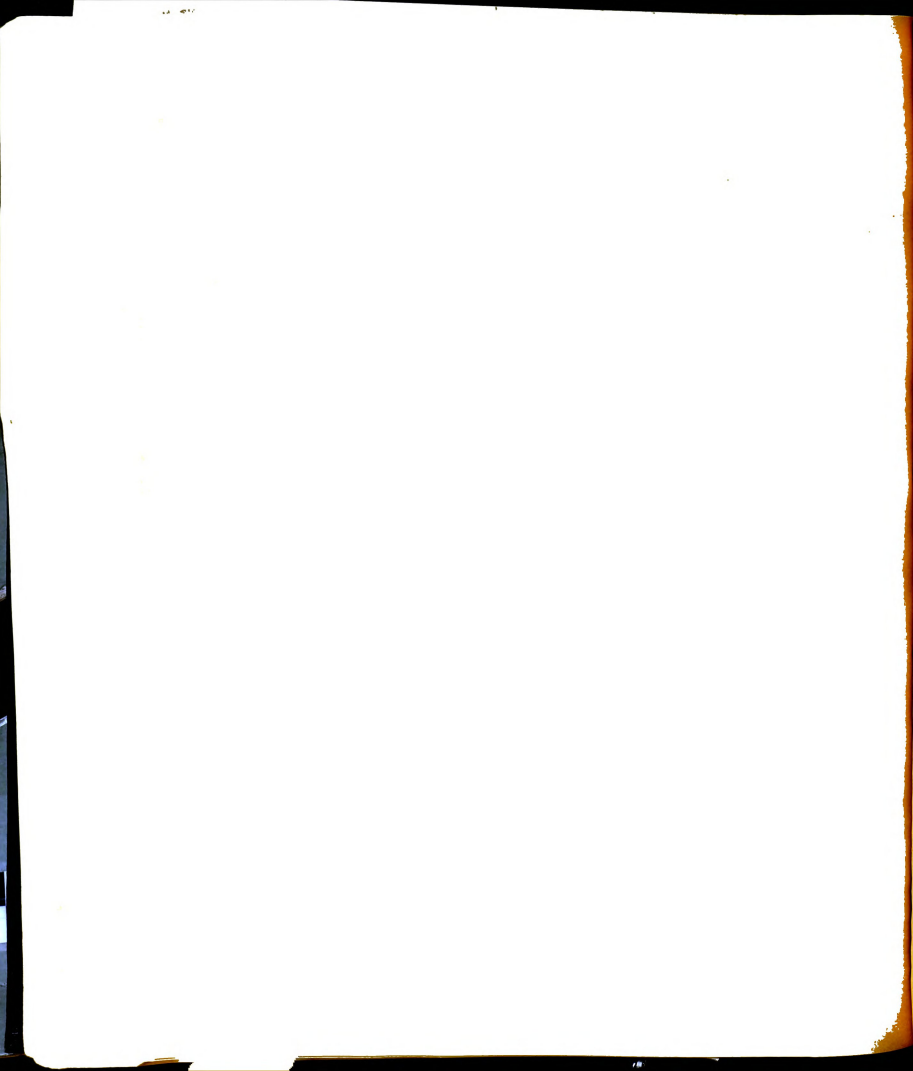


Table 6.4 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF SATELLITE FARM STUDENTS,
BY OCCUPATIONAL REFERENCE GROUP IDENTIFICATION,
COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY,
1949

Pre ju- dice Score	Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
	Eleven: Farm Students Choosing Blue Collar Students: No choices Received		Eleven: Farm Students Choosing White Collar Students: No choices Received		Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
Total	7	53.0	14	60.2	93.5	13.36	1.20	.23
Jewish	7	14.0	14	15.8	95.0	13.18	1.33	.18
Negro	7	12.7	14	14.6	91.0	13.31	1.01	.31
Mexican	7	12.7	14	14.6	92.0	13.31	1.00	.28
General	7	13.6	14	15.2	80.0	13.28	.87	.38

(a) For a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

(b) White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417 - 422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix C.

Source: Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.

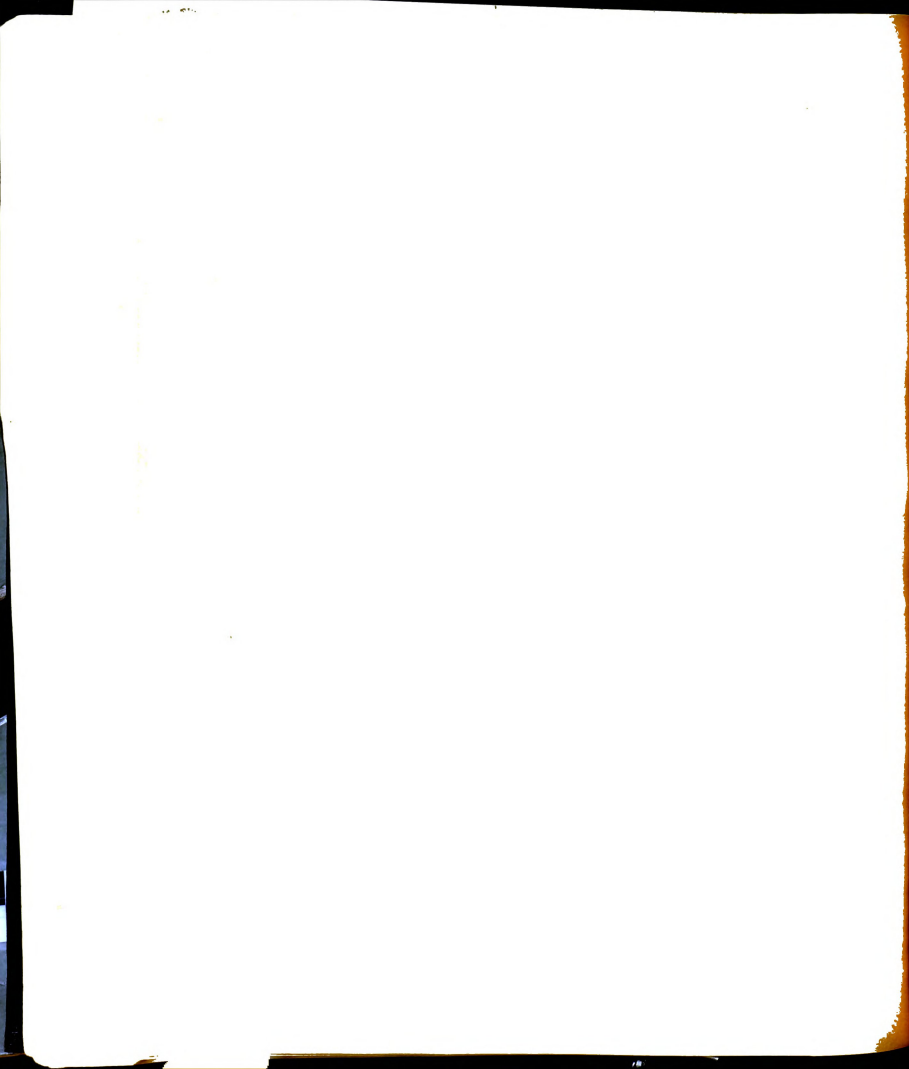


Table 6.5 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF SATELLITE BLUE COLLAR STUDENTS, BY OCCUPATIONAL REFERENCE GROUP IDENTIFICATIONS, COMEINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Preju- dice Score	Sociometric Subgroup (a)				Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
	Eleven:		Eleven:					
	Blue		Blue					
	Collar		Collar					
	Students		Students					
	Choosing		Choosing					
	Farm		White					
	Students:		Collar					
	No choices		Students:					
	Received		No choices					
			Received					
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
Total	17	58.5	21	59.4	334.0	33.98	.06	.95
Jewish	17	15.5	21	15.7	338.0	33.40	.18	.86
Negro	17	14.7	21	14.0	305.0	33.68	-.77	.44
Mexican	17	13.8	21	14.5	354.5	33.82	.67	.50
General	17	14.6	21	15.2	340.0	33.48	.24	.81

(a) For a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

(b) White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417 - 422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix C.

Source: Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.

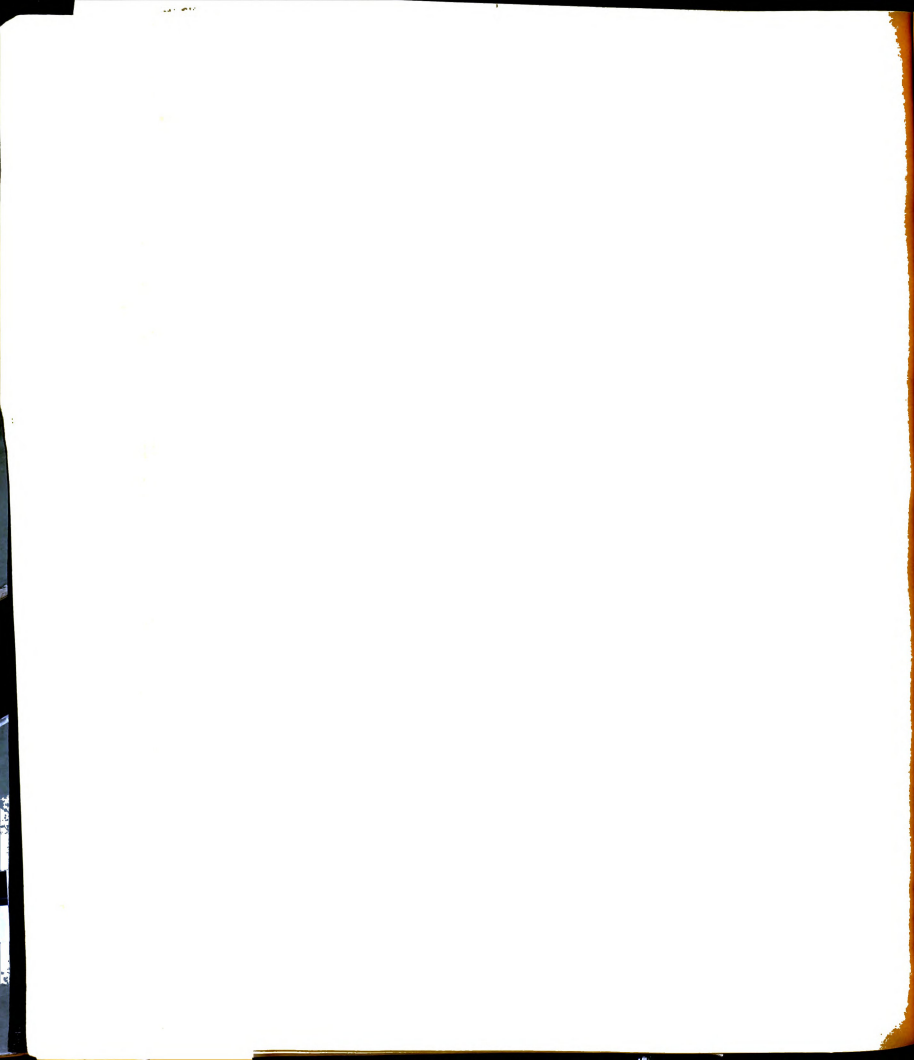


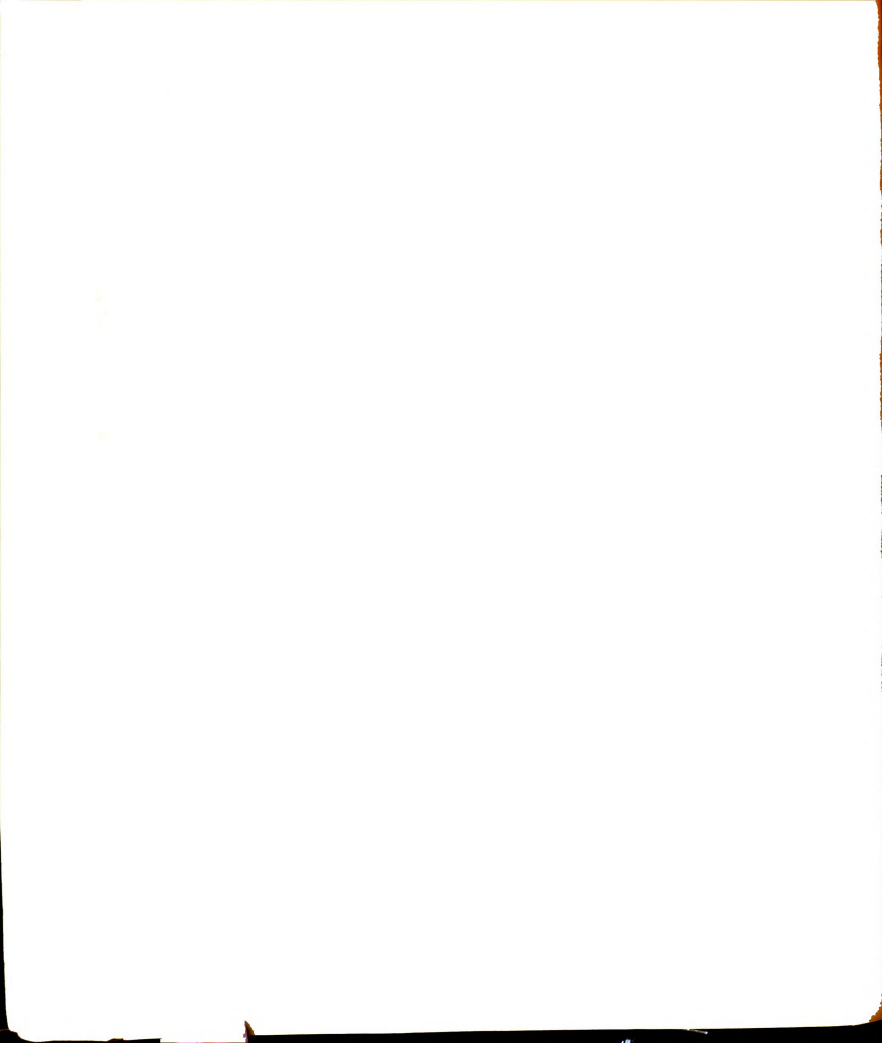
Table 6.6 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF SATELLITE WHITE COLLAR STUDENTS, BY OCCUPATIONAL REFERENCE GROUP IDENTIFICATION, COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Preju- dice Score	Sociometric Subgroup ^(a)							
	Eleven: White Collar Students Choosing Farm Students: No choices Received				Eleven: White Collar Students Choosing Blue collar Students: No choices Received			
					Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
Total	4	65.8	15	61.3	24.5	9.94	-1.51	.13
Jewish	4	17.2	15	16.1	32.0	9.19	-.82	.41
Negro	4	15.5	15	14.9	35.0	9.87	-.46	.65
Mexican	4	16.0	15	14.6	29.0	9.70	-1.08	.28
General	4	16.8	15	15.7	28.5	9.64	-1.14	.25

(a) For a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

(b) White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417 - 422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix C.

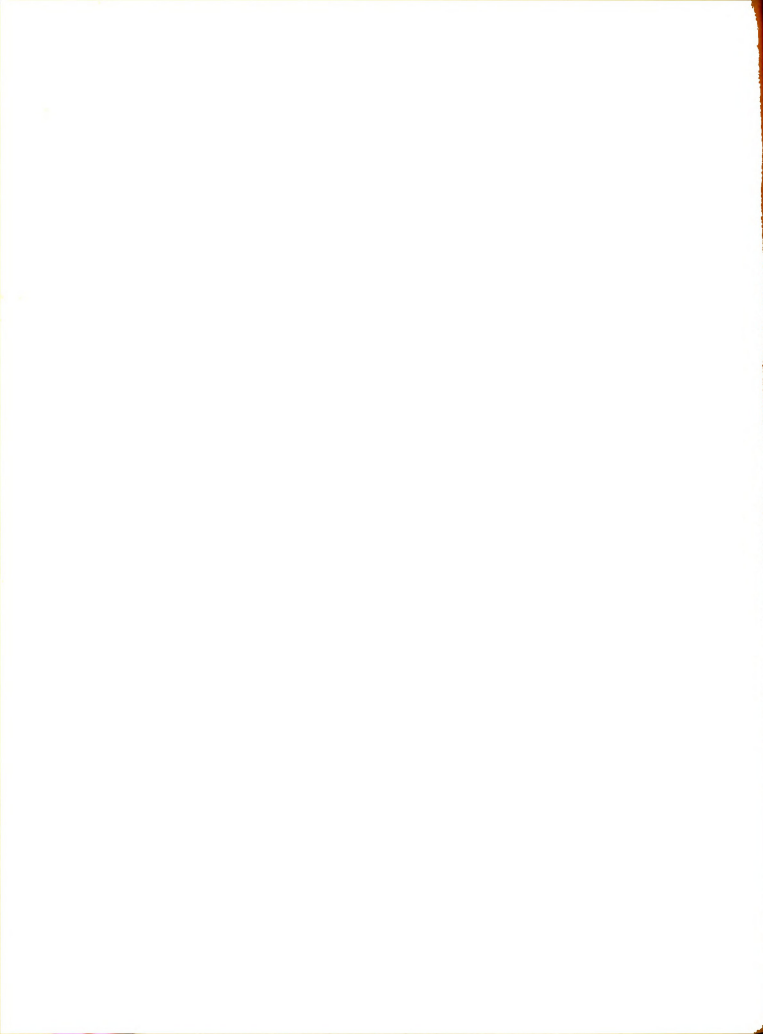
Source: Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.



Among the satellite white collar group, the pattern of the scores was consistent but it did not support the hypothesis. Instead, those who chose farm students had higher, not lower, scores than those who chose blue collar students. This finding is also contrary to that found among white collar students in the peripheral occupation groups discussed in Chapter V, where, again, all differences were consistent but not significant but the hypothesis was upheld. One must assume that for white collar satellites, occupation was not a salient category in the establishment of reference group identification at this level of conceptualization.

Subjective Socioeconomic Status. It will be recalled that the analysis of subjective socioeconomic status presented in Chapter V made use of the first type of research model in which the direction and degree of prejudice expressed by members of a specified category (such as the working class) who identified with a nonmembership reference group are compared with the core members of their own group. This model will be utilized in this section. However, instead of using the core group (which is comprised of members who both made and received choices from their own membership group), we shall stay within our present frame of reference for this chapter and employ instead the core satellite group (which is comprised of members who chose from their own membership group but did not receive choices from any group).

Hypotheses. The hypotheses for this analysis of reference group identification are stated as follows:



1. Satellite working class students who chose middle class students have higher prejudice scores (are more tolerant) than those of the core satellite working class group.
2. Satellite middle class students who chose working class students have lower prejudice scores (are less tolerant) than those of the core satellite middle class group.

Findings. Data pertaining to the first hypothesis are given in Table 6.7. Differences for the Total prejudice score, the Mexican prejudice score, and the General prejudice score were in the direction hypothesized, and the difference for the Mexican score was significant at the three percent level. Satellite working class students who chose middle class students were more tolerant than those who chose working class friends. The prejudice scores of satellite middle class students consistently supported the second hypothesis (Table 6.8). Those who identified with the working class were more prejudiced than those who identified with the middle class. None of the differences were significant, however.

Religious Participation. In the analysis of the relation of religious participation to reference group identification, the third research model will be employed. The prejudice scores of core satellite attenders will be compared with those of peripheral satellite attenders. They will be classified in terms of low and high attenders.

Hypothesis. The hypotheses are as follows:

1. Low attender satellites who chose high attenders have higher prejudice scores (are more tolerant) than low attender satellites who chose low attenders.

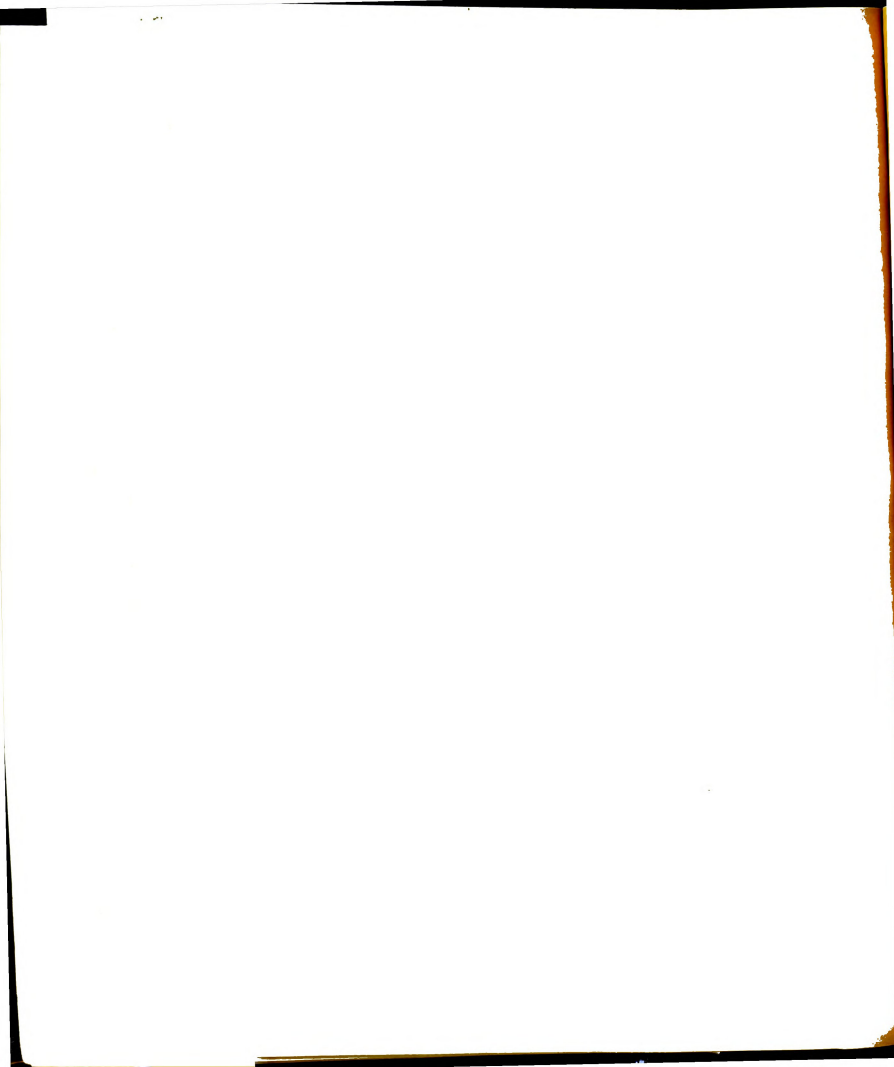


Table 6.7 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF SATELLITE WORKING CLASS STUDENTS, SUBJECTIVELY DEFINED, BY REFERENCE GROUP IDENTIFICATION, COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Preju- dice Score	Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
	Ten:				Eleven:			
	Working				Working			
	Class				Class			
	Students				Students			
	Choosing				Choosing			
	Working				Middle			
	Class				Class			
	Students:				Students:			
	No choices				No choices			
	Received				Received			
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
Total	9	57.6	29	60.0	200.0	29.06	.83	.41
Jewish	9	15.7	29	15.7	167.0	28.53	-.28	.78
Negro	9	14.8	29	14.1	162.5	28.85	-.43	.67
Mexican	9	12.8	29	15.1	237.0	28.82	2.13	.03
General	9	14.3	29	15.0	206.5	28.81	1.06	.29

(a) For a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

(b) White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417 - 422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix C.

Source: Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.

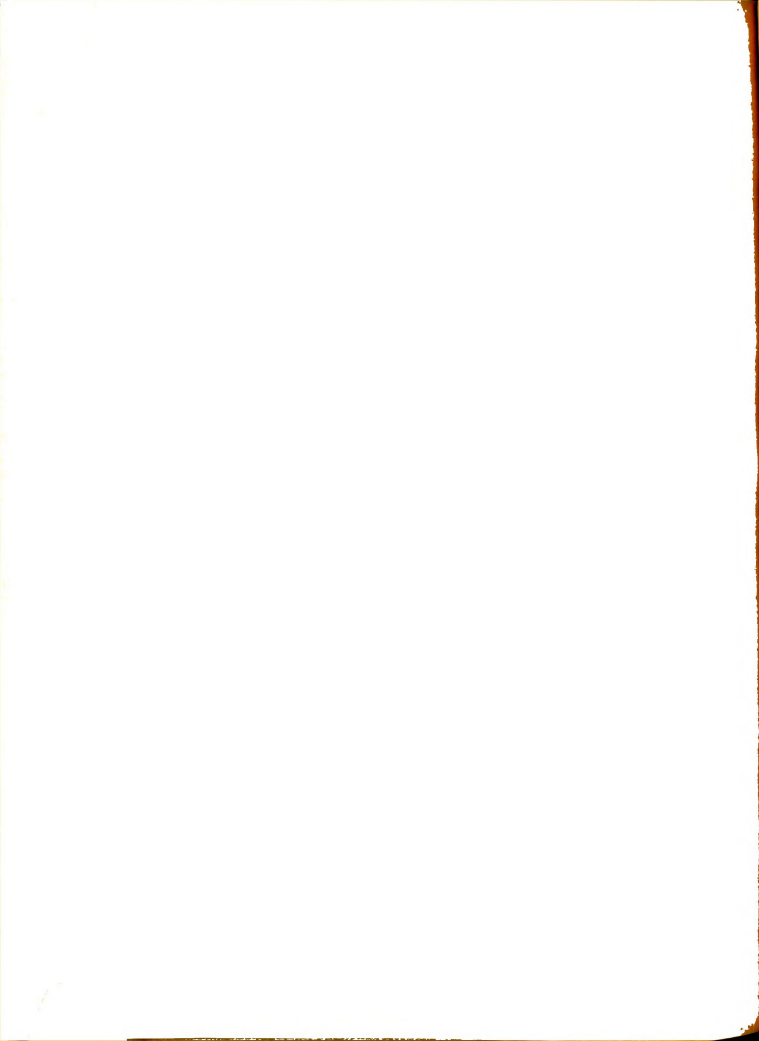


Table 6.8 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF SATELLITE MIDDLE CLASS STUDENTS, SUBJECTIVELY DEFINED, BY REFERENCE GROUP IDENTIFICATION, COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Preju- dice Score	Sociometric Subgroup (a)				Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
	Ten:		Eleven:					
	Middle		Middle					
	Class		Class					
	Students		Students					
	Choosing		Choosing					
	Middle		Working					
	Class		Class					
	Students:		Students:					
	No choices		No choices					
Received		Received						
No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P	
Total	75	58.8	25	57.1	1422.5	144.87	1.10	.27
Jewish	75	15.7	25	15.6	1306.5	141.66	.31	.76
Negro	75	13.9	25	13.4	1388.0	144.01	.87	.38
Mexican	75	14.3	25	13.6	1392.5	143.88	.90	.37
General	75	14.9	25	14.6	1344.0	143.53	.57	.57

(a) For a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

(b) White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417 - 422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix C.

Source: Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.



2. High attender satellites who chose low attenders have lower prejudice scores (are more prejudiced) than high attender satellites who chose high attenders.

Findings. As indicated in Tables 6.9 and 6.10, the data on satellite low and high attenders consistently support both hypotheses with respect to all the prejudice scores, but none of the differences were significant. Only the findings relative to satellite low attenders were in accordance with the patterns reported in Chapter V for the corresponding peripheral reference groups for which two of the differences were significant. Peripheral high attenders who chose low attenders, in contrast to the corresponding peripheral satellite high attender group, had higher prejudice scores than those who chose high attenders, and two of the scores were significant.

Differences in Prejudice Between Satellite Attenders and Nonattenders. It will be recalled that in Chapter V the second research model was employed for the analysis of reference group identification among attenders and nonattenders inasmuch as there were no data for the low attender group. Since these data are available for the satellite group, the third research model will be used here.

Hypothesis. The hypothesis is stated as follows:

Satellite nonattenders who chose high attenders have higher prejudice scores (are more tolerant) than satellite nonattenders who chose low attenders.

Findings. Data relative to the above hypothesis are given in Table 6.11. In every instance, the prejudice scores support the hypothesis consistently. Three of the

Table 6.9 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF SATELLITE LOW ATTENDERS OF SUNDAY SCHOOL, BY REFERENCE GROUP IDENTIFICATIONS, COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Preju- dice Score	Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
	Ten:				Eleven:			
	Low				Low			
	Attendees				Attendees			
	Choosing				Choosing			
Score	Low				High			
	Attendees:				Attendees:			
	No Choices				No Choices			
	Received				Received			
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
Total	6	56.8	10	58.3	60.5	9.18	.98	.35
Jewish	6	15.7	10	15.1	53.0	8.94	.17	.85
Negro	6	13.0	10	14.3	64.0	9.09	1.38	.17
Mexican	6	14.2	10	14.3	54.5	9.12	.33	.74
General	6	14.0	10	14.6	58.5	8.98	.72	.47

(a) For a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

(b) White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417 - 422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix C.

Source: Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.

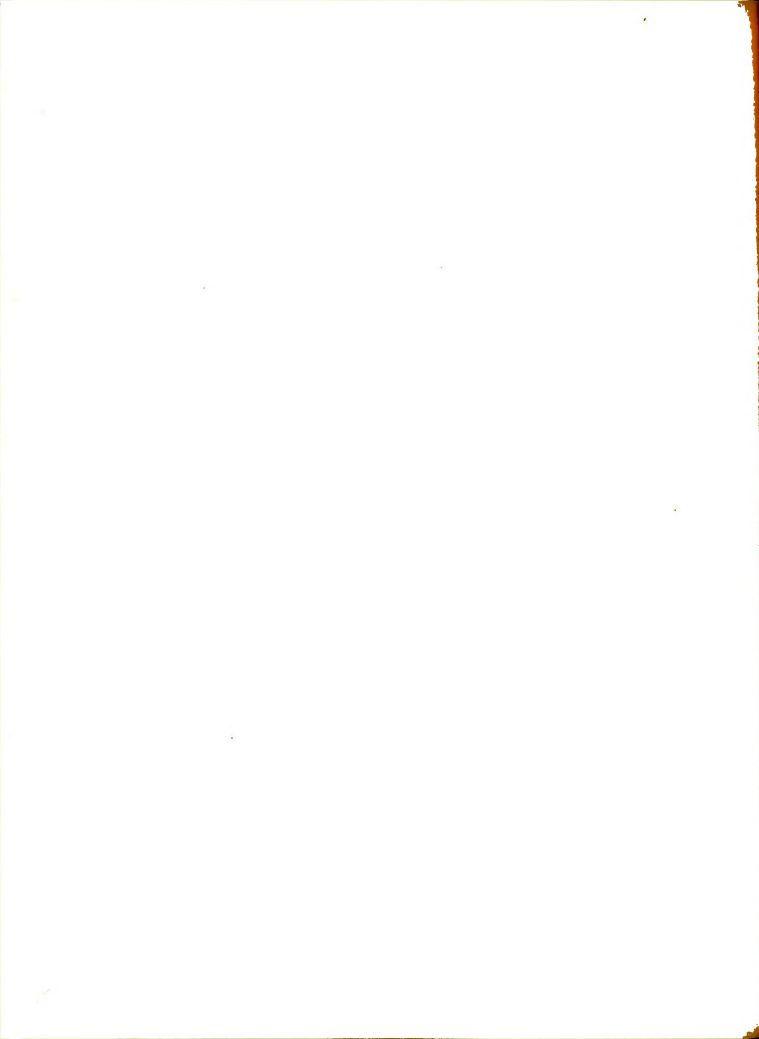


Table 6.10 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF SATELLITE HIGH ATTENDERS OF SUNDAY SCHOOL, BY REFERENCE GROUP IDENTIFICATION, COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Preju- dice Score	Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
	Ten: High Attenders Choosing High Attenders: No choices Received		Eleven: High Attenders Choosing Low Attenders: No choices Received		Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
Total	50	60.4	6	58.3	200.0	37.70	.76	.45
Jewish	50	15.9	6	15.7	180.0	36.58	.23	.82
Negro	50	14.3	6	13.7	179.5	37.45	.21	.83
Mexican	50	14.9	6	13.3	210.0	37.38	1.03	.30
General	50	15.2	6	15.7	175.0	37.26	.09	.93

(a) For a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

(b) White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417 - 422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix C.

Source: Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.

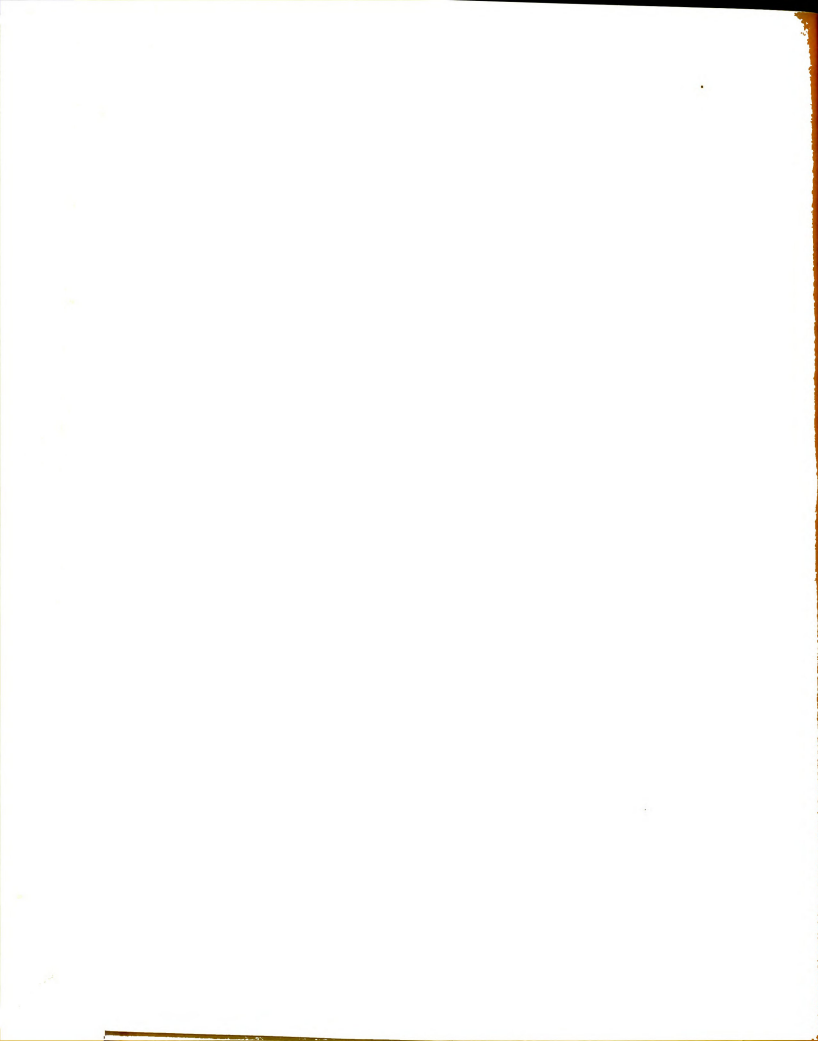


Table 6.11 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF SATELLITE NONATTENDERS OF SUNDAY SCHOOL, BY REFERENCE GROUP IDENTIFICATION, COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Prejudice Score	Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
	Eleven: Non- Attendees Choosing High Attendees: No choices Received		Eleven: Non- Attendees Choosing Low Attendees: No choices Received		Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
Total	26	59.7	4	51.5	95.0	16.37	1.99	.05
Jewish	26	15.8	4	13.5	94.5	16.15	1.98	.05
Negro	26	14.4	4	10.2	104.5	16.23	2.59	.01
Mexican	26	14.5	4	14.0	66.5	16.21	.25	.80
General	26	15.0	4	13.8	75.5	16.06	.81	.42

(a) For a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

(b) White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417 - 422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix C.

Source: Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.

the first of these is the fact that the
the second is the fact that the
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the ninety-seventh is the fact that the
the ninety-eighth is the fact that the
the ninety-ninth is the fact that the
the hundredth is the fact that the

differences were also significant; those for the Total prejudice score, the Jewish prejudice score and the Negro prejudice score. These data are not directly comparable with the corresponding analysis in Chapter V, since different research models were used.

Sociometric Status. The hypothesis to be tested relative to reference group identification based on sociometric status is as follows:

Satellites who chose pivot-links have lower prejudice scores (are less tolerant) than satellites who chose pivot leaders.

Findings. In general, the data which are shown in Table 6.12 tend to support the hypothesis. All prejudice scores for satellites who identified with pivot leaders were higher, that is, more tolerant, than were those of satellites who identified with pivot-links. Although these differences followed a consistent pattern, they were not statistically significant. There are no comparable data in Chapter V.

Summary. The same variables and research models used in Chapter V to assess peripheral groups are used in this chapter to analyze peripheral satellite reference groups. The guiding hypotheses is as follows: Students who identify with reference groups occupying different social positions, tend to have prejudice scores like their reference groups and unlike their core membership group.

Residence. Only the data for farm satellite students supported the reference group hypothesis. Farm students



Table 6.12 MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES OF SATELLITES, BY REFERENCE GROUP IDENTIFICATION, COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Preju- dice Score	Sociometric Subgroup (a)							
	Eleven: Satellites Choosing Pivot- Links		Eleven: Satellites Choosing Pivot Leaders		Computations for Significance of Differences: (b)			
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z	P
Total	110	58.3	38	60.8	2468.5	226.58	-1.60	.11
Jewish	110	15.6	38	16.0	2702.0	222.31	- .68	.56
Negro	110	13.8	38	14.7	2520.0	225.32	-1.38	.17
Mexican	110	14.2	38	14.8	2578.5	225.22	-1.12	.26
General	110	14.7	38	15.3	2620.0	224.77	- .94	.35

(a) For a description of the sociometric subgroups and how they were formed, see Appendix D.

(b) White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen L. Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417 - 422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix C.

Source: Resource Tables 1 - 6, Appendix A.

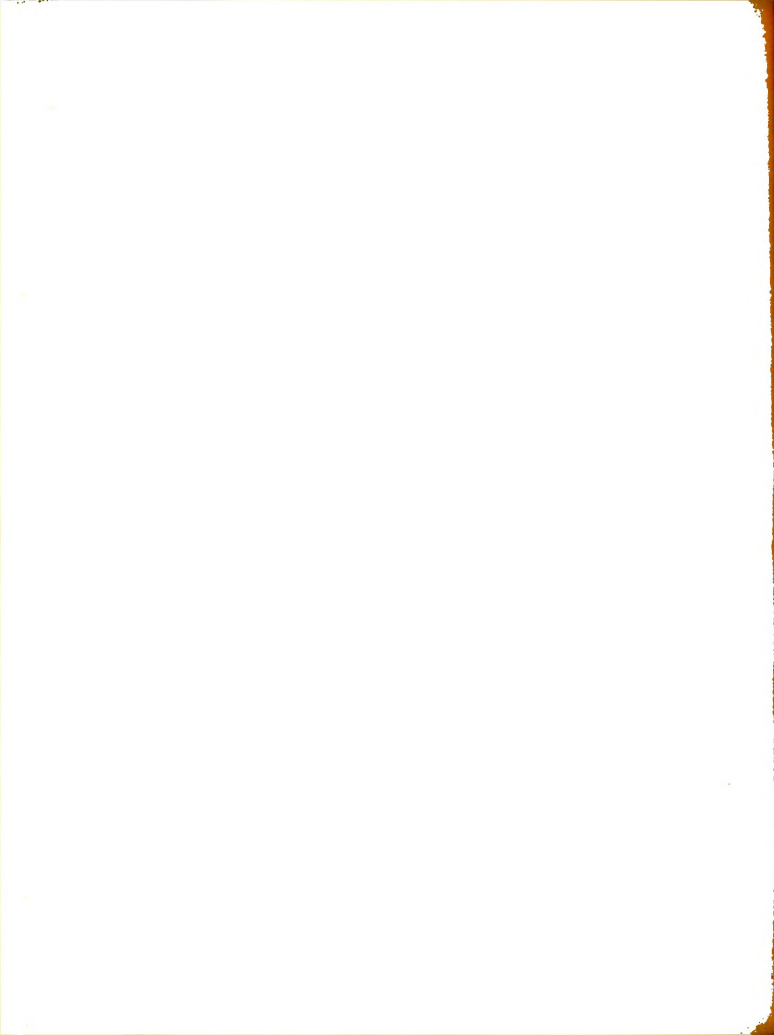


who chose town students were more tolerant than those who chose nonfarm students. All differences were consistent and two were significant. Nonfarm peripheral satellites showed neither consistent nor significant differences. Comparable score data for town students showed consistent but not significant differences, but not in the direction hypothesized. White collar students who chose farm persons were more tolerant than those who chose nonfarm students.

Occupation. Only the data for peripheral farm and blue collar satellites tended to support the reference group hypothesis. All the prejudice scores for the farm group and all save one for the blue collar group formed patterns consistent with the hypothesis, but none were significant. Although the scores of peripheral satellite white collar students were consistent, they were not in the direction hypothesized.

Subjective Socioeconomic Status. Differences in scores for both the working class and the middle class satellites tended to support the reference group hypothesis. Middle class satellites identifying with the middle class were more tolerant than those identifying with the working class. These scores were consistent but not significant. Working class students who identified with the middle class were significantly more tolerant of Mexicans than core members of the working class group, and the total and general prejudice scores were consistent with it.

Religious Attendance. Peripheral satellite members of



both low and high religious attender groups as hypothesized, tended to have scores like the group with whom they identified. High attender reference groups were more tolerant than low attender reference groups. Scores were consistent but not significant.

Nonattendance at Sunday School. The data for peripheral satellite nonattenders supported the reference group hypothesis. Those who identified with low attenders were more prejudiced than those who identified with high attenders. All differences were consistent and differences for three of the scores were significant.

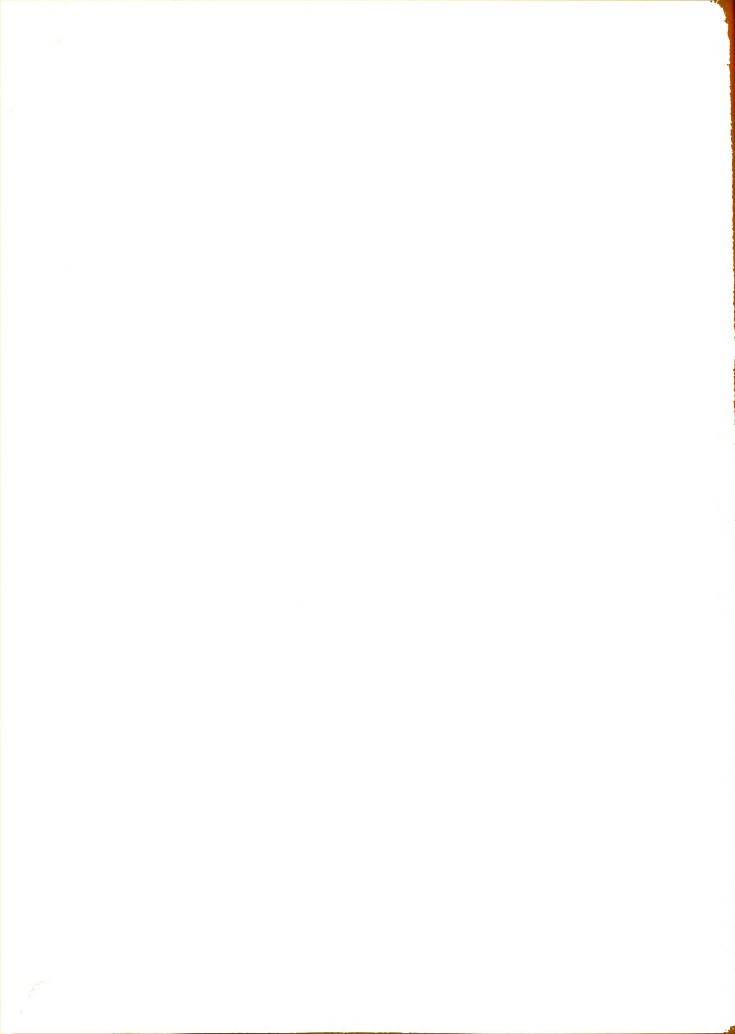
Sociometric Status. Satellites who identified with pivot leaders had consistently but not significantly higher scores than those who identified with pivot-links. This was in the direction hypothesized.



CHAPTER VII
SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

PART I
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Analytical Approach. For the purpose of forming conclusions and summarizing the findings, it seems appropriate to set up a concept of a pattern of scores. In a sense this pattern is simply the ranking of scores in terms of a common criterion. The criterion employed is that of the consistency of the rank differences. For example, if the five prejudice scores of town students are all higher than the same scores for farm students, then the scores are all consistent with each other, and it would appear that a pattern exists. If four of the five prejudice scores of town students are higher than those of farm students, then only four of the scores are consistent with each other. It is necessary therefore, to define what constitutes consistency in determining the pattern. For the purposes at hand, a pattern is said to exist when (1) differences for all five prejudices scores are consistent, that is, all the scores for one category are higher (or lower) than all the scores of another, or (2) when at least one difference between scores is significant and at least two other differences are consistent with it. The presence of a pattern will be indicative of support for the hypothesis unless otherwise indicated.



In Part I, a summary of findings will be presented organized by type of reference group as follows:

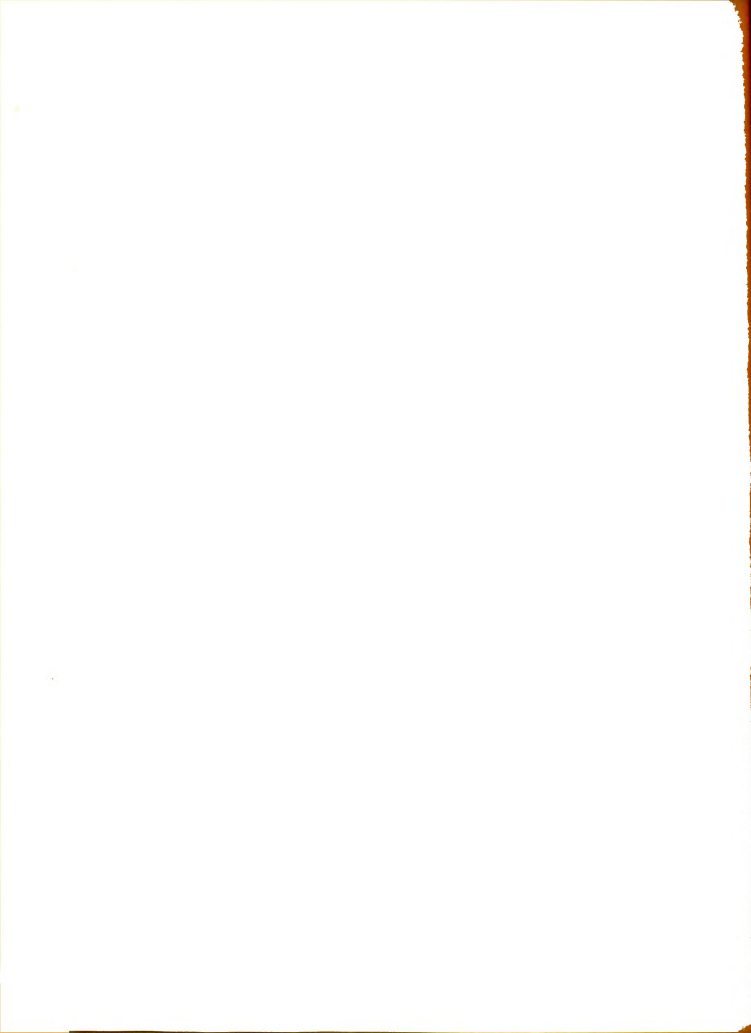
1. Differences in prejudice among core reference groups, based on residence, occupation, subjective socioeconomic status, religious preference and participation, and sociometric status.
2. Differences in prejudice among corresponding peripheral reference groups.
3. Differences in prejudice among corresponding peripheral satellite reference groups.

In Part II some of the more general implications of the study will be discussed:

1. Comparison of prejudice patterns found in core, peripheral and peripheral satellite groups.
2. Levels of conceptualization.
3. Relation of sociometric reference groups to the stability of the parent group.
4. Social visibility and expressions of prejudice.
5. Targets of prejudice in Maple County.
6. Appraisal of the study.

The findings of the study have been stated in the framework of the specific hypotheses which were tested. In this section, however, they are stated in the conceptual language developed in the thesis whereas in the body of the text they were given in operational terms. The direction of the differences is given for the core groups. This was not indicated in the hypotheses.

Differences in Prejudice Among Core Groups. Core groups for designated social categories were used to test the general hypothesis that differences in social position require the expression of different degrees of prejudice. The social categories were assumed to occupy different positions and their relationship to each other was determined



on the basis of concensus found among research findings with particular reference to the findings of Holland who made a study of the County now under study employing an adult sample.

Patterns based on three or more consistent differences one, or more, of which was statistically significant were established for the following core relationships. (See Table 7.1.)

Residence:

1. The core farm group was more prejudiced than the core town group. The Jewish prejudice score was significant at the two percent level, and two others were consistent with it.

Occupation:

2. The core farm group was more prejudiced than the core blue collar group. The Jewish prejudice score was significant at the one percent level, and three others were consistent with it.
3. The core farm group was more prejudiced than the core white collar group. The Jewish score was significant at the three percent level, and three others were consistent with it.

Subjective Socioeconomic Status:

4. The core middle class group was more prejudiced than the core working class group.¹ The Negro prejudice score was significant at the one percent level, and all other scores were consistent with it.

Patterns based on five consistent differences in prejudice scores, none of which were significant were found for the following core relationships.

-
1. The reverse was true of Holland's findings for adults, op. cit., p. 166.

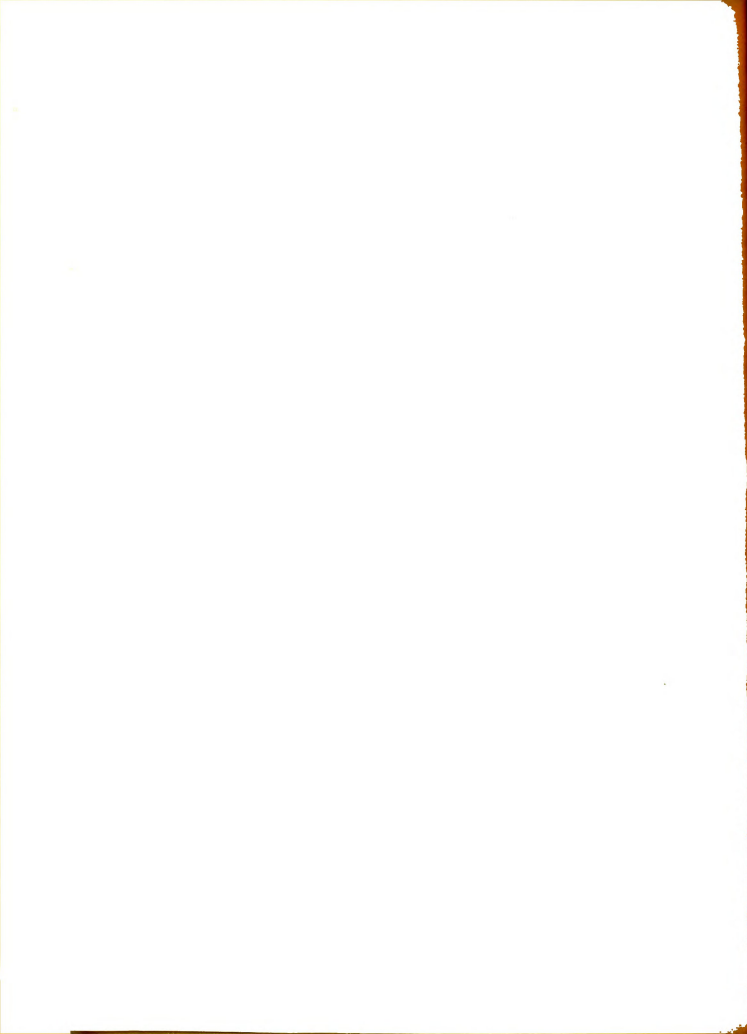
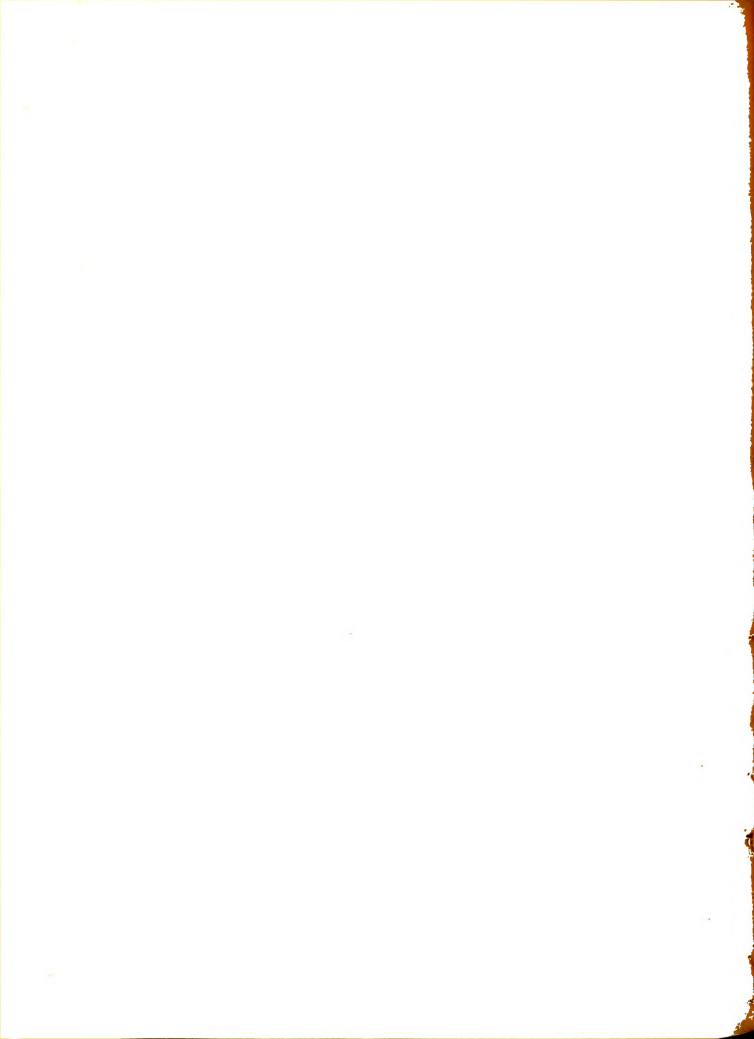


Table 7.1. SHOWING CONSISTENT AND SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES IN MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES AND OVER-ALL CONSISTENCY OF PATTERNS, BY CORE REFERENCE GROUP, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Reference Group	Pat-tern*	Mean Prejudice Scores									
		Total		Jewish		Negro		Mexican		General	
		S	C	S	C	S	C	S	C	S	C
CORE GROUPS											
Residence											
F-F: T-T**	P	c	02	c		c		x		x	
F-F: N-N		c		c		x		c		x	
N-N: T-T		c		x		x		c		c	
Occupation											
F-F: B-B	P	c	01	c		c		x		c	
F-F: Wh-Wh	P	c	03	c		x		c		c	
B-B: Wh-Wh		c		c		x		c		c	
Socioecon-Status											
Wo-Wo: M-M	P	c		c	01	c		c		c	
Religious Participa-tion											
H-H: L-L	P	c		c		c		c		c	
H-H: N-N		c		c		c		x		x	
L-L: N-N	P	c		c		c		c		c	

* A pattern (P) is considered established when all of the five prejudice scores are consistent with each other or, on the other hand, when at least one difference is significant (S) and at least two others are consistent with the pattern established by the significant difference. A score is consistent (c) when it conforms to the predominant pattern established by three out of the five scores. A score not consistent is shown as (x).

** The first two entries show the composition of the first sociometric reference group; the second two entries, the composition of the second, with which the first is compared. For example, the first group is composed of farm people who chose from and were chosen by farm people, compared with town people who chose from and were chosen by town people. For definition of the symbols see Appendix A, Table 1, Footnotes.



Religious Preference:

1. Core Catholic ninth graders were less prejudiced than core Protestants in the same grade.

Religious Participation:

2. The core low attender group was more prejudiced than the core high attender group.
3. The core low attender group was more prejudiced than the core nonattender group.

Differences in Prejudice Among Peripheral and Peripheral Satellite Groups. Peripheral and peripheral satellite groups were utilized to test the reference group hypothesis that members of one group who identify with another group occupying a different social position have prejudice scores like their reference group and unlike their membership group. Two research models were employed to test this hypothesis (1) In the first one the data were examined for movement away from the core membership group in the direction hypothesized, and in the second, two groups occupying different positions on the continuum were tested for significant differences between them in the direction hypothesized. The data for peripheral groups will be reported first followed by that for peripheral satellite groups.

Peripheral Groups. Patterns based on three or more consistent differences, one or more of which was statistically significant were established for the following peripheral reference groups (Table 7.2):

-
1. Core religious preference groups were not compared with peripheral and peripheral satellite groups, as there was an insufficient number of cases in the latter groups to complete the comparison. Hence they do not appear in Table 7.1.

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of understanding the local context in which a project is implemented. This includes a thorough understanding of the community's needs, values, and beliefs. It is essential to engage with the community from the very beginning, ensuring that their voices are heard and their input is valued. This process of community engagement is not a one-time event but a continuous one that evolves as the project progresses.

The second part of the paper explores the challenges that often arise in community-based projects. These challenges can range from a lack of resources to a lack of trust between the project team and the community. It is important to recognize these challenges early on and develop strategies to address them. For example, building trust can be achieved through transparency, honesty, and a willingness to listen to the community's concerns.

The third part of the paper discusses the importance of having a clear vision and a well-defined plan. This vision should be shared with the community and should reflect their needs and aspirations. The plan should outline the steps that will be taken to achieve the vision, including the roles and responsibilities of the project team and the community. It is important to be flexible and adaptable, as the plan may need to be revised as more information is gathered and the project evolves.

The fourth part of the paper discusses the importance of monitoring and evaluation. This involves regularly assessing the progress of the project and the impact it is having on the community. This information can be used to make adjustments to the plan and to ensure that the project is staying on track. It is important to involve the community in the monitoring and evaluation process, as they are the ones who are most affected by the project.

The fifth part of the paper discusses the importance of sustainability. This means ensuring that the project's benefits are long-lasting and that the community is able to maintain and build upon the project's achievements. This can be achieved by involving the community in the decision-making process and by building their capacity to manage the project themselves.

In conclusion, the paper emphasizes the importance of a community-centered approach to project implementation. This approach involves listening to the community, engaging them in the decision-making process, and ensuring that the project's benefits are shared by all. It is a challenging but rewarding process that requires patience, persistence, and a willingness to learn from experience.

Table 7.2. SHOWING CONSISTENT AND SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES IN MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES AND OVER-ALL CONSISTENCY OF PATTERNS, BY PERIPHERAL REFERENCE GROUPS

Reference Group	Pat-tern*	Mean Prejudice Scores									
		Total		Jewish		Negro		Mexican		General	
		S	C	S	C	S	C	S	C	S	C
PERIPHERAL GROUPS											
Residence											
F-N: F-T**	P		c		c		c		c		c
N-F: N-T			c		c		c		x		c
T-F: T-N	P		c		c		c		c	03	c
Occupation											
F-B: F-Wh	P		c		c		c		c		c
B-F: B-Wh	P		c		c		c		c		c
Wh-F: Wh-B	P		c		c		c		c		c
Socioecon-Status											
Wo-Wo: Wo-M			c		c		c		c		x
M - M: M-Wo	P		c		c		c		c		c
Religious Participa-tion											
H-H: H-L	P		c	05	c	04	c		x		c
H-H: H-N	P		c		c		c		c		c
L-L: L-H	P	03	c		c		c	04	c		c
N-N: N-H			c		c		x		x		c
H-L: H-N			c		c		c		x		c
Sociometric Status											
Pl-Pk: Pk-PL	P	03	c		c	05	c		c	04	c

* See Table 7.1, Footnote *

** See Table 7.1, Footnote **



Residence:

1. Peripheral town students who identified with the farm group were more prejudiced than those who identified with the nonfarm group. The significance level was three percent for the General prejudice score. All other scores were consistent with it.

Religious Participation:

2. Peripheral high attenders who identified with the low attender group were less prejudiced than those in the core high attender group. The significance levels were five and four percent, respectively for the Jewish and Negro prejudice score,¹ and two of the remaining scores were consistent with them.
3. Peripheral low attenders who identified with the high attender group were less prejudiced than those in the core low attender group. The significance levels were three and four percent respectively for the Total and the Mexican prejudice scores. All of the remaining scores were consistent with them.

Sociometric Status:

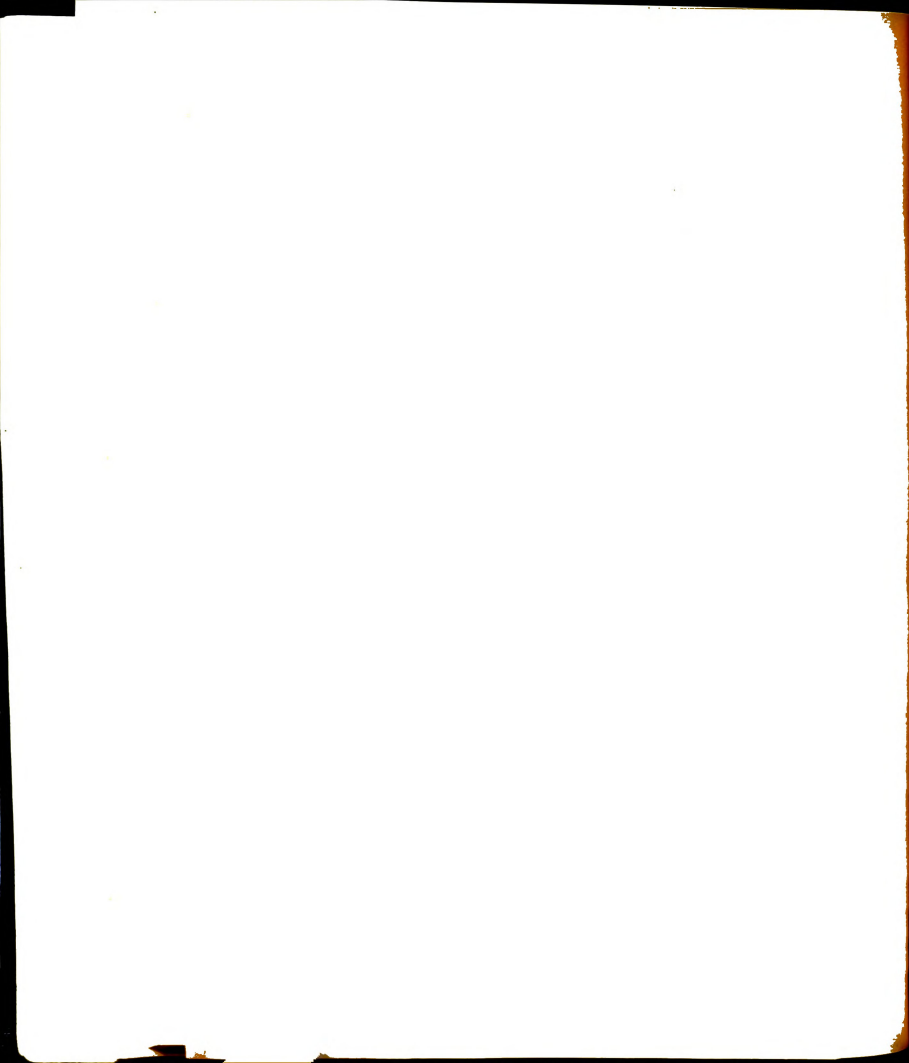
4. Peripheral pivot-links who identified with the pivot leader group were more prejudiced than pivot leaders who identified with the pivot-link group. The significance levels were three, five and four percent respectively for the Total, the Negro and the General prejudice scores. (The Mexican prejudice score reached a level of seven percent.)²

Patterns based on five consistent differences in prejudice scores, none of which were significant were found for the following peripheral reference groups.

Residence:

5. Peripheral farm students who identified with the

1. This pattern does not support the reference group hypothesis at the level ordinarily conceptualized. See this thesis pp.
2. This pattern does not support the reference group hypothesis.



nonfarm group were more prejudiced than those who identified with the town group.

Occupation:

6. Peripheral farm students who identified with the blue collar group were more prejudiced than those who identified with the white collar group.
7. Peripheral blue collar students who identified with the farm group were more prejudiced than those who identified with the white collar group.
8. Peripheral white collar students who identified with the farm group were more prejudiced than those who identified with the blue collar group.

Subjective Socioeconomic Status:

9. Peripheral middle class students who identified with the working class group were more prejudiced than those who identified with the middle class group.

Religious participation:

10. Peripheral attender students who identified with the peripheral nonattender group were less prejudiced than core high attender students.

Peripheral Satellite Groups. Patterns based on three or more consistent differences, one or more of which was statistically significant were established for the following peripheral satellite groups (Table 7.3):

Residence:

1. Peripheral satellite farm students who identified with the nonfarm group were more prejudiced than those who identified with the town group. The significance levels were four percent for both the Total and the Negro prejudice scores, and the remaining scores were consistent with them.

Subjective Socioeconomic Status:

2. Peripheral satellite working class students who identified with the middle class group were less prejudiced than those in the core satellite working class group. The significance level of the Mexican score was three percent, and two other scores were consistent with it.

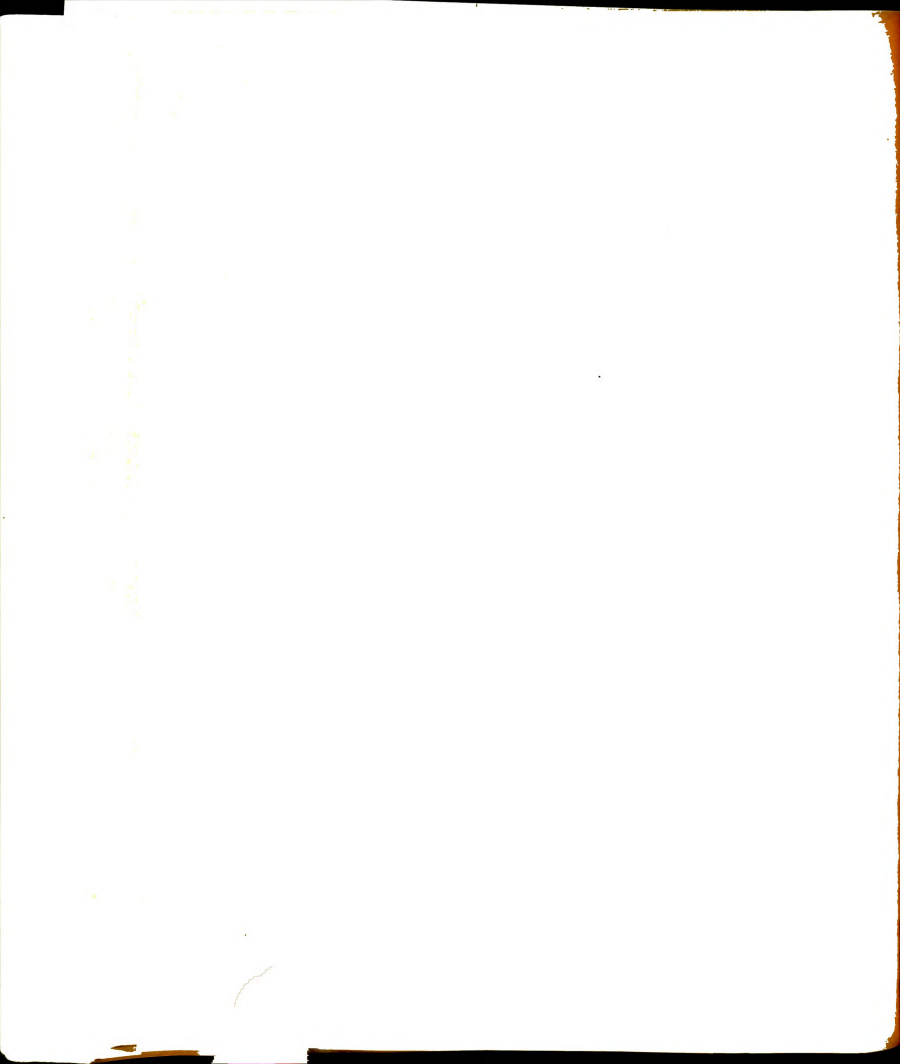


Table 7.3. SHOWING CONSISTENT AND SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES IN MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES AND OVERALL CONSISTENCY OF PATTERNS, BY PERIPHERAL SATELLITE REFERENCE GROUP, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Reference Group	Pattern*	Mean Prejudice Scores									
		Total		Jewish		Negro		Mexican		General	
		S	C	S	C	S	C	S	C	S	C
PERIPHERAL SATELLITE GROUPS											
Residence											
F-N: F-T**	P	04	c		c	04	c		c		c
N-F: N-T			c		c		c		x		x
T-F: T-N			c		x		c		c		c
Occupation											
F-B: F-Wh	P		c		c		c		c		c
B-F: B-Wh			c		c		x		c		c
Wh-F: Wh-B	P		c		c		c		c		c
Socioeconomic Status											
Wo-Wo: Wo-M	P		c		x		x	03	c		c
M-M: M-Wo	P		c		c		c		c		c
Religious Participation											
H-H: H-L	P		c		c		c		c		c
L-L: L-H	P		c		c		c		c		c
N-H: N-L	P	05	c	05	c	01	c		c		c
Sociometric Status											
S-Pl: S-Pk	P		c		c		c		c		c

* See Table 7.1, Footnote *

** See Table 7.1, Footnote **



Religious Participation:

3. Peripheral satellite nonattenders who identified with the low attender group were more prejudiced than those who identified with the high attender group. The significance levels were five, five and one respectively for the Total, the Jewish and the Negro prejudice scores, and the remaining scores were consistent with them.

Patterns based on five consistent differences in prejudice scores none of which were significant were found for the following peripheral satellite groups.

Occupation:

4. Peripheral satellite farm students who identified with the blue collar group were more prejudiced than those who identified with the white collar group.
5. Peripheral satellite white collar students who identified with the farm group were less prejudiced than those who identified with the blue collar group.¹

Subjective Socioeconomic Status:

6. Peripheral satellite middle class students who identified with the working class group were more prejudiced than students in the core middle class group.

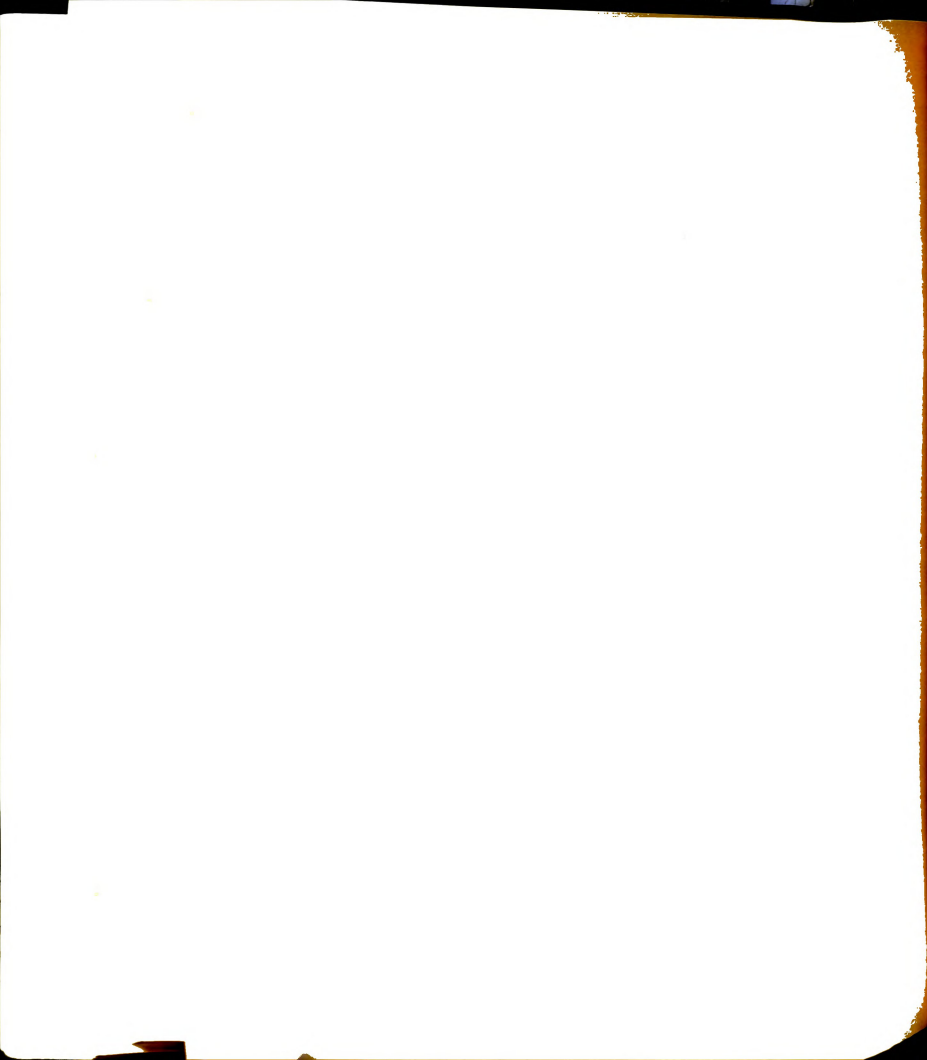
Religious Participation:

7. Peripheral satellite low attender students who identified with the high attender group were less prejudiced than those in the core satellite low attender group.
8. Peripheral satellite high attenders who identified with the low attender group were more prejudiced than students in the core high attender group.

Sociometric Status:

9. Peripheral satellites who identified with the pivot leader group were less prejudiced than those who identified with the pivot-link group.

1. This pattern does not support the reference group hypothesis.



Hypotheses Not Supported by Patterns of Prejudice. The following hypotheses were not supported by patterns of prejudice; that is, they were not supported by prejudice scores in which (1) at least one difference was significant, and two others were consistent with the significant difference; and (2) all differences were consistent with each other. However those hypotheses which were supported by four out of the five differences, consistently, are starred.

Core Groups:

Residence:

1. The core farm group was more prejudiced than the core nonfarm group.
2. The core nonfarm group was more prejudiced than the core town group.

Occupation:

3. *The core blue collar group was more prejudiced than the core white collar group.

Religious Preference:¹

4. *Core students having a church preference were less prejudiced than core students having no church prejudice.
5. *Core Catholic students in the twelfth grade were more prejudiced than the Protestant core group in the same grade.

Peripheral Groups:

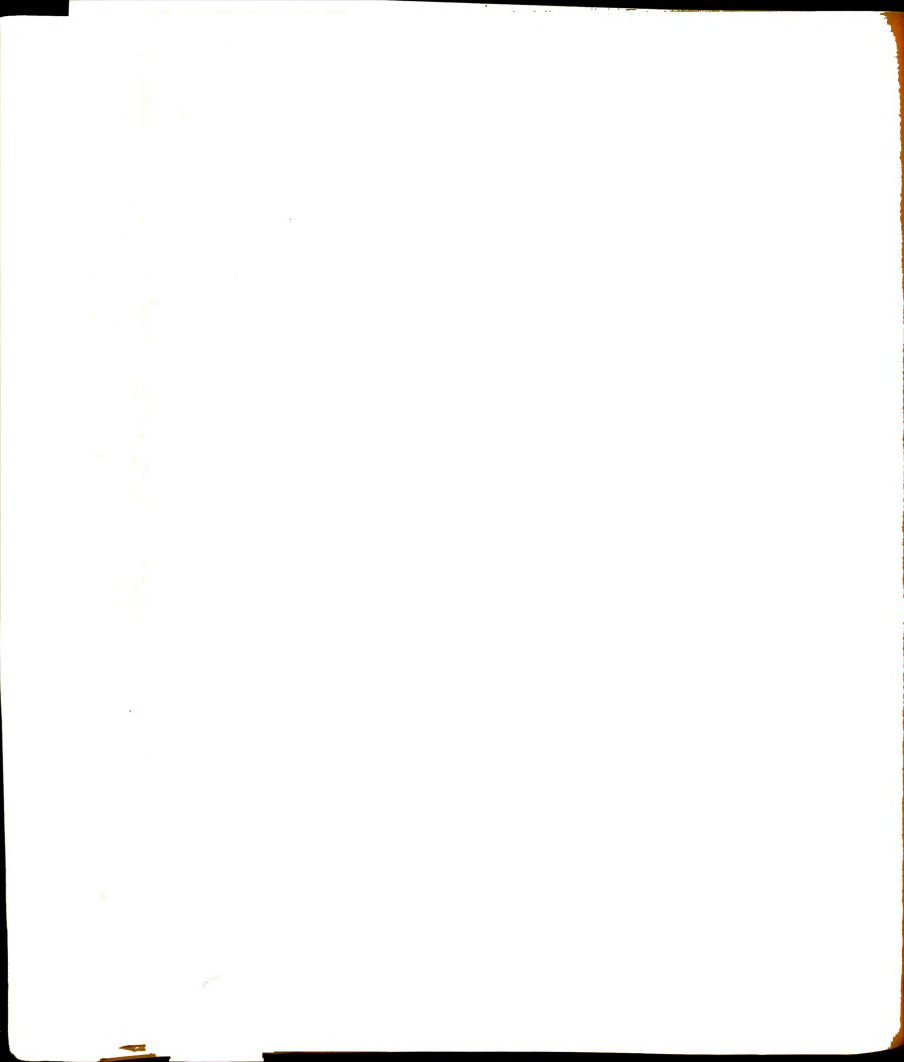
Residence:

1. *Peripheral nonfarm students who identified with the farm group were more prejudiced than those who identified with the town group.

Subjective Socioeconomic Status:

2. *Peripheral working class students who identified with the middle class group were less prejudiced

1. See Footnote 1, p. 167.



than students in the core working class group.

Religious Participation:

3. Peripheral nonattenders who identified with the high attender group were more prejudiced than students in the core nonattender group.
4. *Peripheral high attenders who identified with low attenders were less prejudiced than those who identified with nonattenders.

Peripheral Satellite Groups:

Residence:

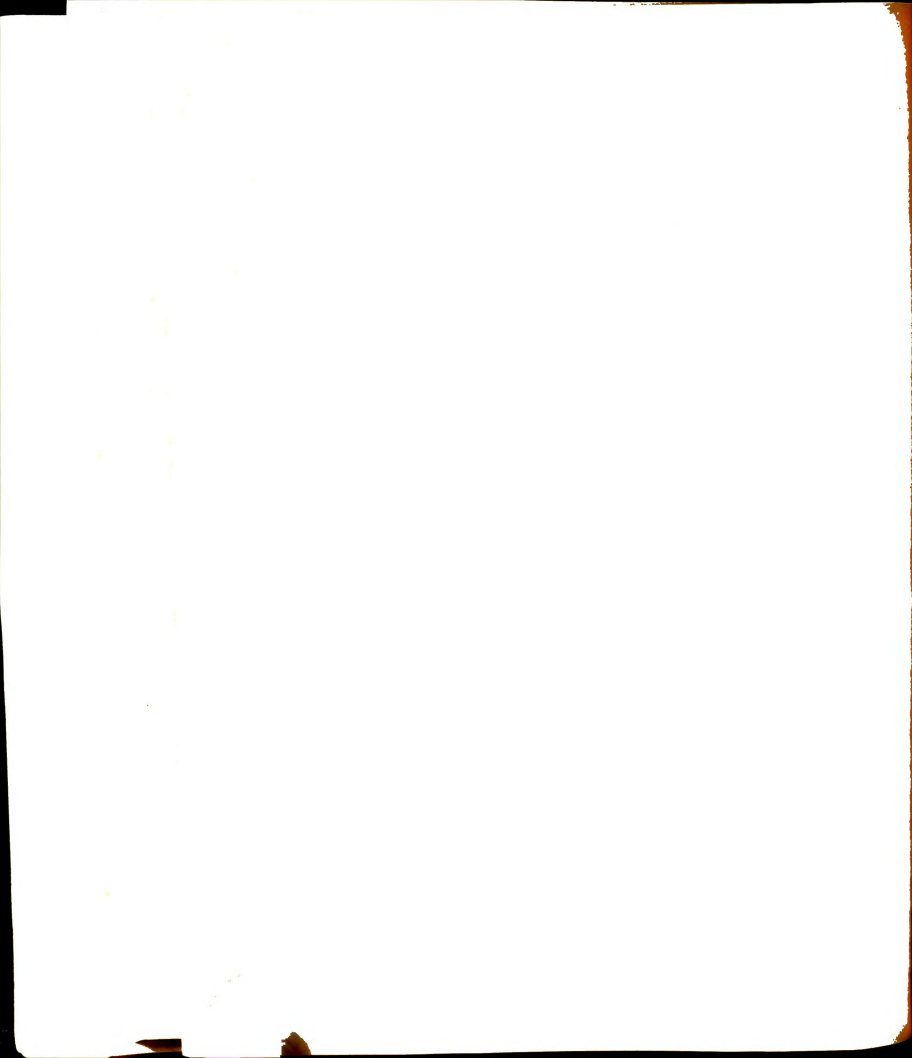
1. Peripheral satellite nonfarm students who identified with the farm group were more prejudiced than those who identified with the town group.
2. *Peripheral satellite town students who identified with the farm group were more prejudiced than those who identified with the nonfarm group.

Occupation:

3. *Peripheral satellite blue collar students who identified with the farm group were more prejudiced than those who identified with the white collar group.

Conclusion. In general, the data of this thesis offer support of the hypotheses as stated for groups at or near the poles of a continuum of social position. Differences for groups occupying intermediate positions tended not to be significant or consistent. This may arise, in part, because Maple County students were not highly prejudiced, and hence the range of the prejudice scores was low. Secondly, the intermediate group is not as "socially visible" as those located near the poles of a continuum. As Merton and Kitt state, social knowledge is a prerequisite of reference orientation, and social visibility contributes to its acquisition.¹

1. Merton and Kitt, op. cit., pp. 66-67.



IMPLICATIONS

It will be recalled that this study is based on data taken from all students rather than a sample of students. The following section on implications will draw upon the data as case study material which reveals one set of actual relationships present in the society and will indicate important insights that may be derived from them. This is justifiable because such analyses furnish a ground-work for the setting up and testing of hypotheses in an area heretofore unexplored.

In the preceding section, we found that expressions of prejudice varied among groups occupying different social positions and among groups having different reference group identifications. Since these relationships have been found, to vary, it is of crucial importance to consider some of the structural features prevailing and their importance in the development of prejudice.

Comparison of Prejudice Patterns Found in Core, Peripheral Satellite Groups. An examination of Table 7.4 reveals that the peripheral satellite groups established more patterns of prejudice and also had more significant differences than any other of the reference groups under study. About 10 percent of their differences were significant, and patterns of prejudice were established about 75 percent of the time. In contrast, among core groups, about 8 percent of the differences were significant and only 60 percent established patterns of prejudice. These findings raise some

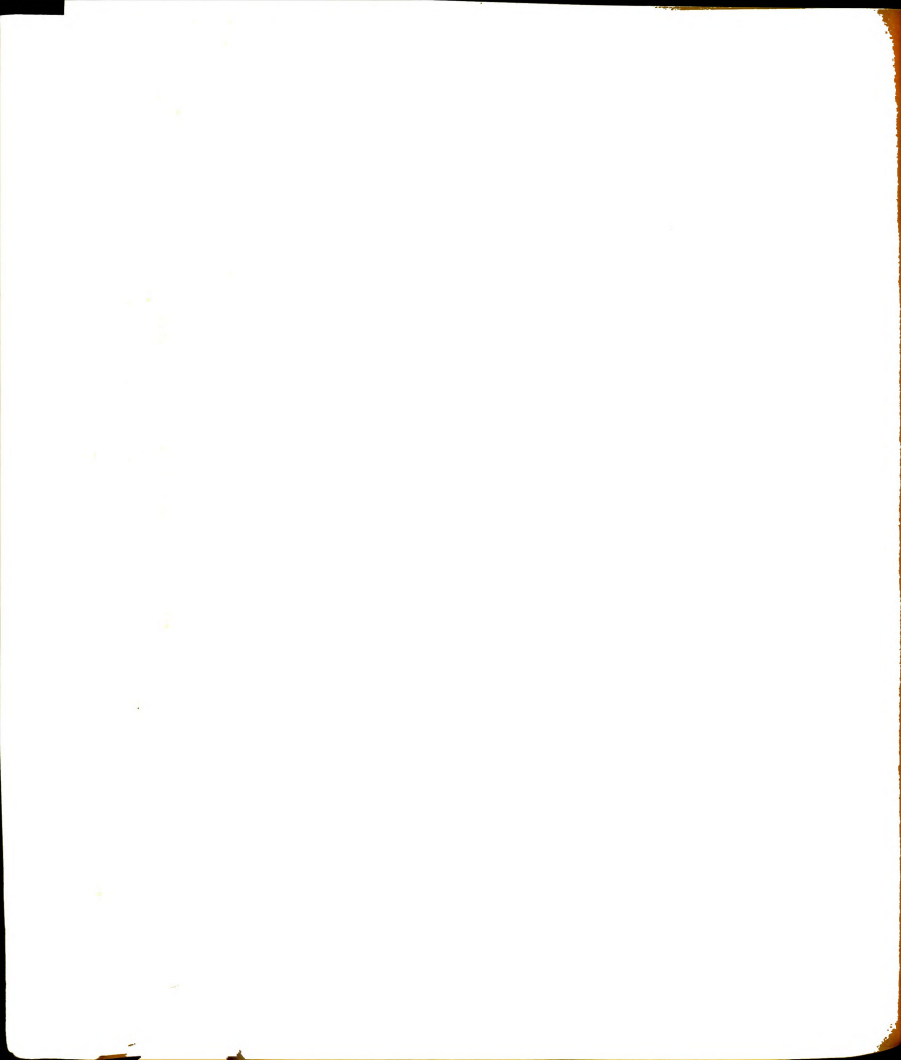
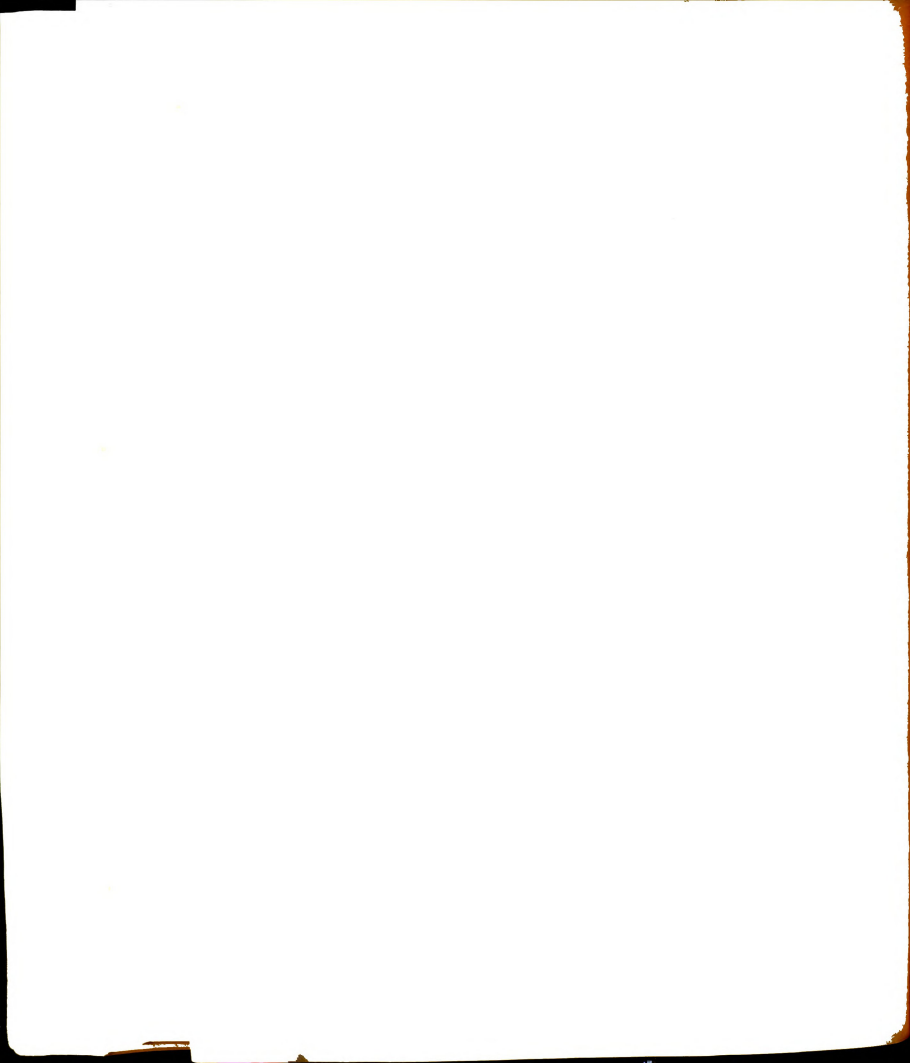


Table 7.4. NUMBER AND PERCENT OF PATTERNS, SIGNIFICANT AND CONSISTENT DIFFERENCES, BY TYPE OF SOCIOMETRIC REFERENCE GROUP, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Types of Sociometric Reference Groups	Total Number of Group Comparisons	Patterns(b) Occurring		Total Number of Differences	Differences			
		No	%		Signi		Consist-	
					ficant	ent(c)		
		No	%		No	%	No	%
Total	36	25	69.3	180	18	10.0	157	87.2
Core	10	6	60.0	50	4	8.0	39	78.0
Peripheral	14	10	71.4	70	8	11.4	64	91.4
Peripheral Satellite	12	9	75.0	60	6	10.0	54	90.0

Source: Computed from Tables 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3.

- (a) These entries refer to the possible number of times the event could have occurred. There was one possible pattern for each pair of sociometric reference groups compared.
- (b) For a discussion and definition of "Pattern", see this thesis p. 160.
- (c) A consistent score is one which conforms to the predominant pattern established by the differences between the prejudice scores of two social groups. Thus, three, or more, scores of one group must of necessity be higher (or lower) than those of the other group. This approach should not be confused with "consistent" as employed in the "pattern types" presented in Part I of this chapter and described on p. 160. All differences which were significant were also consistent and are included in the consistent scores. This does not follow by definition, however.

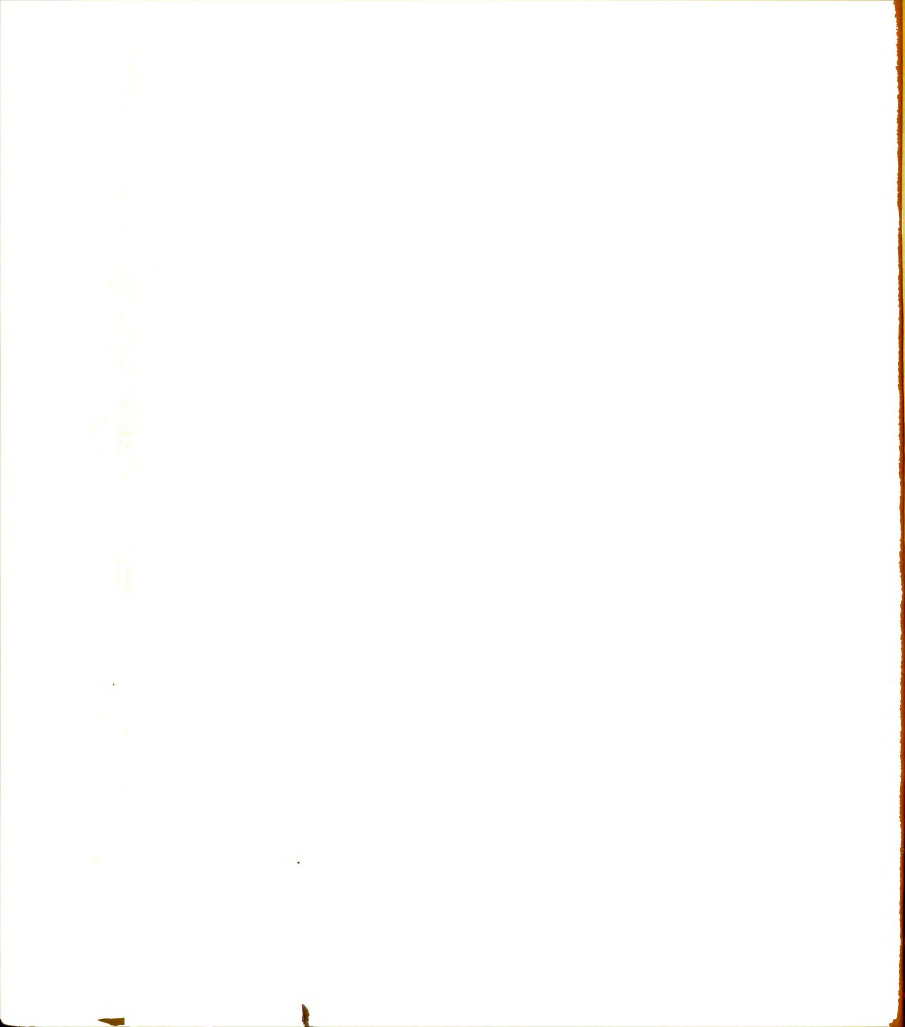


important questions. For example, if farm students occupy a different social position than town students as has been shown repeatedly, and by these data also, why are the extremes of prejudice found in peripheral or peripheral satellite groups, rather than in core groups? It is maintained by the writer that these differences stem, in part, from differences in the levels of conceptualization employed by the respective groups, and, in part, from other factors which will be discussed later.

Levels of Conceptualization. It will be recalled that Merton raised the point that in reference orientation there appears to be two types of comparative frames of reference.¹ One is provided by impersonal status categories; the other arises out of sustained human relations. The latter is action-oriented in the group; the former, is tradition-oriented in the culture. By definition, the satellite groups, since they received no choices and hence are not interactional groups, would tend to employ impersonal status categories in assessing the norms of their reference group. Core and peripheral groups, however, are action-oriented and hence would tend to use norms derived within a context of sustained human relations, that is a participational context.

It is logical to suppose, however, that participation results in compromises in position between extreme factions of a group, and that because of these compromises there is

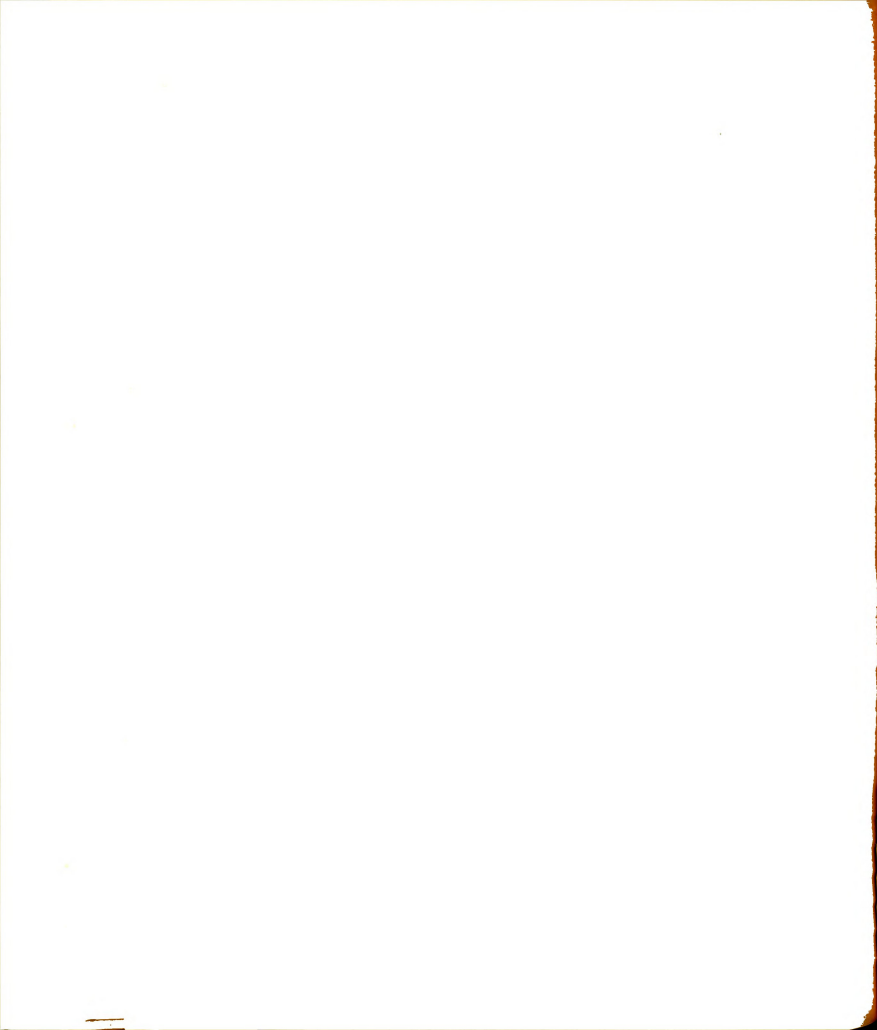
1. Merton and Kitt, op. cit., pp. 64-66.



a tendency for the core values of two groups occupying different positions in the social structure to converge. Furthermore, it is logical to go a step beyond, and assume that such compromises resulting in such convergences are also internalized by the members of a group and become sources of new normative orientations. One would expect action-oriented groups because of convergences to show fewer significant differences in prejudice, and fewer patterns of prejudice, than culturally oriented groups, and the data in Table 7.4 support this contention.

Implications derived from the discussion of levels of conceptualization presented above, make it possible to further characterize the sociometric reference groups. The data seem to support the contention that the core groups do not so much represent the traditional culturally-defined values of a group as compromise norms stemming from group interaction, that is, traditional norms re-defined in a situational frame of reference. The data also suggest that the traditional normative structure might best be defined by the core satellite, inasmuch as he is positively oriented to his membership group as shown by the choices he makes, but is outside the interactional field as indicated by a lack of choices received. A comparison of core and core satellite groups might well be taken as a measure of the direction that normative changes are taking within an in-group.

The peripheral satellite group may be said to represent the cultural norms of their reference group, as defined by

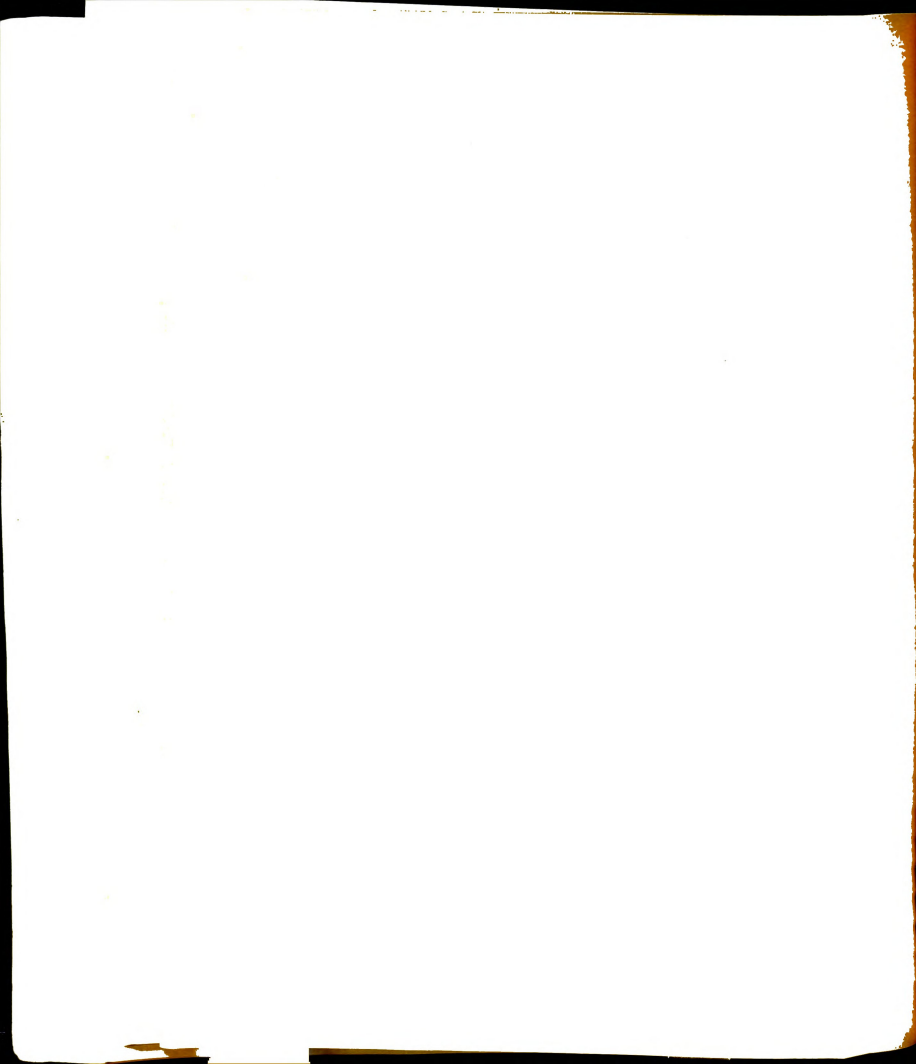


a favorably oriented out-group, subject to certain constant errors which also tend to exaggerate its extreme position. One is the tendency for individuals identifying with a reference group to over-shoot the mark, to exaggerate the normative ideal in their zeal to belong; the other is the tendency for a group to be stereotyped by outsiders. Because of this stereotyping, the knowledge which the individual has of his reference group and the roles expected of him are warped. He is, in both a cultural and dynamic sense, marginal in the group with which he has identified.

Peripheral reference groups are composed of the true newcomers. Culturally they are marginal, but in the participation sense they belong. Consequently, one would expect to see them moving away from the normative position of the peripheral satellite and toward the core norms of their new reference groups, and the data in Table 7.4 show them in this intermediate position.

The role of the mixed reference groups, composed of individuals who both made and received choices from nonmembership as well as membership groups, were not a part of this study, but it should not be presumed that they are unimportant components of the group. It is likely that the mixed groups provide channels of communication for the assimilation process both within and between groups to get under way.

If sociometric reference groups have different characteristics, then the nature of any social group is greatly



modified by changes in the pattern of relationships prevailing among the respective reference groups. These factors will be discussed next.

The Relation of Sociometric Reference Groups to the Stability of the Parent Group. As Simmel has so ably pointed out, just the sheer fact of numbers is an important component of any social group, and when numbers are correlated with social power, they open vast areas of complexity for subsequent investigation.¹ An examination of Table 7.5 reveals that among the residence groups, the membership in core, peripheral and peripheral satellite groups was about equally divided. However, among occupational groups, there were almost twice as many peripheral satellite as core members, the percentages being 11.4 and 21.2 respectively. The situation was reversed, however, in the subjective socioeconomic status and in the religious participation groups. It will be recalled that among the sociometric status groups, there were no members in the core pivot leader group. On the other hand, only a small percentage of students (4.8) chose and were chosen by pivot leaders. Isolates slightly outnumbered pivot-links.

Thus, although the core group represents the stable element in the group, it is itself subject to wide variations. For example, in the present research, in addition to an absence of core pivot leaders, mentioned above, there was no

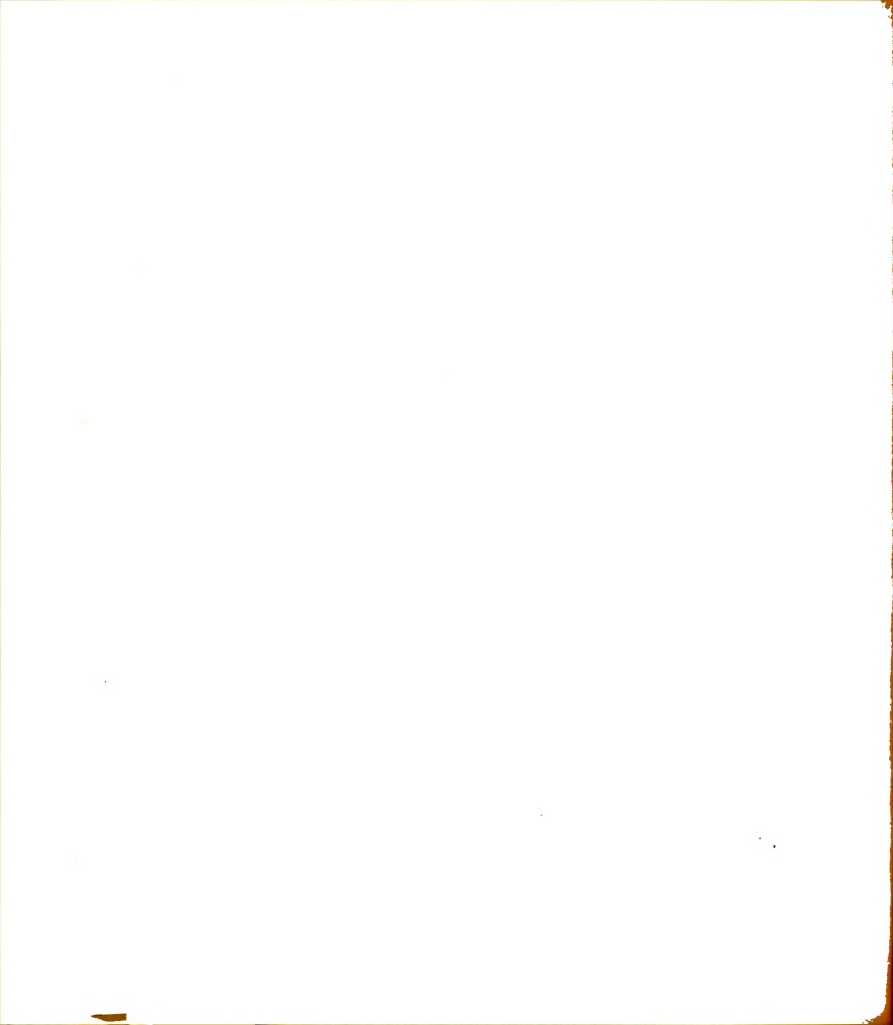
1. Georg Simmel, translated by Kurt Wolff, The Sociology of Georg Simmel, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1950, pp. 87-104.



Table 7.5. NUMBER AND PERCENT OF STUDENTS IN SPECIFIED SOCIOMETRIC REFERENCE GROUPS, BY SOCIAL GROUP, FOR THE COMBINED NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

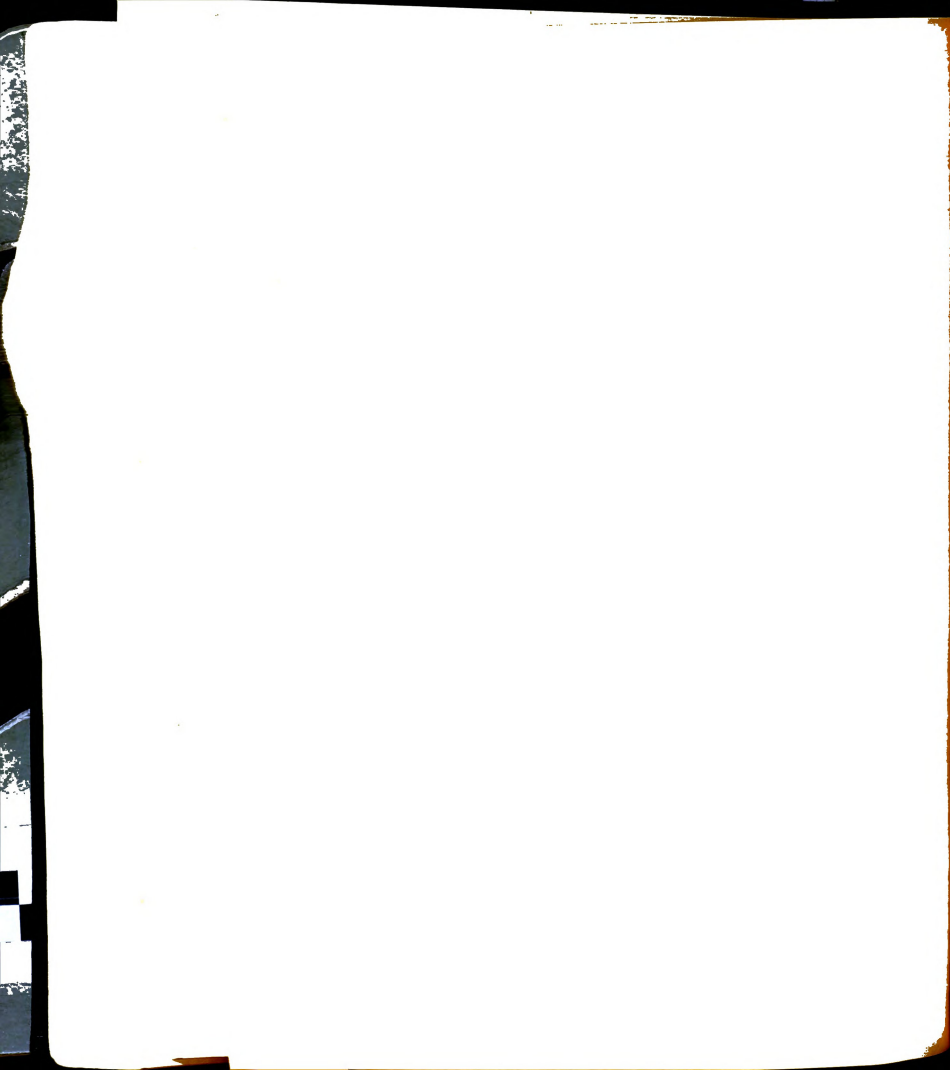
Social Group (All Cate- gories)	Total Number of Students	Sociometric Reference Groups					
		Core		Peripheral		Peripheral Satellite	
		No	%	No	%	No	%
Residence	399	61	15.3	50	12.5	67	16.8
Occupation	368	42	11.4	47	12.8	78	21.2
Subjective Socioecon- omic Status	391	85	21.7	40	10.2	54	14.0
Religious Participa- tion	398	82	20.6	34	8.5	46	11.6
Sociometric Status	413	133	32.0	20	4.8	148	35.8

Source: Tables 4.1 through 4.13; 5.1 through 5.14; 6.1 through 6.12, and Resource Tables 1 through 6, Appendix A.



core nonfarm group in the twelfth grade although there was a relatively strong one in the ninth grade (Appendix A, Resource Tables 1 - 6); and there was no core farm group in the urban high school of Johnstown in the twelfth grade, although, again, there was a relatively strong one in the ninth grade. There was only one core white collar student in the twelfth grade, and only a group of three in the ninth grade. If it is recalled that the schools at Adams and Brownsville are town-centered rural consolidated ones, and if it is remembered that the data on formal membership in organizations reveal a leading interest on the part of students in farm organizations (Table 2.7), one begins to see the possibilities of a strong relationship between the size and stability of the core groups and their status as power groups in the community. It cannot be assumed that the power positions of a social group are always filled by the core members. The "old-timer" versus "newcomer" rivalry is a struggle for social power between members of a core as compared with a peripheral group.

From the previous discussion, it may be seen that shifts in the relative composition of various reference groups, result in a corresponding shift in the nature of the larger social group, itself. If, for example, a residence group is characterized by a large number of core members, one might expect it to be relatively less prejudiced than one comprised of a large number of peripheral satellite members. Accordingly, it is not surprising that research findings



based on farm-nonfarm categories taken as wholes show discrepancies. And, of course, this should be true for many other categories.

It may be seen from the discussion presented that reference group identification is a highly fluid process and one closely associated with the social visibility of groups. Let us now turn to a discussion of this topic.

Social Visibility and Expressions of Prejudice. If Tables 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3 are re-examined, it may be seen that patterns of prejudice tend to be established only when the groups being compared are highly visible in a social sense. Differences between farm and town cultures have been pointed out for so long that they have gained historical perspective. They are summed up in the two phrases "city folks" and "country folks." Patterns of prejudice were readily discernable for these groups. Farm people are easily compared with blue or white collar people, both groups being in social perspective "town folks." But differences between blue and white collar people are not so apparent and hence a normative context is lacking for attributing differences in attitudes of prejudice. Differences between high and low religious attenders and between low and nonattenders were highly visible and established patterns of prejudice. The interesting thing, however, is that both high and nonattenders were not only more tolerant, but were "seen" by the low attender group as more tolerant. These findings suggest that nonattenders conformed more strongly to humanitarian



values approved in the religious mores than did religious attenders themselves.

Targets of Prejudice in Maple County. On the basis of Table 7.6 it may be seen that differences in prejudice were more frequently found with respect to Jewish and Negro minority groups. Differences for both these groups were significant 13.9 percent of the time as compared with 5.6 percent for both the Mexican group and the General prejudice score. These findings are in keeping with those of Holland found in an adult sample from Maple County.¹

Appraisal of the Study. The findings of this study point to the importance of the sociometric approach in the analysis of reference group behavior.

This research was based on one sociometric question limited to one response only. It would be interesting to know what happens when different questions are used. One would like to find out what effect second and third choices would have on the stability of the reference group patterns described above, and one would like to know what relationships prevail between positive rejection and nonacceptance.

All the studies of Maple County indicate that while the community is prejudiced, it is not highly so. The relationships uncovered in this analysis might be much more sharply defined had the research been carried out with respondents in which the range of prejudice was much greater.

1. Holland op. cit.



Table 7.6. NUMBER AND PERCENT OF SIGNIFICANT
AND CONSISTENT DIFFERENCES, BY
PREJUDICE SCORE, MAPLE COUNTY,
1949

Prejudice Score	Total(a) Group Com- parisons	Significant Differences		Consistent Differences(b)	
		No	Percent	No	Percent
Total	36	4	11.1	36	100.0
Jewish	36	5	13.9	33	91.7
Negro	36	5	13.9	29	80.6
Mexican	36	2	5.6	28	77.8
General	36	2	5.6	31	86.1

Source: Tables 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3.

(a) These entries refer to the possible number of times the respective prejudice score could have been significant or consistent. There were a total of 36 groups: 10 core, 14 peripheral and 12 peripheral satellite.

(b) See Footnote C, Table 7.4.



The substructures abstracted by sociometric techniques are operationally definable and appear to be directly related to formal group structure revealing the functional relationships prevailing between such factors as differences in the social power or social position of formal groups and changes in group solidarity.

Further, the relationships uncovered fall neatly into the framework of formal group theory. While this thesis was done within the framework of reference group theory as it applied to differences in the expression of prejudice, sociometric reference groups could be utilized in studies of aspiration and mobility, and sociometric isolate groups could be analyzed within the framework of the frustration-aggression hypothesis and other displacement theories. The mixed sociometric groups, since they furnish avenues of communication in the broadest context possible, offer innumerable approaches to the study of assimilation and communication.



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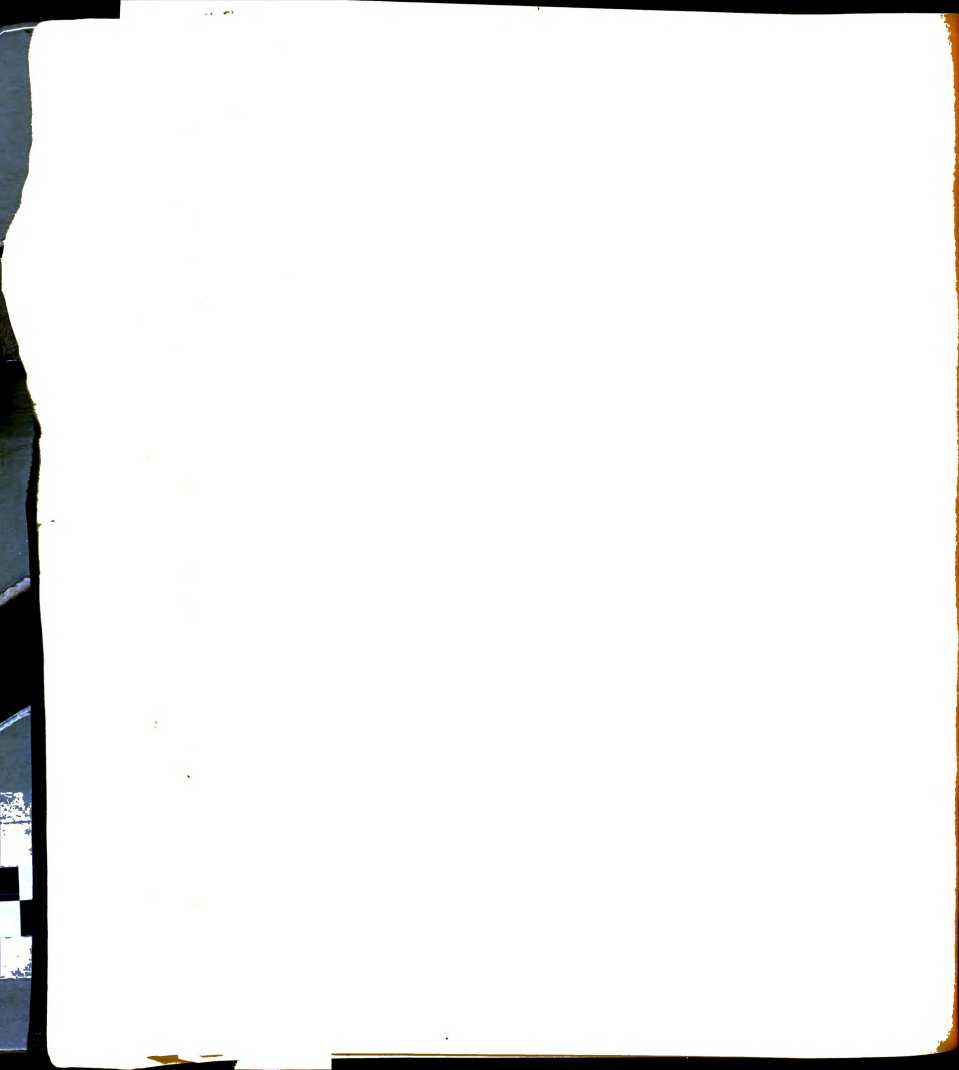
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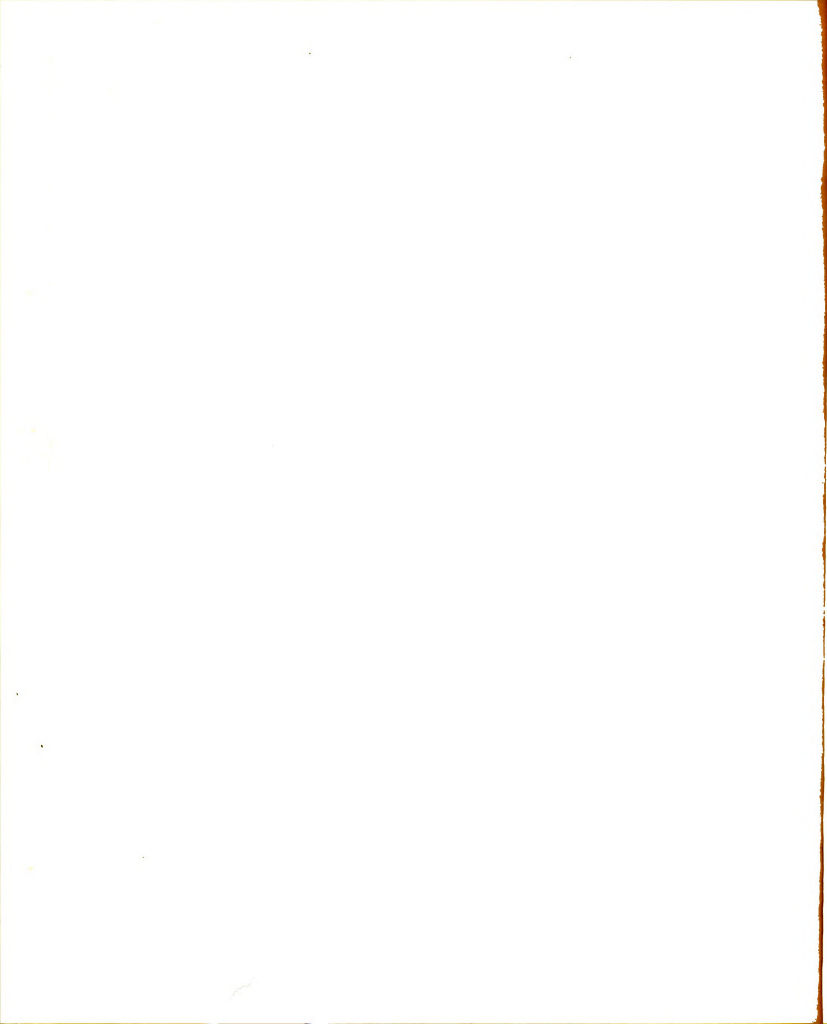
*Note: This bibliography includes only material cited in this thesis.



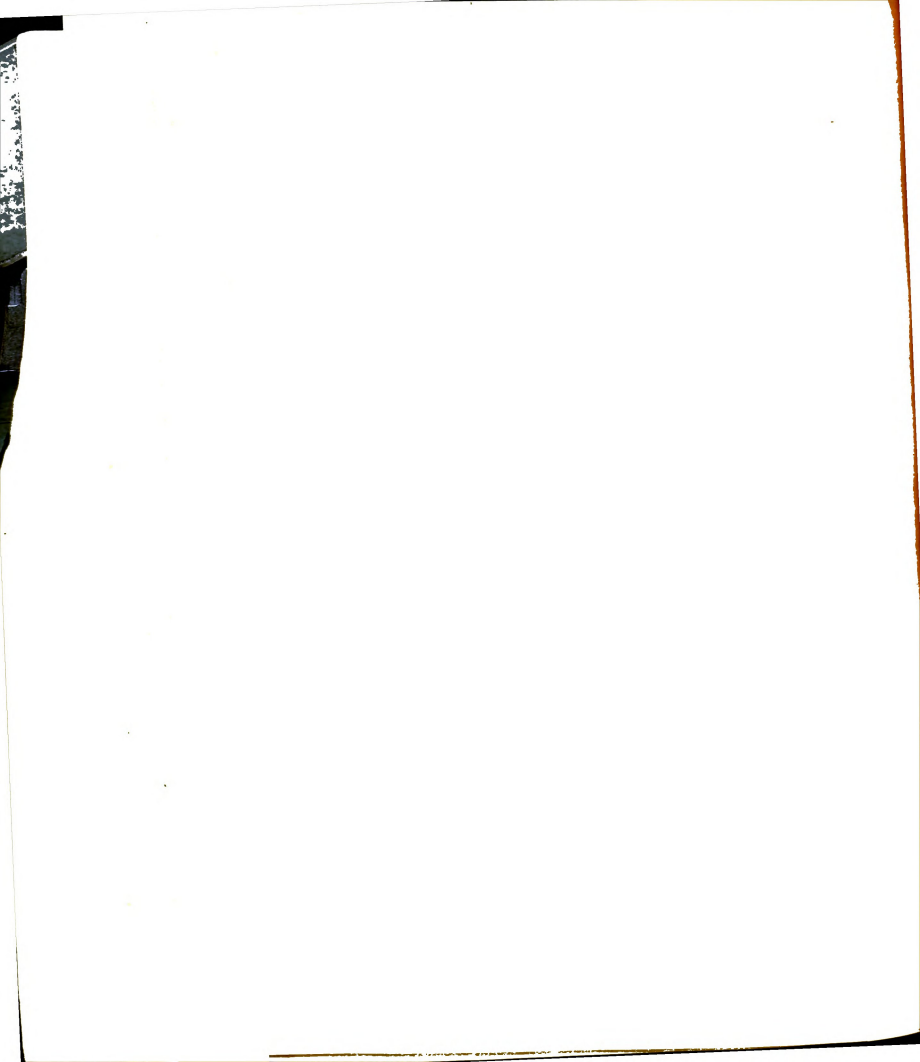
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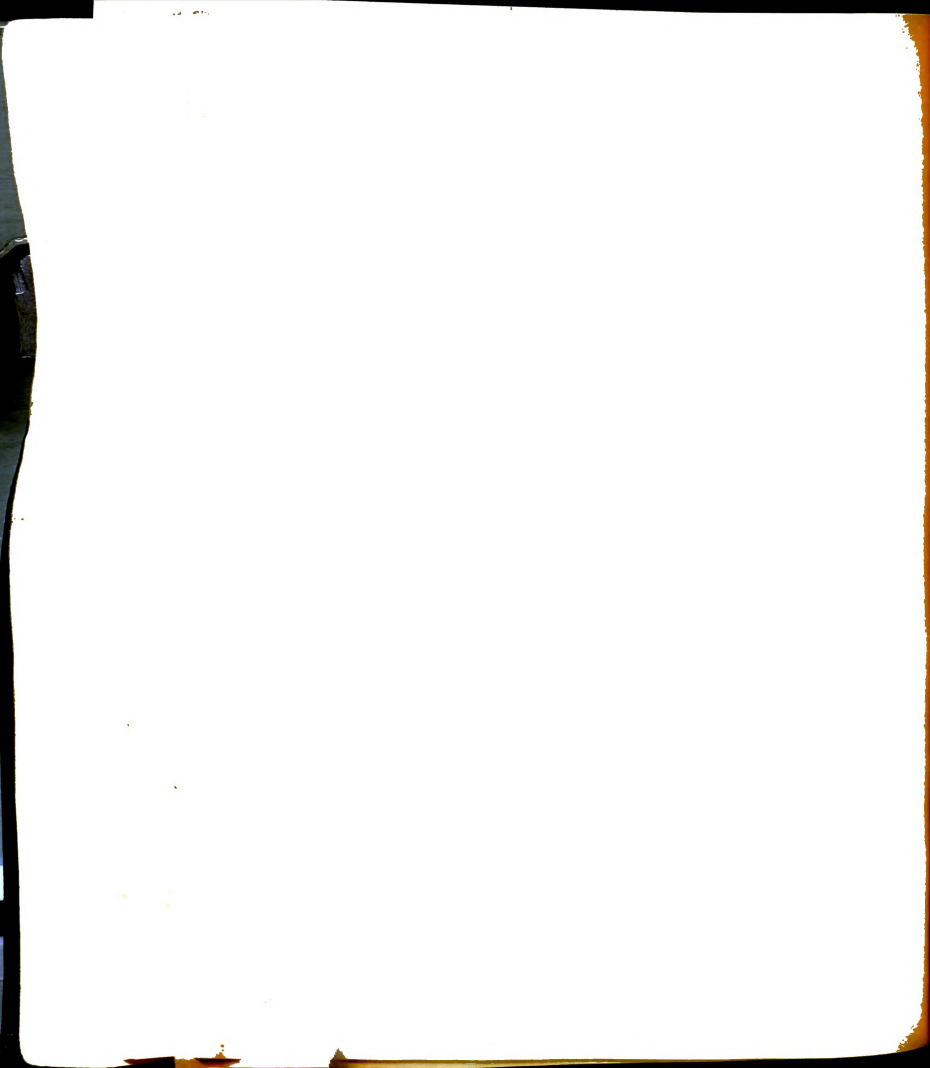
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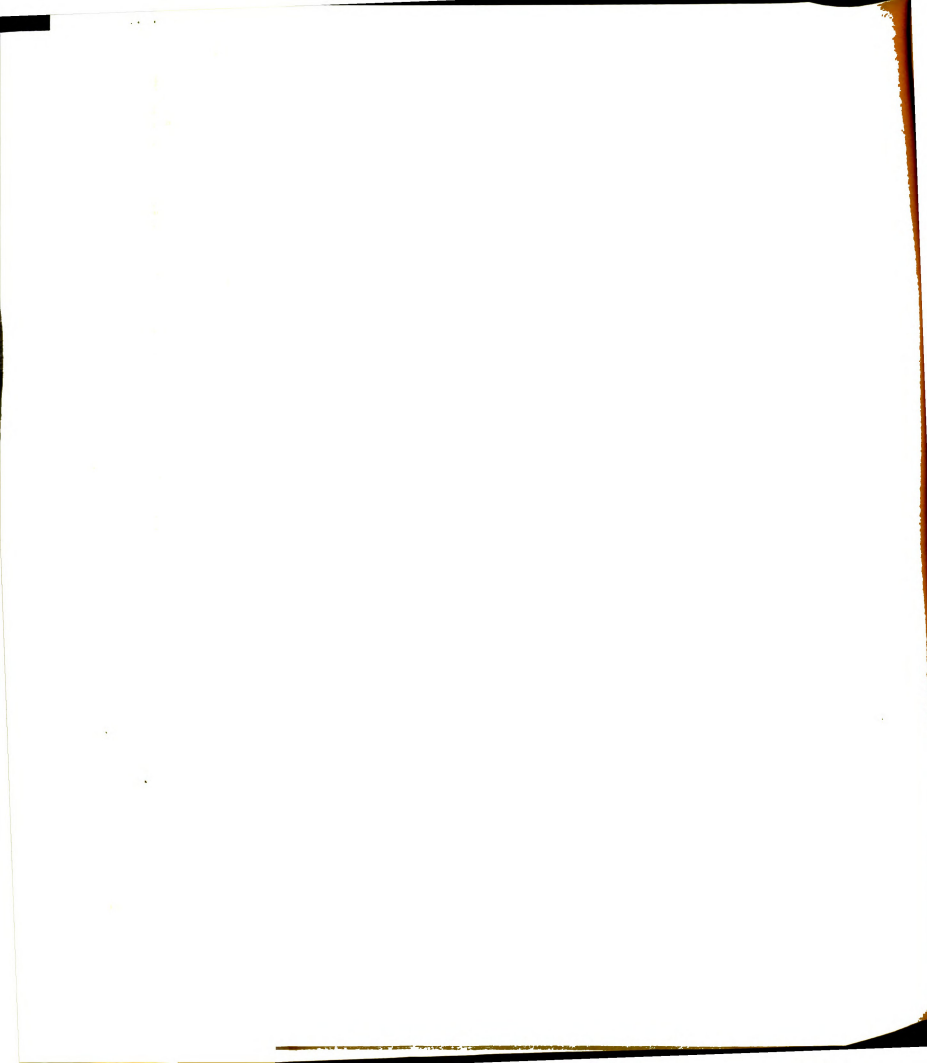
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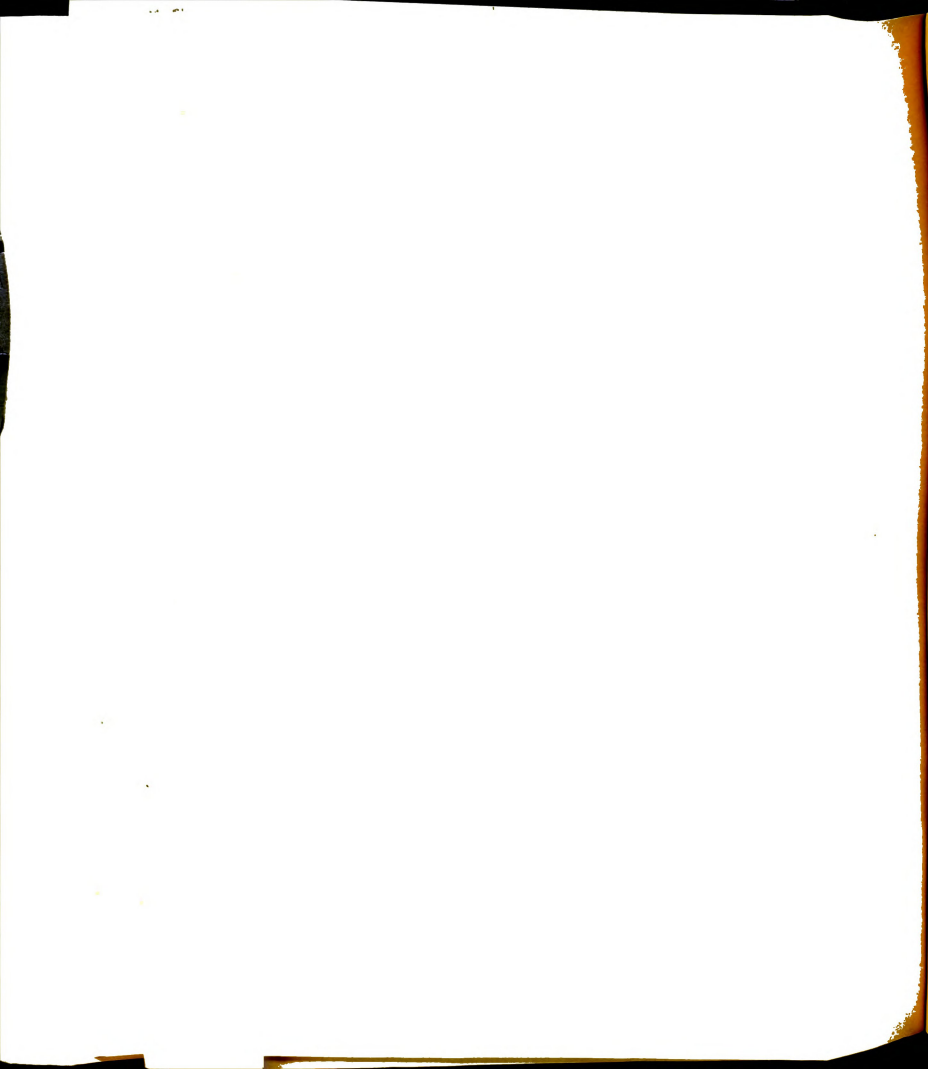
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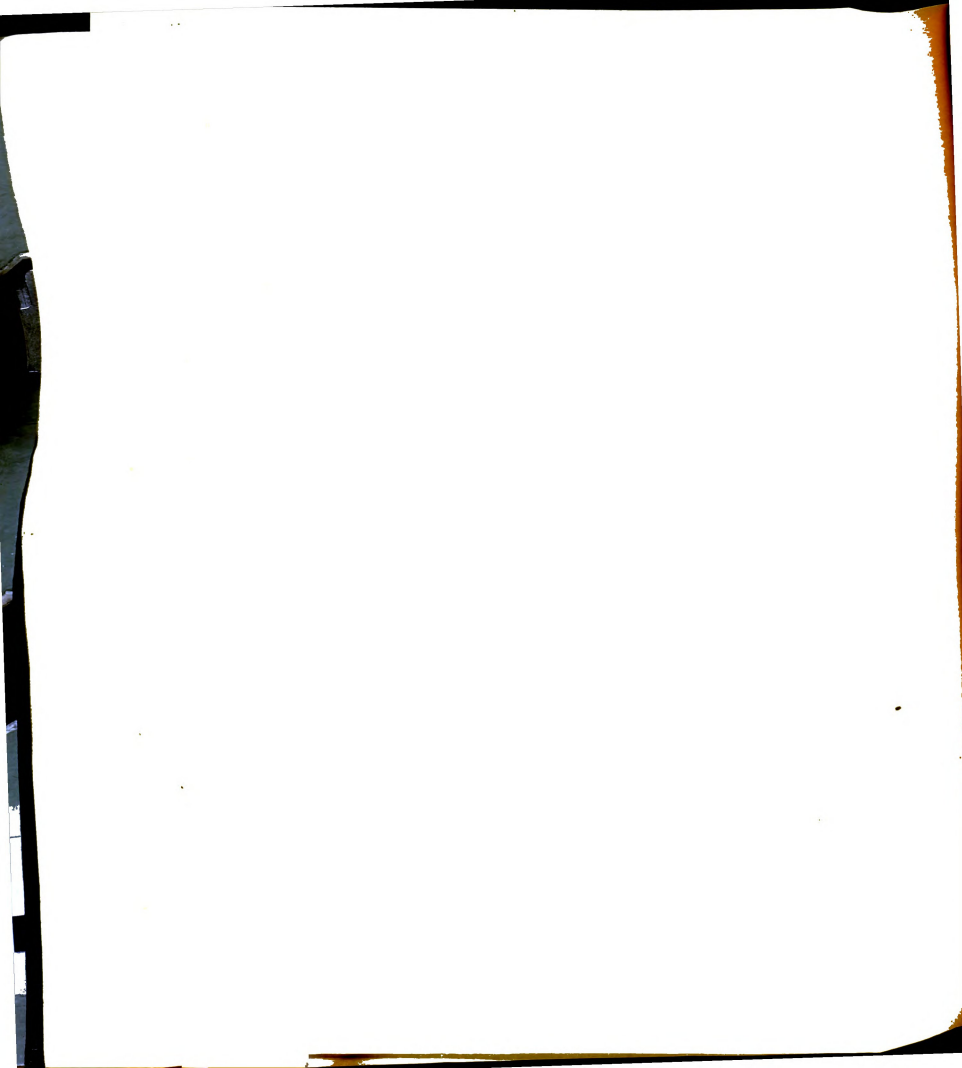
APPENDIX A
RESOURCE TABLES



Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories ¹												Prejudice Scores ⁸					No. of Formal Group Memberships ⁹	
	Residence ²	Occupation ³			Religious Participation ⁴			Preferences ⁵			Social Status ⁶			Sociometric Status ⁷					
		(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)		(q)
28-32	F	11T	F	10B	COL	11N	P2	10	-	-	F	10	72	18	18	18	18	18	3
28-16	T	7	W	7	COL	7	P9	1	M	7	L	5	71	17	18	18	18	18	3
28-17	N	1F	B	1F	NC5	1	-	-	M	5	F	1	71	18	18	17	18	18	1
28-40	F	8	F	1M	COL	1H	C1	5	M	7	L	5	71	18	17	18	18	18	3
28-43	T	13	W	13	CO6	13	C1	14	M	13	F	13	71	18	17	18	18	18	3
28-15	N	1N	B	1B	COL	4	P4	1	M	5	F	1	70	18	16	18	18	18	2
28-19	F	1N	F	1B	NC5	1	-	-	W	5	F	1	70	17	18	18	17	17	3
28-37	N	1M	B	1M	COL	4	P4	2	W	5	F	2	70	18	18	18	16	16	1
28-3	N	1ON	B	1OB	COL	1OH	P8	10	M	11	F	10	69	17	16	18	18	18	2
28-7	T	11	B	1OF	COL	1OH	P8	11	W	11	F	11	69	17	17	18	17	17	2
28-35	-	-	-	-	NC5	10	-	-	W	11	F	10	69	17	17	18	17	17	3
28-44	T	4	B	7	NC5	8	-	-	-	-	F	1	67	15	18	17	17	17	1
28-14	T	10	B	1OB	CO7	10	P2	10	W	11	F	10	66	17	14	18	18	17	2
28-21	-	-	-	-	CO6	2	C1	5	W	5	F	1	66	18	14	18	16	16	3
26-29	T	1	B	1B	COL	5N	P6	1	M	8	F	1	66	18	14	16	18	18	2
28-39	F	1F	F	1F	NC5	5H	-	-	M	4	F	1	66	15	17	17	17	17	2
28-25	T	10	B	1OB	NC5	11H	-	-	W	10	F	10	65	16	16	17	16	16	1
28-42	F	10F	F	1OF	COL	1OH	P5	11	W	11	F	11	64	17	15	15	17	17	3
28-5	-	-	-	-	COL	1H	P4	2	M	2	F	1	61	16	15	14	14	14	2
28-8	T	1	W	1	CO2	1H	P6	1	M	1	F	5	60	18	13	15	15	14	2



Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories ¹										Prejudice Scores ⁸					No. of Formal Group Members ⁹					
	Residence ²	Occupation ³		Religious Participation ⁴		Preferences ⁵		Social Status ⁶		Socio-metric Status ⁷	Tot. Jew. Neg. Mex. Gen.										
		(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)		(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)		(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)
28-23	-	-	-	-	CO3	10	P5	10	M	10	F	10	15	13	16	60	16	16	13	15	1
28-28	N	11	W	11B	NC5	10	-	-	M	10	F	10	17	15	12	60	16	12	15	17	2
28-1	T	10	B	10B	CO2	10L	PX	10	M	11	F	10	16	18	9	59	16	9	18	16	6
28-41	-	-	-	-	CO1	14	PX	13	M	13	F	13	17	15	12	58	14	12	15	17	3
28-6	N	1M	B	1M	CO1	1H	P2	2	W	5	F	2	13	15	16	57	13	16	15	13	1
28-12	F	7	-	-	CO1	2	P2	1	M	8	F	1	15	15	11	57	16	11	15	15	2
28-22	T	5F	F	1F	CO2	1H	P4	5	M	1	F	5	10	17	15	56	14	15	17	10	3
28-10	F	11	F	11	NC5	11H	-	-	W	11	F	11	12	13	16	54	13	16	13	12	2
28-11	T	2	B	1M	CO3	1L	PX	1	W	5	F	1	13	14	9	50	14	9	14	13	1
28-31	-	-	-	-	NC5	2	-	-	M	4	F	1	11	14	9	49	15	9	14	11	1
28-26	T	1	B	7	NC5	5H	-	-	W	8	F	1	11	10	9	48	18	9	10	11	1
28-33	F	16	F	16	NC5	16	-	-	-	-	F	16	9	13	11	48	15	11	13	9	1
28-36	T	10	W	10	CO1	10H	P6	11	M	10	F	10	10	13	8	47	16	8	13	10	3
28-18	T	10	F	10B	CO1	10H	P2	10	M	11	F	10	11	13	10	46	12	10	13	11	3
28-20	T	1	B	4	CO3	1L	P6	2	W	4	F	1	12	7	15	46	12	15	7	12	2
28-27	T	16	B	16	CO2	16	P6	16	M	16	F	16	12	9	10	46	15	10	9	12	4
28-13	T	1	B	1F	NC5	5H	-	-	M	1	F	1	12	8	9	45	16	9	8	12	1
28-34	F	16	F	16	CO2	16	P4	16	M	16	F	16	9	11	13	44	11	13	11	9	1
28-25	N	1F	B	1	NC5	5H	-	-	W	5	F	1	8	12	8	37	9	8	12	8	1
28-9	T	13	B	13	CO1	13	P2	13	W	13	F	13	10	12	6	37	9	6	12	10	5



Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories ¹										No. of Formal Group Members ⁹			
	Religious					Socio-metric								
	Residence ²	Occupation ³	Participation ⁴	Preferences ⁵	Social Status ⁶	Social Status ⁷	Prejudice Scores ⁸							
							Tot.	Jew.	Neg.	Mex.		Gen.		
	Col.(a)(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)(h)	(i)(j)	(k)(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)
28-24	F 10N	F	10B	C02	10H	P7	10	M 10	F	10				
28-38	T 1	B	10B	C01	8	P2	1	M 7	F	1				
28-4														
28-30														

1. The sociometric subgroup categories (columns b, d, f, h, j, l) result from the cross tabulation of "choices received" and "choices made". They are described in detail in Appendix D.
2. The symbols in Column (a) refer to the residence classification of the respondent who is shown by case number. "F" is a farm student, "N" is a nonfarm student and "T" is a town student. "Farm" is defined according to the 1940 census. "Nonfarm" refers to all rural students living in villages or unincorporated places of less than 1,000 population and open country residents. "Town" includes students living in incorporated places of 1,000 or more population. "M" refers to a mixed sociometric group.
- The numerical symbol in Column (b) refers to the sociometric reference group (based on residence) of which the respondent is a member. Since the sociometric subgroups were formulated on the basis of a rural-urban dichotomy, the rural breakdown is indicated by the letter attached to the number of Column (b). For example, student 28-24, coded "F 10N", was a farm person who chose a nonfarm person. Since he is found in sociometric subgroup 10, he received no choices in return. Student 28-19



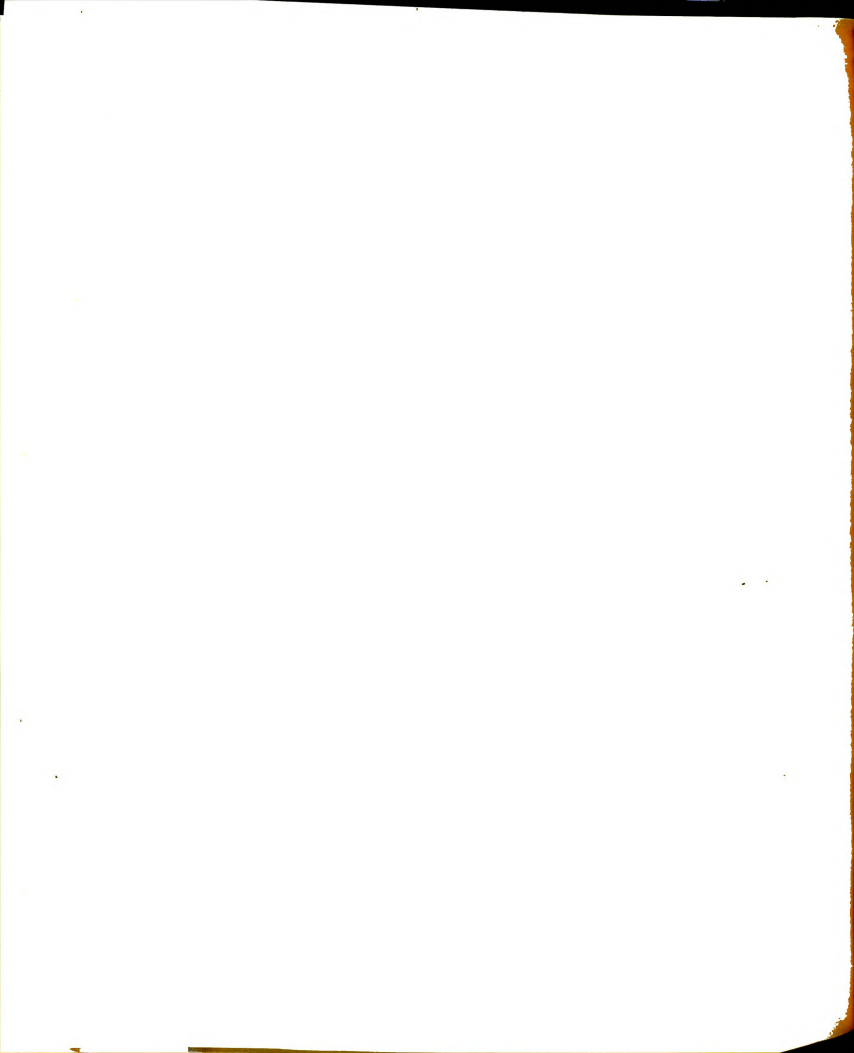
coded "F 1N", was a farm person who chose and was chosen by a nonfarm person.

3. The symbols in Column (c) have the following meanings: "F" refers to a worker whose chief occupation was farming; "B" to all blue collar workers (town or country) other than farmers; and "W" to white collar workers (town or country). Each classification refers to the chief occupation of the father of the respondent, if living in the home; or to the mother, if she is working and the father is deceased or absent from the home.

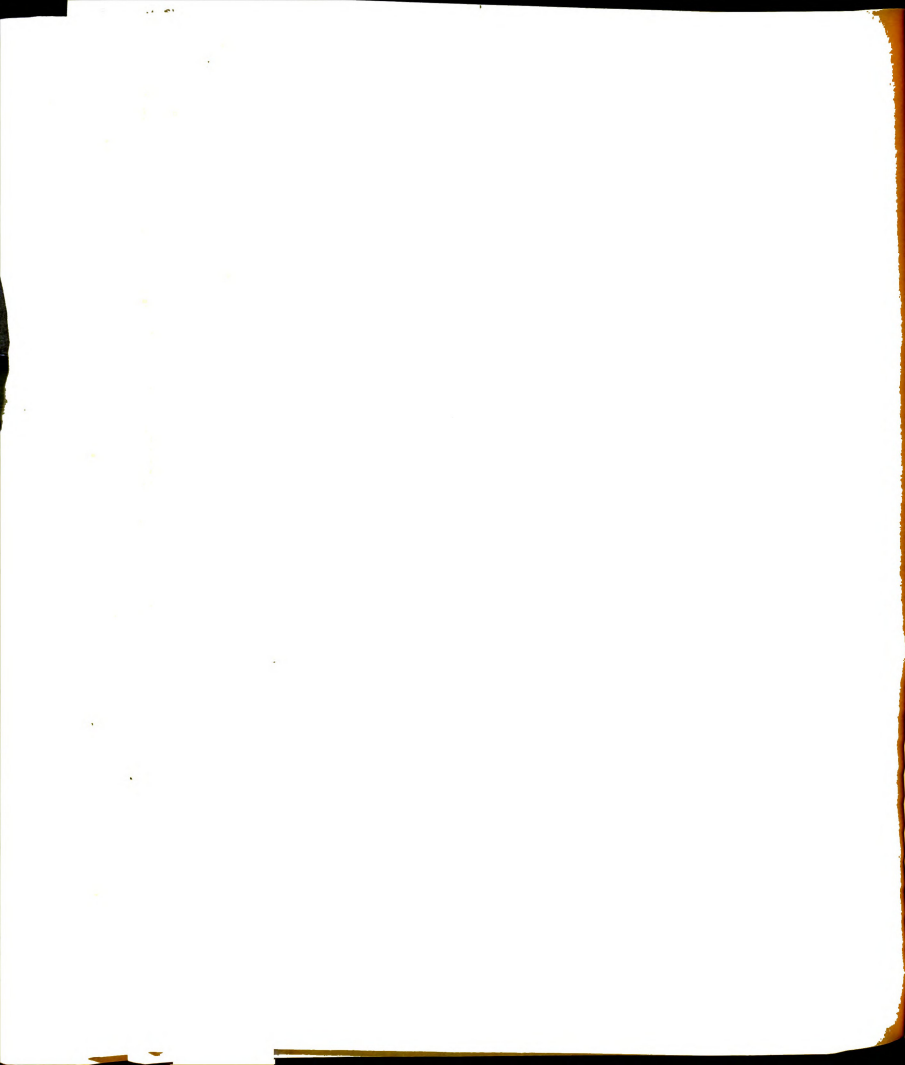
The numerical symbol in Column (d) refers to the sociometric reference group (based on occupation) to which the respondent belongs. Since the sociometric subgroups were formulated according to a manual labor - white collar dichotomy, the breakdown of the manual labor group into "farm" and "blue collar" sociometric reference groups is indicated by the letter attached to Column (d). "M" refers to a mixed group.

4. The symbols in Column (e) have the following meanings: "CO" refers to a church-oriented respondent, namely, a student who was attending Sunday School once per month or more, or was attending church but not Sunday School. "NC" refers to a nonchurch-oriented student, one who reported he did not attend at all, or attended less than once per month. The numerical codes indicate the rate of participation as follows: (1) Every week, (2) Every two weeks, (3) Once a month, (4) Less often, (5) Don't go to Sunday School, (6) Catholic, (7) Don't go to Sunday School but do go to church, (0) No response.

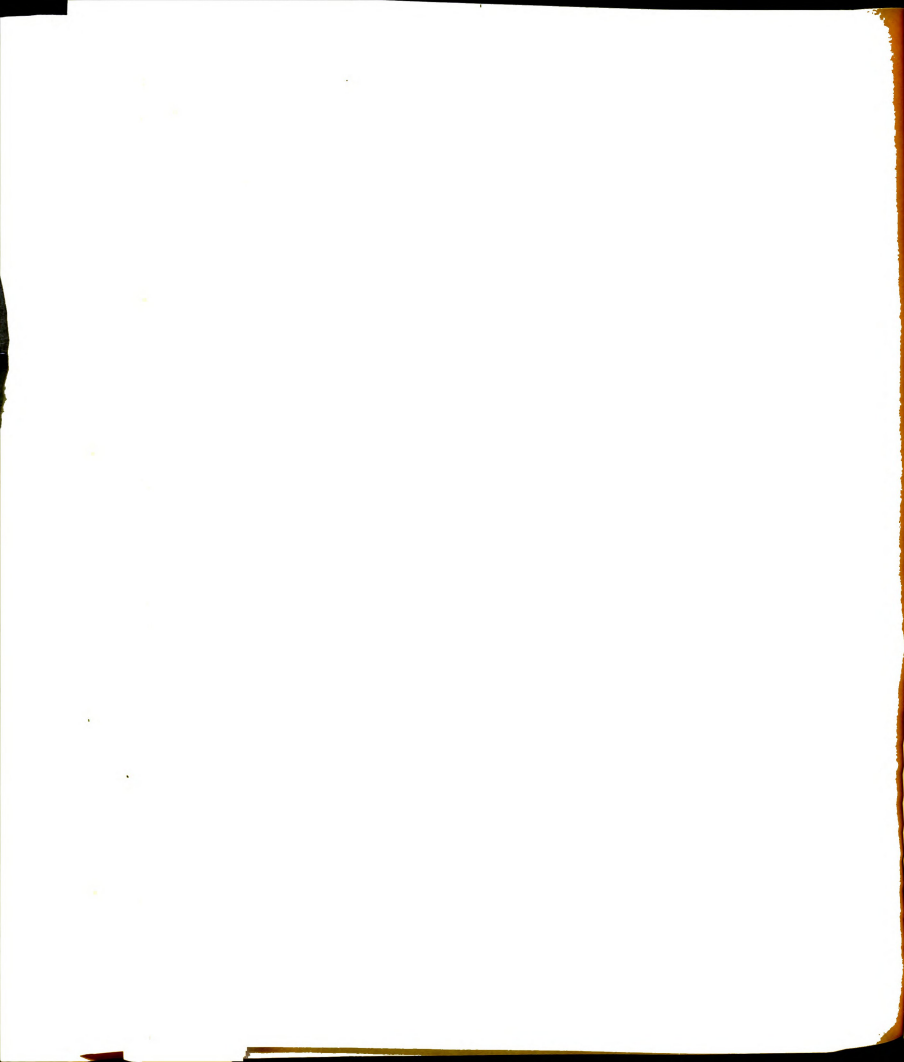
The numerical symbol in Column (f) refers to the sociometric reference group (based on religious participation) to which the respondent belongs. The letter attached to the number summarizes his reference group in terms of high (H), low (L) and no (N) participation. A respondent is classified in the high participant sociometric group if he attended Sunday School or church twice per month or more and chose (and was chosen by) high attenders. He is classified in the low participant group if he attended less than twice per month and chose (and was chosen by) low attenders; and in the no attender group if he said flatly that he did not attend and chose (and was chosen by) nonattenders.



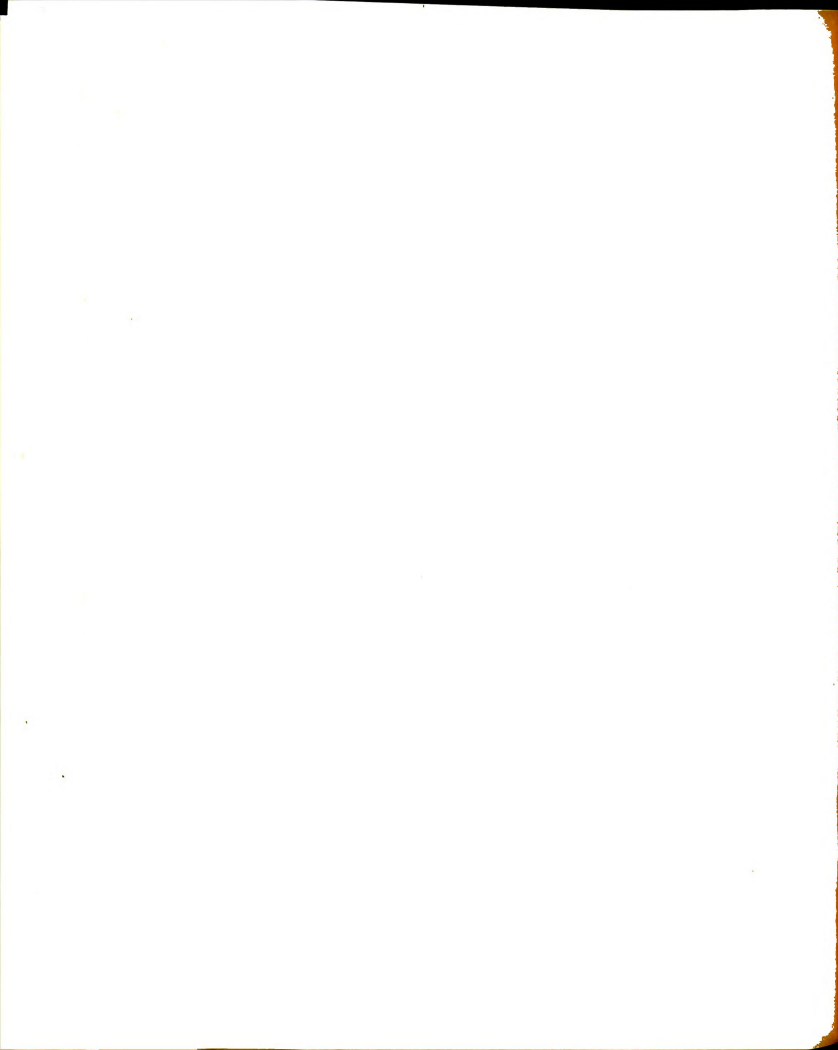
5. The symbols in Column (g) have the following meanings: "p" signifies that the church preference of the parents of the respondent was Protestant. "C" that it was Catholic. The numerals indicate their denominational preference as follows: (1) Roman Catholic, (2) Methodist, (3) Evangelical or United Brethren, (4) Baptist, (5) Presbyterian or Episcopal, (6) Interdenominational, (7) Free Methodist or Wesleyan, (8) Congregational, (9) Other, and (X) No church participation.
- The numerical symbols in Column (h) refer to the sociometric reference groups (based on church preference) of which the respondents are members.
6. The symbols in Column (i) refer to the student's own assessment of his parents' social status. They have the following meanings: "W" includes the lower and, or working class; "M" the upper and, or middle class.
- The numerical symbols in Column (j) refer to the sociometric reference groups (based on subjective socioeconomic status) of which the respondents are members.
7. The symbols in Column (k) refer to the (sociometric) status of the respondent: Pivot leader (L) refers to all respondents who received three or more choices from the group; all others are classified as followers. Isolates may be identified from column (l). A student who is not a pivot leader or an isolate is a pivot-link. For the composition of the sociometric subgroups see Appendix D of this thesis.
8. For an explanation of how the prejudice scores were obtained, see pp. 59-60.
9. The formal groups included under this heading were coded as follows: (1) None, (2) Scouts, (3) 4 H, (4) Junior Farm Bureau, (5) Rural Youth, (6) Future Farmers of America, (7) Future Homemakers of America, (8) Hi-Y, (9) High School Athletics, (X) Other, (Y) Community or non-school.



Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories ¹											Prejudice Scores ⁸				No. of Formal Group Members ⁹	
	Residence ²	Occupation ³	Religious		Participation ⁴	Preference ⁵	Social Status ⁶	Socio-metric Status ⁷	Tot. Jew. Neg. Mex. Gen.								
			(c)	(d)					(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)		(l)
Col.(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)
36-32	F 11	F 11	CO1	10H	P4	10	M 10	F 10				71	18	18	17	18	3
36-33	T 1	B 1B	CO6	1H	Cl	1	M 1	F 1				71	18	18	18	17	2
36-6	N 20	B 20	NC5	20	-	-	-	F 20				70	18	18	17	17	1
36-11	N 2	B 2	CO1	1H	P3	4	-	F 1				70	18	16	18	18	2
36-61	N 1N	B 1B	CO6	1H	Cl	2	W 1	F 2				70	18	17	18	17	3
36-3	F 16	F 16	CO1	16	P4	16	W 16	F 16				69	18	18	17	16	2
36-13	F 11	F 11	NC5	11H	-	-	W 11	F 10				69	18	16	18	17	1
36-19	T 4	B 4	CO1	1H	P2	1	M 4	F 1				69	18	16	18	17	1
36-27	T 1	B 5	CO1	1H	P2	1	M 1	F 1				69	18	16	18	17	1
36-9	F 10N	F 10B	CO1	11N	P3	10	W 11	F 11				68	17	17	17	17	4
36-39	T 1	B 1B	CO6	1H	Cl	1	M 1	F 1				68	18	16	16	18	3
36-28	T 8	B 1B	CO1	8	P9	7	-	F 8				67	17	17	17	16	1
36-10	N 16	B 16	-	-	P4	16	M 16	F 16				66	18	15	15	18	2
36-1	F 5	F 5	CO2	5L	P3	1	W 5	F 1				66	18	17	13	18	4
36-5	F 17	F 17	CO1	17	P4	17	M 17	F 17				65	15	18	16	16	1
36-12	T 16	B 16	NC5	16	-	-	M 16	F 16				64	17	16	17	14	1
36-14	T 1	W 2	CO1	1H	P9	1	M 1	F 1				64	17	16	17	14	4
36-65	N 8	B 1N	NC5	8	-	-	M 7	L 5				64	15	14	17	18	2
36-4	N 2	W 5	CO1	1H	P2	1	W 5	F 1				63	18	15	14	16	1
36-25	T 8	B 7	CO3	11L	P9	1	M 1	F 1				63	18	16	14	15	1



Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories										No. of Formal Group Members ⁹						
	Residence ²	Religious			Occupation ³	Participation ⁴	Preference ⁵	Social Status ⁶			Socio-metric Status ⁷	Prejudice Scores ⁸					
Col.(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)
36-42	T 7	W	5	COL	1H	P4	1	M	1	F	1	63	18	14	13	18	2
36-44	N 5	B	1B	NC5	1	-	-	M	1	F	1	63	18	14	15	16	2
36-56	T 5F	W	5F	NC4	5H	P2	1	M	5	F	1	63	16	17	16	14	2
36-58	N 1F	B	1F	NC5	5H	-	-	W	1	F	1	63	15	17	16	15	1
36-60	T 10	B	10B	CO6	10H	Cl	10	-	-	F	10	63	17	14	15	17	3
36-20	N 1M	B	1M	COL	1H	P4	5	M	7	L	5	62	17	14	15	16	3
36-26	F 1M	F	1M	NC5	5H	-	-	M	1	F	1	60	15	16	14	15	1
36-18	F 10F	F	10F	-	-	-	-	M	10	F	10	59	14	16	13	16	3
36-24	T 4	W	5B	COL	1H	P9	2	M	2	F	1	59	17	14	14	14	3
36-48	N 10F	B	10F	-	-	-	-	M	10	F	10	59	16	17	13	13	1
36-36	T 1	B	1B	CO6	1H	Cl	2	-	-	F	1	57	15	12	14	16	4
36-59	T 5F	B	1F	COL	1H	P9	5	W	1	F	1	57	16	14	13	14	1
36-57	N 10N	B	10B	COL	11N	P3	10	M	10	F	11	56	14	16	12	14	1
36-30	N 10N	B	10B	CO6	10H	Cl	10	M	11	F	10	55	12	13	16	14	1
36-35	T 1	B	7	COL	1H	P9	1	M	1	F	1	55	14	14	14	13	3
36-17	N 11	W	11B	COL	10H	P6	10	M	10	F	10	54	12	14	14	14	3
36-45	F 16	F	16	NC4	16	-	-	M	16	F	16	54	14	11	14	15	2
36-54	F 10N	F	11	COL	10H	P3	10	M	11	F	10	54	12	13	16	13	3
36-63	T 10	W	10	NC5	11H	-	-	M	10	F	10	54	14	14	14	12	2
36-2	T 10	W	10	COL	10H	P9	10	M	10	F	10	53	12	16	13	12	2



Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories ¹											Prejudice Scores ⁸					No. of Formal Group Members ⁹
	Religious					Socio-metric						Tot. Jew. Neg. Mex. Gen.					
	Residence ²	Occupation ³	Participation ⁴	Preference ⁵	Social Status ⁶	Socio-metric Status ⁷	(l)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)	
36-8	T 5N	B 1B	NC5	1	1H	-	-	M 1	1	F 1	1	53	12	16	11	14	1
36-22	T 8	B 7	CO6	1H	1H	Cl	7	W 5	1	L 1	1	53	15	11	12	15	1
36-16	F 5	F 1B	CO1	1H	1H	P4	1	M 1	1	F 1	1	52	13	11	15	13	1
36-15	T 4	W 5	CO1	4	4	P2	1	M 4	1	F 1	1	51	17	9	11	14	5
36-43	T 13	W 14	CO6	14	14	Cl	14	M 13	1	F 13	13	51	11	12	14	14	1
36-41	T 7	B 7	CO1	1H	1H	P2	1	M 1	1	F 1	1	49	14	10	13	12	4
36-7	N 20	B 20	CO1	20	20	P2	20	M 20	20	F 20	20	48	11	11	14	12	3
36-23	N 8	B 1M	CO6	1H	1H	Cl	1	-	-	F 1	1	48	12	13	10	13	1
36-49	F 10F	F 10F	CO6	10H	10H	Cl	10	-	-	F 10	10	45	11	14	10	10	2
36-55	T 8	B 1M	CO1	1H	1H	P4	1	M 1	1	F 1	1	45	12	7	15	11	1
36-34	F 1N	F 1B	CO6	1H	1H	Cl	5	M 1	1	F 5	5	39	11	10	9	9	2
36-66	F 10F	F 10F	CO6	11N	11N	Cl	11	M 10	10	F 10	10	33	10	6	9	8	1
36-38	F 1N	F 1B	CO6	5N	5N	Cl	5	W 1	1	F 1	1	32	8	6	7	11	1
36-40	F 17	F 17	-	-	-	-	5	M 17	17	F 17	17	29	8	6	8	7	1
36-37	F 17	F 17	CO6	17	17	Cl	17	-	-	F 17	17	27	6	7	6	8	1
36-21												X					
36-29												X					
36-31												X					
36-46												X					
36-47												X					

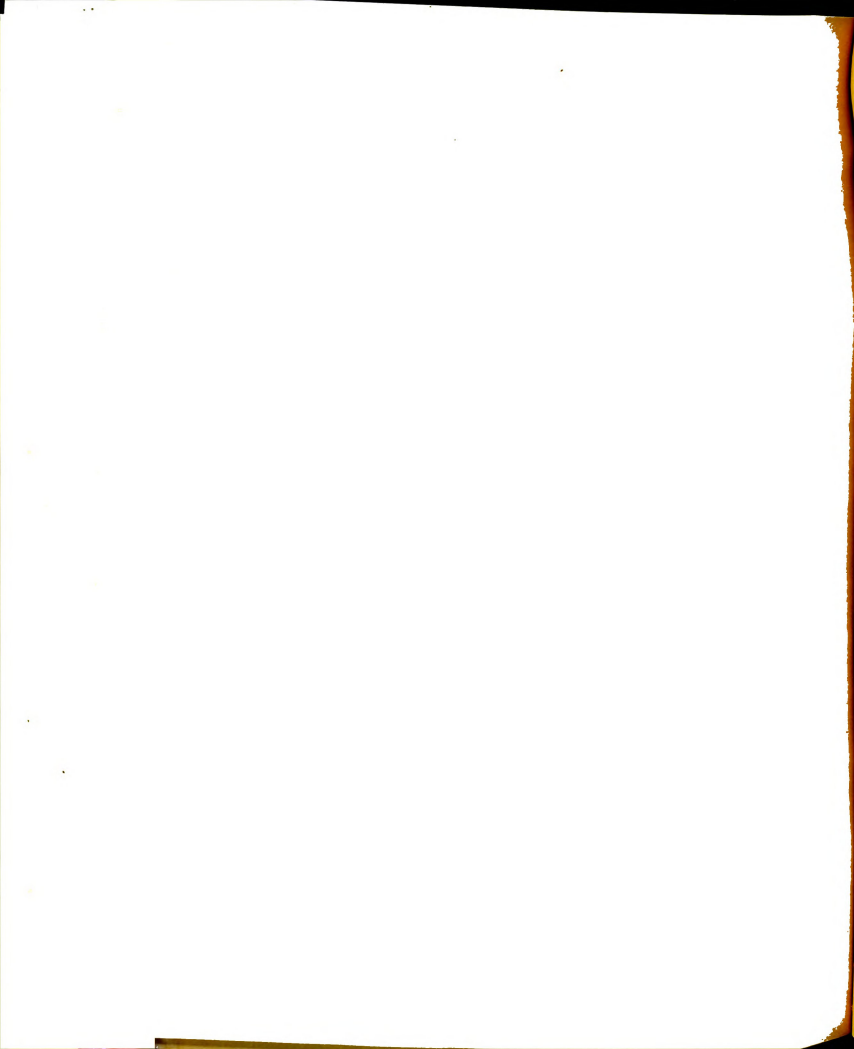
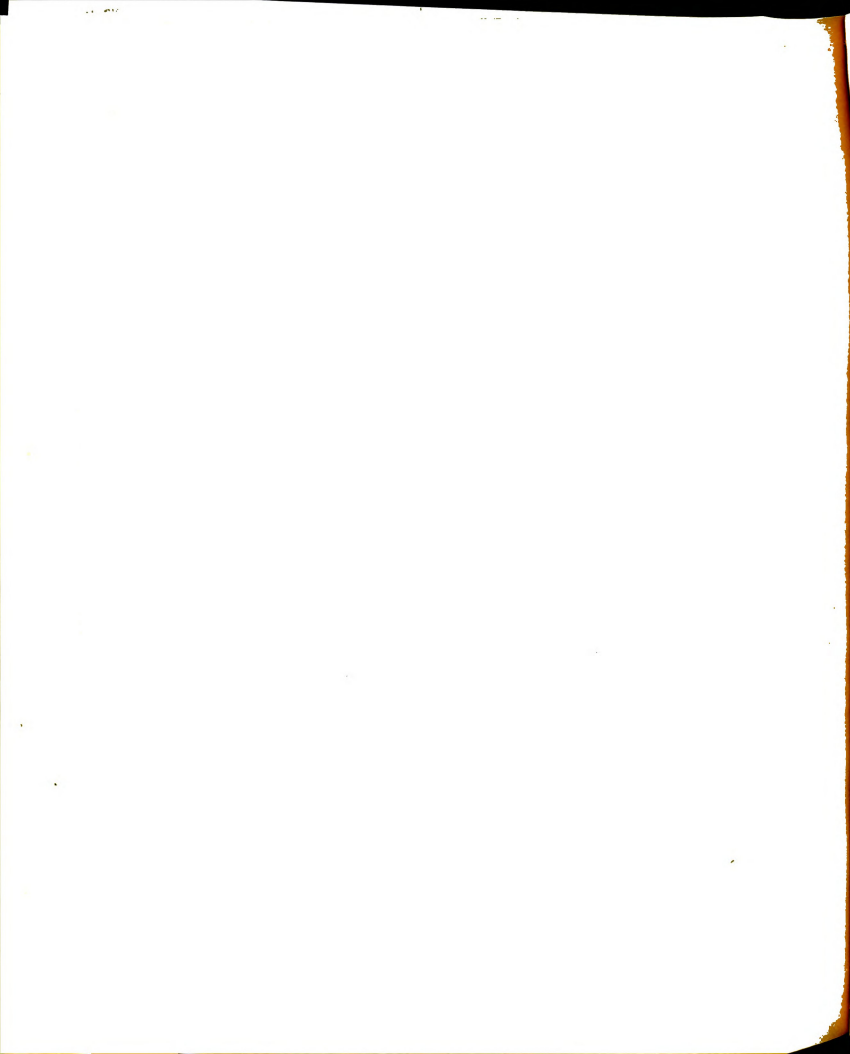


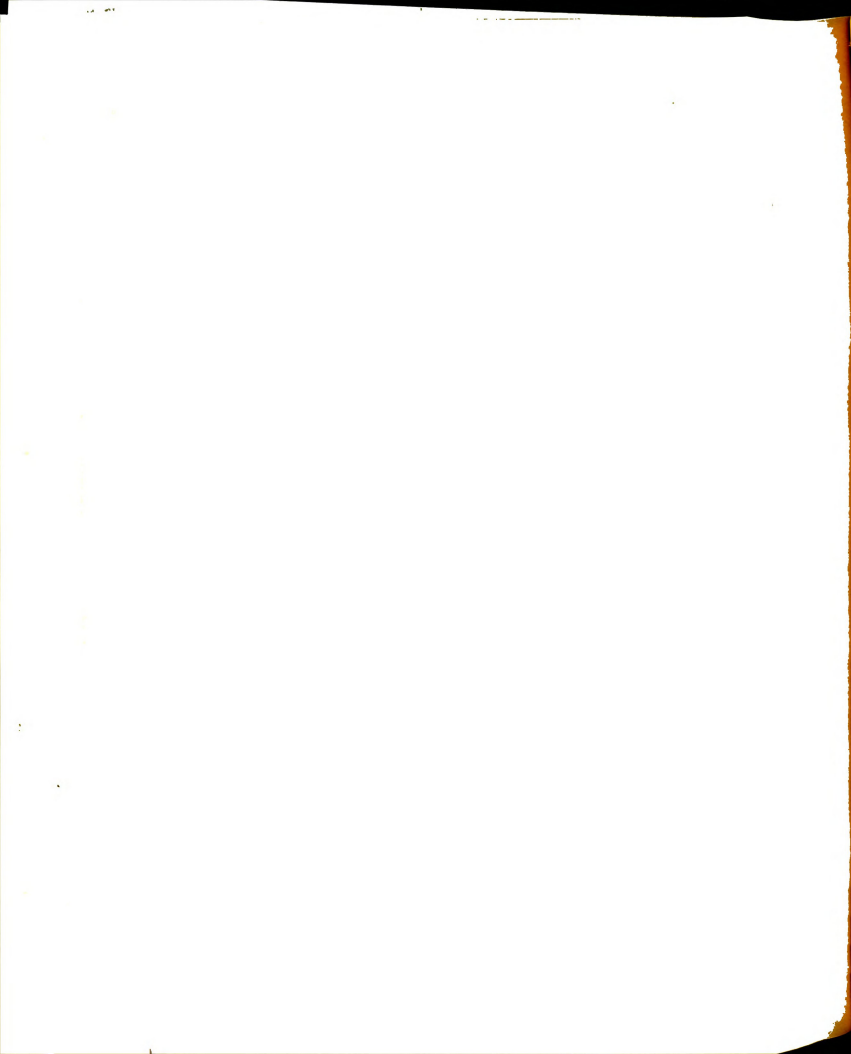
Table 2. Sociometric Subgroup Categories

Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories ¹										Prejudice Scores ⁸					No. of Formal Group Members ⁹																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																												
	Resi- dence ²	Occupation ³	Religious Participation ⁴		Social Status ⁶	Socio- metric Status ⁷	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)		(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																			
36-50																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																												

- 1. See Table 1, Footnote 1.
- 2. See Table 1, Footnote 2.
- 3. See Table 1, Footnote 3.
- 4. See Table 1, Footnote 4.
- 5. See Table 1, Footnote 5.
- 6. See Table 1, Footnote 6.
- 7. See Table 1, Footnote 7.
- 8. See Table 1, Footnote 8.
- 9. See Table 1, Footnote 9.



Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories ¹											Prejudice Scores ⁸				No. of Formal Group Memberships ⁹			
	Residence ²	Occupation ³			Religious Participation ⁴			Social Status ⁶			Socio-metric Status ⁷			Tot. Jew. Neg. Mex. Gen.					
		(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)		(o)	(p)	(q)
18-6	T 7	W	8	COL	1H	P8	1	M	8	L	8		72	18	18	18	18	18	2
18-15	T 11N	B	11	NC5	10	-	-	M	10	F	10		72	18	18	18	18	18	1
18-22	T 10	W	11B	NC5	10	-	-	M	11	F	10		72	18	18	18	18	18	3
20-8	N 10F	B	10F	CO6	10H	C1	11	M	10	F	10		72	18	18	18	18	18	1
20-18	T 10	W	10	COL	10H	P4	10	M	10	F	10		72	18	18	18	18	18	1
20-24	T 5	-	-	NC4	4	P2	1	W	8	F	1		71	18	18	18	18	17	1
21-21	T 10	W	10	COL	10H	P5	10	M	10	F	11		71	18	17	18	18	18	1
17-3	N 4	W	5	NC4	11	PX	1	M	1	F	1		70	18	16	18	18	18	1
20-26	T 10	B	11	COL	10H	P5	10	M	10	F	11		70	17	18	17	18	18	2
22-6	T 13	W	14	COL	13	P7	13	M	13	F	13		70	18	17	17	18	18	1
17-13	N 16	B	16	NC5	16	-	-	W	16	F	16		69	18	17	18	18	16	1
17-14	T 11F	B	10F	CO2	10L	P2	10	M	10	F	10		69	18	16	17	18	18	1
19-10	T 20	B	20	COL	20	P2	20	W	20	F	20		69	17	18	17	17	17	1
20-1	T 11N	W	11F	CO3	11N	P7	10	M	10	F	10		69	18	18	15	18	18	1
21-6	T 5N	F	5	NC5	1	P4	1	M	5	F	1		69	18	15	18	18	18	2
18-11	T 1	B	5	NC5	2	-	-	W	5	F	1		68	16	18	16	18	18	1
18-16	T 7	W	7	COL	7	P2	1	M	7	L	4		68	18	15	16	17	17	1
19-8	T 1	B	5	-	-	-	-	W	5	F	2		68	18	16	16	18	18	1
21-13	T 10	W	10	COL	10H	P5	10	M	10	F	11		68	18	16	18	16	16	1
21-20	T 20	B	20	COL	20	PX	20	M	20	F	20		68	17	17	17	16	18	1

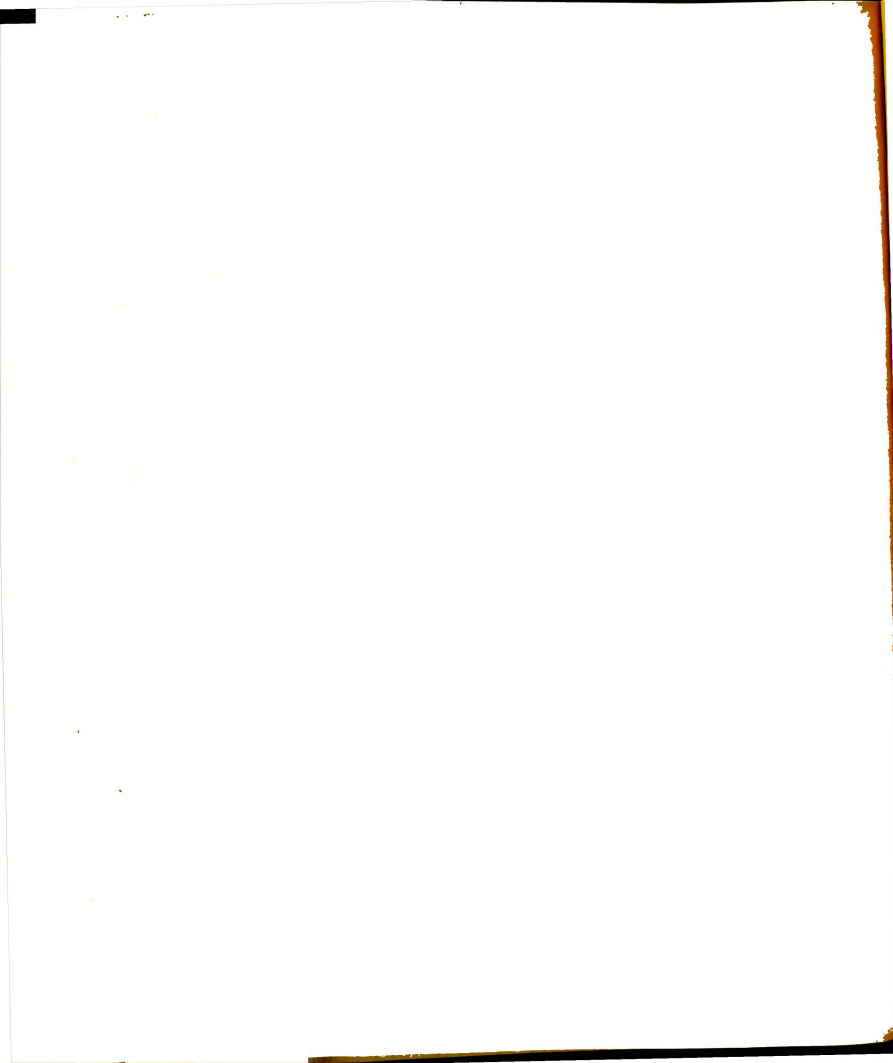


Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories ¹										Prejudice Scores ⁸					No. of Formal Group Memberships ⁹
	Residence ²	Occupation ³		Religious Participation ⁴		Social Status ⁶		Socio-metric Status ⁷		(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)		
		(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)(h)	(i)(j)	(k)(l)								
Col. (a)(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)(h)	(i)(j)	(k)(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)			
22-21	F 11	F	11	CO1	10H	PX 10	M 10	F 10	17	18	15	18	2			
17-1	T 5M	B	1M	CO3	5M	P4 1	W 5	F 1	18	14	18	17	2			
17-12	F 13	F	13	CO1	13	P7 13	W 13	F 13	15	17	18	17	2			
17-20	T 5N	W	5B	CO1	1H	P7 1	M 1	F 1	17	16	17	17	1			
17-22	T 10	B	10B	NC5	11H	-	W 11	F 10	16	16	18	17	1			
18-17	F 4	F	4	NC5	5M	-	M 1	F 2	16	17	17	17	3			
20-15	T 10	B	11	NC5	11H	-	W 11	F 11	17	17	17	16	2			
20-19	T 1	F	1B	CO1	1H	P8 1	M 1	F 1	17	16	17	17	2			
22-1	T 7	-	-	CO2	7	P2 1	M 1	L 7	18	16	16	17	2			
18-8	T 10	B	11	CO1	10H	P2 10	M 10	F 11	18	14	18	16	1			
19-1	N 11	-	-	-	-	-	M 10	F 10	17	14	17	18	1			
19-12	T 1	W	1	CO1	7	P2 1	M 7	F 2	17	15	16	18	2			
19-14	T 8	B	7	-	-	-	M 7	L 5	16	15	17	18	1			
20-16	T 16	B	16	NC5	16	-	W 16	F 16	17	18	16	15	4			
22-9	T 1	B	1B	CO3	5N	P2 1	M 2	F 1	18	14	16	18	1			
17-5	F 1F	F	1F	CO2	5N	P4 1	M 1	F 5	18	15	15	17	2			
19-18	T 20	B	20	CO3	20	P2 20	M 20	F 20	15	16	18	16	1			
20-14	T 1	W	1	CO3	4	P8 1	M 4	F 2	15	14	18	16	2			
21-5	T 1	W	4	CO1	4	P5 1	M 4	F 2	17	15	14	18	2			
21-9	N 5	B	8	CO1	4	P2 1	M 1	F 1	17	15	17	16	3			

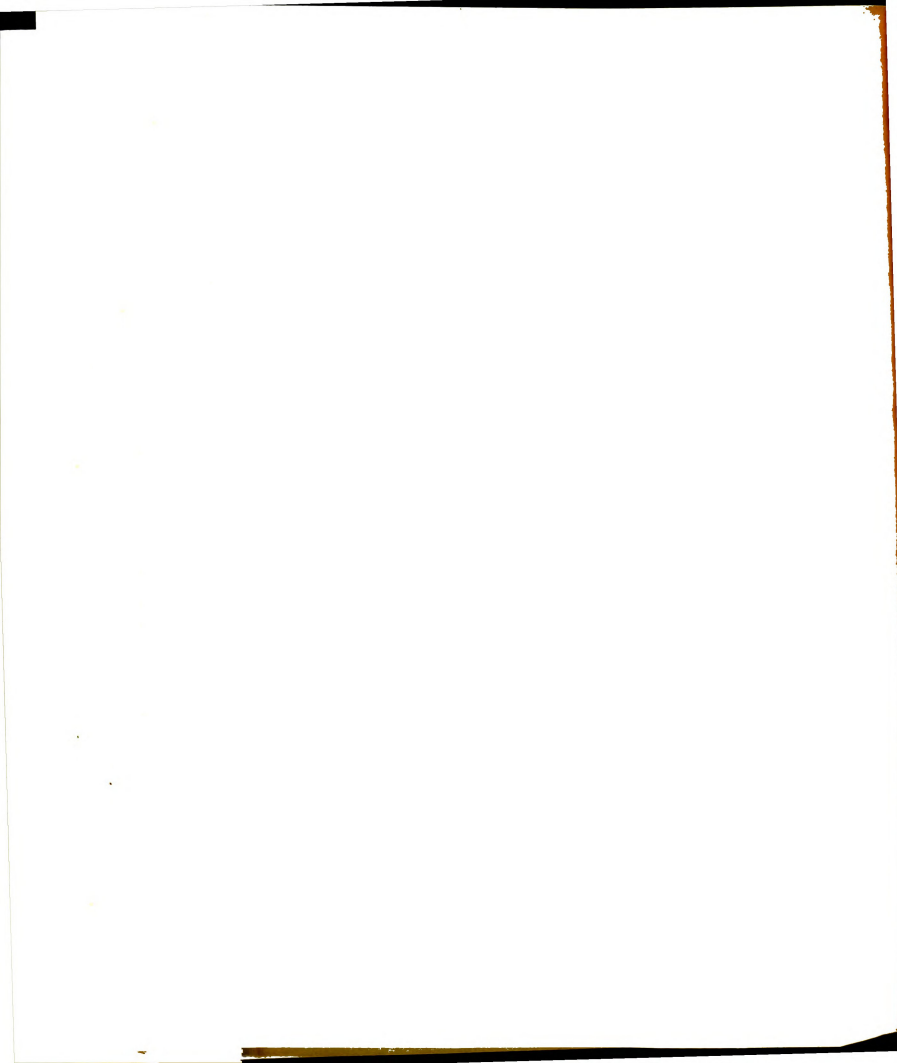
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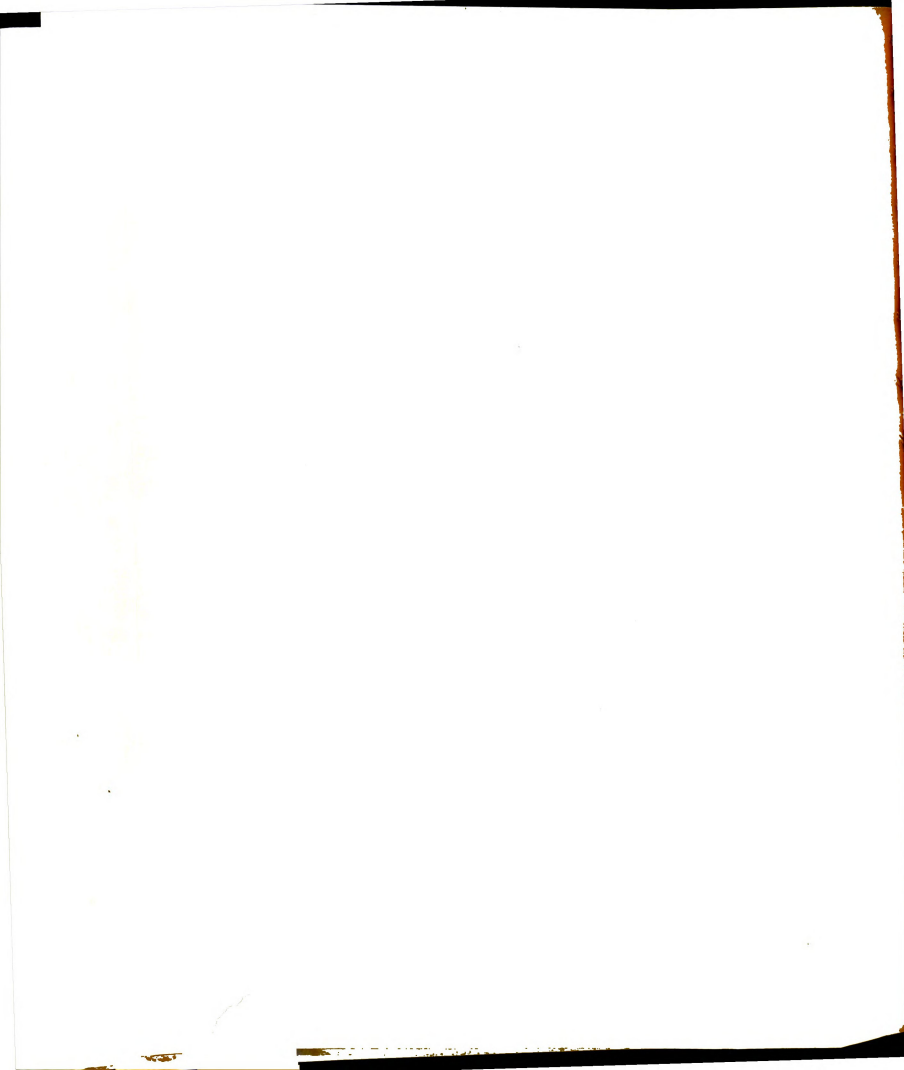
Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories ¹										Prejudice Scores ⁸					No. of Formal Group Members ⁹	
	Residence ²	Occupation ³	Religious		Participation ⁴	Preference ⁵	Social Status ⁶	Socio-metric Status ⁷	Tot. Jew. Neg. Mex. Gen.								
			(a)	(b)					(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)		(j)
21-11	F 7	-	-	NC5	5H	-	-	M 1	L 5	65	17	16	16	16	2		
21-12	T 1	W	5B	COL	5N	P4	1	W 1	F 1	65	16	18	15	16	1		
22-5	-	-	-	NC5	2	-	-	M 4	F 2	65	15	16	18	16	1		
22-22	-	-	-	COL	10H	P2	10	M 11	F 10	65	18	15	16	16	2		
17-15	F 13	F	13	COL	13	P6	13	M 13	F 13	64	18	14	16	16	2		
19-2	N 7	W	8	COL	1H	P5	1	M 1	F 1	64	15	17	16	16	2		
21-16	T 20	-	-	NC5	20	-	-	M 20	F 20	64	14	16	16	18	4		
22-17	T 1	B	1F	COL	1H	P4	1	M 1	F 1	64	18	14	17	15	1		
17-23	N 1N	B	1B	COL	5N	P7	1	M 1	F 1	63	16	14	17	16	1		
18-2	T 1	W	4	NC5	2	-	-	W 2	F 1	63	18	15	14	16	2		
18-4	T 16	B	16	COL	16	P4	16	W 16	F 16	63	15	14	18	16	1		
19-5	T 11F	B	10F	NC5	11H	-	-	M 10	F 11	63	17	17	15	14	3		
19-20	T 10	B	11	NC5	11H	-	-	-	F 10	63	17	13	16	17	1		
20-2	T 1	W	5B	COL	1H	P5	1	M 5	F 1	63	18	14	16	15	2		
20-11	N 5	W	4	COL	1H	PX	1	M 4	F 2	63	18	14	15	16	3		
20-12	N 5	B	1B	COL	2	P7	1	W 5	F 1	63	16	16	15	16	2		
21-10	T 4	B	2	COL	1H	P8	1	M 1	F 2	63	18	16	16	13	2		
22-15	N 17	W	18	COL	17	P5	17	M 17	F 17	63	16	14	16	17	1		
17-24	N 1N	B	1B	NC5	5H	P5	1	M 1	F 1	62	17	15	14	16	3		
19-16	N 11	B	11	NC5	11H	-	-	M 10	F 11	62	16	14	17	15	2		



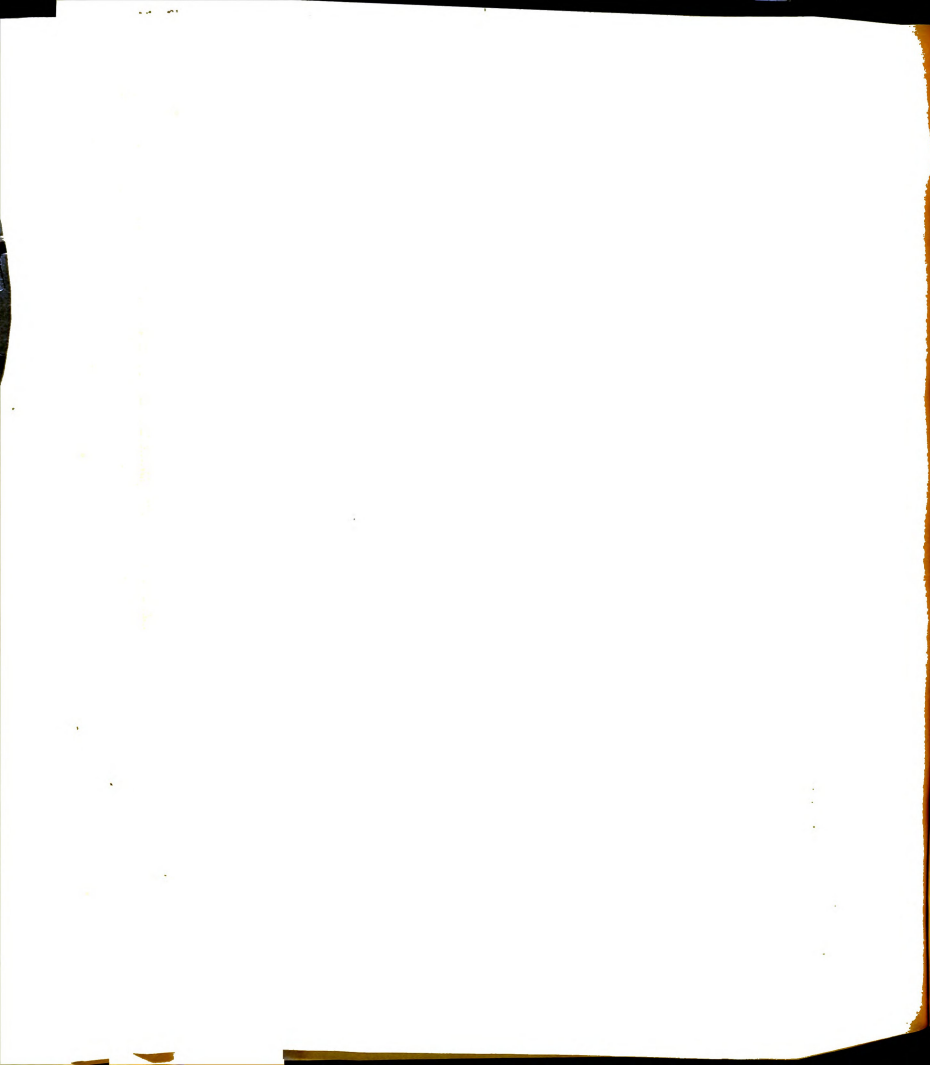
Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories ¹											Prejudice Scores ⁸					No. of Formal Group Members ⁹	
	Residence ²	Occupation ³	Religious		Participation ⁴	Preferences ⁵	Social Status ⁶	Socio-metric Status ⁷	Tot. Jew. Neg. Mex. Gen.									
			(a)	(b)					(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)		(k)
21-15	F 1F	F 1F	F 1F	COL	5N	P6	1	M	1	F	1		62	14	14	16	18	2
17-6	T 10	B 11	B 11	COL	10H	P2	10	W	11	F	11		61	18	13	14	16	1
17-10	F 1N	F 5	F 5	NC5	1	-	-	W	1	F	1		61	17	16	15	13	1
17-11	T 7	W 7	W 7	COL	7	P5	1	M	1	L	7		61	18	11	14	18	2
19-7	T 10	B 11	B 11	CO2	10H	P4	10	W	11	F	11		61	16	13	16	16	2
19-9	T 11F	B 10F	B 10F	CO3	10H	P5	10	M	10	F	11		61	14	16	14	17	2
20-22	T 11N	B 11	B 11	COL	10H	P5	10	W	11	F	10		61	14	17	12	18	2
20-25	T 1	W 8	W 8	COL	8	P4	1	M	7	L	5		61	18	14	17	12	1
22-18	F 1M	F 1M	F 1M	CO2	2	P4	4	M	1	F	2		61	16	14	17	14	2
22-19	N 5	-	-	NC4	2	P7	1	M	1	F	2		61	16	16	13	16	1
20-7	F 10F	F 10F	F 10F	NC4	11L	P2	10	-	-	F	10		60	16	13	16	15	1
20-9	T 10	W 10	W 10	NC5	11H	-	-	M	10	F	11		60	17	15	13	15	2
21-3	T 1	B 7	B 7	NC5	5M	-	-	W	8	F	1		60	14	17	15	14	1
21-7	T 10	W 11B	W 11B	CO2	11N	P4	10	W	11	F	11		60	15	14	16	15	2
22-12	T 7	W 5B	W 5B	CO1	7	PX	1	-	-	F	1		60	17	15	16	12	3
19-11	T 4	B 2	B 2	NC5	5H	-	-	M	4	F	2		59	16	15	17	11	2
20-6	T 10	-	-	CO2	10H	P7	10	W	11	F	10		59	16	13	15	15	1
21-1	F 10F	F 10F	F 10F	CO1	10H	P2	10	M	10	F	11		59	15	13	15	16	1
21-18	N 14	W 14	W 14	CO3	14	P2	13	W	14	F	13		59	14	17	15	13	1
17-8	N 1F	W 5F	W 5F	-	-	-	-	W	1	F	1		58	15	14	15	14	3



Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories ¹										Prejudice Scores ⁸				No. of Formal Group Members ⁹
	Residence ²	Occupation ³	Religious		Participation ⁴	Preference ⁵	Social Status ⁶	Socio-metric Status ⁷	Tot. Jew. Neg. Mex. Gen.						
			(c)	(d)					(e)	(f)	(g)(h)	(i)(j)	(k)(l)	(m)	
18-1	F 10N	F 11	NC5	11H	-	-	M 10	F 10	58	14	13	16	15	1	
19-19	T 20	W 20	NC5	20	-	-	-	F 20	58	13	12	17	16	1	
20-4	F 11	F 11	CC3	10L	P2	10	M 10	F 11	58	16	15	13	14	3	
21-4	T 11N	B 11	NC5	11L	-	-	M 11	F 10	58	17	13	10	18	1	
17-9	T 10	W 11B	-	-	P5	10	M 11	F 10	57	16	16	11	14	2	
18-9	T 10	W 11B	NC5	11H	-	-	W 11	F 10	57	14	15	13	15	1	
22-2	T 4	-	-	-	PX	1	M 1	F 2	57	15	17	13	12	1	
19-4	-	-	NC5	10	P5	10	M 11	F 10	57	18	12	14	13	1	
17-2	T 11H	-	CC2	11N	P2	10	M 10	F 11	56	10	13	15	18	1	
18-18	N 1M	W 5	CC1	4	PX	1	M 4	F 1	56	14	14	13	15	1	
18-23	T 20	W 20	NC5	20	-	-	W 20	F 20	56	13	18	12	13	1	
22-4	T 10	B 11	NC4	10	PX	10	W 10	F 10	56	18	16	9	13	1	
19-6	T 10	-	NC5	11H	-	-	M 10	F 11	56	17	15	12	12	2	
21-17	T 10	W 10	CC1	11N	P2	10	M 10	F 10	56	13	12	14	17	3	
19-13	T 2	B 7	CC1	1H	P5	1	M 1	F 1	55	16	11	16	12	1	
20-21	T 1	B 5	CC2	1H	P5	1	W 5	F 1	55	15	12	14	14	2	
21-14	N 11	B 10B	CC1	10H	P4	10	M 10	F 10	55	18	12	12	13	2	
17-18	N 11	B 10B	NC4	11L	PX	10	M 11	F 10	54	13	13	13	15	1	
17-21	T 13	W 13	NC5	14	P2	13	M 13	F 13	54	14	12	12	16	1	
20-10	T 11N	W 10	CC1	10H	P5	10	M 10	F 10	54	16	7	18	13	2	



Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories ¹										Prejudice Scores ⁸					No. of Formal Group Members ⁹		
	Residence ²	Occupation ³	Religious		Participation ⁴	Preference ⁵	Social Status ⁶	Socio-metric Status ⁷										
			(a)	(b)				(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)		(k)	(l)
20-20	T	1	B	5	CO1	1H	P8	1	W	5	F	5	54	17	12	11	14	3
21-8	T	10	W	10	NC5	11L	-	-	W	11	F	10	54	13	11	17	13	1
22-14	T	10	B	11	CO3	10H	P5	10	M	10	F	10	54	12	18	11	13	1
18-14	N	1N	B	5	NC5	1	-	-	M	1	F	1	53	13	12	14	14	1
18-20	F	16	F	16	CO2	16	P4	16	M	16	F	16	53	17	13	12	11	1
20-17	T	1	W	4	CO1	1H	P5	1	M	1	F	2	53	11	14	12	16	3
21-24	N	5	B	1B	CO1	8	P4	1	M	1	F	8	53	15	9	11	18	1
22-10	T	1	W	7	CO1	1H	P5	1	M	1	L	7	53	17	13	11	12	1
18-5	N	11	W	11B	CO1	11L	PX	10	M	11	F	10	52	11	17	9	15	1
20-23	T	16	W	16	CO2	16	P5	16	W	16	F	16	52	14	14	12	12	1
21-22	F	8	F	2	CO1	7	P2	1	M	1	L	4	52	14	13	11	14	1
17-7	-	-	-	-	CO1	7	P2	1	W	7	F	1	51	11	13	14	13	2
18-10	F	10F	F	10F	NC5	11H	-	-	W	10	F	10	51	14	11	11	15	2
17-19	F	5	F	1B	NC5	5L	-	-	M	5	F	1	50	11	12	13	14	1
18-3	T	1	-	-	CO1	7	P4	1	M	4	F	1	50	14	9	13	14	2
18-19	N	16	B	16	NC5	16	-	-	M	16	F	16	50	17	11	9	13	1
21-2	T	1	B	4	NC5	5M	-	-	M	1	F	4	50	14	13	11	12	1
21-19	T	11N	B	11	NC5	11L	-	-	M	11	F	10	50	12	10	16	12	1
22-13	T	7	W	7	CO3	11L	P2	1	M	1	L	5	50	14	11	11	14	2
20-13	N	5	W	5F	NC5	1	-	-	W	5	F	1	49	13	13	12	11	1



Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories ¹										Prejudice Scores ⁸					No. of Formal Group Memberships ⁹								
	Religious					Socio-metric					Tot. Jew. Neg. Mex. Gen.													
	Residence ²	Occupation ³	Participation ⁴	Preferences ⁵	Social Status ⁶	Socio-metric Status ⁷	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)
22-3	T 11N	-	NC5	10 P4	10	F 10													49	15	10	12	12	1
22-8	N 10F	B 10F	CO3	10H P9	10	F 10													48	10	14	11	13	1
18-12	T 11N	B 10B	CO2	10H P2	10	F 10													47	17	10	10	10	1
22-16	F 8	F 2	CO3	7 P2	1	F 2													47	11	16	8	12	1
18-13	N 1N	W 5B	NC5	1 -	M 1	F 1													46	13	12	11	10	2
19-3	F 1F	F 1F	NC5	5H -	M 1	F 1													46	11	9	14	12	1
20-3	T 20	B 20	NC5	20 -	M 20	F 20													42	11	8	13	10	2
17-17	T 5F	B 1F	CO1	1H PX	1	F 1													40	13	11	8	8	1
17-25	T 1	B 1B	CO2	4 P5	M 4	F 1													40	14	8	10	8	1
18-24	N 17	B 17	NC5	17 -	M 18	F 17													40	11	9	10	10	1
19-15	N 10N	B 11	NC4	11H PX	10	F 10													40	9	11	7	13	1
19-17	F 1N	F 5	CO3	1L P2	1	F 1													40	12	9	11	8	2
21-23	T 10	W 10	CO1	10H P2	10	F 11													39	11	10	8	10	1
18-7	F 2	F 4	CO1	2 P4	4	F 1													38	9	10	8	11	1
17-4	F 20	F 20	CO2	20 P2	20	F 20													35	8	7	11	9	3
17-16	F 5	F 1B	CO2	1H P3	1	F 1													33	11	7	7	8	1
22-7	N 10F	B 10F	NC5	10 -	W 11	F 10													31	12	7	6	6	1
22-11	T 20	-	CO1	20 P7	20	F 20													31	7	9	8	7	1
22-20	-	-	NC5	13 -	W 14	F 13													31	10	9	6	6	1
18-21	F 1N	F 8	NC5	2 P2	1	F 1													30	10	8	6	6	1

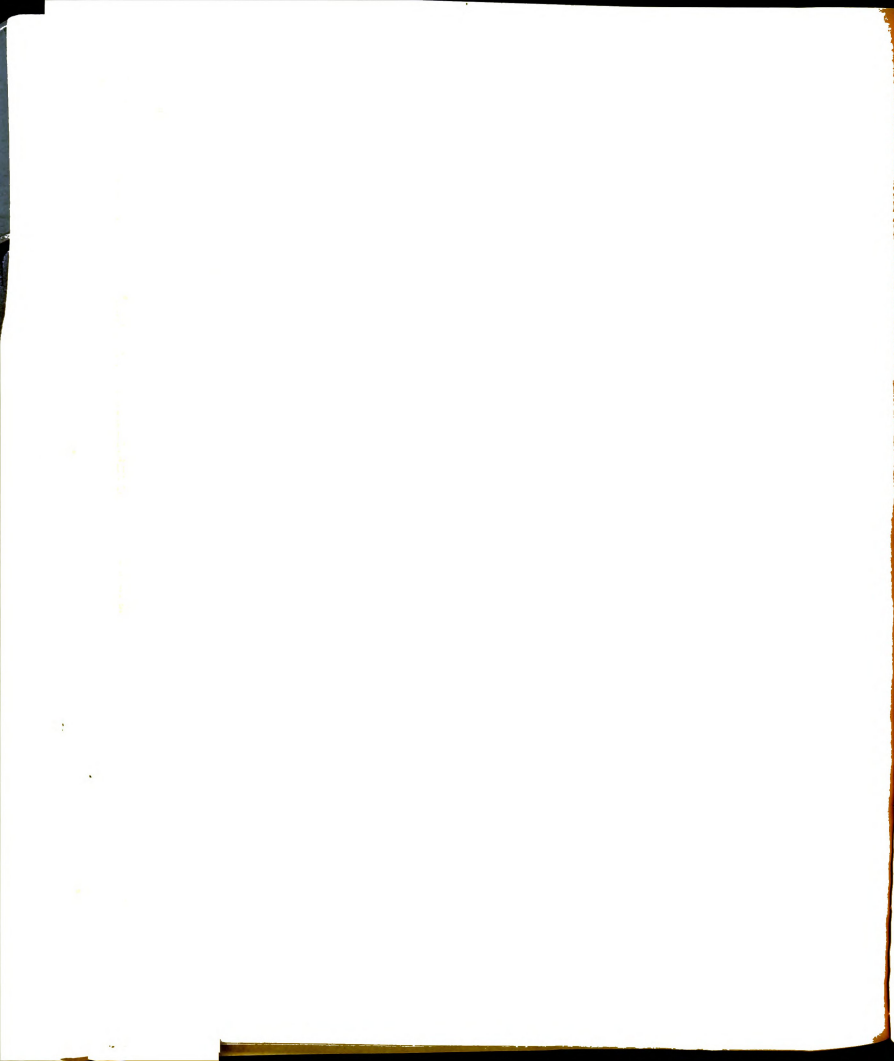


Table 3. CONTINUED

Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories ¹										Prejudice Scores ⁸					No. of Formal Group Members ⁹
	Residence ²	Occupation ³	Religious		Preference ⁴	Social Status ⁶	Socio-metric Status ⁷	(i)(j)	(k)(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)	
			Participation ⁴													
	Col.(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)(j)	(k)(l)						
17-26															X	
20-5															X	

- 1. See Table 1, Footnote 1.
- 2. See Table 1, Footnote 2.
- 3. See Table 1, Footnote 3.
- 4. See Table 1, Footnote 4.
- 5. See Table 1, Footnote 5.
- 6. See Table 1, Footnote 6.
- 7. See Table 1, Footnote 7.
- 8. See Table 1, Footnote 8.
- 9. See Table 1, Footnote 9.



Table 4. SOCIOMETRIC SUBGROUP CATEGORIES; PREJUDICE SCORES; AND NUMBER OF FORMAL GROUP MEMBERSHIPS FOR EACH TWELFTH GRADER, ADAMS HIGH SCHOOL (MAPLE COUNTY), RANKED BY TOTAL PREJUDICE SCORE, 1949

Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories ¹											No. of Formal Group Memberships ⁹		
	Residence ²	Occupation ³	Religious		Preference ⁵	Social Status ⁶	Socio-metric Status ⁷	Prejudice Scores ⁸						
			Participation ⁴					Tot. Jew.	Neg. Mex.	Gen.				
Col. (a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)(h)	(i)(j)	(k)(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)
27-4	F 11	-	-	COL	11N	P7 10	W 10	F 10	70	17	18	17	18	5
27-22	F 8	F 8	8	CO3	8	P2 1	W 1	F 1	69	18	17	17	17	5
27-21	F 5	F 1B	1B	COL	2	P2 1	W 4	F 2	68	18	17	18	15	2
27-28	N 7	-	-	NC4	4	PX 1	M 2	F 1	66	18	15	17	16	4
27-29	N 4	W 4	4	NC4	1	P6 1	M 1	F 1	65	18	16	16	15	1
27-3	F 13	F 13	13	NC4	14	P6 13	W 14	F 13	64	18	15	14	17	2
27-15	N 5	-	-	CO2	1	P6 1	M 5	F 1	64	17	15	17	15	2
27-5	T 13	B 14	14	COL	13	P6 13	M 13	F 13	63	14	16	15	18	2
27-10	T 10	W 11B	11B	COL	10H	P6 10	M 10	F 10	63	18	13	15	17	3
27-19	F 5	F 1B	1B	NC5	1	-	W 7	F 8	63	18	15	15	15	1
27-25	F 20	F 20	20	NC5	20	-	W 20	F 20	63	16	14	16	17	3
27-26	F 1N	F 1M	1M	CO3	4	P6 1	M 1	F 1	62	17	16	15	14	2
27-23	T 5N	B 5	5	CO2	1	P6 1	W 5	F 1	61	17	15	13	16	3
27-1	T 11F	B 10F	10F	COL	10H	P2 10	M 11	F 10	60	14	16	15	15	2
27-24	F 1M	F 4	4	COL	4	P7 1	W 4	F 1	60	17	14	16	13	1
27-30	T 11N	-	-	CO3	11L	P6 10	M 10	F 10	59	17	15	14	13	3
27-7	F 16	F 16	16	CO2	16	P2 16	W 16	F 16	58	17	13	14	14	3
27-16	T 10	-	-	COL	11N	P6 10	W 10	F 10	58	16	16	12	14	4
27-27	T 8	-	-	NC5	5M	-	W 1	F 1	58	15	14	15	14	2
27-13	F 10N	F 11	11	CO6	10H	C1 11	W 10	F 10	56	16	15	10	15	3



Table 4. CONTINUED

Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories ¹										Prejudice Scores ⁸					No. of Formal Group Members ⁹	
	Residence ²	Occupation ³	Religious		Social Status ⁶	Socio-metric Status ⁷	Tot. Jew. Neg. Mex. Gen.										
			Participation ⁴	Preference ⁵			(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)		(r)
Col. (a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)
27-11	N 10F	B 10F	11	NC4	11L	P6	10	M 10	F 10	54	14	13	14	13	14	13	2
27-9	T 11N	F 11	-	-	-	-	-	M 10	F 10	52	15	10	13	14	13	14	3
27-6	F 11	F 10B	CO2	11N	P4	10	M 11	M 11	F 11	48	14	11	10	13	10	13	2
27-17	N 16	B 16	NC4	16	P6	16	M 16	M 16	F 16	48	17	7	11	13	11	13	2
27-20	T 11F	B 10F	NC5	10	-	-	M 11	M 11	F 10	47	17	7	14	9	14	9	1
27-2	T 5F	B 1F	NC5	7	-	-	W 7	W 7	L 5	46	12	7	14	13	14	13	1
27-18	T 5F	B 5	CO1	1	P2	1	M 5	M 5	F 1	45	15	7	10	13	10	13	3
27-12	T 18	-	NC5	18	-	-	W 17	W 17	F 17	44	12	13	9	10	9	10	3
27-14	N 16	-	CO2	16	P6	16	W 16	W 16	F 16	44	12	7	13	12	13	12	1
27-8										X							

1. See Table 1, Footnote 1.
2. See Table 1, Footnote 2.
3. See Table 1, Footnote 3.
4. See Table 1, Footnote 4.
5. See Table 1, Footnote 5.
6. See Table 1, Footnote 6.
7. See Table 1, Footnote 7.
8. See Table 1, Footnote 8.
9. See Table 1, Footnote 9.

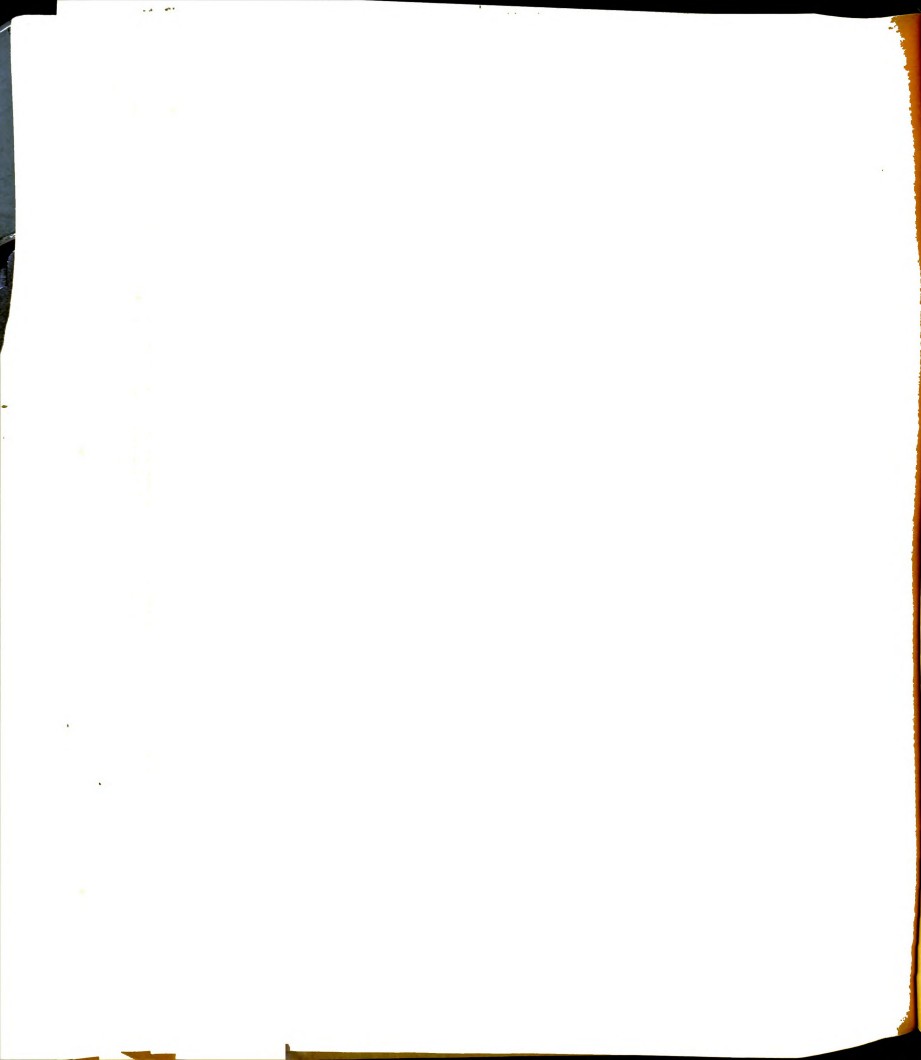


Table 5. SOCIOMETRIC SUBGROUP CATEGORIES; PREJUDICE SCORES; AND NUMBER OF FORMAL GROUP MEMBERSHIPS FOR EACH TWELFTH GRADER, BROWNSVILLE HIGH SCHOOL (MAPLE COUNTY), RANKED BY TOTAL PREJUDICE SCORE, 1949

Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories ¹										Prejudice Scores ⁸					No. of Formal Group Memberships ⁹
	Residence ²	Occupation ³	Religious Participation ⁴			Social Status ⁵	Social Status ⁶	Socio-metric Status ⁷	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)		
Col.(a)(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)(h)	(i)(j)	(k)(l)									
35-34	N 16	B 16	C06	16	C1 16	W 16	F 16		69	18	18	16	17	2		
35-9	T 10	B 11	C06	10H	C1 10	M 10	F 10		69	16	18	17	18	2		
35-4	F 7	F 7	C01	1	P4 1	M 8	F 1		68	17	18	15	18	2		
35-25	F 13	F 13	C02	13	P8 14	M 13	F 13		68	17	18	16	17	4		
35-24	T 11N	B 10B	-	-	-	-	F 10		67	17	17	17	16	1		
35-14	F 5	F 1B	NC5	5H	-	M 1	F 1		66	17	16	16	17	1		
35-19	F 1M	F 1M	C06	1	C1 7	W 5	F 1		66	16	17	17	16	2		
35-35	F 10N	F 11	-	-	-	-	F 11		66	18	16	15	17	2		
35-15	N 2	W 5	NC4	5H	PX 2	M -	F 2		65	18	15	14	18	2		
35-16	F 7	F 1M	C01	7	P8 1	M 5	F 1		65	16	18	15	16	1		
35-2	T 1	W 5B	C06	1	C1 1	M 1	F 2		64	17	16	16	15	2		
35-27	T 7	B 7	C06	7	C1 7	M 1	L 5		64	18	16	14	16	1		
35-39	T 10	B 10B	C06	10H	C1 10	M 10	F 10		64	18	14	16	16	1		
35-47	T 2	B 1M	C06	2	C1 2	M 1	F 1		63	17	13	17	16	1		
35-21	F 10F	F 10F	NC5	11H	-	M 10	F 10		62	15	14	16	17	3		
35-28	T 5F	B 1F	C06	5N	C1 5	M 1	F 1		62	17	17	14	14	2		
35-29	F 10F	F 10F	C01	10H	P8 10	M 10	F 10		62	18	15	16	13	3		
35-31	T 11F	W 11F	C01	10H	PX 10	M 10	F 10		62	15	14	16	17	2		
35-45	F 10F	F 10F	C06	10H	C1 11	M 11	F 10		62	15	15	15	17	1		

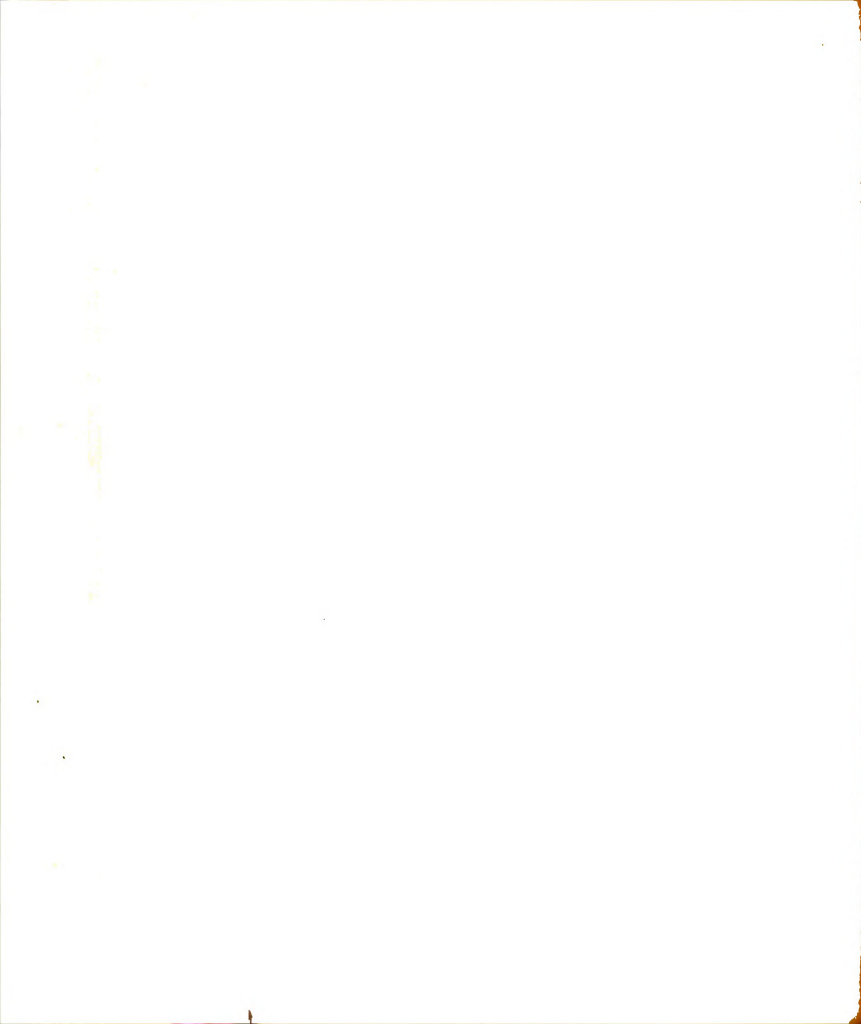


Table 5. CONTINUED

Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories ¹										Prejudice Scores ⁸					No. of Formal Group Members ⁹	
	Residence ²	Occupation ³	Religious		Participation ⁴	Preferences ⁵	Social Status ⁶	Socio-metric Status ⁷	(i)(j)	(k)(l)	Tot. Jew. Neg. Mex. Gen.						
			(c)	(d)							(e)	(f)	(g)(h)	(m)	(n)		(o)
Col.(a)(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)(h)	(i)(j)	(k)(l)				(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)	
35-43	F 1	F	1F	COL	1	P4	1	W	5	F	1	61	13	16	15	17	2
35-17	T 2	B	1M	NC5	5H	-	-	W	2	F	1	60	15	16	15	14	1
35-22	T 5F	F	1F	NC5	1	-	-	M	5	F	1	60	17	13	17	13	1
35-23	F 1M	F	8	COL	1	P4	1	M	8	F	1	60	17	13	16	14	2
35-01	N 1M	W	5F	COL	1	P8	1	W	5	F	1	59	15	12	15	17	1
35-33	T 16	B	16	NC5	16	P4	16	W	16	F	16	59	12	18	15	14	1
35-6	N 1OF	B	1OF	COL	10L	P9	10	M	10	F	10	58	17	15	11	15	1
35-26	T 1	B	1B	NC5	5	-	-	W	5	F	1	58	18	12	13	15	1
35-3	N 1OF	B	1OF	CO2	10H	P9	11	M	11	F	10	56	17	13	11	15	3
35-20	F 1	F	1F	COL	1	P4	1	W	5	F	1	56	16	13	14	13	2
35-41	F 1ON	F	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	F	11	56	14	13	15	14	2
35-40	F 1OF	F	1OF	CO2	10H	PX	11	W	11	F	10	54	16	14	12	12	1
35-18	F 1	F	1F	CO6	1	CL	1	M	5	F	1	54	14	14	13	13	1
35-8	N 11	B	1OB	CO3	10	P4	10	M	10	F	10	53	16	13	12	12	1
35-37	F 1N	F	2	CO3	1	P8	1	M	2	F	1	50	12	13	13	12	4
35-10	F 1ON	F	11	CO2	10L	P8	10	M	10	F	10	48	14	9	11	14	2
35-30	T 7	B	1B	CO7	8	P4	1	M	8	F	1	48	15	10	11	12	1
35-48	T 1	B	1B	CO6	1	CL	1	M	1	F	5	48	17	8	10	13	1
35-38	F 17	F	17	CO6	19	CL	18	M	19	F	17	47	13	9	12	13	1

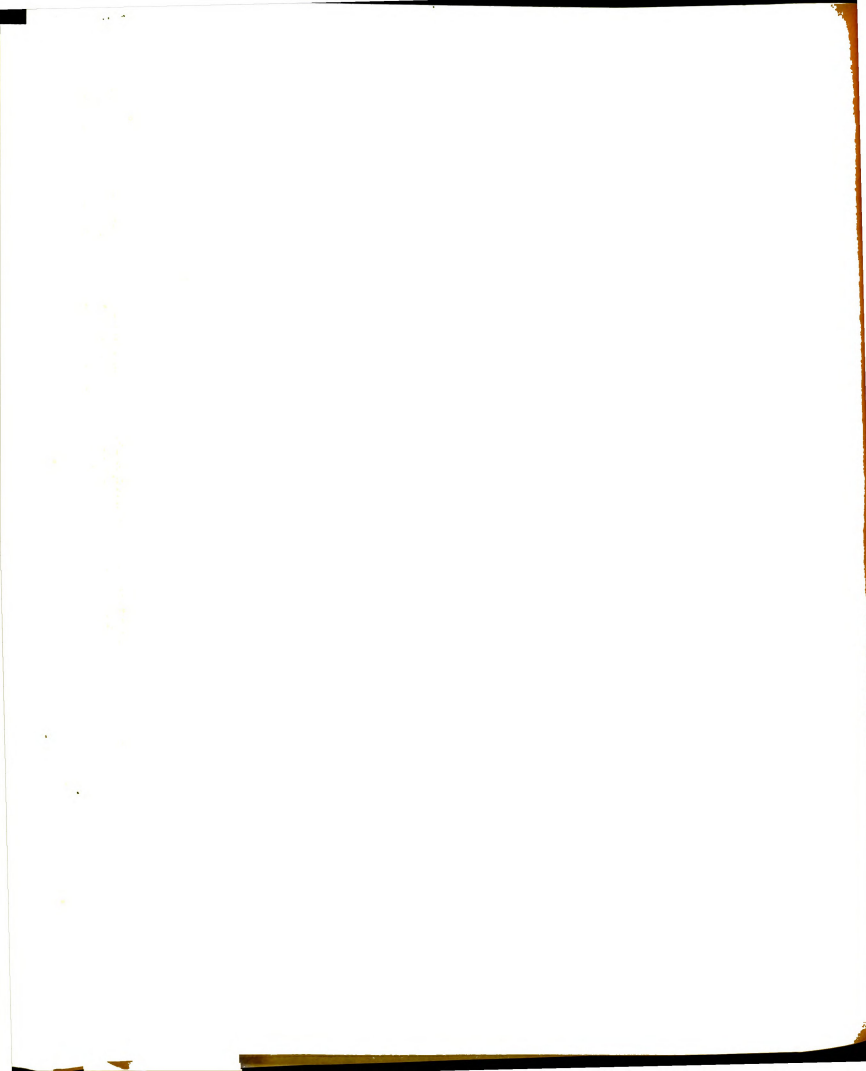


Table 5. CONTINUED

Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories ¹										Prejudice Scores ⁸					No. of Formal Group Members ⁹		
	Residence ²		Occupation ³		Religious Participation ⁴		Preference ⁵		Social Status ⁶		Socio-metric Status ⁷		Tot. Jew. Neg. Mex. Gen.					
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)		(p)	(q)
35-13	F 5		F	1F	NC5	1	-	-	W 5	F 1			45	14	8	14	9	4
35-32	T 10		B	11	NC5	11L	P9	10	M 10	F 10			44	12	7	13	12	1
35-5	-		-	-	CO6	20	CL	20	M 20	F 20			41	12	11	8	10	1
35-36	T 10		B	10B	CO2	11N	P4	10	W 10	F 10			40	9	11	10	10	1
35-44	N 18		W	18	CO2	17	PX	18	M 17	F 17			32	8	8	8	8	2
35-7													X					
35-11													X					
35-12													X					
35-42													X					
35-46													X					

1. See Table 1, Footnote 1.
2. See Table 1, Footnote 2.
3. See Table 1, Footnote 3.
4. See Table 1, Footnote 4.
5. See Table 1, Footnote 5.
6. See Table 1, Footnote 6.
7. See Table 1, Footnote 7.
8. See Table 1, Footnote 8.
9. See Table 1, Footnote 9.

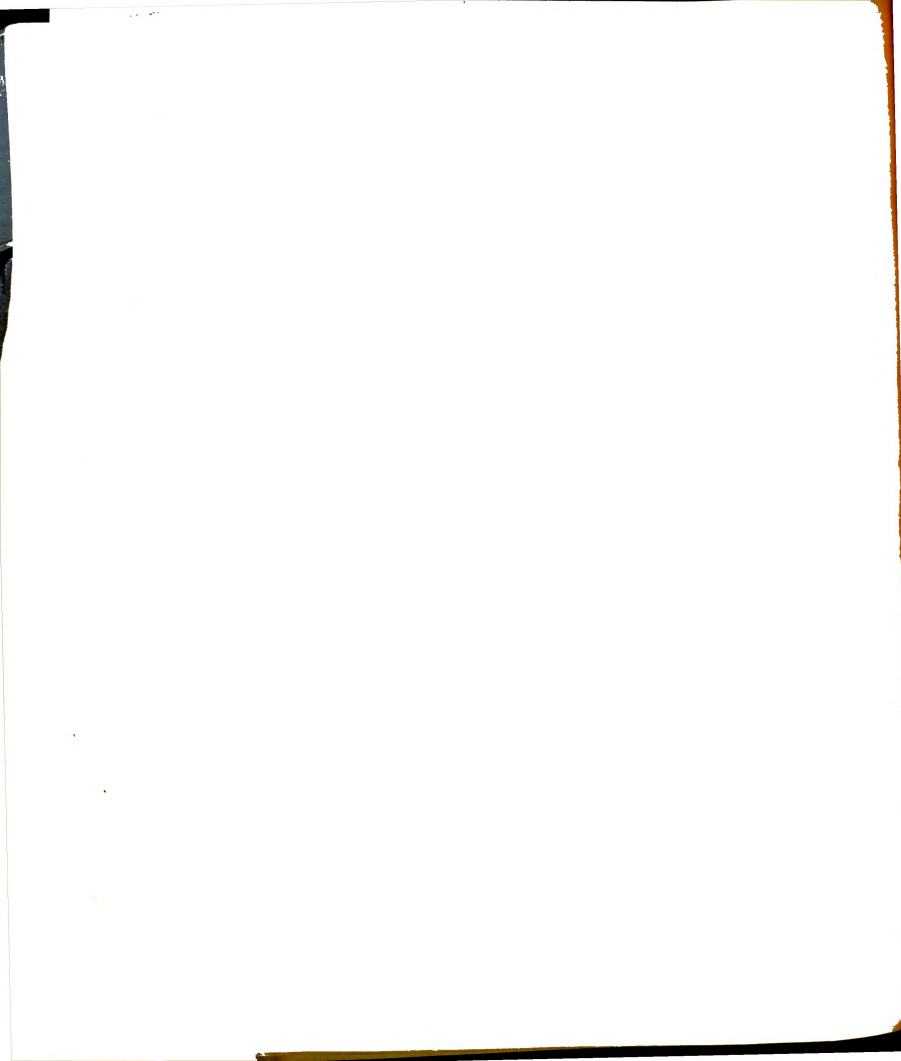


Table 6. SOCIO-METRIC SUBGROUP CATEGORIES; PREJUDICE SCORES; AND NUMBER OF FORMAL GROUP MEMBERSHIPS FOR EACH TWELFTH GRADER, JOHNSTOWN HIGH SCHOOL (MAPLE COUNTY), RANKED BY TOTAL PREJUDICE SCORE, 1949

Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories ¹										Prejudice Scores ⁸				No. of Formal Group Memberships ⁹		
	Resi-2 dence	Occupation	Religious		Preference	Social Status	Socio-metric Status	Tot. Jew. Neg. Mex. Gen.									
			Participation	Participation				(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)				
Col. (a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)
16-29	T 10	B	10B	CO1	11N	P4	10	W	11	F	10	72	18	18	18	18	2
16-86	N 10F	B	10F	CO2	10H	P4	10	M	10	F	10	72	18	18	18	18	2
16-31	F 15	F	14	CO1	13	P2	13	M	13	F	13	70	18	17	17	18	6
16-38	T 10	-	-	NC5	11H	-	-	W	11	F	10	70	18	17	18	17	2
16-55	T 1	B	8	CO1	7	P4	1	M	7	L	5	70	18	17	17	18	2
16-92	T 16	B	16	NC4	16	P5	16	M	16	F	16	69	18	16	18	17	2
16-6	T 11F	W	11F	CO1	10H	P5	10	M	10	F	10	68	18	17	16	17	3
16-9	N 18	B	17	CO6	19	C1	18	M	19	F	17	68	18	15	17	18	1
16-24	T 1	B	1B	CO2	5N	P4	1	W	1	F	1	68	18	16	18	16	1
16-41	F 11	F	11	CO3	10H	P4	10	M	10	F	10	68	18	16	18	16	3
16-64	T 10	B	10B	NC5	11H	P5	11	M	11	F	10	68	18	16	16	18	3
16-85	T 10	W	11B	CO1	10H	P5	10	M	10	F	11	68	18	16	16	18	2
16-7	T 10	W	11B	CO1	10H	P4	10	M	10	F	11	67	18	15	17	17	1
16-16	N 5	B	5	NC4	5H	P4	1	M	1	F	1	67	18	16	18	15	1
16-30	N 16	W	16	CO1	16	P8	16	M	16	F	16	67	18	17	16	16	5
16-39	T 8	W	5B	CO1	5L	P4	1	M	7	F	1	67	18	17	15	17	1
16-98	T 10	W	10	CO3	10H	P2	10	W	11	F	10	67	18	15	18	16	1
16-36	T 1	W	4	CO2	5N	P2	1	M	5	F	1	66	17	16	17	16	1
16-47	T 10	-	-	NC5	11H	P2	10	M	10	F	11	66	18	17	16	15	2
16-53	N 5	-	-	NC5	1	-	-	W	1	L	5	66	18	18	13	17	1

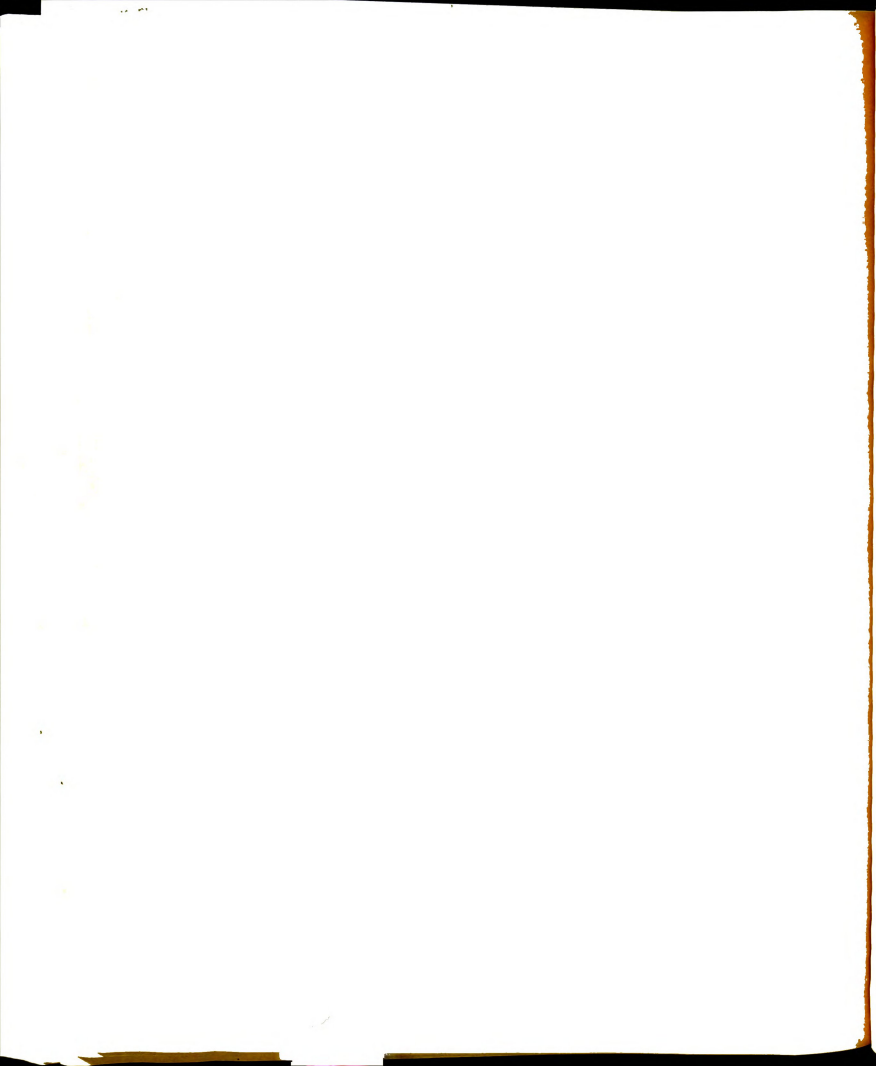


Table 6. CONTINUED

Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories ¹												Prejudice Scores ⁸					No. of Formal Group Members ⁹
	Residence ²	Occupation ³	Religious		Participation ⁴	Preference ⁵	Social Status ⁶	Socio-metric Status ⁷										
			(a)	(b)					(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	
16-74	F 20	F 20	NC5	20	11H	P9	20	W 20	F 20	20	66	18	16	16	1			
16-2	T 10	W 10	NC4	11H	P8	10	M 11	F 10	16	65	18	15	16	2				
16-25	F 10N	F 11	C02	10H	P2	10	M 10	F 10	17	65	18	17	14	4				
16-40	T 17	W 17	C02	18	P4	17	W 18	F 17	18	65	18	11	18	1				
16-45	T 5	B 1B	NC5	1	-	-	W 1	F 1	1	65	18	16	15	2				
16-93	F 2	F 2	NC5	2	P2	1	M 4	F 1	18	65	15	15	17	4				
16-103	T 11N	W 10	NC5	11H	-	-	M 10	F 10	17	65	18	15	15	1				
16-104	T 5F	-	NC5	2	-	-	M 1	F 2	17	65	17	15	16	1				
16-82	N 5	B 1B	NC5	1	-	-	M 5	F 1	16	65	17	17	15	1				
16-14	N 11	W 10	NC5	10	P5	10	W 11	F 10	64	16	16	17	15	3				
16-19	N 10F	W 11F	NC4	11N	P2	10	M 10	F 11	18	64	18	14	17	1				
16-33	T 11F	B 10F	C01	10H	P4	10	M 10	F 11	13	64	13	17	16	4				
16-34	T 1	W 5B	NC4	5H	P4	1	M 1	F 1	18	64	17	15	15	1				
16-35	T 10	B 11	C03	11N	P4	10	M 10	F 10	17	64	17	18	16	3				
16-50	T 11F	B 10F	C01	10L	P5	10	M 11	F 10	16	64	18	14	14	1				
16-66	T 17	W 18	C02	17	PX	17	M 18	F 17	17	64	17	13	17	1				
16-67	T 10	W 11B	NC5	11H	-	-	M 10	F 11	16	64	16	15	16	1				
16-68	T 10	W 11B	NC5	10	-	-	W 10	F 10	18	64	18	16	16	1				
16-70	T 10	W 11B	C01	10H	PX	10	-	F 11	18	64	18	17	16	2				
16-90	T 1	B 5	C01	5L	P4	1	M 1	F 1	15	64	18	16	15	2				

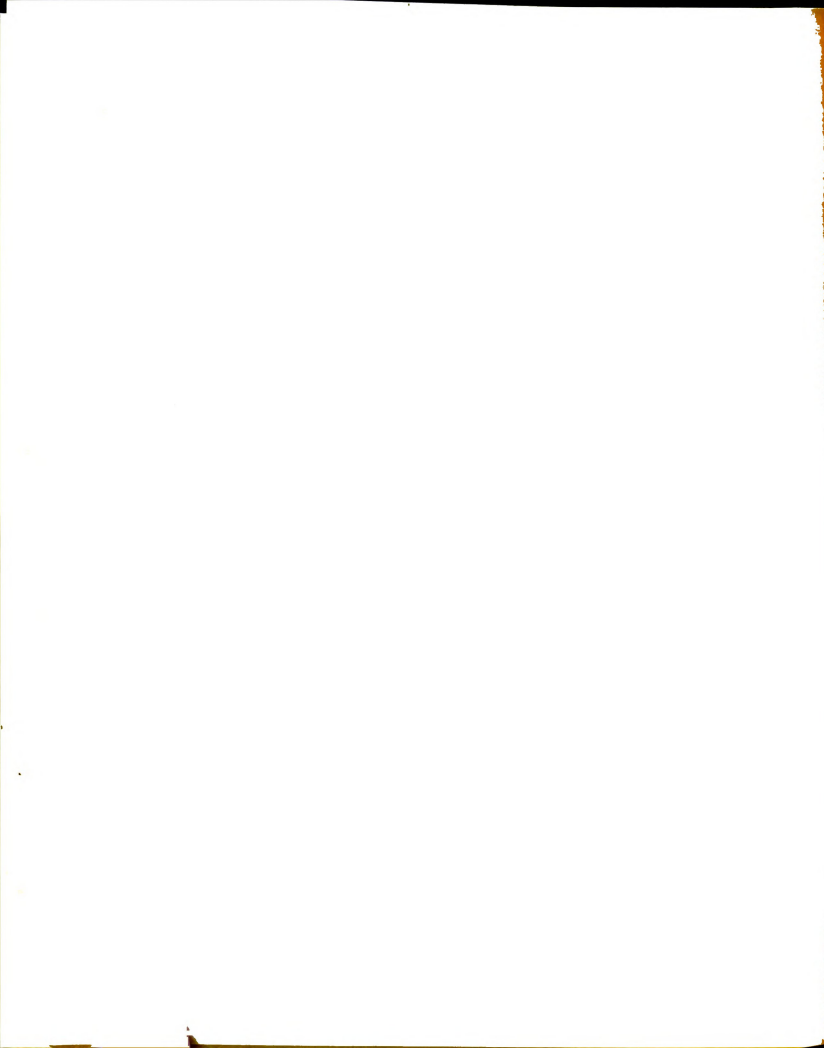


Table 6. CONTINUED

Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories ¹										Prejudice Scores ⁸				No. of Formal Group Members ⁹			
	Residence ²	Occupation ³	Religious			Participation ⁴	Preferences ⁵	Social Status ⁶	Socio-metric Status ⁷	Tot. Jew. Neg. Mex. Gen.								
			(a)	(b)	(c)					(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)		(i)	(j)	(k)
16-42	T	1	B	1B	NC5	5H	-	-	W	1	F	1	63	17	16	16	14	2
16-48	T	10	W	10	CO2	10H	P4	10	M	10	F	10	63	18	13	17	15	1
16-61	T	5N	B	1B	NC5	1	-	-	W	5	F	1	63	18	16	13	16	1
16-94	T	17	B	17	NC5	18	-	-	M	19	F	17	63	16	15	15	17	1
16-101	T	20	W	20	NC4	20	P5	20	M	20	F	20	63	17	14	16	16	4
16-22	T	1	B	1B	CO7	1	P2	1	M	1	F	1	62	16	16	14	16	1
16-43	N	4	W	5	CO1	4	P5	1	M	4	F	1	62	17	14	15	16	1
16-44	T	10	W	11B	CO2	11N	P2	10	M	11	F	10	62	16	17	12	17	2
16-88	T	13	W	13	NC5	14	-	-	W	14	F	13	61	18	15	15	13	1
16-95	T	10	B	11	NC5	11H	-	-	W	11	F	10	61	16	13	14	18	1
16-10	T	1	B	1B	CO1	1	PX	1	M	1	F	5	60	16	16	13	15	2
16-13	T	7	B	1M	NC5	7	-	-	W	7	F	1	60	18	14	12	16	2
16-62	F	5	F	5	CO1	4	P4	1	M	4	F	1	60	17	13	16	14	4
16-75	F	5	F	1	CO1	5N	P9	1	M	2	F	1	60	17	15	12	16	1
16-3	T	1	-	-	CO1	4	P4	4	M	1	F	1	59	18	14	11	16	1
16-4	F	15	F	15	CO1	15	P5	13	M	13	L	14	59	17	14	13	15	4
16-12	N	11	B	11	CO1	11N	P8	10	W	11	F	10	59	16	15	15	13	2
16-15	W	8	W	8	CO1	7	P4	1	M	1	F	2	59	14	15	15	15	3
16-26	T	1	W	8	CO1	7	P4	1	M	7	L	7	59	17	13	13	16	2
16-71	T	16	W	16	NC5	16	-	-	M	16	F	16	59	15	14	13	17	3

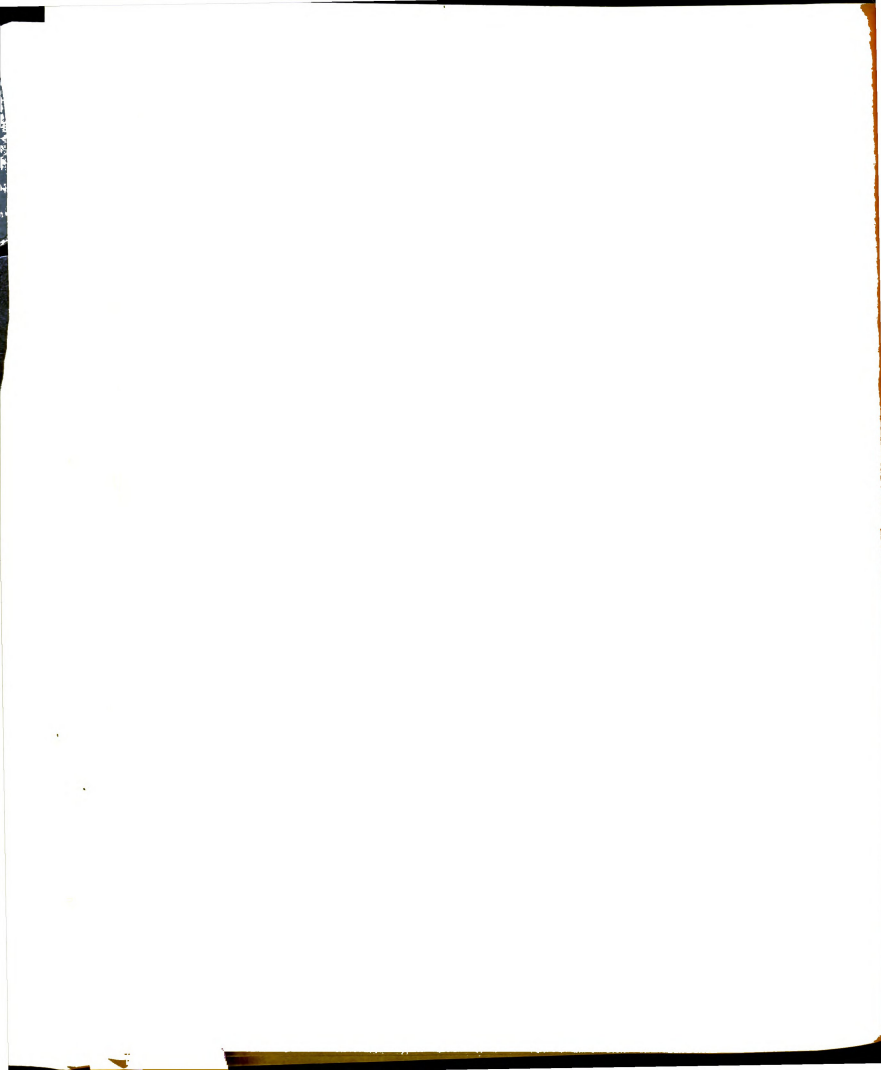


Table 6. CONTINUED

Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories										Prejudice Scores					No. of Formal Group Memberships	
	Residence	Occupation			Religious		Preference		Social Status		Sociometric Status	Tot.	Jew.	Neg.	Mex.		Gen.
Col.(a)(b) (c) (d) (e) (f) (g)(h) (i)(j) (k)(l) (m) (n) (o) (p) (q) (r)																	
16-76	T 10	B	10B	CO6	11N	CL	11	M	10	F	10	59	17	14	13	15	1
16-77	T 1	B	7	NC5	7	-	-	W	7	F	1	59	16	17	14	12	3
16-89	T 7	B	2	CO2	7	CL	4	W	5	F	1	59	18	11	13	17	2
16-1	T 5	W	5	NC5	5H	P2	1	M	4	F	2	58	17	17	12	12	1
16-11	N 2	B	1M	NC5	5H	-	-	W	4	F	1	58	14	14	15	15	1
16-21	T 2	W	2	CO1	4	P5	1	M	1	F	2	58	17	10	15	16	1
16-27	T 10	B	10B	CO7	10	P5	10	M	10	F	11	58	17	11	15	15	1
16-60	T 20	B	20	NC5	20	-	-	W	20	F	20	58	16	16	13	13	2
16-63	T 5F	W	5F	CO1	7	P5	1	M	1	F	1	58	18	12	12	16	1
16-69	T 11N	B	10B	NC5	10	-	-	W	10	F	11	58	17	14	13	14	1
16-79	F 11	F	10B	CO1	10H	P5	10	M	10	F	11	58	13	14	14	17	2
16-100	T 11N	B	10B	NC5	11H	-	-	M	10	F	10	58	17	12	14	15	2
16-87	F 13	F	13	CO2	13	P9	13	M	13	F	13	57	18	15	11	13	1
16-32	T 8	B	7	NC5	1	-	-	W	5	F	1	57	16	12	16	13	2
16-84	T 1	B	1B	CO1	1	PX	1	M	1	F	1	57	18	12	13	14	1
16-5	T 7	B	7	CO1	7	P4	1	M	1	L	5	56	15	14	13	14	1
16-8	-	-	-	NC5	1	-	-	M	1	F	1	56	17	12	13	14	4
16-46	T 4	W	1	NC5	2	-	-	M	4	F	1	56	18	13	9	16	1
16-58	T 10	W	11B	CO3	10L	P5	10	M	10	F	10	56	18	9	15	14	2
16-59	T 10	B	11	NC4	11H	PX	10	W	11	F	10	56	18	8	18	12	1



Table 6. CONTINUED

Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories ¹										Prejudice Scores ⁸					No. of Formal Group Members ⁹
	Residence ²	Occupation ³	Religious		Preference ⁴	Social Status ⁶	Socio-metric Status ⁷	(i)(j)	(k)(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)	
			Participation ⁵	Social Status ⁶												
Col.(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)(j)	(k)(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)	
16-81	T 2	B 4	C03	1	P5	1	M 1	F 1	2	56	18	10	14	14	4	
16-17	T 16	W 16	C02	16	P5	16	M 16	F 16	16	55	17	13	10	15	2	
16-52	T 20	W 20	NC5	20	-	-	W 20	F 20	20	54	16	12	11	15	1	
16-80	T 10	-	C03	11N	C1	11	M 11	F 10	10	54	18	11	12	13	1	
16-20	T 20	-	NC5	20	P8	20	-	F 20	20	53	17	9	13	14	1	
16-23	T 1	W 5B	NC5	4	-	-	M 2	F 1	1	53	13	16	9	15	1	
16-51	T 20	F 20	NC4	20	P2	20	M 20	F 20	20	53	17	12	11	13	1	
16-54	F 5	F 1	NC4	1	P7	1	M 5	F 1	1	53	14	12	12	15	2	
16-56	T 17	-	C02	17	P2	17	M 17	F 17	17	53	16	12	14	11	1	
16-57	F 20	F 20	NC5	20	-	-	M 20	F 20	20	53	18	9	15	11	2	
16-99	T 11N	B 11	NC5	11H	-	-	W 11	F 10	10	53	14	14	13	12	2	
16-49	T 11N	B 10B	C02	10H	PX	11	W 11	F 10	10	51	14	9	15	13	1	
16-97	F 18	F 17	NC4	18	P2	17	W 18	F 17	17	50	15	11	11	13	3	
16-73	T 11F	B 10F	NC5	11H	P4	10	M 10	F 10	10	48	13	13	9	13	2	
16-78	T 10	B 10B	-	-	P2	10	W 11	F 11	11	48	14	12	12	10	1	
16-102	N 20	B 20	NC5	20	P2	20	-	F 20	20	48	12	13	12	11	2	
16-37	T 8	W 8	C02	1	P2	1	M 1	F 2	2	47	18	6	11	12	1	
16-65	F 10F	F 10F	NC5	10	-	-	W 11	F 10	10	47	11	10	10	16	3	
16-72	T 10	B 10B	NC5	11H	-	-	M 10	F 10	10	47	13	10	12	12	1	
16-83	F 10N	F 10B	C01	11N	P6	10	M 11	F 10	10	47	15	12	8	12	1	



Table 6. CONTINUED

Case No.	Sociometric Subgroup Categories ¹											Prejudice Scores ⁸					No. of Formal Group Members ⁹	
	Residence ²	Occupation ³	Religious		Preferences ⁴	Social Status ⁶	Socio-metric Status ⁷	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)		
			Participation ⁴	Preference ⁵														
Col.	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)	(p)	(q)	(r)
16-96	-	-	-	-	NC5	10	-	-	M	10	F	10	47	17	8	12	10	2
16-91	T 10	B	10B	NC5	11H	10	-	-	M	10	F	11	45	15	10	9	11	2
16-18	T 2	-	-	NC5	4	4	P2	4	W	4	F	2	41	14	9	7	11	1
16-28	T 16	W	16	NC5	16	16	P2	16	M	16	F	16	38	13	7	8	10	2

1. See Table 1, Footnote 1.
2. See Table 1, Footnote 2.
3. See Table 1, Footnote 3.
4. See Table 1, Footnote 4.
5. See Table 1, Footnote 5.
6. See Table 1, Footnote 6.
7. See Table 1, Footnote 7.
8. See Table 1, Footnote 8.
9. See Table 1, Footnote 9.



APPENDIX B

EXAMPLES OF COMPUTATIONS FOR THE
KRUSKAL-WALLIS H- TEST EMPLOYING
THE JEWISH PREJUDICE SCORE FOR
THE TWELFTH GRADE, MAPLE COUNTY,
1949



Table B.1. COMPUTATIONS FOR THE H-TEST, JEWISH
PREJUDICE SCORE, TWELFTH GRADE,
MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Jewish Preju- dice Score	Tot. No. with Given Score	Score Rank: All Cases	Adams		Brownsville		Johnstown	
			Num- ber with Given Score	No. Times Rank: (Col. 1.2)	Num- ber with Given Score	No. Times Rank: (Col. 1.4)	Num- ber with Given Score	No. Times Rank: (Col. 1.6)
			Col. 1	2	4	5	6	7
18	61	31.0	7	217.0	7	217.0	47	1,457.0
17	44	83.5	9	751.5	12	1,002.0	23	1,920.5
16	23	117.0	4	468.0	6	702.0	13	1,521.0
15	14	135.5	2	271.0	6	813.0	6	813.0
14	15	150.0	4	600.0	4	600.0	7	1,050.0
13	8	161.5	-	-	2	323.0	6	969.0
12	8	169.5	3	508.5	4	678.0	1	169.5
11	1	174.0	-	-	-	-	1	174.0
10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	1	175.0	-	-	1	175.0	-	-
8	1	176.0	-	-	1	176.0	-	-
Total Cases			176	29	43		104	
Mean				16.0	15.4		16.7	
Sum of Ranks (T)				2,816.0	4,686.0		8,074.0	
(T) ²				7,929,856	21,958,596		65,189,476	
(T) ² /n				273,443.310	510,665.023		626,821.884	

Source: Computational procedure for the H-test was taken from Allen Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 423-424, 426-427, and 433. See formulas 19.25, 19.26, and paragraph "The Kruskal-Wallis Test and Tied Ranks," p. 433.



CORRECTION FOR TIES

$C = \frac{k^3 - k}{12}$, where k equals the number of observations
in a group tied for a given rank.
(Edwards, formula 19.26)

Jewish Prejudice Score	Number of Cases with Score	Correction Factor
18	61	18,910.0
17	44	7,095.0
16	23	1,012.0
15	14	227.5
14	15	280.0
13	8	42.0
12	8	42.0
Total		27,608.5



COMPUTATIONS FOR THE H-TEST (continued)
Twelfth Grade Jewish Prejudice Score

$$H = \frac{\frac{12}{n(n+1)}, \left(\sum_{i=1}^k \frac{T_i^2}{n_i} \right) - 3(n+1)}{1 - \frac{\text{Sum of } C}{\frac{n^3 - n}{12}}} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{(Formulas:} \\ 19.25 \\ \text{and} \\ \text{p. 433.)} \end{array}$$

where: k = the number of groups
 n_i = the number of observations in the i th group
 n = the sum of n_i , the total number of observations
 T_i = the sum of ranks for the i th group
 C = the correction factor for tied ranks, where

$$C = \frac{k^3 - k}{12} : \quad \text{where } k \text{ equals the number of observations in a group tied for a given rank. (19.26)}$$

$$H = \frac{12 \left(\frac{1,410,930.217}{176(177)} \right) - 3(177)}{1 - \frac{27,608.5}{\frac{(176)^3 - 176}{12}}}$$

$$H = \frac{16,931,162.604}{31,152} - 531$$

$$H = \frac{1 - \frac{27,608.5}{\frac{5,451,776 - 176}{12}}}{543.502 - 531}$$

$$H = \frac{12,502}{1 - \frac{27,608.5}{\frac{5,451,600}{12}}}$$

$$H = \frac{12.502}{1 - .0607} = \frac{12.502}{.939} = 13.314 \quad P = < .01 \quad df = 2$$



APPENDIX C

EXAMPLES OF COMPUTATIONS FOR
WHITE'S RANK TEST OF THE SIG-
NIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCES OF
MEANS BETWEEN TWO GROUPS, EM-
PLOYING THE JEWISH PREJUDICE
SCORE, TWELFTH GRADE, BROWNS-
VILLE AND JOHNSTOWN SCHOOLS,

and

TABLES OF TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE
OF DIFFERENCES FOR THE JEWISH
SCORE FOR THE TOTAL STUDENT POP-
ULATION AND FOR CORE GROUPS, BY
GRADE, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

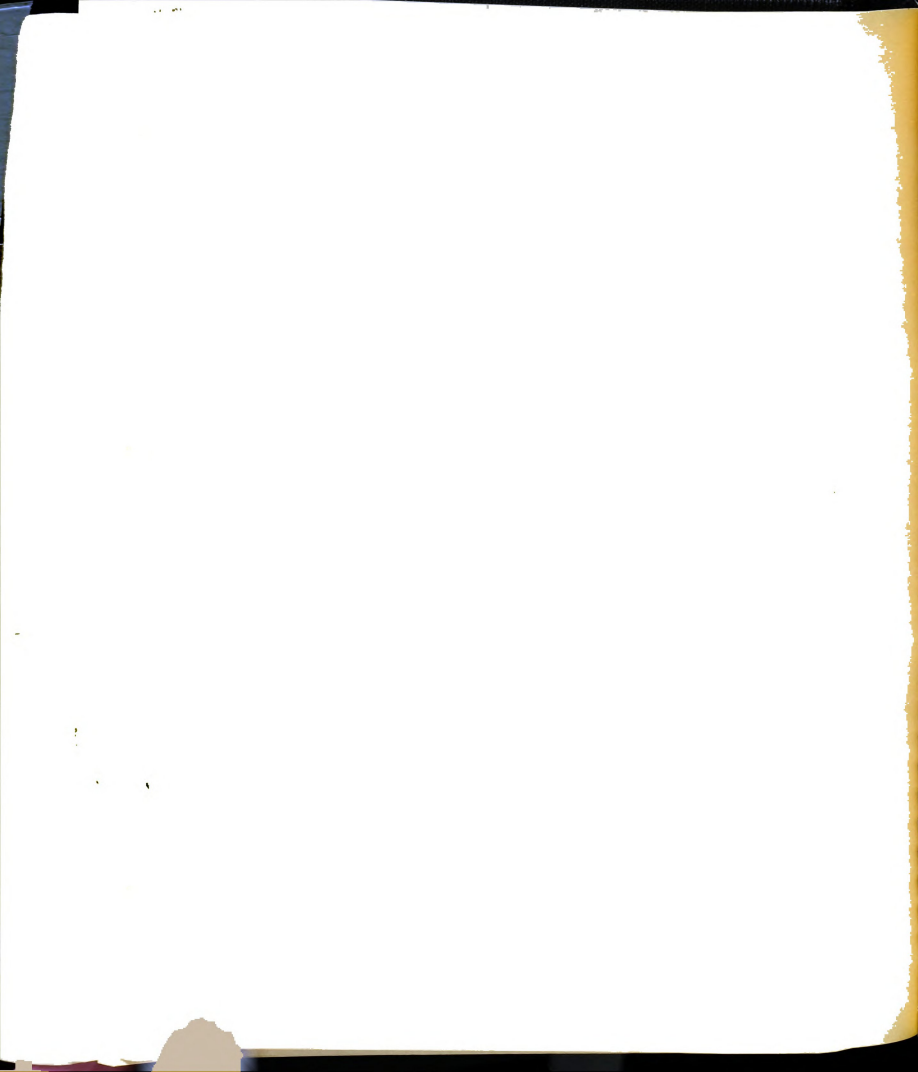


Table C. COMPUTATIONS FOR WHITE'S TEST: JEWISH
PREJUDICE SCORE, TWELFTH GRADE, FOR
BROWNSVILLE AND JOHNSTOWN, MAPLE COUNTY
1949

Jewish Preju- dice Score	All Cases				School			
	Total Num- ber with Given Score	Rank Range of Cases: Both Schools	Score Rank: Both Schools	"C" Correc- tion for ties	Brownsville		Johnstown	
					Num- ber with Given Score	No. Times Rank: (Col. 3.5)	Num- ber with Given Score	No. Times Rank: (Col. 3.7)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
18	54	1-54	27.5	13,117.5	7	192.5	47	1,292.5
17	35	55-89	72.0	3,570.0	12	864.0	23	1,656.0
16	19	90-108	99.0	570.0	6	594.0	13	1,287.0
15	12	109-120	114.5	143.0	6	687.0	6	687.0
14	11	121-131	126.0	110.0	4	504.0	7	882.0
13	8	132-139	135.5	42.0	2	271.0	6	813.0
12	5	140-144	142.0	10.0	4	568.0	1	142.0
11	1	145-145	145.0	-	-	-	1	145.0
10	-				-		-	
9	1	146-146	146.0	-	1	146.0	-	
8	1	147-147	147.0	-	1	147.0		
N=147					N ₁ =43		N ₂ =104	
Sum of Ranks					T=3,973.5			
Sum of C					17,562.5			

$C = \frac{k^3}{12} - k$, where k represents the number of observations
in a group tied for ranks. (formula 19.26, Edwards)

Source of Formulas: Allen Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 420-422, 426-427, and 429-430.

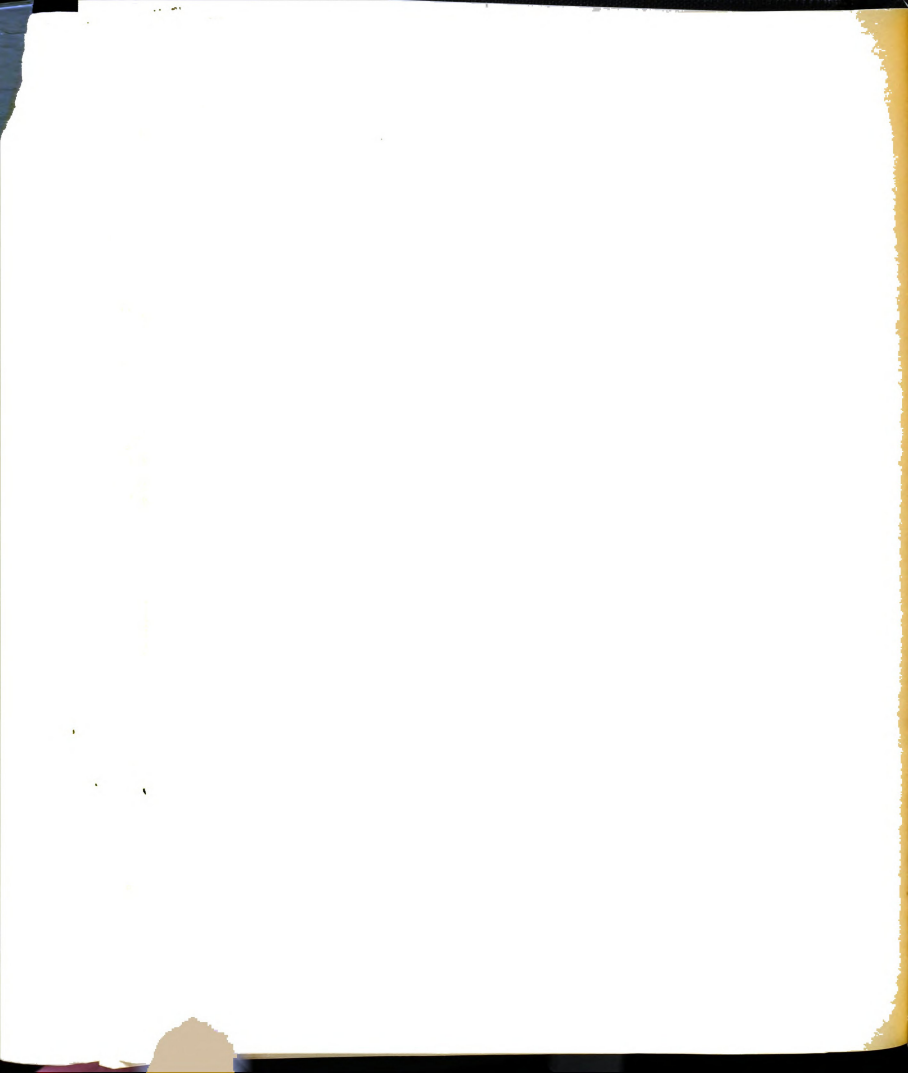


Table C. CONTINUED

$$\bar{T} = \frac{n_1 (n + 1)}{2}, \text{ where } n_1 \text{ is the group with the smaller number of observations and } T = \text{sum of ranks of } n_1 \quad (\text{Edwards, formula 19.22})$$

$$= \frac{43 (147 + 1)}{2}$$

$$= \frac{43 (148)}{2}$$

$$= \frac{6364}{2}$$

$$= 3182$$

$$\sigma = \sqrt{\left(\frac{n_1 n_2}{n(n-1)} \right) \left(\frac{n^3 - n}{12} - \frac{\text{Sum of } C}{C} \right)} \quad (\text{Edwards, formula 19.28})$$

$$= \sqrt{\frac{43(104)}{147(146)} \cdot \left(\frac{(147)^3 - 147}{12} - 17,562.5 \right)}$$

$$= \sqrt{\frac{4,472}{21,462} \cdot \left(\frac{3,176,523 - 147}{12} - 17,562.5 \right)}$$

$$= \sqrt{.2084 \cdot \left(\frac{3,176,376}{12} - 17,562.5 \right)}$$

$$= \sqrt{.2084 \cdot (264,698 - 17,562.5)}$$

$$= \sqrt{.2084 \cdot 247,135.5}$$

$$= \sqrt{51,503.0382}$$

$$= 226.94$$

$$Z = \frac{(T - \bar{T}) - .5}{\sigma} \quad (\text{Edwards, formula 19.24, plus correction for continuity, p. 422.})$$

$$= \frac{(3973.5 - 3182) - .5}{226.94} = \frac{791}{226.94} = 3.49 \quad (P = .0004)$$

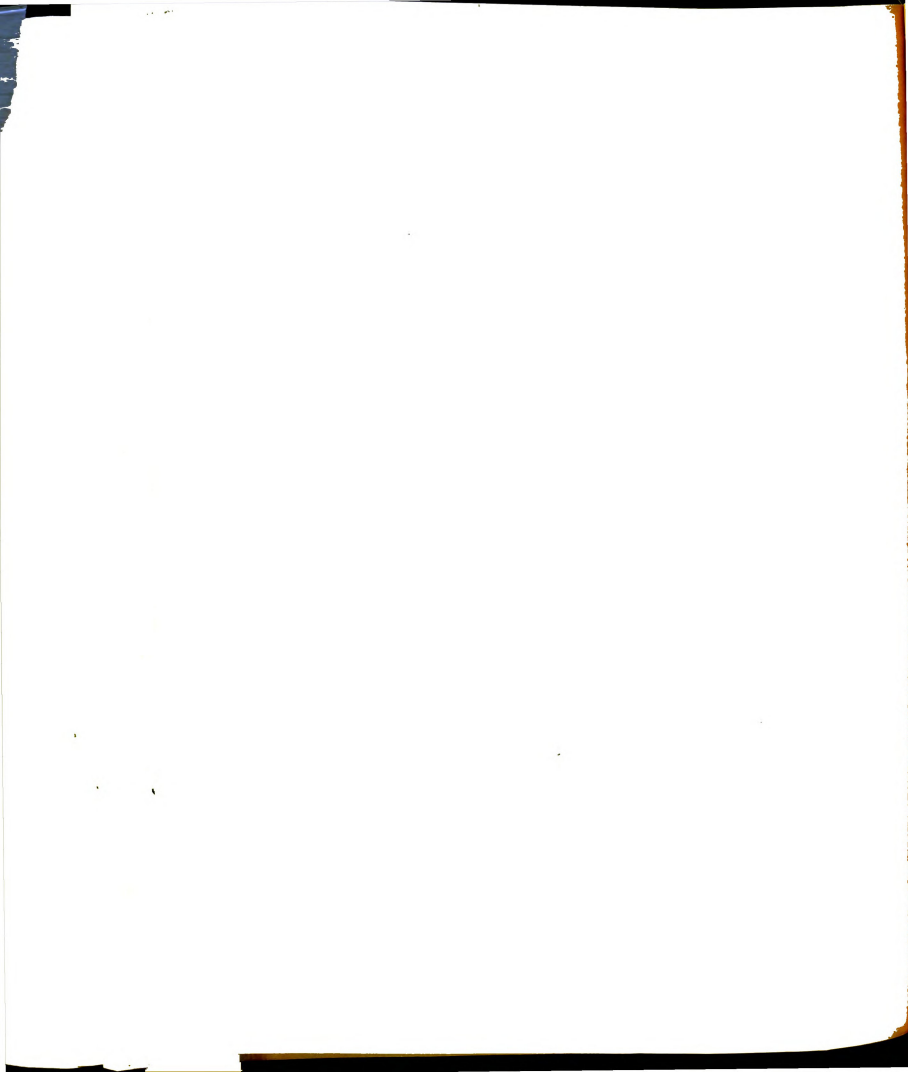


Table C.1. MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES AND SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCES FOR THE NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, BY SCHOOL, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Prejudice Score and Grade	Total	Schools			H* (df. =2)
		Adams	Browns- ville	Johns- town	
Ninth (Cases)	(237)	(42)	(55)	(140)	
Total	57.9	57.5	57.5	58.2	.092
Jewish	15.2	15.2	14.9	15.3	.276
Negro	13.9	13.5	14.0	14.0	.331
Mexican	14.3	14.7	14.2	14.2	1.688
General	14.5	14.2	14.5	14.7	.555
Twelfth (Cases)	(176)	(29)	(43)	(104)	
Total	58.9	57.9	57.7	59.8	1.670
Jewish**	16.3	16.0	15.4	16.7	13.314
Negro	13.8	13.3	13.8	13.9	.287
Mexican	14.1	14.1	14.0	14.2	.115
General	14.8	14.4	14.5	15.0	2.546

* The significance of the Kruskal-Wallis H-Test is read from a X^2 table. To be significant at the five percent level with two degrees of freedom, H must equal 5.991; at the one percent level, 9.210. A description of the Kruskal-Wallis H-Test is given by Allen Edwards in Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp 423-427. See, also, this thesis, Appendix B.

** White's test yielded significant differences between Johnstown and each of the other two schools, but no significant difference between Adams and Brownsville. For Adams and Johnstown, "z" equals 1.92 and P equals .05; for Brownsville and Johnstown, "z" equals 3.49 and P equals .0004; and for Adams and Brownsville, "z" equals 1.04 and P equals .30. See Edwards, *ibid.*, pp. 417-422, for a description of White's test, and this thesis, Appendix B.

Source: Resource Tables, Appendix A.



Table C.2. MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES FOR THE NINTH AND TWELFTH GRADES, AND SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCES, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Preju- dice Score	Grade							
	Ninth		Twelfth					
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	T	Sigma	Z ^(a)	P
Total	237	57.9	176	58.9	36,374.0	1198.53	-.05	.96
Jewish	237	15.2	176	16.3	32,095.0	1175.81	-3.69	.0001
Negro	237	13.9	176	13.8	36,069.5	1191.96	-.30	.76
Mexican	237	14.3	176	14.1	38,299.5	1191.52	1.57	.12
General	237	14.5	176	14.8	36,589.0	1189.84	.13	.90

(a) White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix B.

Source: Resource Tables, Appendix A.

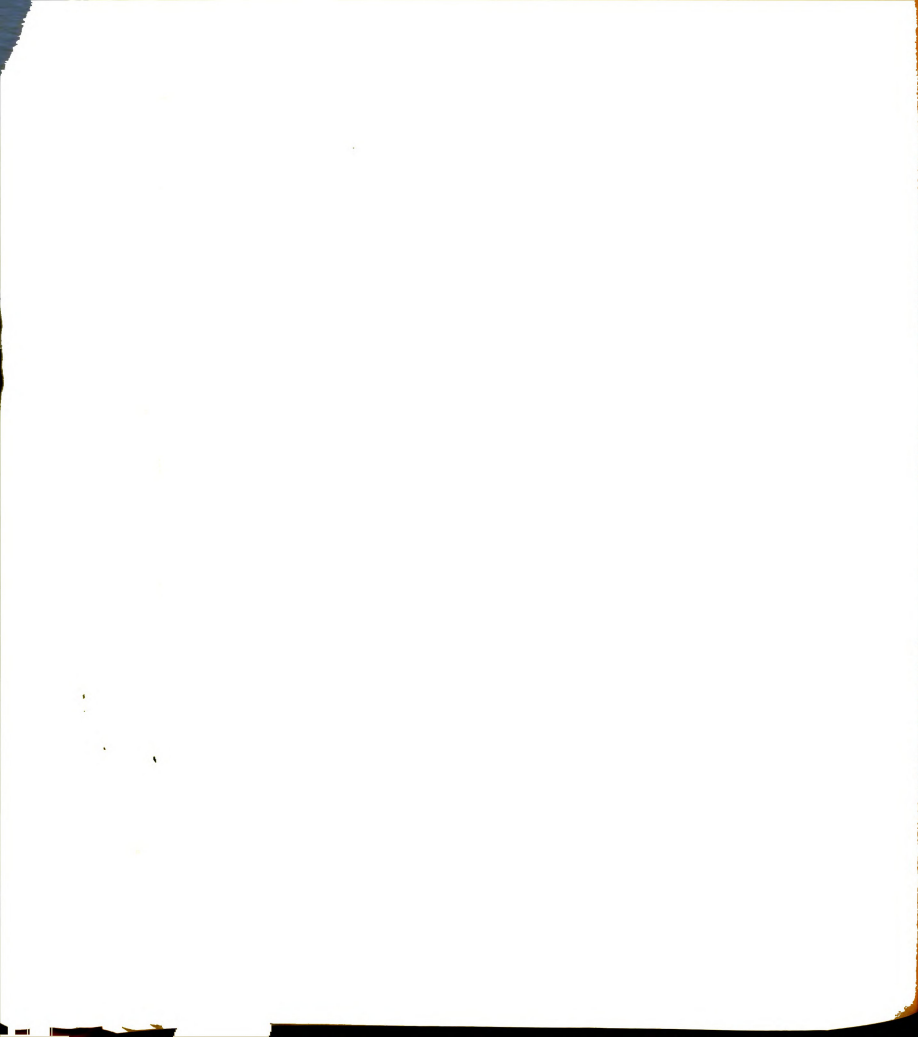
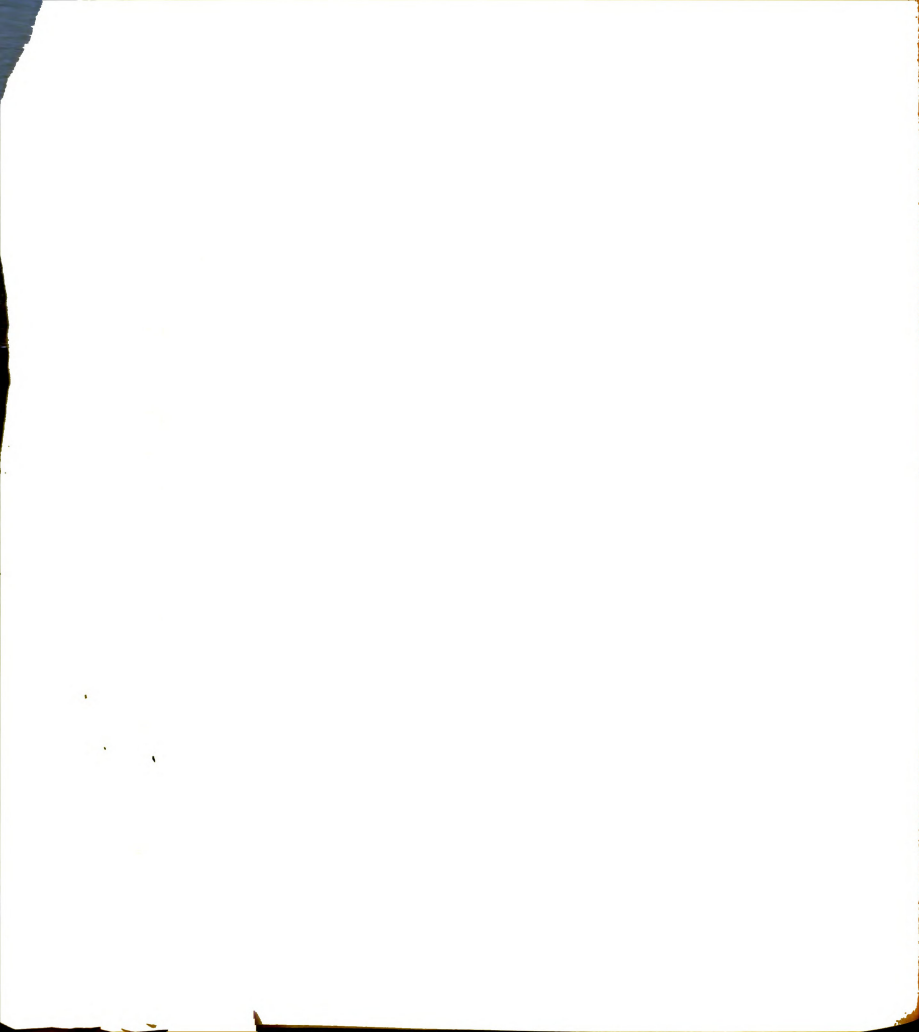


Table C.3. JEWISH MEAN PREJUDICE SCORES AND SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCES FOR CORE SOCIOMETRIC REFERENCE GROUPS, BY GRADE, MAPLE COUNTY, 1949

Group	Grade				T	Sigma	Z ^(a)	P
	Ninth		Twelfth					
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean				
<hr/>								
Residence								
Farm	4	14.5	3	14.3	-	-	-	-
Nonfarm	6	15.8	0	-	-	-	-	-
Town	32	16.0	16	16.9	361.5	43.87	- .68	.50
<hr/>								
Occupation								
Farm	5	14.4	5	14.8	27.0	5.00	.00	1.00
Blue Col.	17	15.9	11	17.1	141.5	20.28	- .86	.39
White Col.	3	17.3	1	18.0	-	-	-	-
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Subjective Socio- Economic Status								
Working	7	15.0	6	17.3	29.5	21.33	- .56	.58
Middle	48	15.4	24	17.1	637.5	81.64	-2.92	.004
<hr/>								
Religious Affiliation								
Catholic	3	16.0	3	16.0	-	-	-	-
Protestant	68	15.8	40	16.6	2031.5	152.38	- .97	.33
<hr/>								
Religious Partici- pation								
None	8	15.1	9	17.1	89.0	9.94	1.66	.10
High	40	15.9	15	16.2	443.0	51.54	.44	.66
Low	6	14.7	4	15.0	21.0	4.52	- .11	.91
<hr/>								
Church Preference								
With	71	15.8	43	16.7	2345.5	165.78	- .76	.45
Without	8	15.1	8	17.0	54.0	9.17	-1.47	.14

(a) White's test for the significance of difference between two groups is employed. It is described in Allen Edwards, Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1954, pp. 417-422. See, also, this thesis, Appendix B.

Source: Resource Tables, Appendix A.



APPENDIX D

A DESCRIPTION OF THE METHOD BY WHICH THE
SOCIOMETRIC REFERENCE GROUPS WERE FORMED



APPENDIX D

A DESCRIPTION OF THE METHOD BY WHICH THE
SOCIOMETRIC REFERENCE GROUPS WERE FORMED

The two paradigms below illustrate the steps taken to abstract the sociometric reference groups on the basis of a two-fold classification where only one choice is permitted. The example presented is for two religious groups, Catholics and Protestants. As shown in the paradigm, each religious group may be divided into two kinds of reference

Paradigm 1. Categorization of the Members of Two Religious Groups Who Made Choices In Response To a Near-sociometric Question, In Which Only One Choice Was Allowed.

Religious Group Affiliation	Sociometric Reference Groups Derived on the Basis of Choices Made by Members of a Respective Religious Group to a Near-sociometric Question Permitting One Choice to be Made From Either Group.
-----------------------------	---

Catholics	1. Who Chose Catholics (Membership reference group)
	2. Who Chose Protestants (Nonmembership reference group)

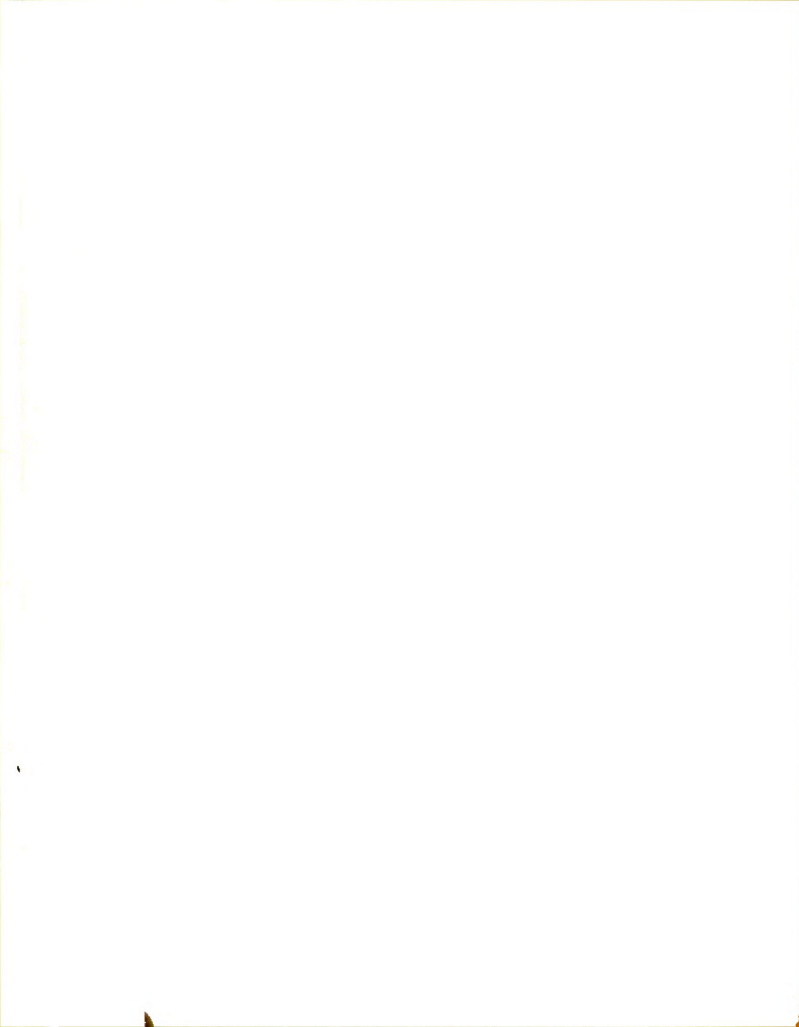
groups, one a membership type group in which Catholics choose Catholics, and Protestants choose Protestants; the other a nonmembership type group in which Catholics choose Protestants, and Protestants choose Catholics. Since only one sociometric choice was allowed, there is no mixed group in which the members made choices to both Catholics and

and Protestants.

In Paradigm 2, the four sociometric reference groups formed in Paradigm 1 are submitted to further reduction based on the source of the choices received by members of the four sociometric reference groups. (Choices received reflect the source of group acceptance.)

Paradigm 2. Categorization of the Religious Subgroups Abstracted in Paradigm A According to Sources of Choices Received

Reference Groups from Paradigm 1	Sources of Choices Received
<hr/>	
1. Catholics who chose Catholics	A. from Catholics B. from Protestants C. from both Catholics and Protestants D. No choices received
2. Catholics who chose Protestants	E. from Catholics F. from Protestants G. from both Catholics and Protestants H. No choices received
<hr/>	
3. Protestants who chose Protestants	I. from Protestants J. from Catholics K. from both Protestants and Catholics L. No choices received
4. Protestants who chose Catholics	M. from Protestants N. from Catholics O. from both Protestants and Catholics P. No choices received



Since an individual making only one choice could receive more than one choice, or no choice at all, four instead of two additional subgroups can be abstracted from each of the four sociometric reference groups shown in Paradigm 1. This classification results in 20 mutually-exclusive subgroups. These groups, coded and labelled on the basis of their respective sociometric composition, are shown in Chart 1. In examining the Chart, it should be noted that the first word in the descriptive title under the subgroup number describes the origin of choices received, and the second word, the origin of choices made. For example, in subgroup 2, characterized as an In-Out subgroup, all members of the subgroup received choices from their "in" or "membership" group, but they made choices wholly to an "out" or "nonmembership" group.

This thesis, however, will be concerned with only four of the twenty subgroups: Sociometric subgroup 1 referred to as a core group; subgroup 5, designated as a peripheral group; subgroup 10, called a core satellite group; and subgroup 11, referred to as a peripheral satellite group. These are all pure types.¹ They are schematized for one social category in Paradigm C.

1. For a more complete description of each of the four groups, see p. 72 ff. of this thesis.

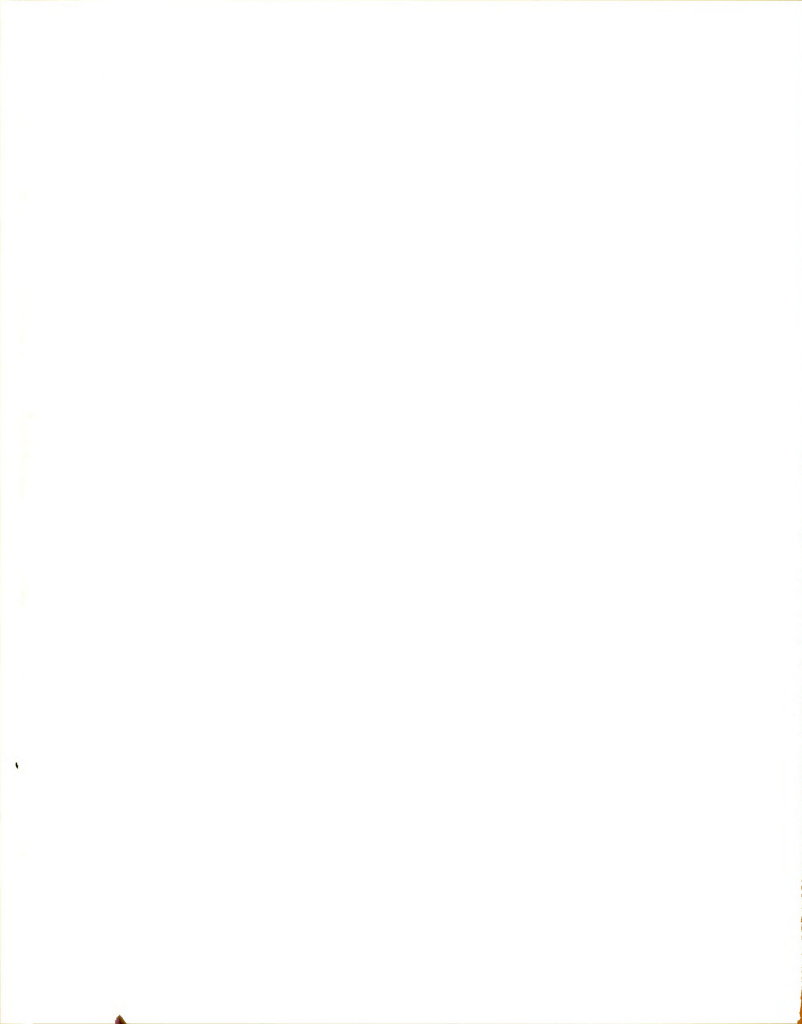
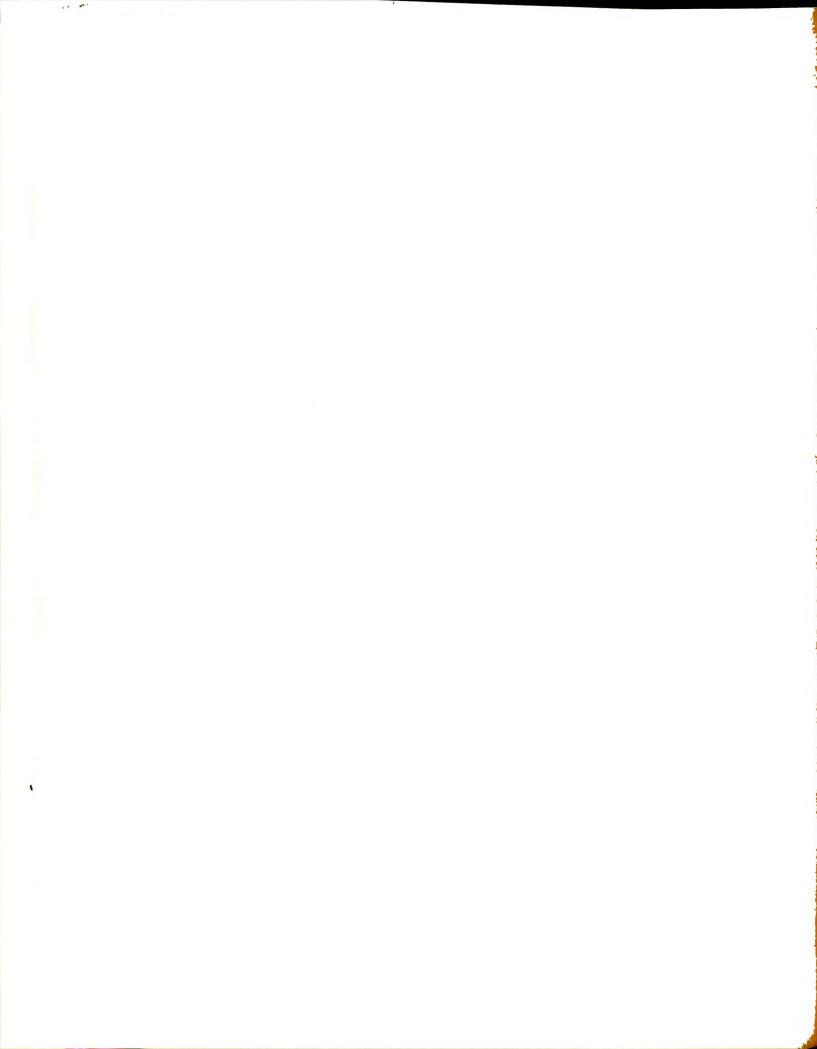


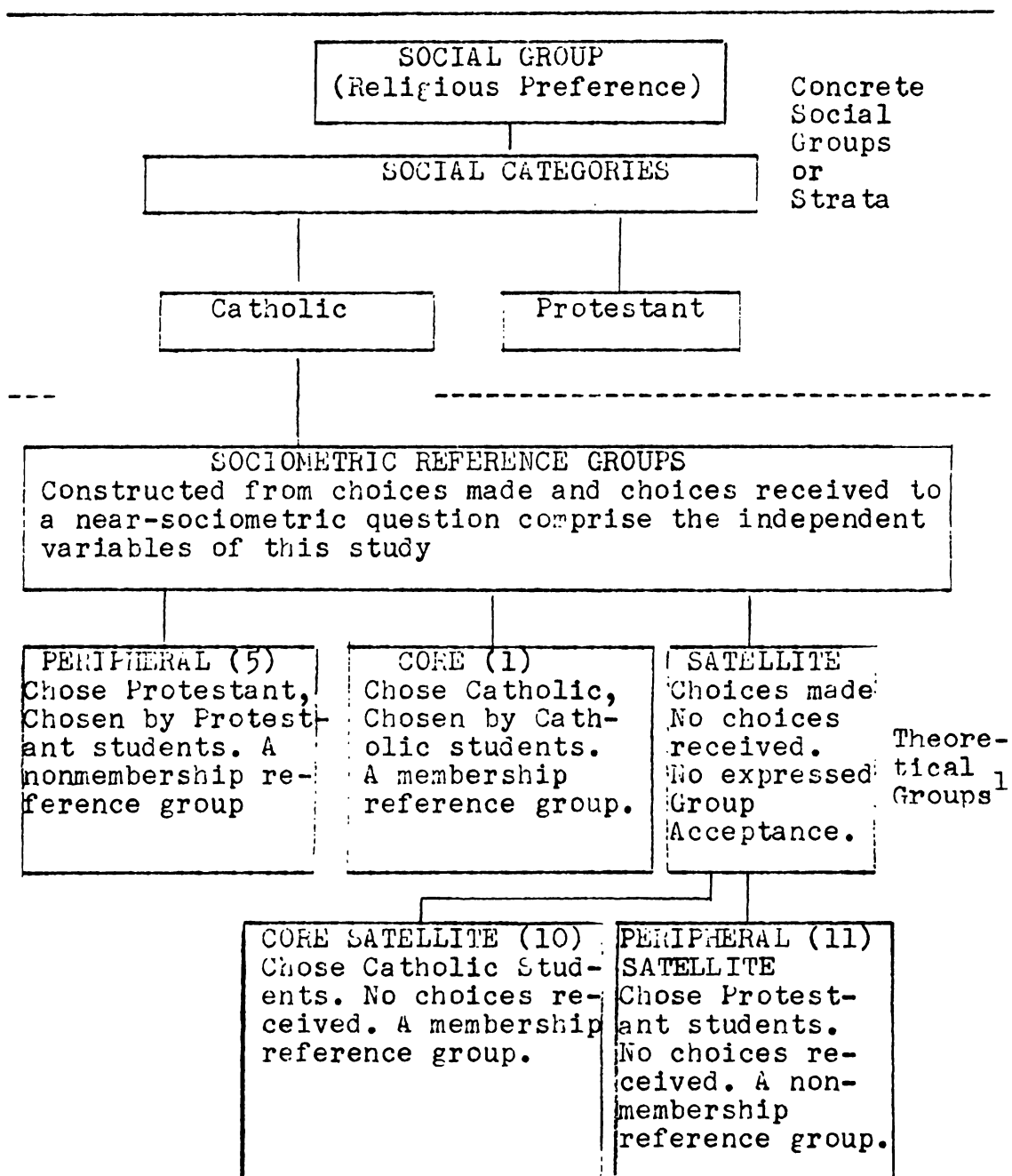
Chart 1. Theoretical Sociometric Reference Groups Formed From a Twofold Matrix of Choices Made and Choices Received to a Sociometric Question in which Only One Choice Was Allowed

		Choices Received			
		Accepted by Member- ship (In) Group	Accepted by Refer- ence (Out) Group	Accepted by Member- ship and Reference Group (Mixed)	No Choices Received (Isolate)
Row	Col. 1	2	3	0	
All Choices Made In Membership (1) Group (In)	Subgroup 1 (In-In) (1 - 1)	Subgroup 4 (Out-In) (2 - 1)	Subgroup 7 (Mixed-In) (3 - 1)	Subgroup 10 (Iso.-In) (0 - 1)	
All Choices Made Outside (2) Membership Group (Out)	Subgroup 2 (In-Out) (1 - 2)	Subgroup 5 (Out-Out) (2 - 2)	Subgroup 8 (Mixed-Out) (3 - 2)	Subgroup 11 (Iso.-Out) (0 - 2)	
Choices Made In Membership (3) and Refer- ence Groups (Mixed)	Subgroup 3 (In-Mix.) (1 - 3)	Subgroup 6 (Out-Mix.) (2 - 3)	Subgroup 9 (Mix.-Mix.) (3 - 3)	Subgroup 12 (Iso.-Mix.) (0 - 3)	
Choices Made Outside Grade (4)	Subgroup 13 (In-Out- side)	Subgroup 14 (Out-Out- side)	Subgroup 15 (Mix.-Out- side)	Subgroup 16 (Iso.-Out- side)	
No Choices Made (5)	Subgroup 17 (In-None) (1 - 0)	Subgroup 18 (Out-None) (2 - 0)	Subgroup 19 (Mix.-None) (3 - 0)	Subgroup 20 (Iso.-None) (0 - 0)	

Note: The first entries within the parentheses (Columns 1-0) refer to choices received; the second, to choices made. This study will be concerned with sociometric reference groups 1, 5, 10 and 11.



Paradigm 3. Showing the Derivation of the Four Types of Sociometric Reference Groups Employed in this Thesis, Numbered According to Chart I (1, 5, 10 and 11), for One Social Category, Religious Preference. (Based on One Choice Only)



1. Theoretical groups are obtained from concrete social groups by the application of logic to sociometric choice phenomena; and are capable of empirical categorization and analysis.



MICHIGAN
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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. _____

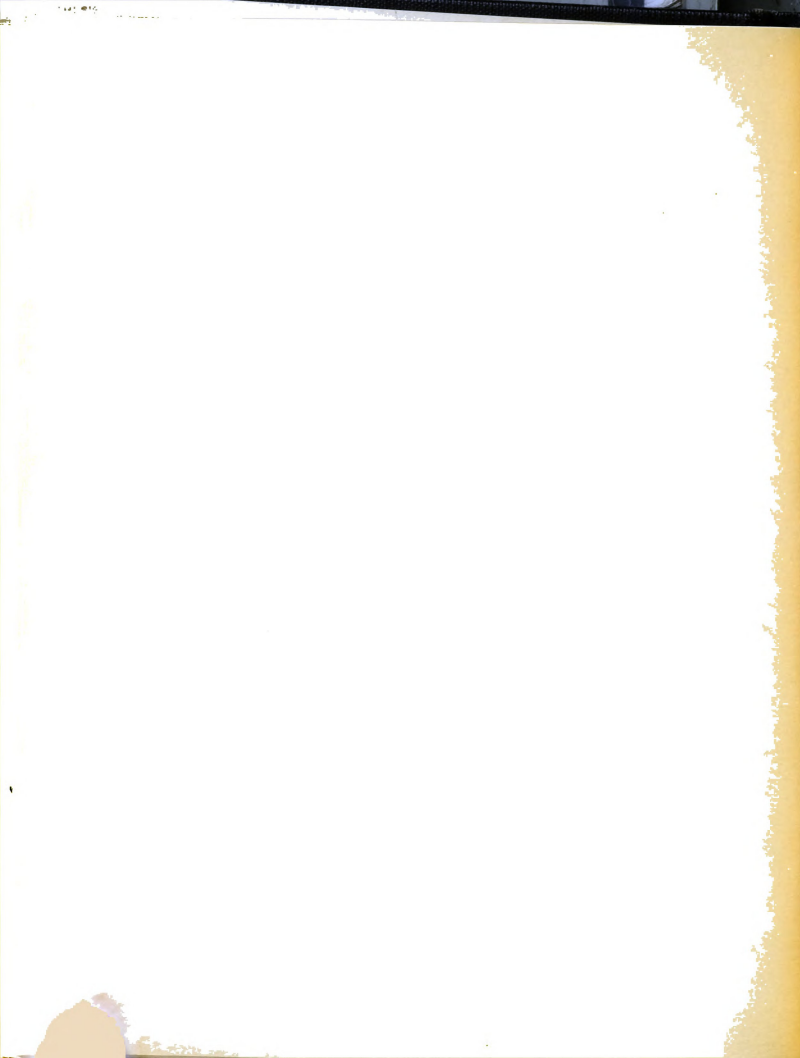
5. How far do you live from school? (Put a circle around the right number.)

Number of miles: $\frac{1}{2}$ 1 $1\frac{1}{2}$ 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? _____



-2-

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

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

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 not 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

-3-

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 Coldwater?
(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 you 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.

-4-

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. _____

-5-

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

-6-

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 right around where you live, 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 around 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)

-7-

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

-8-

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

-9-

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

-10-

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".

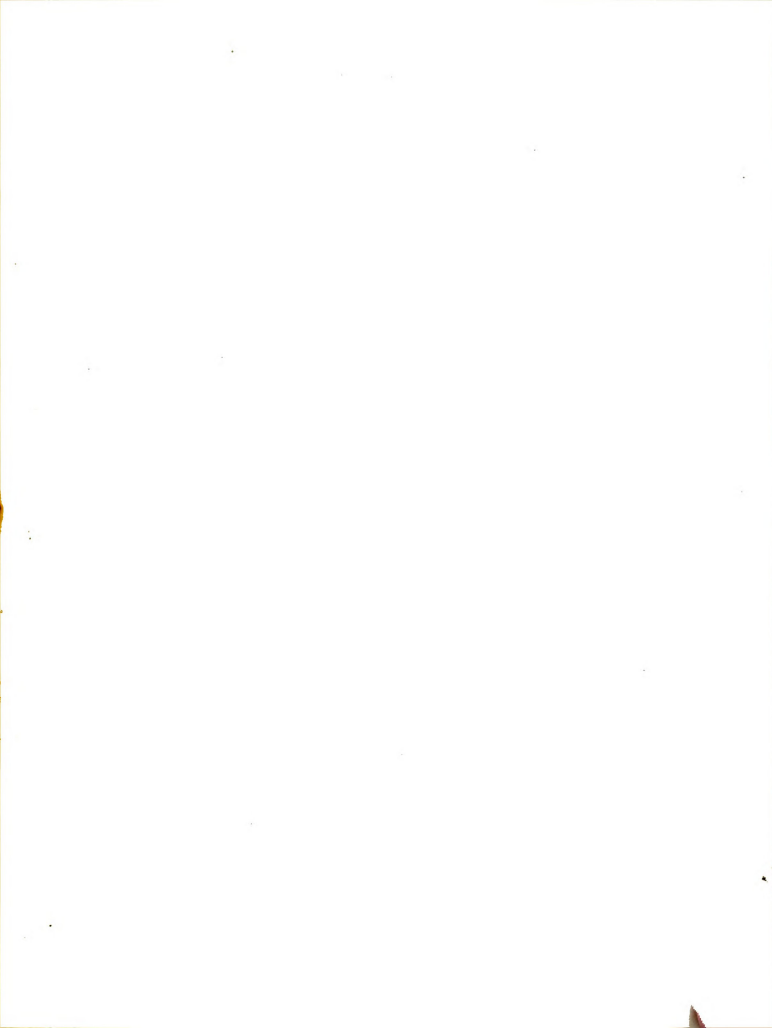
_____ No
_____ I cannot quite agree
_____ I agree completely

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

-11-

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



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