

PERSONAL VALUES AS FACTORS IN ANTI-SEMITISM

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A THESIS

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

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Psychology

1950

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The writer wishes to thank Dr. Milton Rokeach for his criticism and advice in the writing of this dissertation. The writer also wishes to thank Dr. S. Howard Bartley, Dr. M. Ray Denny, Dr. Donald M. Johnson, and Dr. Harry Sundwall for their valuable suggestions, and Dr. Daniel J. Levinson of Harvard University for his kindness in permitting the use of the Anti-Semitism Scale.

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## INTRODUCTION

In the past several years there has been a trend in social psychology and personality research toward studying the personality of the so-called prejudiced individual<sup>1</sup> in terms of comparing it with the personality of the so-called unprejudiced individual. Led by the excellent contributions of investigators such as Adorno et al (1), Hartley (21), Allport and Kramer (4), Rokeach (39), Rosenblith (40), and Gough (19), the trend has resulted in not only a clearer picture of the personality structure of the prejudiced individual, but has indicated strongly that prejudice toward minority groups tends to be only one of a constellation of attitudes that interact in such a manner that the individual possessing it might well be described as an "anti-democratic personality", a phrase suggested by Adorno, et al (1).

An individual in our society who is quite concerned with the problem of the effect of the presence of these undemocratic individuals might well raise the question of exactly what the purpose of these personality studies might be in terms of reorganizing the behavior patterns of individuals possessing them. In the writer's opinion, combatting prejudice and related attitudes and behavior hinges primarily on a thorough knowledge of the personality of the prejudiced individual. Only through such knowledge can we hope to begin to understand what the essential factors in a re-education program would have to be. We might liken this situation to the therapeutic situation

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<sup>1</sup> The term "prejudice" refers here to biased, discriminating attitudes and behavior toward members of minority groups.

between psychiatrist and patient. The psychiatrist could hardly even begin to effect a cure without as nearly a complete understanding of the patient's personality as is possible for the psychiatrist to obtain.<sup>1</sup>

The problem is further complicated by the fact that we are, as we attempt to re-educate the bigots, in reality dealing with a great number of individual personalities simultaneously. It is for this reason particularly important to determine what the personalities of prejudiced individuals have in common. From this standpoint the previously mentioned studies have particular significance. They have demonstrated that certain personality variables are to be found in intolerant individuals as a group, just as certain personality variables are to be found in tolerant individuals as a group.

It is with this orientation that the writer has proceeded in the present study. Any conclusions that may be reached which tend to indicate personality traits that prejudiced individuals have in common, the writer feels, will add to the comprehensive knowledge of the personality of the intolerant individual that we must have before we can successfully execute a deep-rooted re-education program aimed at reducing minority group prejudice and related un-democratic attitudes and behavior in our culture.

#### General Problem

Krech and Crutchfield (26) clearly recognize the importance of

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<sup>1</sup> Even in the so-called non-directive approach the therapist is gaining implicitly a knowledge of the patient's personality.

values in the personality of the individual when they state:<sup>1</sup> "An integrated personality is one in which the needs, demands, and goals-- instead of functioning as separate, segmented parts of the behavior-- work together optimally in a way that is self-consistent, mutually reinforcing, and nonconflicting. And this integration is mainly possible through the individual's system of values,<sup>2</sup> ideals, and ideology." The further importance of values in personality has been underlined in a recent symposium (54) devoted entirely to the problem of "Values in Personality Research." The underlying approach in this symposium is to consistently point out the importance of values in personality structure.

In the studies dealing with the personalities of the prejudiced individual as contrasted with the unprejudiced individual, the importance of values as such has not been stressed adequately. However, some of these studies have suggested that certain value differences might well be present in tolerant and intolerant individuals. In fact, mention of values that might parallel Spranger's (43) six values, that is, theoretical, economic, aesthetic, social, political, and religious are referred to in some of these studies.<sup>3</sup> For example, in The Authoritarian Personality (1), it was pointed out that individuals high in prejudice in reply to the questions, "What experience would be most awe-inspiring for you?" made replies that placed emphasis upon political values, "superficial religious" values, and economic values. In

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<sup>1</sup> p. 68 above cit.

<sup>2</sup> The underlining is the writer's.

<sup>3</sup> For a complete description of Spranger's six values c.f. App. I.

response to the same question, individuals low in prejudice made responses which placed emphasis on aesthetic values, theoretical values, and social values.

In Problems in Prejudice (21), Hartley points out: "There seems to be a tendency for the individuals at the tolerant extreme<sup>1</sup> to be interested in imaginative activity and preoccupied with inner processes." He then proceeds to quote from Murray (37) and states: "These individuals tend to have an imaginative, subjective human outlook, a preoccupation with inner activities: feelings, fantasies, generalizations, theoretical reflections (Spranger's theoretical value), artistic conceptions (Spranger's aesthetic value)".

In some of the other studies as well, we may by implication note references to values such as those postulated by Spranger. Allport and Kramer (4) and Rosenblith (41) in using a question such as, "Are you particularly prone to sympathize with any underdog?" and finding that tolerant individuals are significantly more likely to answer "yes" to this question than the intolerant individual, are apparently recording a response which would be consistent with Spranger's description of the social value.

However, in each of these studies no direct investigation of the values present in the personality structure of the prejudiced individual as against the unprejudiced individual is made. It is for this reason that the writer believes that such an investigation might well be in order. Are there relationships present between certain values

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<sup>1</sup> Reference is made here to individuals scoring high on objective tests of prejudice.



and prejudice? Are there patterns of values in prejudiced individuals which differ significantly from patterns of values in relatively unprejudiced individuals?

This problem has other aspects, as well. One of the other aspects of the problem is concerned with the role of values in the way the individual chooses to justify the absence or presence of prejudiced attitudes. For example, if individuals are asked to justify the fact that they are or are not prejudiced against a minority group by stating as many reasons as they can for being or not being prejudiced, will an analysis of these reasons reveal the definite influence of the individual's dominant values in their composition?

Still another aspect of the problem is suggested by the aspect considered above. To what extent is the number of reasons given for being or not being prejudiced an index of the actual intensity of the prejudiced attitudes? Would the prejudiced individual be able to give more reasons for and fewer reasons for not being prejudiced than the unprejudiced individual?

The present paper, therefore, will deal with certain aspects of the problem of values as factors in prejudice. It will include a study of the relationship between values and prejudice, a comparison of value patterns present in prejudiced and unprejudiced individuals, an analysis of the role that values may play in the composition of reasons for prejudice, and a quantitative analysis of these reasons to determine the extent to which they are an index of the relative strength of prejudice.

## Criteria of Values and Prejudice

In approaching the general problem of values as factors in prejudice, the problem of what can be used as criteria of values and prejudice presents itself.

Criterion of Values. With respect to the criterion of values, if values are factors in prejudice, they would probably be potent motivating or dynamic parts of the individual's personality structure and may function in the manner suggested by Krech and Crutchfield (26)<sup>1</sup> when they state: "Values for the individual...come to have what seems to him an external existence; they...demand on his part action that is often at variance with his immediate personal desires."

As was suggested previously in the present paper, values which at least by implication parallel Spranger's six values, that is, theoretical, economic, aesthetic, social, political, and religious, were observed to exist in personality descriptions of prejudiced and unprejudiced individuals. Therefore, it might be expected that if a scale designed to measure Spranger's six values possesses a satisfactory degree of validity and reliability, it could serve as the criterion of values in the present study. Just such a scale is the Allport-Vernon Study of Values (50).<sup>2</sup>

Concerning the problem of the validity of the Study of Values, Vernon and Allport (50)<sup>3</sup> state: "When the ratings (the average of

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<sup>1</sup> p. 413 above cit.

<sup>2</sup> c.f. App. III.

<sup>3</sup> For a detailed account of the scoring procedure, standardization, etc. c.f. Vernon and Allport (50) and also App. I.

five external and one self-rating in a group of 48 subjects) are correlated with the total test, one obtains a coefficient of plus .532. But since the reliability of all the ratings was only plus .589, the theoretical agreement between test and ratings, corrected for attenuation, is plus .826, a figure very close to that for the theoretical validity (plus .85). Fair agreement has also been found between test scores and results of certain related tests such as the Freyd and Strong interest blanks and a word association method. The Rorschach inkblots give high correlations with aesthetic values."

Allport and Vernon, as a further approach to validation, administered the scale to certain groups whose value patterns might be predicted on an a priori basis. For example, they found that men were significantly higher than women in theoretical, economic, and political values while women were significantly higher in aesthetic, social, and religious values. They found that individuals in business tended to be high in economic values, psychologists and other scientists high in theoretical values, theologians high in religious values, boy scout leaders high in social values, politicians high in political values, and that individuals in the field of literature, were high in aesthetic values.

The reliability of the Study of Values was determined by computing split-half and repeat reliability coefficients for each of the six values and for the scale as a whole. In a typical group, the split-half reliability coefficients were .62, .72, .84, .49, .53, and .84 for theoretical, economic, aesthetic, social, political, and religious values respectively. The repeat reliabilities were .66, .71, .84, .39,

.55 and .80 in the same order, for the six values. The split-half reliability of the whole scale was .70, and the repeat reliability was .82.

Further evidence indicating the validity and reliability of the Study of Values is presented by Cantril and Allport (9)<sup>1</sup> when they state: "...the evidence from recent applications of the Study of Values must be interpreted as establishing these values...as self-consistent, pervasive, enduring, and above all, generalized traits of personality. Several experiments demonstrate a clear relationship between values and conduct. They show that a person's activity is not determined exclusively by the stimulus of the moment, nor by a merely transient interest, nor by a specific attitude peculiar to each situation which he encounters. The experiments prove, on the contrary, that general evaluative attitudes enter into various common activities in every-day life, and in so doing help to account for the consistencies of personality."<sup>2</sup>

It appears that the validity and reliability of the Study of Values is generally satisfactory; consequently, the writer believes that Spranger's six values as measured by the Allport-Vernon Study of Values provide an adequate criterion of values for the present study.

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<sup>1</sup> p. 272 above cit.

<sup>2</sup> For a more complete description of the studies cited by Cantril and Allport and other studies employing the Study of Values c.f. Allport and Vernon (6), Cantril (8), Cantril, Rand, and Allport (10), Harris (20), Mallory (34), Pintner (38), Stone (45), Vernon (49), Whitely (51), Postman, Bruner, and McGinnies (39), McGinnies (32), McGinnies and Bowles (33).

However, the reader should be made aware of certain criticisms of the Study of Values that should be taken into account in interpreting results of research which employs it. In examining the reliability data, one definite weakness of the scale appears. This is the relatively unreliable social value sub-scale. Since the Study of Values yields only relative value scores for each of the six values (the total score combined from all six value sub-scales cannot exceed 180), it is quite evident that one unreliable sub-scale would automatically tend to reduce the reliability and indirectly the validity of the other five sub-scales.

Another possible criticism of the scale is that even though Spranger represents each of the six values as being relatively unrelated to any of the others, a factor analysis study of the Study of Values by Lurie (31) and a study by Wickert (53) show that significant correlations exist between the political and economic values and between the theoretical and aesthetic values. Although these facts in themselves may only indicate what one would logically expect, that in the personality structure of individuals certain values may tend to be inter-related, it nevertheless shows that six specific factors have not been clearly isolated, at least in terms of what the Allport-Vernon scale measures.

Criterion of Prejudice. The writer believes that if prejudice is limited to racial prejudice and it is defined in such a manner that it can be measured in a valid and reliable manner by a given attitude scale, an adequate criterion of prejudice in the present study will be assured.

Racial prejudice may be defined in the manner that it was previously defined in the present paper as biased, discriminating attitudes and behavior toward members of minority groups, or we may choose to accept Krech and Crutchfield's definition (26)<sup>1</sup> which is: "Racial prejudice is to be defined as referring to attitudes and beliefs concerning any minority racial, ethnic, or national group that are disadvantageous to the members of that group."

A particular type of racial prejudice, anti-Semitism, will be considered because in dealing with the phase of the general problem which involves the analysis of reasons for prejudice, limiting prejudice to just one minority group will expedite the tasks of both investigator and subjects. Furthermore, the personality of the anti-Semitic individual may have certain unique qualities (even though, as brought out by Levinson (1), anti-Semitism is positively correlated, .82, with ethnocentrism<sup>2</sup>) which in themselves might prove valuable objects of study.

An attitude scale which should meet our requirements of possessing an adequate degree of validity and reliability in measuring anti-Semitism is the Levinson-Sanford Anti-Semitism Scale (27)<sup>3</sup>. Levinson and Sanford point out, with respect to the problem of establishing the

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<sup>1</sup> p. 444 above cit.

<sup>2</sup> The term, "Ethnocentrism", was first used by Sumner (46) in 1906. In its present use in the social psychological literature it refers to a prejudiced pattern involving a relatively consistent frame of mind concerning "out-groupers" or "aliens" in general.

<sup>3</sup> For a detailed account of the scoring procedure, standardization, etc. c. f. Levinson and Sanford (27). c.f. also App. II for a copy of this scale.

validity of the scale, that the scores on the scale made by members of certain groups conformed to what might be expected on the basis of empirical observations of the attitudes and behavior of members of these groups. For example, it was found that Republicans made significantly higher scores than did Democrats, Protestant sectarians and Catholics made higher scores than did the non-religious, the non-sectarian Protestants and the Unitarians, sorority members made higher scores than did non-members, individuals of high income made higher scores than individuals of low income. Levinson and Sanford (27)<sup>1</sup> commenting on these findings state: "If anti-Semitism scores did not turn out to be meaningfully related to such factors...common sense would decree that the scale be discarded."

Another basis for establishing the validity of the scale is brought out by Levinson and Sanford (27)<sup>2</sup> then they state: "If a subject is against the Jews he may be expected, from everyday observation, to be against certain other things as well; and if he favors organizations or individuals who are on record as being anti-Semitic he should, if the present scale is valid, obtain a relatively high score." In support of this contention it was found that individuals who on a group of attitude items demonstrated approval of Labor Unions, "Socialism", "Race Equality", and the Communist Party scored significantly below average on the anti-Semitism scale, while individuals who approved the American Legion and Father Coughlin scored significantly above average on the scale.

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<sup>1</sup> p. 365 above cit.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

A final basis for validating the items on the scale was in terms of the scores made by 13 members of a control group. This group consisted of graduate students and faculty members in the Department of Psychology at the University of California. In view of the general liberalism, social attitudes, group memberships, and open opposition to chauvinism and prejudice of members in this group, it was believed that the scores that they made on the scale would be useful as validating data, if their scores fell at the extreme low end of the scale. A mean score in this group (the possible range of scores on the scale is from 52 to 364) of only 86 and a range of from 57 to 120 supported this belief.

The split-half method was employed in determining the reliability of the scale. The total scores of each subject on the odd and even items were correlated. The reliability coefficient obtained was .96, which was raised to .98 when corrected by means of the Spearman-Brown formula.

These data suggest that the validity and reliability of the Levinson-Sanford Anti-Semitism Scale is satisfactory; consequently, the writer believes that anti-Semitism as measured by this scale provides an adequate criterion of anti-Semitism for the present study.

As was pointed out in the case of the Study of Values, however, certain weaknesses are also present in the anti-Semitism scale which the reader should take into account as he interprets results of research which employs it. Gough (19)<sup>1</sup> points to what the present writer thinks

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<sup>1</sup> p. 3. above cit.



are particularly vulnerable aspects of the scale when he states: "... the questions are largely extremist and vindictive. It may well be that only that portion of 'prejudiced' people who are also willing to admit rather strong and militant dislikes will be identified by the test. For this reason the scale may be somewhat self-defeating, for the consistently negativistic character of the items would serve to lower the scores of intolerant, but overly conventional subjects.

"Thinking such as this also raises the question as to whether the dimension which is primarily being isolated with a scale such as this might not be a factor of general disgust, misanthropy, querulousness, and asperity, which, although highly correlated with the basic attitudinal continuum under scrutiny, is not isomorphic with it. It is clear that such factors are discoverable in the sphere of personality testing (35), where it has been convincingly shown that habits and styles of verbal behavior frequently serve to obscure the measurement of the variables of fundamental interest. Thus there is at least one known factor, a tendency to talk in certain ways about oneself, which varies independently of psychopathology, but which nevertheless obtrudes itself upon the measurement process. It is conceivable that similar tendencies influence scores on the Levinson-Sanford scale, where their presence would constitute a systematic bias. Such a contingency would certainly not invalidate the scale, but it would underscore the need for reserving judgment about propositions concerning anti-Semitism in general until corroboratory findings can be achieved with other scales and techniques.

"Another criticism of the Levinson-Sanford scale which has been made is that some of the items scored as indicative of intolerance actually are rated as betokening tolerance by some judges (14). This criticism would seem to be somewhat tangential when one recalls that the climate or atmosphere invoked by the scale as a whole will ordinarily dissipate any ambiguity or ambivalence of meaning which might be shown to attach to a few items when considered independently and separately."

However, the present writer agrees with Gough (19) when he concludes: "The general conclusion that the scale provides a useful index of certain kinds of social intolerance and anti-Semitism seems justified. Furthermore, high scores would unmistakably refer to subjects holding relatively unfavorable and even rancorous attitudes, but at the same time, some subjects of perhaps equal animosity will not be identified as a consequence of the transparent and unconcealed import of the test items employed."

## HYPOTHESES TO BE TESTED

In order to formulate hypotheses concerning the relationship between anti-Semitism and the six values, certain personality mechanisms that Adorno, et al (1) report are present to a pronounced extent in prejudiced individuals and are absent or minimized in unprejudiced individuals, have been selected on the basis of their possible relationship to the six values. If in terms of Spranger's descriptions of each of the six value types, the presence or absence of these mechanisms can be deduced, it would appear that a basis for constructing hypotheses concerning the relationship between each value and anti-Semitism is present.

The mechanisms that will be considered in formulating our hypotheses are as follows:<sup>1</sup>

- (1) Conventionalism. A tendency to adhere rigidly to conventional middle class standards and all that this implies.
- (2) Anti-intrasection. An unwillingness to gain psychological insight into personal motives or the deep-rooted problems of humanity. This includes a resistance to being dominated by feelings, fantasies, speculations, and aspirations. (This, of course, is the lack of intrasection.)
- (3) Extrasection. The tendency to be dominated by concrete, clearly observable, physical conditions. (This would be expected to be frequently present in the anti-intrasectionive individual.)

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<sup>1</sup> c.f. the Authoritarian Personality (1) pp. 228-240 for a detailed discussion of these mechanisms and others present in the personality of the prejudiced individual.

(4) Stereotypy. A disposition to think in rigid categories.

This would, of course, include accepting pre-conceived notions of people and things and making judgments on that basis.

(5) Power and "toughness". A preoccupation with strong-weak, leader-follower ideas which includes a "get tough" attitude toward the weak. A strong identification with power figures is also present.

(6) Projectivity. Suppressed impulses tend to be projected onto other individuals who are then blamed "out of hand".

Only those mechanisms which can be clearly related to the values on the basis of Spranger's descriptions, will be discussed as a basis for the hypotheses to be presented here.

In order to facilitate the presentation of these hypotheses, each individual value will be discussed and hypotheses concerning its relationship to anti-Semitism will be stated. This will be followed by hypotheses concerning value hierarchies in anti-Semitism and the role of values in justifying anti-Semitism.

#### Theoretical Values and Anti-Semitism

Allport and Vernon (5)<sup>1</sup> briefly summarize Spranger's theoretical value type as follows:<sup>2</sup> "The dominant interest of the theoretical man is the discovery of truth. In the pursuit of this goal he

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<sup>1</sup> c.f. App. I.

<sup>2</sup> For a fuller account of this value and the other values, the reader should, of course, refer directly to Types of Men (43), in which Spranger, presents the point of view that the personalities of men are best known through a study of their values or evaluative attitudes. Although his values are essentially a priori, they seem to have had wide applications in personality theory.

characteristically takes a "cognitive" attitude, one that looks for identities and differences; one that divests itself of judgments regarding the beauty or utility of objects, and seeks only to observe and to reason. Since the interests of the theoretical man are empirical, critical, and rational, he is necessarily an intellectualist, frequently a scientist or philosopher. His chief aim in life is to order and to systematize his knowledge."

On the basis of this description we could expect the theoretical individual possibly to react against conventionality, be intrceptive, and reject stereotypy.

The reasons for the predicted presence of these characteristics are as follows:

- (1) An individual whose dominant interest is the "discovery of truth", would probably be relatively unconcerned about the extent to which he conformed to conventions; in fact, if nonconformity aided him in the realization of his goal, he would undoubtedly not hesitate to violate conventions.
- (2) The individual, who is "empirical, critical, and rational" and is a scientist or philosopher would be interested in developing all types of insights, physical and psychological. Therefore, rather than be anti-intrceptive, he would tend to be intrceptive.<sup>1</sup>
- (3) The critical attitude that is present in the theoretical

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<sup>1</sup> A dominant empirical attitude in some theoretical individuals may possibly also make them somewhat extrceptive as well.

individual would result in a rejection of stereotypy, since stereotypy cannot withstand the test of critical analysis.

On the basis of these deductions, the following hypothesis relative to theoretical values and anti-Semitism may be stated: In view of the relative intraceptiveness and the rejection of rigid conventionality, and stereotypy, by theoretical individuals, the presence of strong theoretical values in the personality structure of individuals would be incongruent with anti-Semitism.

#### Economic Values and Anti-Semitism

Allport and Vernon (5)<sup>1</sup> briefly summarize Spranger's economic value type as follows: "The economic man is characteristically interested in what is useful. Based originally upon the satisfaction of bodily needs (self-preservation), the interest in utilities develops to embrace the practical affairs of the business world--the production, marketing, and consumption of goods, the elaboration of credit, and the accumulation of tangible wealth. This type is thoroughly "practical" and conforms well to the prevailing stereotype of the average American business man.

"The economic attitude frequently comes into conflict with other values. The economic man wants education to be practical and regards unapplied knowledge as waste. Great feats of engineering, Taylorism, pragmatism, and 'applied psychology' result from the demands which economic men make upon science. The value of utility likewise conflicts with the aesthetic value, excepting when art serves commercial ends.

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<sup>1</sup> c.f. App. I.

Without feeling inappropriateness in his act, the economic man may denude a beautiful hillside or befoul a river with industrial refuse. In his personal life he is likely to confuse luxury with beauty. In his relations with people he is more likely to be interested in surpassing them in wealth than in dominating them (political attitude) or in serving them (social attitude). In some cases the economic man may be said to make his religion the worship of Mammon. In other instances, however, he may have regard for the traditional God, but inclines to consider Him as the giver of good gifts, of wealth, prosperity, and other tangible blessings."

On the basis of this description it could be expected that the economic individual is anti-intrceptive, extrceptive, and prone to stereotypy and projectivity.

The reasons for the predicted presence of these characteristics are as follows:

- (1) Anti-intrceptiveness would be present, since to the "practical" economic individual it would be difficult to see any "applied" value to insights of an emotional or psychological nature. He would probably, therefore, resist such insights.
- (2) Extrceptiveness in his personality structure would result from his concern with the "tangible" or concrete.
- (3) Stereotypy, especially with respect to a group such as the Jews, would be present, since as Katz and Braly (23) point out, stereotypes concerning the Jews predominantly refer to economic aggressiveness; consequently, acceptance of such stereotypes would serve as good rationalizations for the

failures of the economic individual.

- (4) Projectivity would also be expected, since by virtue of accepting these economic stereotypes, a convenient object of blame for the suppressed economic impulses of the economic individual is available to him.

On the basis of these deductions, the following hypothesis relative to economic values and anti-Semitism may be stated: In view of the anti-intracaptiveness, extracaptiveness, stereotypy and projectivity of the highly economic individual, strong economic values would be congruent with anti-Semitism.

#### Aesthetic Values and Anti-Semitism

Allport and Vernon (5)<sup>1</sup> briefly summarize Spranger's aesthetic value type as follows: "The aesthetic man sees his highest value in form and harmony. Each single experience is judged from the standpoint of grace, symmetry, or fitness. He regards life as a manifold of events; each single impression is enjoyed for its own sake. He need not be a creative artist; nor need he be effete; he is aesthetic if he but finds his chief interest in the artistic episodes of life.

"The aesthetic attitude is in a sense diametrically opposed to the theoretical; the former is concerned with the diversity, and the latter with the identities of experience. The aesthetic man chooses, with Keats, to consider truth as equivalent to beauty, or else to agree with Mencken, that, 'to make a thing charming is a million times more

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<sup>1</sup> c.f. App. I.



important than to make it true.' In the economic sphere the aesthetic sees the process of manufacturing, advertising, and trade as a wholesale destruction of the values most important to him. In social affairs he may be said to be interested in persons but not in the welfare of persons; he tends toward individualism and self-sufficiency. Aesthetic people often like the beautiful insignia of pomp and power, but oppose political activity when it makes for the repression of individuality. In the field of religion they are likely to confuse beauty with purer religious experience."

On the basis of this description it would be expected that the aesthetic individual would place little emphasis on conventionalism, be intrceptive, react against extrceptiveness, and would not be preoccupied with power and "toughness".

The reasons for predicting the presence of these characteristics in the aesthetic individual are as follows:

- (1) Since he "tends toward individualism and self-sufficiency", it can readily be seen that rigid middle-class conventionalism would be reacted against by the aesthetic individual.
- (2) The subjective emotionality involved in aesthetic experiences, so important to the aesthetic individual, would be inconsistent with anti-intrceptiveness, so he would more likely be intrceptive.
- (3) Since the aesthetic experience is highly abstract, it would be diametrically opposed to extrceptiveness, which involves a domination by the concrete.
- (4) Because power "makes for the repression of individuality",

something highly undesirable to the aesthetic individual, it would be unlikely that he would be preoccupied with the importance of power.

On the basis of these deductions, the following hypothesis relative to aesthetic values and anti-Semitism may be stated: In view of the intraceptiveness and reactions against rigid conventionalism, extraceptiveness, and power by aesthetic individuals, strong aesthetic values and anti-Semitism would be incongruent.

#### Social Values and Anti-Semitism

Allport and Vernon (5)<sup>1</sup> briefly summarize Spranger's social value type as follows: "The highest value for this type is love of people; whether of one or many, whether conjugal, filial, friendly, or philanthropic. The social man prizes other persons as ends, and is therefore himself kind, sympathetic, and unselfish. He is likely to find the theoretical, economic, and aesthetic attitudes cold and inhuman. In contrast to the political type, the social man regards love as itself the only suitable form of power, or else repudiates the entire conception of power as endangering the integrity of personality. In its purest form the social interest is selfless and tends to approach very closely to the religious attitude."

On the basis of this description, it would be expected that the social individual would be intraceptive, react against extraceptiveness, stereotypy, and power and "toughness".

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<sup>1</sup> c.f. App. I.

The reasons for the predicted presence of these characteristics in the social individual are as follows:

- (1) Because of the social individual's great regard for others and his great capacity for sympathy and kindness, it would be expected that he is capable of the emotional subjectivity that is a part of intraceptiveness.
- (2) His great emphasis on "love", an abstract entity, would indicate that he is not dominated by the concrete and would therefore tend not to be extraceptive.
- (3) The great interest in "persons as ends" would indicate that he would not be inclined to accept negativistic, pre-conceived attitudes towards people. Consequently, he would tend to reject stereotypy.
- (4) Since he "regards love as itself the only suitable form of power", he would not be preoccupied with ideas of personal power and manifest "get tough" attitudes toward the weak.

On the basis of these deductions, the following hypothesis relative to social values and anti-Semitism may be stated: In view of the intraceptiveness and rejection of extraceptiveness, stereotypy, and power the social individual, strong social values and anti-Semitism would be incongruent.

#### Political Values and Anti-Semitism

Allport and Vernon (5)<sup>1</sup> briefly summarize Spranger's political value type as follows: "The political man is interested primarily in

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<sup>1</sup> c.f. App. I.

power. His activities are not necessarily within the narrow field of politics; but whatever his vocation he betrays himself as a Machtmensch. Leaders in any field generally have high power values. Since competition and struggle play a large part in all life, many philosophers have seen power as the most universal and most fundamental of motives. There are, however, certain personalities in whom the desire for a direct expression of this motive is uppermost, who wish above all else for personal power, influence, and renown."

On the basis of this description we could expect the political individual to be anti-intrceptive, extrceptive, preoccupied with power and "toughness", and prone to projectivity.

The reasons for the predicted presence of these characteristics are as follows:

- (1) Since the political individual is interested primarily in the attainment of power, it would be expected that he would become impatient with anything that he could interpret as being not directly related to that goal; consequently, a reaction against psychological insights would be expected, since they probably would not appear to him directly related to his goal. Thus he would apparently be anti-intrceptive.
- (2) The concrete and clearly observable would probably dominate his cognitive structure, since he could, through them, see material evidence of his progress toward his goal. This would be consistent with extrceptiveness.
- (3) Because he is completely dominated by the drive toward power, it would be expected that the power and "toughness" mechanism

would be operating to an extreme degree in the political individual.

- (4) It is quite probable that the political individual with his preoccupation with power would be quick to project his suppressed power impulses onto minority groups such as Jews who may appear to be threats, placing blame on them, even as did the fascist dictators, Hitler and Mussolini.

On the basis of these deductions, the following hypothesis relative to political values and anti-Semitism may be stated: In view of the anti-intracaptiveness, extracaptiveness, preoccupation with power, and projectivity of the highly political individual, strong political values and anti-Semitism would be congruent.

#### Religious Values and Anti-Semitism

Allport and Vernon (5)<sup>1</sup> briefly summarize Spranger's religious value type as follows: "The highest value of the religious man may be called unity. He is mystical, and seeks to comprehend the cosmos as a whole, to relate himself to its embracing totality." Spranger defines the religious man as one 'whose mental structure is permanently directed to the creation of the highest and absolutely satisfying value experience.' Some men of this type are 'immanent mystics', that is, they find in the affirmation of life and in active participating therein their religious experience. A Faust with his zest and enthusiasm sees something divine in every event. The 'transcendental mystic' on the other

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<sup>1</sup> c.f. App. I.

hand seeks to unite himself with a higher reality by withdrawing from life; he is the ascetic, and, like the holy men of India, finds the experience of unity through self-denial and meditation. In many individuals the negation and affirmation of life alternate to yield the greatest satisfaction."

On the basis of this description we could expect the religious individual to be intrceptive, react against extrceptiveness, and not be preoccupied with power and "toughness."

The reasons for the predicted presence of these characteristics are as follows:

- (1) In trying to "relate himself" to the "embracing totality" of the universe, the religious individual would probably be quite concerned with psychological insights which might give him "clues" to this relationship. Thus he would be intrceptive.
- (2) By virtue of his concern with the "mystical", it would appear that he would be relatively unconcerned with the concrete, thus suggesting the absence of extrceptiveness.
- (3) His preoccupation with the higher "unity" would probably deter him from any drives toward personal power or "get tough" attitudes.

On the basis of these deductions, the following hypothesis relative to religious values and anti-Semitism may be stated: In view of the intrception and rejection of extrceptiveness and power by the religious individual, strong religious values would be incongruent with anti-Semitism.

## Value Hierarchies and Anti-Semitism

In the preceding presentation of hypotheses concerning the relationship between each of Spranger's six values and anti-Semitism, the interaction of these values was not stressed. Actually, Spranger is rather emphatic in pointing out that individuals are not just "economic types" or just "social types" in the sense that these particular values are the only ones present in the personality structure of the individual. He points out that a hierarchy of these six values appears in the personality of every individual and the relative intensity of the values is the basis for the "type" label. Certainly, it might be expected that an individual highest in political values and next highest in aesthetic values might well behave differently than an individual highest in political values and next highest in economic values.

It is for this reason that the writer feels that a hypothesis concerning the relative intensity of all six values in the relatively prejudiced and relatively unprejudiced individual should be formulated. The basis for these hypotheses are actually inherent in the theoretical discussions preceding the hypotheses previously drawn in the present paper. On the basis of these previous hypotheses it might be expected that the individual highly anti-Semitic would tend to be highest in political, and economic values and lowest in aesthetic, theoretical, social and religious values. Conversely, it might be expected that the individual relatively low in anti-Semitism would tend to be highest in aesthetic, theoretical, social, and religious values, and lowest in political, and economic, values.

Some support of these contentions is to be found in studies of Lurie (31) and Wickert (53). Both of these investigators report that the political and economic values are significantly correlated in terms of studies of intercorrelations among the Allport-Vernon values, and that the theoretical and aesthetic values are also related to each other, although to a less pronounced extent than are the political and economic values. In addition, Wickert reports that a significant negative correlation exists between the theoretical value and the two "Philistine" values, the economic and the political. However, neither of these investigators found any significant relationship between the religious and social values and any of the others.

The following hypothesis concerning the relative intensity of all of the six values in individuals high and low in anti-Semitism may be stated: In view of the relationship of the values to certain personality mechanisms (intracaptiveness, projectivity, etc.), individuals relatively high in anti-Semitism are dominated by economic and political values; individuals relatively low in anti-Semitism by aesthetic, theoretical, social, and religious values.

#### The Role of Values in Justifying Anti-Semitism

The operation of the mechanism of rationalization in the personality of the individual, would suggest that an individual would have a number of reasons at his disposal to justify attitudes which he possesses. More specifically, with respect to an attitude toward the Jews, it would be expected that consistent with the operation of the mechanism of rationalization, an individual would have reasons supporting his attitude, regardless of whether it was favorable or unfavorable.



Aside from sheer number of reasons at the disposal of the individual to justify his attitude toward the Jews, the character of these reasons would be influenced by other dynamic personality factors. Values present in the individual's personality should function as one of these dynamic factors. A number of recent studies have indicated the dynamic qualities of values as measured by the Allport-Vernon scale. Let us consider some of these studies briefly.

Cantril and Allport (9) report a study by Wollbert in which it was demonstrated the extent to which the value patterns, as measured by the Allport-Vernon scale, were factors in directing the attention of newspaper readers to various topics. An artificial newspaper was constructed which featured articles which might tend to stand out in the perceptual fields of individuals high in the various values. One article that was used had a "lead" that referred to an important sale of works of art, for example, representing the aesthetic value. It was found that significant rank order correlations existed between the articles perceived and the hierarchy of values present in the individuals. Furthermore, significant negative correlations existed between the hierarchy of values and the articles that were "passed over".

Postman, Bruner, and McGinnies (39) presented tachistoscopically stimulus words that were related to each of the six values. For example, such words as "theory" and "verify" were used for the theoretical value, "income" and "wealthy" for the economic, "prayer" and "sacred" for the religious, and so on. The Allport-Vernon Study of Values was administered to the subjects used in the experiment. In all 36 words ( 6 for each value) were presented to the subjects. A record of the recognition

time for each of the words was made and was compared with the scores for each of the six values made by the subjects. A significant relationship between recognition time and value patterns was found, that is, individuals tended to recognize most quickly words that represented the value they scored highest in, least quickly words representing the value that they scored lowest in. In other words, significant agreement between the speed of recognition profiles for the 36 words and the value profiles was found.

Another experiment which demonstrates the dynamic qualities of the values, was conducted by Cantril (8). Cantril was interested in determining whether or not attitudes of the general sort measured by the Allport-Vernon scale would influence association time to specific symbols of these attitudes. Free association time to words representing each of the values was measured with a voice-key circuit. The rank-order for the mean association time to the list of words representing that attitude and the rank-order of the six values was correlated. It was found that significant correlations between the rank-order of each of the values and their corresponding mean association times existed, with the exception of the social value, which as pointed out previously in the present paper, was found to be the least reliable of the six values. Cantril concludes from this data that, "The positive correlation between an individual's acceptance of a particular evaluative attitude and his speed of association time to words which have reference to that attitude would seem to indicate that an individual's attitude exerts a significant influence on a very specific instance of his behavior, viz., his speed of association to words."

McGinnies (32) conducted a somewhat similar experiment and concludes from his results that: "a person will respond sooner to a word symbolizing his highest value area than he will to a word symbolizing his lowest value area. Furthermore, the differences in mean association time for the group were, with the exception of value rank two, in the expected direction; that is, longer association times for less valued words."

A final experiment that might be cited to demonstrate the motivational qualities of the values is an experiment of McGinnies and Bowles (33). In this experiment faces of several individuals appearing in a popular magazine were cut out, pasted on cards, and labeled as minister, scientist, and so on to represent each of the six values. The pictures were presented to a group of subjects tachistoscopically, and the time that it was necessary to associate the face with the occupational label, thus learning to recognize the faces, was recorded. It was found that a significant relationship between the value profiles of the subjects and time required for learning to recognize the faces, was present.

These studies suggest that these values are dynamic factors in the individual's personality; consequently, it would appear plausible to assume that the values could function as "selective determiners" of the types of reasons stated as the individual rationalizes his attitude toward the Jews.

On the basis of these deductions, the following hypothesis relative to the role which values play in justifying favorable or unfavorable attitudes toward Jews: In view of the dynamic qualities of the values

and the operation of the rationalization mechanism, dominant values will be reflected significantly in reasons given for being and not being anti-Semitic, and total number of reasons given will differentiate highs and lows in anti-Semitism.

#### General Comments

In the theoretical discussion preceding the formulation of the hypotheses, the reader will note that only the importance of values as factors in prejudice was stressed. Because of this fact, the writer may have given the impression that the values function in a vacuum, as it were, as determiners of varying degrees of racial prejudice. Actually, on the basis of certain crucial studies of the personality structure of the prejudiced individual<sup>1</sup> and on the basis of observations that might be made based on certain psychological systems,<sup>2</sup> additional factors might be cited as determiners of racial prejudice. These additional factors, it might be pointed out, interact very intimately with the value hierarchy present in the individual's personality as what might be termed functional determiners<sup>3</sup> of prejudiced behavior. In fact, singling out specific determiners of prejudice or any other type of perceptual or behavioral pattern of the individual is a highly artificial

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<sup>1</sup> c.f. p. 1 the present paper.

<sup>2</sup> c.f. Freud (17), Tolman (48), Lewin (28) (29), Dollard, Doob, et al (13).

<sup>3</sup> Functional, or as Bruner and Goodman (7) refer to them, behavioral determinants of perception are "those active, adaptive functions of the organism which lead to the governance and control of all higher-level functions, including perception; the laws of learning and motivation, such personality dynamics as repression, the operation of quasi-temperamental characteristics like introversion and extraversion, social needs and attitudes, and so on." These are contrasted with autochthonous or structural determinants which stem from properties of the nervous system of the organism.

procedure. An ultimate understanding of prejudiced behavior, in the writer's opinion, can only be understood through a complete analysis of the total structure of and influences on the individual personality. Yet, as was brought out previously, an understanding of single determiners of prejudice can still be of great value in a re-education program when it is necessary to deal with a great many individuals simultaneously.

As an example of other interacting functional determiners of prejudice we might point out that intensity of racial prejudice may be influenced by the frustration of needs other than those that might be directly related to the objects of prejudice, by certain emotional factors in the personality development of the individual, or by what may be termed, pathological personality patterns.

Miller and Bugelski in Dollard, Doob, et al (13) give an experimental example of how frustration of needs not directly related to the objects of prejudice may result in an increased amount of prejudice. A group of boys in a camp, who looked forward to their weekly trip into town to attend the Bank Night at the theatre, were frustrated in their desire to get to town by being forced to take a group of tests which were very long and dull. It was found that the attitudes toward two groups of foreigners, Mexicans and Japanese, as measured by tests before and after this frustration, became significantly less favorable after the frustrating set of circumstances.

As an example of how certain emotional factors in the personality development of the individual may function as determiners of racial prejudice, Frenkel-Brunswik and Sanford (18) selected a group of girls

high in anti-Semitism as measured by a test of anti-Semitism and administered certain projective personality devices such as the Thematic Apperception Test, and the Rorschach. In addition, the girls were subjected to clinical interviews. From this study they found that the mechanism of repression apparently stemming from unconscious hatred, meanness, jealousy, and suspicion toward parental figures, was operating in the personality structure of these girls. The investigators conclude that this repression may well be a significant determinant of the anti-Semitic tendencies which they revealed.

The fact that pathological personality patterns may function as a determinant of racial prejudice is brought out by Allport (2) when he suggests that paranoid tendencies, for example, may serve as determiners of anti-Semitism. Krech and Crutchfield (26) commenting on this possibility state:<sup>1</sup> "The paranoid lives in a world of dire suspicions; and, again, if and when he fixates these suspicions (or 'delusions') on members of a specific racial group, we have beliefs and attitudes in the service of the peculiar needs of the pathological paranoid. These beliefs and attitudes give meaning to his actions and justify his behavior."

Thus it can be readily seen that there may be many functional determinants of racial prejudice interacting with the person's value hierarchy. While we are not unmindful of the complex interaction among all of these variables, in the present study we cannot hope to do full justice to all of them. Instead we are restricting ourselves to a study of the role which values play in anti-Semitism.

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<sup>1</sup> p. 449 above cit.

## METHODOLOGY

### Sample

In testing the hypotheses, 169 white, non-Jewish students enrolled in the writer's introductory psychology classes at Michigan State College were used. Table I presents a breakdown of these 169 subjects with respect to sex, religion, college class and number of male veterans and non-veterans. It will be observed that there are 116 males and 53 females in our sample; 121 Protestants, 32 Catholics, and 16 individuals who indicated no religious preference; 10 freshmen, 92 sophomores, 49 juniors, and 18 seniors; 68 male veterans and 48 male non-veterans.

In order to avoid the operation of a "selective factor" in the selection of the subjects, the subjects in the sample were required to attend the experimental testing session involved in the study on the basis of a departmental requirement--that all students enrolled in the introductory psychology course are required to contribute at least three hours outside of class as subjects in psychological experiments.

### Procedure

The entire group of 169 subjects gathered in a large classroom at an appointed time and were given the following instructions: "As you know, you have been requested to be present this evening in order to participate in a public opinion and personality study. Now, I know that it would be very simple for you to merely 'go through the motions' and not honestly give me your full cooperation in doing the few things that will be requested of you. However, you did have to go out of your way a little to come here tonight, and it seems rather foolish, now

TABLE I

A BREAKDOWN OF THE 169 SUBJECTS BY SEX, RELIGION, CLASS,  
AND VETERAN STATUS

Sex	Males	116
	Females	53
Religion	Protestants	121
	Catholics	32
	No Preference	16
Class	Freshmen	10
	Sophomores	92
	Juniors	49
	Seniors	18
Veteran Status	Male Veterans	68
	Male Non-Veterans	48
	Female Veterans	0



that you are here, not to give your full cooperation. Only if you give your full cooperation will this study be worth anything, so please help us out and really cooperate. Answer all questions as honestly as you can, keeping in mind that none of the opinions that you give will in any way be held against you, since you will not be asked to sign your name on any of the forms that you may receive. So please make an honest and sincere effort to cooperate.

"First of all you will be given a general information sheet with a number on it. Fill this in completely. If you have any questions about it, I will be glad to answer them. After you have completely filled in this first sheet, raise your hand and you will be given a second sheet with some questions on it that you are asked to answer. As soon as you get this second sheet place the number that appears on the first sheet in the upper right hand corner of the second sheet. When you have answered all of the questions on the second sheet as completely as you can, raise your hand again and the first two sheets will be collected as a public opinionnaire is passed out to you. Immediately-- as soon as you get this public opinionnaire, place exactly the same number on it in the upper right hand corner as was present on the other two sheets.

"When you have completely filled out the public opinionnaire, raise your hand again and a simple personality test will be given you as the opinionnaire is collected. Again, place the same number in the upper right hand corner on the first page of the personality test. Fill in the personality test completely and leave it on the table in front before you leave.

"Remember, always place the number that is on the first sheet on all materials you receive in the upper right hand corner as soon as you get the material. Answer every question on every form as completely as you can. The first sheet will now be handed out to you. If you have any questions at all, I will be glad to answer them. By the way, the directions for answering questions on the forms is right on the form in each case. I will discuss the results of this study with you in class before the end of the term, so really cooperate so that the study will be worthwhile!"

The purpose of this type of structuring was obviously to motivate the subjects to as high a degree as possible. Evidence demonstrating that the subjects were apparently quite highly motivated was the fact that not a single subject failed to fill out the various question sheets and forms completely.

The forms referred to in the instructions were the Public Opinion Questionnaire, really a general information sheet (see Appendix IV) designed to obtain data concerning the nature of the sample, the anti-Semitism scale, the Study of Values, and a quasi-role playing device (see Appendix V) designed to obtain statements for being and not-being prejudiced for purposes of testing the hypothesis concerning values and reasons for prejudice.

The quasi-role playing device is simply a sheet with instructions to the subject first to play the role of an individual who is prejudiced against Jews and state as many reasons for being prejudiced as he can. Then he is requested to play the role of an individual not prejudiced against Jews and state as many reasons for not being prejudiced as he can.

This device was administered before the anti-Semitism scale and collected before the subjects received the anti-Semitism scale, since the subjects might possibly have looked over the anti-Semitism scale, observed that it contained a large number of "reasons" for being prejudiced against Jews, and then proceeded to go back to the "reasons for prejudice" device, fill in their new-found "reasons" and thus invalidate this quasi-projective device for determining the favorable and unfavorable attitudes toward Jews.

All of the material used in gathering the data were matched in terms of the numbers in the upper right hand corner. After this was done, the following material completed by each subject was stapled together: (1) the general information sheet; (2) the "reasons for prejudice" device; (3) the Levinson-Sanford Anti-Semitism Scale; (4) the Allport-Vernon Study of Values.

#### Analysis of the Data

The data was analyzed in the following manner:

(1) In order to test the hypotheses concerning the relationship between each of the six values and anti-Semitism, the Pearsonian product-moment correlation coefficient between each distribution of value scores and anti-Semitism scores was computed.

As a further means of analyzing the nature of these relationships, the distribution was divided into four quarters on the basis of the anti-Semitism scores. Qtr<sub>1</sub> included the 25% of the sample who scored lowest on the anti-Semitism scale (low prejudice group); Qtr<sub>2</sub> included the next 25% (medium low prejudice group); Qtr<sub>3</sub> the next highest 25%

(medium high prejudice group); Qtr<sub>4</sub> the highest scorers on the scale (high prejudice group).

The mean value scores in each of these quarters was then computed, and a statistical comparison among the means, using Fisher's t ratio test (15), was made.

(2) In order to test the hypothesis concerning the value patterns present in high and low prejudice groups, the scores made by each subject on the six value sub-scales were transformed to rankings from 1 to 6. The value that the subject scored the highest on was ranked no. 1, the next highest no. 2, and so on.

The mean rankings for the values in each of the four quarters was then determined. These mean rankings were in turn converted to rankings from 1 to 6. In each quarter, the value with the highest mean rank was ranked no. 1, the next highest no. 2, and so on. An order of dominance pattern of the six values in each of the four quarters was thus computed.

The justification for the use of this ranking procedure, which has previously been used by Cantril (9) and McGinnies (33), stems from the fact that the raw scores obtained on the six value sub-scales are in reality only relative scores, since the combined total of the raw scores on the six value sub-scales must always be 180, as pointed out by Allport and Vernon (5).

(3) To test the hypothesis concerning reasons for prejudice and the values, an analysis, in the high and low prejudice groups of all of the reasons for being and not being prejudiced was made by the writer and two other judges. This analysis was designed to compare the number of reasons in the high and low groups which clearly reflected any of the

six values, in terms of Spranger's descriptions. If all three judges agreed that a reason was influenced by a particular value, it was tallied under the value in question. If any disagreement occurred it was tallied under "miscellaneous reasons". It was thus possible to determine the extent to which dominant values determined the content of reasons for prejudice in the high and low groups.

The total number of reasons in the high and low prejudice groups was also tallied. The significance of the difference between the means of the anti-Jewish and pro-Jewish reasons in the high and low groups was then determined. This indicated the extent to which number of reasons is an index of the relative intensity of anti-Semitism.

(4) Certain incidental data was obtained during the process of gathering data to test the hypotheses. It was decided to utilize these data and determine the significance of certain inter-group differences on the anti-Semitism scale and Study of Values, and report them, even though no hypotheses concerning these data had been formulated.

## RESULTS

### Theoretical Values and Their Relationship to Anti-Semitism

The first hypothesis states that theoretical values and anti-Semitism are incongruent. In terms of our scales, therefore, a negative relationship should exist between scores on the anti-Semitism scale and scores on the theoretical value sub-scale.

Table II shows the means, standard deviations, and correlation coefficients between each of the six values and anti-Semitism. It can be seen from Table II that the correlation between theoretical values and anti-Semitism is  $-.069$ , in the hypothesized direction, but not statistically significant. On this basis, it appears that the hypothesis is not upheld.

However, the presence of a slight trend in the predicted direction warrants a study of the nature of the relationship. Table III presents the theoretical score means and other statistical characteristics for the four quarters of the anti-Semitism distribution.<sup>1</sup> In Table III it can be observed that the means for quarters 1, 2, 3 and 4, are 29.69, 28.51, 26.74, and 28.55, respectively. The step-wise differences that exists among the lower three quarters, further supports the trend indicated by the correlation. It also suggests that the high scores in the high group apparently reduced the size of the correlation coefficient.

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<sup>1</sup> Statistically significant standard deviation differences exist between the lower two quarters and the upper two quarters (5% level of confidence), which indicate that with respect to theoretical values, Quarters 1 and 2 are more heterogeneous than Quarters 3 and 4.

TABLE II

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS AND THE PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATIONS BETWEEN  
THE SIX VALUES AND ANTI-SEMITISM  
(N = 169)

Scale	M	S D	r	P
A-S	128.11	43.73	--	--
T	27.63	6.48	-.069	n.s.
E	29.32	6.07	.311	.01
AE	27.24	7.62	-.249	.01
S	30.57	6.47	-.173	.05
P	31.22	5.86	.322	.01
R	33.14	7.84	-.136	n.s.

TABLE III

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND STANDARD ERRORS OF THE MEAN OF  
THEORETICAL VALUE SCORES FOR ANTI-SEMITISM QUARTERS 1, 2, 3 AND 4

Qtr	N	M	S D	SE/M
1	42	29.69	7.29	1.14
2	42	28.51	7.95	1.23
3	43	26.74	5.84	.91
4	42	28.55	5.02	.78



Table IV presents the statistical comparison among these four quarters. It will be observed from Table IV, that a statistically significant difference<sup>1</sup> (1% level of confidence) exists between Quarters 1 and 3. No other statistically significant differences exist.

These inter-quarter data do not present trends positive enough to unconditionally support the hypothesis. It must be concluded, therefore, that on the basis of the insignificant correlation that was found, this hypothesis has not been adequately upheld, even though a slight trend exists which suggests that theoretical values and anti-Semitism may be incongruent.

#### Economic Values and Their Relationship to Anti-Semitism

The second hypothesis states that economic values and anti-Semitism are congruent. In terms of our scales, therefore, a positive relationship should exist between scores on the anti-Semitism scale and scores on the economic value sub-scale.

The  $r$  between economic and anti-Semitism scores (Table II) is .311, which is significant at the 1% level of confidence. This would appear to uphold the hypothesis.

A study of the nature of this relationship will afford further insight into this finding. Table V shows the economic score means and related statistical characteristics for the four quarters of the anti-Semitism distribution. It can be gleaned from Table V that the means are 27.83 (lows), 27.60 (medium lows), 29.52 (medium highs), and 32.76

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<sup>1</sup> With direction of difference hypothesized and 82 d.f. (42 cases in each quarter)  $t$  must be 1.66 and 2.41, to be significant at 5% and 1% levels of confidence respectively.

TABLE IV

STATISTICAL COMPARISON OF THEORETICAL SCORES IN ANTI-SEMITISM  
QUARTERS 1, 2, 3, AND 4

Qtrs	Diff/M	S E	t	P
1 & 4	1.14	1.38	.83	n.s.
1 & 3	2.95	1.20	2.46	.01
2 & 4	.04	1.46	.03	n.s.
1 & 2	1.18	1.68	.70	n.s.
2 & 3	1.77	1.53	1.16	n.s.
3 & 4	1.81	1.20	1.51	n.s.

TABLE V

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND STANDARD ERRORS OF THE MEANS OF  
ECONOMIC VALUE SCORES IN ANTI-SEMITISM QUARTERS 1, 2, 3, AND 4

Qtr	N	M	S D	SE/M
1	42	27.83	5.40	.84
2	42	27.60	6.18	.95
3	43	29.52	6.31	.99
4	42	32.76	6.67	1.04

(highs). With the exception of the medium low group, step-wise increases in economic value scores go with increases in anti-Semitism. Uniformity with respect to economic values in the entire low prejudice half of the distribution is also indicated.

Table VI presents the statistical comparison among these four quarters. It will be observed from Table VI, that statistically significant differences exist between Quarters 1 and 4 (1% level), 2 and 4 (1% level), and 3 and 4 (5% level).

The results of the inter-quarter analysis, therefore, further supports the hypothesis. This fact, coupled with the significant over-all correlation that was found, indicates that economic values and anti-Semitism are congruent.

#### Aesthetic Values and Their Relationship to Anti-Semitism

The third hypothesis states that aesthetic values and anti-Semitism are incongruent. In terms of our scales, therefore, a negative relationship should exist between scores on the anti-Semitism and scores on the aesthetic value sub-scale.

The  $r$  between aesthetic and anti-Semitism scores (Table II) is  $-.249$ , which is significant at the 1% level of confidence. This would appear to uphold the hypothesis.

Further insight into this finding can be obtained by a study of the nature of this relationship. Table VII presents the aesthetic score means and related statistical characteristics for the four quarters of the anti-Semitism distribution. In Table VII it can be observed that the means are 28.93, 29.30, 26.68, and 23.33 for the low, medium low,

TABLE VI

STATISTICAL COMPARISON OF ECONOMIC SCORES IN ANTI-SEMITISM  
QUARTERS 1, 2, 3, AND 4

Qtrs	Diff/M	S E	t	P
1 & 4	4.93	1.34	3.68	.01
1 & 3	1.69	1.30	1.30	n.s.
2 & 4	5.16	1.41	3.66	.01
1 & 2	.23	1.27	.18	n.s.
2 & 3	1.92	1.37	1.40	n.s.
3 & 4	3.24	1.43	2.27	.05

TABLE VII

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND STANDARD ERRORS OF THE MEANS OF  
AESTHETIC VALUE SCORES IN ANTI-SEMITISM QUARTERS 1, 2, 3, AND 4

Qtr	N	M	S D	SE/M
1	42	28.93	9.56	1.48
2	43	29.30	7.01	1.08
3	42	26.88	7.32	1.14
4	42	23.33	6.52	1.01

medium high, and high groups, respectively. Step-wise differences exist among the low, medium high, and high groups. Relative uniformity among the low prejudice half is also suggested.

It can be seen from Table VIII that statistically significant differences at the 1% confidence level exist between Quarters 1 and 4, 2 and 4, and 3 and 4.

The presence of the significant negative correlation supported by evidence in the inter-quarter analysis, therefore, justifies the conclusion that aesthetic values and anti-Semitism are incongruent.

#### Social Values and Their Relationship to Anti-Semitism

The fourth hypothesis states that social values and anti-Semitism are incongruent. In terms of our scales, therefore, a negative relationship should exist between scores on the anti-Semitism scale and scores on the social sub-scale.

An  $r$  of  $-.173$  (Table II) significant at the 5% level of confidence, between social and anti-Semitism scale scores, tends to support the hypothesis.

Table IX shows the means and related statistical characteristics of the social value scores for the four anti-Semitism quarters. It can be observed that the means are 32.10, 31.67, 30.64, 29.00 for the low, medium low, medium high, and high anti-Semitism groups, respectively. This indicates clear-cut step-wise differences among the four quarters.

The reader will note from Table X that statistically significant differences at the 5% confidence level exist between Quarters 1 and 4, and 2 and 4.

TABLE VIII

STATISTICAL COMPARISONS OF AESTHETIC SCORES IN ANTI-SEMITISM  
QUARTERS 1, 2, 3, AND 4

Qtrs	Diff/M	S E	t	P
1 & 4	5.60	1.79	3.13	.01
1 & 3	2.05	1.87	1.10	n.s.
2 & 4	5.97	1.48	4.03	.01
1 & 2	.37	1.83	.25	n.s.
2 & 3	2.42	1.57	1.54	n.s.
3 & 4	3.55	1.52	2.34	.05



TABLE IX

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND STANDARD ERRORS OF THE MEANS OF  
SOCIAL VALUE SCORES IN ANTI-SEMITISM QUARTERS 1, 2, 3, AND 4

Qtr	N	M	S D	SE/M
1	42	32.10	8.14	1.27
2	43	31.67	7.01	1.08
3	42	30.64	4.90	.77
4	42	29.00	6.56	1.02

TABLE X

STATISTICAL COMPARISONS OF SOCIAL SCORES IN ANTI-SEMITISM  
QUARTERS 1, 2, 3, AND 4

Qtrs	Diff/M	S E	t	P
1 & 4	3.10	1.63	1.90	.05
1 & 3	1.46	1.48	.99	n.s.
2 & 4	2.67	1.49	1.79	.05
1 & 2	.43	1.67	.26	n.s.
2 & 3	1.03	1.33	.77	n.s.
3 & 4	1.64	1.28	1.28	n.s.

The presence of step-wise differences among all four quarters and the statistically significant differences between 1 and 4 and 2 and 4, tend to lend further support to the hypothesis.

On the basis of these inter-quarter analysis data and the presence of a significant negative correlation, it can be, therefore, concluded that social values and anti-Semitism are incongruent.

#### Political Values and Their Relationship to Anti-Semitism

The fifth hypothesis states that political values and anti-Semitism are congruent. In terms of our scales, therefore, a positive relationship should exist between scores on the anti-Semitism and social value scales.

A correlation coefficient of .322 (Table II), significant at the 1% level of confidence, was found between these two variables. This upholds the hypothesis.

Table XI presents the means and related statistical data of the political value scores for the four quarters of the anti-Semitism distribution. The means are 28.81, 29.14, 33.57, and 33.71 in the low, medium low, medium high, and high anti-Semitism groups, respectively. This indicates step-wise differences among the four quarters.

It can be observed from Table XII that statistically significant differences at the 1% confidence level exist between Quarters 1 and 4, 1 and 3, 2 and 4, and 4 and 3.

The presence of step-wise differences among all four quarters and the statistical significance of several of these differences, strongly supports the hypothesis.

TABLE XI

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND STANDARD ERRORS OF THE MEANS OF  
POLITICAL VALUE SCORES IN ANTI-SEMITISM QUARTERS 1, 2, 3, AND 4

Qtr	N	M	S D	SE/M
1	42	28.81	6.58	1.03
2	43	29.14	6.43	.99
3	42	33.57	4.65	.73
4	42	33.71	5.09	.80

TABLE XII

STATISTICAL COMPARISONS OF POLITICAL SCORES IN ANTI-SEMITISM  
 QUARTERS 1, 2, 3, AND 4

Qtrs	Diff/M	S E	t	P
1 & 4	4.90	1.30	3.77	.01
1 & 3	4.76	1.26	3.78	.01
2 & 4	4.57	1.27	3.60	.01
1 & 2	.96	1.43	.67	n.s.
2 & 3	4.43	1.23	3.60	.01
3 & 4	.14	1.08	.13	n.s.

It can, therefore, be concluded that on the basis of the evidence from the inter-quarter analysis and the existence of a significant positive correlation, political values and anti-Semitism are congruent.

#### Religious Values and Their Relationship to Anti-Semitism

The sixth hypothesis states that religious values and anti-Semitism are incongruent. In terms of our scales, therefore, a negative relationship should exist between scores on the anti-Semitism scale and scores on the religious value sub-scale.

It was found (Table II) that a correlation of  $-.136$ , not statistically significant, exists between religious values and anti-Semitism. This does not support our hypothesis satisfactorily, so the hypothesis must be rejected. However, this  $r$  is in the hypothesized direction, so an analysis of the nature of this relationship appears to be warranted.

Table XIII presents the means and related statistical characteristics of the religious scores in the four prejudice quarters. The reader will note in Table XIII that the means are 33.26, 33.39, 32.60, and 32.90 for the low, medium low, medium high, and high anti-Semitism groups respectively. Inter-quarter differences do not approach statistical significance, as can be seen in Table XIV.

The results shown above then, do not support the hypothesis regarding the incongruence of religious values and anti-Semitism.

We may conclude this section of the results by adding that the anti-Semitism distribution was also broken down according to sex, and an investigation of the relationship between each value and anti-Semitism in the male and female groups was made. All of the trends presented above were supported.

TABLE XIII

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND STANDARD ERRORS OF THE MEANS OF  
RELIGIOUS VALUE SCORES IN ANTI-SEMITISM QUARTERS 1, 2, 3, AND 4

Qtr	N	M	S D	SE/M
1	42	33.26	8.30	1.30
2	43	33.39	11.05	1.71
3	42	32.60	7.96	1.24
4	42	32.90	7.98	1.25

TABLE XIV

STATISTICAL COMPARISONS OF RELIGIOUS SCORES IN ANTI-SEMITISM  
QUARTERS 1, 2, 3, AND 4

Qtrs	Diff/M	S E	t	P
1 & 4	.36	1.80	.20	n.s.
1 & 3	.66	1.80	.37	n.s.
2 & 4	.49	2.12	.23	n.s.
1 & 2	.13	2.15	.06	n.s.
2 & 3	.79	2.11	.37	n.s.
3 & 4	.30	1.76	.17	n.s.



## The Relationship Between Value Patterns and Anti-Semitism

The seventh hypothesis is to the effect that anti-Semitic individuals are dominated by political and economic values, while individuals relatively less anti-Semitic are dominated by aesthetic, theoretical, social, and religious values. As was suggested in the methodology section of the present paper, a test of this hypothesis was effected by computing an order of dominance pattern of the six values in terms of rankings from 1 to 6, for the four quarters of the anti-Semitism distribution.

By the method described in the methodology section, mean rankings were determined for the four quarters of the anti-Semitism distribution for each of the six values. These mean rankings and related statistical characteristics appear in Table XV. It will be observed from Table XV that for the low prejudice group ( $Qtr_1$ ) the mean rankings are aesthetic 2.00, theoretical 3.17, social 2.57, religious 2.62, economic 4.69, and political 4.83. When these mean rankings are converted to rankings from 1 to 6 they appear in the following order from highest to lowest: aesthetic, social, religious, theoretical, economic, and political.

In the medium low prejudice group ( $Qtr_2$ ) the mean rankings are aesthetic 3.02, theoretical 3.19, social 3.07, religious 3.00, economic 4.29, and political 4.05. When converted, they appear in the following order: religious, aesthetic, social, theoretical, political, and economic.

In the medium high prejudice group ( $Qtr_3$ ) the mean rankings are aesthetic 4.16, theoretical 4.28, social 3.42, religious 3.38, economic

TABLE XV

MEANS, STANDARD ERRORS, AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS, OF THE SIX VALUE SCORES CONVERTED TO RANKINGS IN ANTI-SEMITISM QUARTERS 1, 2, 3, AND 4

N	QTR		VALUES					
			AE	T	S	R	E	P
42	1	M	2.00	3.17	2.57	2.62	4.69	4.83
		S.E.	.21	.21	.21	.22	.17	.20
		S.D.	1.35	1.36	1.33	1.41	1.10	1.25
42	2	M	3.02	3.19	3.07	3.00	4.29	4.05
		S.E.	.27	.26	.24	.30	.15	.24
		S.D.	1.70	1.65	1.56	1.96	.97	1.51
43	3	M	4.16	4.28	3.42	3.38	3.40	2.74
		S.E.	.24	.23	.24	.30	.25	.22
		S.D.	1.58	1.48	1.53	1.93	1.62	1.45
42	4	M	5.17	4.69	3.86	3.57	2.36	2.31
		S.E.	.19	.09	.22	.28	.20	.21
		S.D.	1.23	.58	1.42	1.76	1.30	1.37

3.40, and political 2.74. When converted, they appear in the following order: political, religious, economic, social, aesthetic, and theoretical.

In the high prejudice group ( $Qtr_4$ ) the mean rankings are aesthetic 5.17, theoretical 4.69, social 3.86, religious 3.57, economic 2.36, political 2.31. When converted, they appear in the following order: political, economic, religious, social, theoretical, and aesthetic. Figure I presents these value hierarchies graphically on the basis of the mean value scores in each quarter. It will be noted in Figure I that with the exception of the medium high prejudice group ( $Qtr_3$ ), which appears to be dominated by political and religious values rather than by political and economic values as hypothesized, the predicted value patterns appear to exist.

#### Values as Factors in Reasons for Prejudice

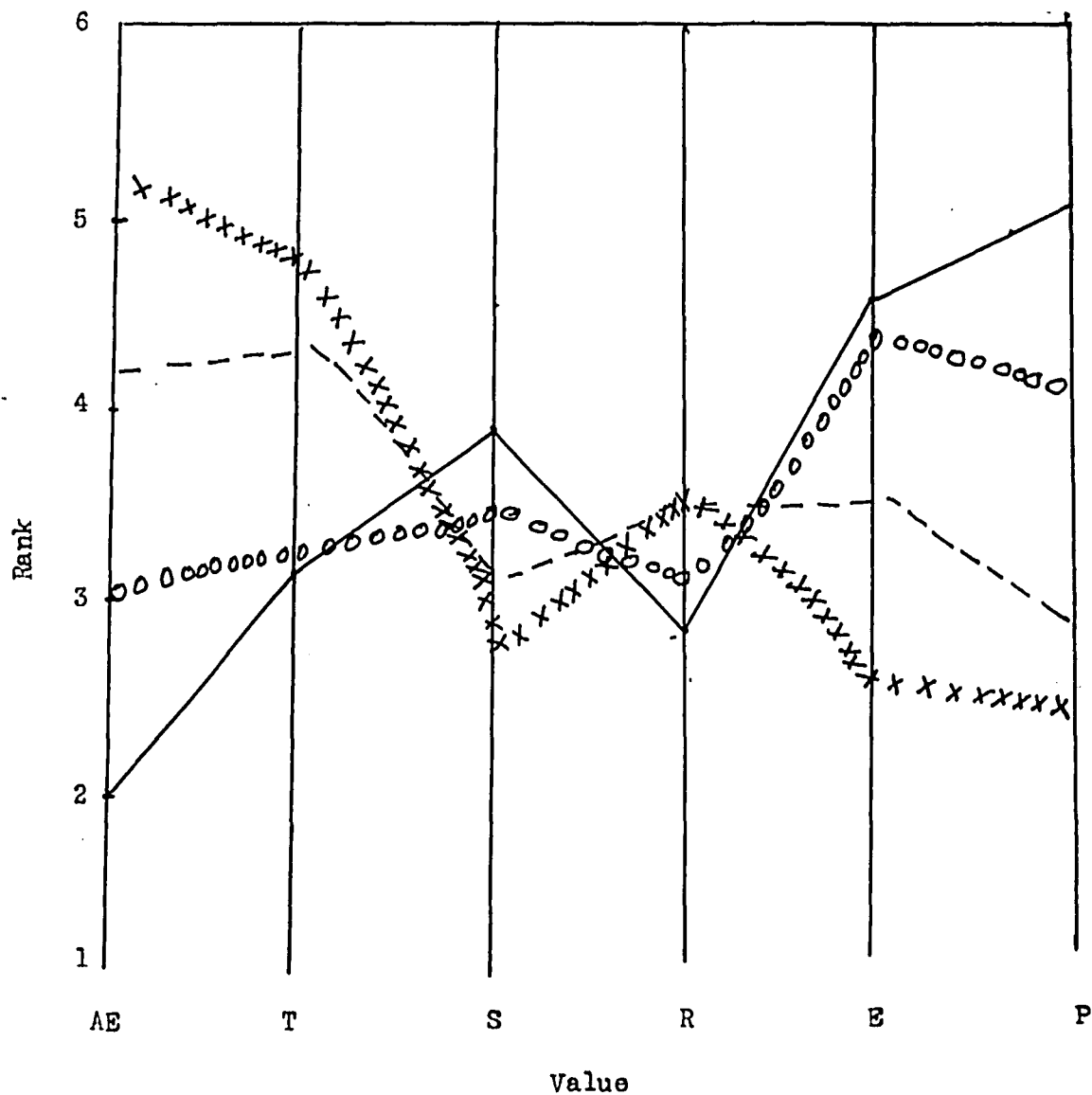
The eighth hypothesis states that the dominant values in the high and low anti-Semitism groups will function as significant determiners of the types of reasons given for being and not being prejudiced, and the number of reasons given will be an index of the intensity of anti-Semitism.

As has been established in the hypothesis discussed above, the dominant values in the high group are political and economic, while the dominant in the low group are aesthetic, theoretical, social, and religious.

Consequently in order to support the first part of the hypothesis, the number of economic and political reasons given by the high group

The Relative Importance of Values for Anti-Semitism Quarters 1, 2, 3, and 4 in Terms of Mean Rankings

Qtr<sub>1</sub> = ———  
 Qtr<sub>2</sub> = o o o o o  
 Qtr<sub>3</sub> = - - - - -  
 Qtr<sub>4</sub> = x x x x x



should be significantly greater than the number given by the low group, while the number of aesthetic, theoretical, social, and religious reasons given by the low group should be significantly greater than the number given by the high group.

Table XVI presents the number of value-influenced reasons and other reasons given by high and low anti-Semitism groups. It will be noted in Table XVI that the high group gave 55 economic value-influenced reasons, for being prejudiced, while the low group gave 41. The high group gave 14 political reasons, the low group 4. The low group gave 14 religious reasons, the high group 13. Neither group gave any theoretical, aesthetic, or social value-influenced reasons for being prejudiced.

It will also be noted that the low group gave 25 theoretical value-influenced reasons for not being prejudiced, the high group 18. The high group gave 14 economic reasons, the low group 10. The low group gave 3 aesthetic reasons, the high group 2. The high group gave 22 social reasons, the low group 21. The high group gave 8 political reasons, the low group 4. The low group gave 17 religious reasons, the high group 10.

A trend exists indicating the operation of economic and political values to a greater extent in the high anti-Semitism group than in the low, both in anti- and pro-Jewish reasons, lending some support to our hypothesis. A slight trend exists indicating the greater influence of theoretical and religious values in the pro-Jewish reasons given by the low group. However, neither of these trends is statistically significant.

TABLE XVI

NUMBER OF VALUE-INFLUENCED AND MISCELLANEOUS  
REASONS IN HIGH AND LOW ANTI-SEMITISM GROUPS

TYPE OF REASON	POS. ON A-S SCALE	N	T	E	AE	VALUE S	P	R	MISC.	TOTAL
Anti- Jewish	High 25%	42	0	55	0	0	14	13	81	163
	Low 25%	42	0	41	0	0	4	14	53	112
Pro- Jewish	High 25%	42	18	14	2	22	8	10	47	121
	Low 25%	42	25	10	3	21	4	17	70	150

Thus, while these results are highly suggestive the first part of the hypothesis has not been clearly upheld.

In order to uphold the second part of the hypothesis, the number of reasons given for being anti-Semitic should be significantly greater in the high prejudice group than in the low prejudice group, while the number of reasons given for not being anti-Semitic should be significantly greater in the low prejudice group.

Table XVII presents a statistical comparison of the reasons for prejudice given by the high (Qtr<sub>4</sub>) and low (Qtr<sub>1</sub>) groups. It will be noted in Table XVII that the high group gave an average of 3.88 reasons for being prejudiced, while the low group gave 2.67. The difference of 1.21 is significant at the 1% level of confidence.

It will also be noted that the high group gave an average of 2.88 reasons for not being prejudiced, while the low group gave 3.57. The difference of .69 is significant at the 5% level of confidence.

These data appear to uphold the second part of our hypothesis. It may be concluded that the number of reasons given by groups for being and not being anti-Semitic serves as a reliable index of whether the groups are high or low in anti-Semitism.

#### Some Incidental Results

This section of the present paper will be devoted to the presentation of certain incidental results that were obtained or were made easily obtainable in the process of testing the hypotheses.

These results can be separated into two general parts. (1) Results that deal with certain inter-group differences on the anti-Semitism

TABLE XVII

A STATISTICAL COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER OF PREJUDICED AND  
NON-PREJUDICED REASONS GIVEN BY THOSE IN THE HIGH AND LOW GROUPS  
ON THE ANTI-SEMITISM SCALE

Qtr	N	M	SD	SE/Mn	SE/diff/Mn	diff/Mn	t	P
PREJUDICED REASONS								
4	42	3.88	1.72	.27	.37			
1	42	2.67	1.49	.23		1.21	3.33	.01
NON-PREJUDICED REASONS								
4	42	2.88	1.12	.18				
1	42	3.57	2.21	.34	.38	.69	1.82	.05



scale. (2) Results that deal with sex differences on the six value sub-scales.

No attempt will be made to make detailed analyses of these results; but reference to existing studies which either agree or disagree with the results will be made when they are applicable, or are available.

#### Certain Intra-Group Differences on the Anti-Semitism Scale

In Table XVIII is found the results relating to certain inter-group differences with respect to scores on the Levinson-Sanford Anti-Semitism scale. These results indicate that no statistically significant differences exist between the following pairs of groups: male veterans and male non-veterans, students who have not taken the Effective Living course<sup>1</sup> at Michigan State College and students who have had three terms of the course, Catholics and Protestants, Catholics and individuals with no religious preference, Protestants and the no preference group, and a combined group of freshmen and sophomores as compared with a combined group of juniors and seniors. A difference significant at the 5% level of confidence was found between the male and female subjects in our sample,<sup>2</sup> females manifesting less anti-Semitism than males.

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<sup>1</sup> The Effective Living course at Michigan State College devotes a considerable portion of class time to a deliberate attempt to reduce racial prejudice. Dahnke (12) found, contrary to the present results, that the course did reduce prejudice significantly.

<sup>2</sup> The results involving the religious, veteran-non-veteran, college class, and male-female sub-groups are in agreement with results of an unpublished study analyzing these group differences as part of a class project in sociology. A random sample of the students on the Michigan State College campus was used. However, instead of the anti-Semitism scale, an interview technique was used to determine intensity of prejudice. This study, completed in 1949, was directed by M. Rokeach.

TABLE XVIII

## A STATISTICAL COMPARISON OF CERTAIN GROUPS ON THE ANTI-SEMITISM SCALE

GROUPS	N	M	SD	Diff.	t	P
Male Vets.	68	136.18	47.39	6.97	.88	n.s.
Male non Vets.	48	129.21	37.24			
Males	116	133.29	43.62	15.54	2.12	.05
Females	53	117.75	43.96			
0 terms E. L.	52	131.15	47.34	7.78	.92	n.s.
3 terms E. L.	62	123.37	41.50			
Catholics	32	128.69	49.69	.37	.04	n.s.
Protestants	121	129.06	43.80			
Catholics	32	128.69	49.69	5.63	.44	n.s.
No Preference	16	123.06	35.58			
Protestants	121	129.06	43.80	6.00	.60	n.s.
No Preference	16	123.06	35.58			
Freshmen-Sophomores	102	128.71	44.21	.73	.10	n.s.
Junior-Seniors	67	127.98	44.48			

### Sex Differences on the Six Value Sub-Scales

In Table XIX is found the results of analyzing sex differences on the six sub-scales of the Allport-Vernon Study of Values. It can be seen in Table XIX that females are significantly higher in aesthetic (1% level) social (5% level) and religious (1% level) values. The males are significantly higher in political, economic, and theoretical values (all at 1% level of confidence).<sup>1</sup> These results agree with the findings of Cantril and Allport (9), Pintner (38), and Hartman (22).

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<sup>1</sup> With respect to scores on the Aesthetic Value Sub-scale men are significantly more heterogeneous than women (1% level of confidence).

TABLE XIX

A STATISTICAL COMPARISON OF MALE AND FEMALE SCORES ON THE  
SIX VALUE SUB-SCALES

VALUE	SEX	N	M	SD	Diff.	t	P
T	M	116	28.59	6.49	2.87	2.68	.01
	F	53	25.72	6.45			
E	M	116	30.94	6.29	4.85	5.05	.01
	F	53	26.09	5.62			
AE	M	116	25.22	8.85	6.06	5.61	.01
	F	53	31.28	5.16			
S	M	116	30.12	7.07	2.35	2.40	.05
	F	53	32.47	5.28			
P	M	116	32.68	6.04	4.42	4.75	.01
	F	53	28.26	5.49			
R	M	116	31.42	8.64	5.16	4.41	.01
	F	53	36.58	6.24			

## DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

### Related Research

Since the undertaking of the present study, two other studies have been completed which deal with the problem of the relationship of Spranger's values and prejudice. However, the considerations of this problem by Gough (19) and Dahnke (12) are merely small parts of major research projects, so the problem is not pursued by these investigators to any great extent. At any rate, a comparison of the results in the present study with the results in these studies is in order.

Gough administered the Allport-Vernon scale to a group of high school seniors for whom he already had anti-Semitism scores. He divided the group into highs and lows, with 27 subjects in each group, and computed t ratios with respect to individual sub-scale scores. Gough had not formulated any specific hypotheses relative to the findings, but he found a difference in social value scores in the two groups significant at the 5% level of confidence, which is consistent with the present results. A t ratio of 1.75, approaching significance, was found in the case of the economic values, which is also consistent with the present results. However, contradictory evidence was found in the case of the political values, in which a difference, although not statistically significant, was found in the direction opposite to the present results.<sup>1</sup>

The difference in the results in the present paper and Gough's results may be attributed to the fact that the high school sample he

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<sup>1</sup> The reader will recall that Wickert (53) and Lurie (31) found significant positive correlations between the economic and political sub-scales which would be a further reason for not expecting this result of Gough's (19).

used might have been significantly different in character than our sample of college students, the smaller numbers in the upper and lower groups (27 in Gough's study to our 42), or that the two scales used (the Study of Values and Anti-Semitism) might not be valid and reliable for younger subjects in the sense that they would be for more mature subjects. This factor might be particularly significant, since both Vernon and Allport (50) and Levinson and Sanford (27) used predominantly college students as standardization groups.

As in the present study, Dahnke also used Michigan State College students (N=300). However, Dahnke's sample included a greater number of freshmen and sophomores than were present in the writer's sample. Dahnke did not use the anti-Semitism scale, but used two other tests of general minority group prejudice, the Prejudice Scale of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory developed by Gough, and Cook's Opinion Survey.

He computed product moment  $r$ 's between each value sub-scale and the scores on the two prejudice tests. He found significant negative correlations between prejudice scores and social and aesthetic values and significant positive correlations between the prejudice scores and the political and economic values. A slight negative correlation (not statistically significant) was found between prejudice scores and religious and theoretical values.

Dahnke's results and our results appear to be essentially the same. The results in the present study also agree with Gough's results to the extent that our findings with respect to social and economic values were the same, with the trends for the other values, with the exception of political, being in the same direction.

### Possible Explanations for Rejected Hypotheses

In the results it was stated that theoretical values did not appear to be significantly related to anti-Semitism in the hypothesized negative direction. Why wasn't the hypothesis upheld? A possible answer to this question is found in our earlier theoretical discussion. We made the point that the theoretical individual would tend to be intraceptive. However, it was suggested that some theoretical individuals, because of being strongly empirical in their approach to problems, might tend to be somewhat extraceptive. This raises the possibility that both intraceptive and extraceptive theoretical individuals might score high on the theoretical value scale. Since intraception is related to tolerance and extraception to intolerance, if even a relatively few extraceptive theoretical individuals scored high on the scale, it could materially reduce the significance of any negative relationship between theoretical values and anti-Semitism that might be present.

The possibility of the presence of both intraceptive and extraceptive theoretical individuals provides a basis for further research. It is possible that the difference may be similar to the difference that may be present between social scientists and physical scientists. A comparison of relative strength of prejudice between these two groups, may in itself have some bearing on this problem. On an a priori basis the writer has observed that the social scientists are relatively less prejudiced than the physical scientists. Of course, a critical examination of this possibility would require the utilization of a scale that differentiated between intraceptive and extraceptive individuals, and administering it to high scorers on the Allport-Vernon theoretical scale.

The hypothesized negative trend in the relationship between religious values and anti-Semitism was also not found to be significant. In addition, the findings relative to the position of religious values in the value patterns of the four anti-Semitism quarters appears to be rather paradoxical (Figure I). Religious values appear to play an equally important part in both extreme quarter groups. The reader will recall that in the medium low group, religious values rank No. 1 and in the medium high group they rank No. 2, while in both the high and low anti-Semitism groups religious values rank No. 3. What explains these apparently paradoxical findings?

A possible explanation is to be found in a consideration of the type of religiousness that is measured by the religious value scale. Kirkpatrick (25) has noted that humanitarianism and religion in the narrow sense that it is present in many individuals are negatively correlated. However, Clark in Values in Personality Research (54) and Rosenblith (41) suggest the possibility of the presence of a positive or humanitarian religion as well as a narrow religion that tends to breed increased ethnocentrism.

It is possible that the religious scale does not reliably differentiate between individuals who are religious in the humanitarian and the narrow, religious sense. If this is a valid assumption, it would be expected that the low prejudice groups scored high in religious values, because of the presence of a strong humanitarian religion, while the high prejudice groups scored high in religious values because of the presence of a strong, narrow type of religiousness. This would explain the apparent ambiguity in the results.



The absence of a significant trend indicating that the dominant values determined the kinds of reasons given by the high and low anti-Semitism groups, can be explained on the basis of an analysis of the reasons that were given.

It was found that the majority of the subjects, both prejudiced and unprejudiced, were influenced by existing stereotypes concerning the Jews in constructing their reasons. Most of the prejudiced reasons merely indicated an acceptance of a prevalent negative stereotype, while most of the unprejudiced reasons merely discounted prevalent negative stereotype. In other words, most reasons had to do with an acceptance or rejection of the "clannishness", religious difference, "different" appearance, "shrewdness", "shady" financial activities, or similar negative stereotypes of the Jews. It appears that stereotypes, therefore, were more important as determiners of reasons given by both groups, than the values as such.

#### General Comments

The trend in the results in general which indicates that anti-Semitic individuals are dominated by economic and political values have some far-reaching theoretical implications when we consider it in terms of the problem of reducing anti-Semitism and prejudice generally.

J. Edward Todd (47) has made a penetrating analysis of values in American culture. He points out that in the United States the very social structure encourages the development of economic and political values and they are therefore dominant values. On the other hand, he suggests that by virtue of that same social structure, aesthetic,

religious, social and theoretical values are the least emphasized as important to "getting ahead."

If we are to assume that Todd's analysis is a valid one, it would appear that our very social structure is developing values in individuals that are most inconsistent with tolerant, democratic behavior and attitudes. This would indicate that in order to reduce prejudice in our culture, we would have the immense problem of changing our complete social structure with its emphasis on competition and the other precipitants of economic and political value development.

However, since attempts to change "our American way of life" would develop bitter antagonism on the part of most Americans, if existing attitudes towards certain "radical" groups is any criterion, it will be necessary, in order to reduce the likelihood of over-development of economic and political values, to find ways to stress the importance of the other values by virtue of their positive worth in terms of maintaining the present social structure at a higher level.

It is, of course, not within the scope of the present paper to pursue this problem any further, but the writer feels that the implications of the results of this study would lend themselves to a further, more thorough analysis in terms of the broader problems of retarding prejudice and undemocratic behavior generally.

## SUMMARY

The present study was concerned with the problem of personal values as factors in anti-Semitism. In order to measure personal values, the Allport-Vernon Study of Values was used. It measures the relative strength of Spranger's six values, theoretical, economic, aesthetic, social, political, and religious. Anti-Semitism was measured by the Levinson-Sanford Anti-Semitism Scale.

Hypotheses were formulated that stated that theoretical, aesthetic, social, and religious values are negatively related to anti-Semitism, while economic and political values are positively related to anti-Semitism. Another hypothesis stated that in an order of dominance pattern consisting of all six values, high scorers on the anti-Semitism scale are most dominated by economic and political values, while low scorers are most dominated by theoretical, aesthetic, social, and religious values. A final hypothesis stated that individuals significantly reflect their dominant values in the reasons they give for being and not being anti-Semitic, and that the number of reasons given serves as a reliable index of the position on the anti-Semitism scale.

In order to test these hypotheses, the Study of Values, anti-Semitism scale, and a quasi-role-playing device designed to obtain the reasons subjects could give for being and not being anti-Semitic were administered to a group of 169 Michigan State College students. Anti-Semitism and each value was correlated, the anti-Semitism distribution was divided into four quarters and the four quarters were statistically compared with respect to each value, the scores in each quarter were converted to rankings from 1 to 6, and the upper and lower quarters

were statistically compared with respect to the number of value-influenced reasons for prejudice given and the total number of reasons given. Finally, certain group differences on the anti-Semitism and value scales were statistically compared.

The following conclusions were reached on the basis of the tests of the hypotheses:

- (1) Significant negative relationships exist between aesthetic and social values and anti-Semitism. (Hypotheses confirmed).
- (2) Significant positive relationships exist between political and economic values and anti-Semitism. (Hypotheses confirmed)
- (3) No significant relationships between theoretical and religious values and anti-Semitism exist, although a slight trend indicating a negative relationship was found. (Hypotheses not confirmed),
- (4) The value patterns, in the order of dominance for the four anti-Semitism quarters are as follows: Highs--political, economic, religious, social, theoretical, aesthetic; medium highs--political, religious, economic, social, aesthetic, theoretical; medium lows--religious, aesthetic, social, theoretical, political, economic; lows--aesthetic, social, religious, theoretical, economic, political. (Hypothesis essentially confirmed).
- (5) Dominant value patterns were not significantly reflected in reasons given for being and not being anti-Semitic, but number of reasons given proved to be a reliable index of the position

on the anti-Semitism scale, with highs giving significantly more prejudiced and fewer unprejudiced reasons than lows.

(Hypothesis partly confirmed).

An analysis of certain incidental data revealed that women were significantly less anti-Semitic than men. No significant differences on the anti-Semitism scale were found between the following groups: religious groups (Catholics and Protestants) and no religious preference group, male veterans and male non-veterans, a combined group of freshmen and sophomores and a combined group of juniors and seniors, and students who had never enrolled for the Effective Living Course at Michigan State College and a group who had three terms of the course.

It was found that women are significantly higher than men in aesthetic, social, and religious values, while men are significantly higher than women in political, economic, and theoretical values.

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## APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

# A STUDY OF VALUES

A SCALE FOR MEASURING THE DOMINANT INTERESTS IN  
PERSONALITY

*Manual of Directions*

REVISED EDITION

BY

GORDON W. ALLPORT

AND

PHILIP E. VERNON



HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY

TON • NEW YORK • CHICAGO • DALLAS • ATLANTA • SAN FRANCISCO

The Riverside Press Cambridge

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

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**The Riverside Press**

**CAMBRIDGE • MASSACHUSETTS**

**PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.**

## A STUDY OF VALUES<sup>1</sup>

### PURPOSE

THIS study aims to measure the relative prominence of six basic interests or motives in personality: the *theoretical*, *economic*, *aesthetic*, *social*, *political*, and *religious*. The classification is based directly upon Eduard Spranger's *Types of Men*,<sup>2</sup> a brilliant work which defends the view that the personalities of men are best known through a study of their values or evaluative attitudes. Since it is undesirable for those who take the test to know too much about its theoretical basis beforehand, any mention or discussion of these six values should be deferred until the test has been taken.

The scale consists of a number of questions, based upon a variety of familiar situations to which two alternative answers (in Part I) and four alternative answers (in Part II) are provided. In all there are 120 answers, 20 of which refer to each of the six values. The subject records his preferences numerically by the side of each alternative answer. His scores are then transcribed onto a separate sheet, and the twenty scores belonging to each of the six values are summed. After applying certain simple corrections these six total scores are plotted on a profile, so that the subject may see the significance of his standing on all the values simultaneously.

### INSTRUCTIONS FOR GIVING

1. *The Study of Values is self-administering.* In general no verbal instructions are required, though the examiner may find it desirable to read aloud, and if necessary further explain, the directions to Part I; and to tell the subjects that as soon as they have completed Part I they should continue with Part II.

2. *There is no time limit.* Most subjects require about 20 minutes to complete the entire test. Although they should not be stopped

<sup>1</sup> A more complete description of the theoretical basis and the construction of the scale may be found in "A Test for Personal Values," by P. E. Vernon and G. W. Allport, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1931, XXVI, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Translated from 5th German edition of *Lebensformen*, 1928. American agent, G. E. Stechert.

before finishing, they should be discouraged from spending too long a time over the questions.

3. *The test may be taken in a group or individually.* If taken alone, it is desirable to caution the subject against answering it in collaboration with others, or against spending too much time on it.

4. *There should be no explanation of the purpose or construction of the test before it is taken.* Bias of one sort or another is likely to affect the scores of those who are familiar with the significance of the questions. For this same reason, the score sheets should not be given to the subjects until they have finished taking the test.

5. *Omissions are permissible but undesirable.* Guesses are frequently as significant as more deliberate choices; and omissions make the scoring slightly more complex.

6. *Certain groups, not familiar with psychological tests, need assurance and encouragement.* If the examiner detects an air of suspicion or opposition among the subjects, it should be explained that the Study of Values is not a disguised scale for measuring intelligence, good breeding, or moral knowledge. The subject must be given to understand that the results can in no way detract from his standing. Experience has shown that, with a little encouragement, even groups that are unused to psychological tests develop keen interest, especially if they are to be informed of their scores.

#### INSTRUCTIONS FOR SCORING

*The test is self-scoring.* Both taking and scoring can be completed within one hour. An experienced examiner, if he chooses, may score the papers himself; the entire process for a single paper should take him eight minutes or less.

Unlike most tests of personality, the present scale aims to measure more than a single variable. A few subjects may find it slightly perplexing to treat the six values in the score sheet all at one time. For this reason it is necessary for the examiner to study the method of scoring in advance. He should explain each step, following closely the directions given on the score sheet, and should be prepared to give further explanations, if called for, regarding the following points.

1. *Treatment of omitted questions.* Since the sum of the six final

scores for every subject must be the same, it is necessary that all omitted answers be treated in the manner explained on the score sheet. It is also essential that the sum of the marks for the two answers to any question in Part I equal 3, and the sum of the marks (ranks) for the four answers to any question in Part II equal 10.

2. *The order of transcriptions.* It is desirable to warn the scorers that the marks which they have given to the first (a) answers in Part I are *not always to be transcribed into the left-hand box* on Page 2 of the score sheet. In questions 4, 6, 7, etc., the (a) box is on the *right*. The same principle applies in Part II.

3. *Verification of transcriptions and additions.* The scorer should check the accuracy of his transcriptions and additions by verifying at each stage the sum of his marks according to the figures given in the margins of the score sheet.

4. *The totals for Part II are to be subtracted from the correction figures* at the bottom of the third page of the score sheet.<sup>1</sup> In order to assist the accuracy of his subtractions, the scorer may write these totals again *under* the correction figures.

5. *Drawing the profile.* The six total scores should be plotted as crosses or dots on the *vertical* lines on the back page of the score sheet. The six crosses or dots may then be joined by ruling five short diagonal lines.

6. *The test has been constructed in such a way that 30 is the average score for any single value.* A few subjects obtain profiles that are nearly flat, indicating, of course, that by this test, their attitudes are equally favorable to all six values. Only the larger peaks or depressions in the profiles are likely to be significant, as shown by the norms printed at the bottom of the final page of the score sheet. These norms are based on about 4800 final scores from 800 college students and adults of both sexes. Though the distribution of scores for the

<sup>1</sup> The object of these correction figures is two-fold. In Part I the highest value receives the highest scores; but in Part II, the highest value is given the lowest scores (ranks). The range of total scores in Part I is from 30 to 0, in Part II from 10 to 40. Hence the subtraction of each total in Part II from 40 effects the necessary inversion.

Secondly, it was found that the *theoretical* and *social* values were slightly more attractive than the others in the standardization groups, and a small correction for the unequal popularity of the answers under the six value-headings has been included at this stage for the sake of convenience. The raw *theoretical* total for each individual is therefore subtracted from 39 instead of from 40, the *economic* total (this value being less attractive) is subtracted from 41, etc.

different values varies slightly, a score which is greater than 37 or less than 24 for any one value is probably significant, since it falls within the extreme quintiles.

7. *The test measures only the relative strength of the six evaluative attitudes.* A high score in one value can be obtained only by reducing correspondingly the scores on one or more of the other values. In interpreting the results, therefore, it is necessary to bear in mind that they reveal only the *relative* importance of each of the six values in a given personality, not the total amount of "value energy" or drive possessed by an individual. It is quite possible for the highest value of a generally apathetic person to be less intense and effective than the lowest value of a person in whom all values are prominent and dynamic.

#### RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

Successive revisions of the test have shown that each *theoretical* item is positively associated with the total score derived from all the *theoretical* items, and that the items for each of the other values likewise "hang together" consistently. The split half reliability of the total test is fairly satisfactory. For 776 subjects of both sexes a reliability of  $+ .72$  was obtained by methods which are discussed in the article cited at the beginning of the pamphlet. In one investigation repeat reliabilities of the total test approximate  $+ .82$ .

The validity of the scale cannot be established adequately by the use of rating methods, since the unfamiliarity of most raters with the conceptual nature of the values makes for low reliability in their judgments. Considering the test as a whole, correlations of  $+ .45$  to  $+ .59$  with ratings have been obtained (if corrected for attenuation, these figures would indicate an agreement of about  $+ .83$ ). The reliability and validity for the separate values vary, however: æsthetic and religious values are the most satisfactory, social values the least satisfactory.

More convincing validation comes from an examination of the scores of groups whose characteristics are known. The following table presents some significant comparisons. The highest scores for each group, italicized in the table, confirm the expectation of common sense. The low scores on other values are equally significant.



Sex Differences	Theo- retical	Eco- nomic	Esthetic	Social	Political	Reli- gious
1163 males	30.83	32.02	27.04	29.74	32.08	27.96
1392 females	27.69	27.04	33.03	31.65	27.87	33.31
2755 combined	29.26	29.53	30.04	30.60	29.98	30.63
Illustrative Occupational Differences						
26 students of science (male)	34.3	28.5	28.6	29.4	33.4	25.8
61 students in engineering	32.0	35.1	26.1	29.0	31.4	26.4
125 commercial students (male)	32.2	34.5	21.0	28.7	31.8	30.0
81 salesmanship students (male)	27.1	38.3	24.2	26.8	36.4	25.5
31 students of law (male)	26.0	30.3	28.0	30.7	37.1	27.6
24 students of literature (female)	23.7	27.2	40.2	29.4	29.5	36.1
80 missionaries (both sexes)	27.0	23.0	26.3	35.0	21.8	48.9
26 Boy Scout leaders	31.6	32.6	21.5	32.3	28.5	33.5

Note: The mean scores for these occupational groups are found to be decidedly significant when studied in the light of the statistical reliability of the differences. See page 11 for a reference to additional studies of selected groups of subjects.

### SUGGESTED USES

1. *Classroom Demonstration.* The scale has been found serviceable in courses in general psychology as well as in social psychology and personality. It provides a concrete medium for introducing students to the problem of interest and motive, and especially, of course, to the theories of Spranger's school of thought. It illustrates likewise many of the problems encountered in the measurement of personality (standardization, reliability, validation, interpretation).

Not the least appealing feature of the scale is its "practical" nature. Students always show an interest in their own scores, and enjoy a discussion of the results. They usually feel that the classification of the six types of value is useful to them. Of course they should not be encouraged to regard the types as rigid, but rather to consider them merely as six of the general attitudes in personality in respect to which individuals may profitably be compared.

2. *Research.* In certain types of investigation the *Study of Values* may be found of considerable assistance. Its possible utility in the following lines of research is apparent: (a) the study of sex, racial, vocational and sectional differences; (b) the change in the profiles

of individuals with maturity; (c) the effect of new environments or new courses of instruction upon profiles; (d) resemblances between friends and between members of one family; (e) the relation between values and abilities; (f) the correlation of this scale with other scales directed toward the measurement of interests.

3. *Vocational Guidance and Personnel Work.* Although norms for different occupations are not available, the present test may be useful to the vocational counsellor in securing an initial impression of the interests of his client. The values measured are much broader than specific vocational interests; nevertheless, the preceding table has shown that students of science, law, literature, theology, etc., possess distinctive patterns of values.

#### SPRANGER'S TYPES

In discussing the *Study of Values* with his subjects, the examiner may find it convenient to have at hand the following brief characterization of Spranger's types. For a fuller account he should of course refer directly to Spranger's *Types of Men*.

(1) *The theoretical.* The dominant interest of the theoretical man is the discovery of *truth*. In the pursuit of this goal he characteristically takes a "cognitive" attitude, one that looks for identities and differences; one that divests itself of judgments regarding the beauty or utility of objects, and seeks only to observe and to reason. Since the interests of the theoretical man are empirical, critical, and rational, he is necessarily an intellectualist, frequently a scientist or philosopher.<sup>1</sup> His chief aim in life is to order and to systematize his knowledge.

(2) *The economic.* The economic man is characteristically interested in what is *useful*. Based originally upon the satisfaction of bodily needs (self-preservation), the interest in utilities develops to embrace the practical affairs of the business world — the production, marketing, and consumption of goods, the elaboration of credit, and the accumulation of tangible wealth. This type is thoroughly "practical" and conforms well to the prevailing stereotype of the average American business man.

<sup>1</sup> It must not be thought that a high degree of talent or attainment is necessary to qualify a person for classification in this, or in any, type. Even the most undistinguished personalities are to be known not by their achievements but by their interests and intentions.

The economic attitude frequently comes into conflict with other values. The economic man wants education to be practical, and regards unapplied knowledge as waste. Great feats of engineering, Taylorism, pragmatism, and "applied psychology" result from the demands which economic men make upon science. The value of utility likewise conflicts with the æsthetic value, excepting when art serves commercial ends. Without feeling inappropriateness in his act, the economic man may denude a beautiful hillside or befoul a river with industrial refuse. In his personal life he is likely to confuse luxury with beauty. In his relations with people he is more likely to be interested in surpassing them in wealth than in dominating them (political attitude) or in serving them (social attitude). In some cases the economic man may be said to make his religion the worship of Mammon. In other instances, however, he may have regard for the traditional God, but inclines to consider Him as the giver of good gifts, of wealth, prosperity, and other tangible blessings.

(3) *The æsthetic.* The æsthetic man sees his highest value in *form* and *harmony*. Each single experience is judged from the standpoint of grace, symmetry, or fitness. He regards life as a manifold of events; each single impression is enjoyed for its own sake. He need not be a creative artist; nor need he be effete; he is æsthetic if he but finds his chief interest in the artistic episodes of life.

The æsthetic attitude is in a sense diametrically opposed to the theoretical; the former is concerned with the diversity, and the latter with the identities of experience. The æsthetic man chooses, with Keats, to consider truth as equivalent to beauty, or else to agree with Mencken, that, "to make a thing charming is a million times more important than to make it true." In the economic sphere the æsthete sees the process of manufacturing, advertising, and trade as a wholesale destruction of the values most important to him. In social affairs he may be said to be interested in persons but not in the welfare of persons; he tends toward individualism and self-sufficiency. Æsthetic people often like the beautiful insignia of pomp and power, but oppose political activity when it makes for the repression of individuality. In the field of religion they are likely to confuse beauty with purer religious experience.

(4) *The social.* The highest value for this type is *love* of people;

whether of one or many, whether conjugal, filial, friendly, or philanthropic.<sup>1</sup> The social man prizes other persons as ends, and is therefore himself kind, sympathetic, and unselfish. He is likely to find the theoretical, economic, and æsthetic attitudes cold and inhuman. In contrast to the political type, the social man regards love as itself the only suitable form of power, or else repudiates the entire conception of power as endangering the integrity of personality. In its purest form the social interest is selfless and tends to approach very closely to the religious attitude.

(5) *The political.* The political man is interested primarily in power. His activities are not necessarily within the narrow field of politics; but whatever his vocation, he betrays himself as a *Macht-mensch*. Leaders in any field generally have high power value. Since competition and struggle play a large part in all life, many philosophers have seen power as the most universal and most fundamental of motives. There are, however, certain personalities in whom the desire for a *direct* expression of this motive is uppermost, who wish above all else for personal power, influence, and renown.

(6) *The religious.* The highest value of the religious man may be called *unity*. He is mystical, and seeks to comprehend the cosmos as a whole, to relate himself to its embracing totality. Spranger defines the religious man as one "whose mental structure is permanently directed to the creation of the highest and absolutely satisfying value experience." Some men of this type are "immanent mystics," that is, they find in the affirmation of life and in active participation therein their religious experience. A Faust with his zest and enthusiasm sees something divine in every event. The "transcendental mystic" on the other hand seeks to unite himself with a higher reality by withdrawing from life; he is the ascetic, and, like the holy men of India, finds the experience of unity through self-denial and meditation. In many individuals the negation and affirmation of life alternate to yield the greatest satisfaction.

*Mixtures.* Spranger does not imply that a given man belongs

<sup>1</sup> In the *Study of Values*, scores for social interests have low reliability, a fact which seems to show that this type is not as unified as Spranger believes. Specifically, the results may indicate the need for two distinct types: the narrow personalized love and the broader, socialized and philanthropic love. What is ordinarily called sociability and gregariousness seems to be still different interest.

exclusively to one or another of these types of values. In every personality, as the present test shows, there exist *all* of these six values, although usually in varying degrees of prominence.

#### RECENT APPLICATIONS

A summary of all published work employing the *Study of Values* up to August, 1933, together with a report of several previously unpublished investigations, was issued by H. Cantril and G. W. Allport. Recent Applications of the Study of Values, *Journ. Abnorm. & Soc. Psychol.*, 1933, 28, 259-273. Among the findings of this study may be mentioned:

- (1) the verification of norms and reliabilities;
- (2) the fact that the test is uniformly successful in distinguishing the basic interests of contrasting occupational groups;
- (3) the fact that it discloses distinctive patterns of interests in different colleges and educational centers;
- (4) the fact that an individual's attitudes toward clothes, toward conditions making for contentment in life, toward qualities required by the "ideal" person, toward the content of newspapers — are all consistent reflections of his own personal values as measured by the scale.

Concerning the theoretical implications of the test for the psychology of personality, the authors conclude that these values (with the possible exception of the social) must be interpreted as self-consistent, pervasive, enduring, and above all *generalized*, traits of personality. A person's activity is seldom determined exclusively by the stimulus of the moment, by a transient interest, or by an attitude specific to each situation; it is usually determined by *general evaluative attitudes* which exert a directive effect upon his common activities, and in so doing guarantee the stability and consistency of his personality.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS AND COMMUNICATIONS

The original scale and the present revision of the Manual of Directions were made possible by the generous co-operation of many psychologists and other investigators. The list of contributors is unfortunately too long to permit an individual mention of their names.

The authors will be grateful if users of the scale will continue to send distributions of scores (with a statement of the type of group from which they are obtained), criticisms, and other results of experience. Address communications to G. W. Allport, Emerson Hall, Cambridge, Mass.

## PUBLIC OPINION QUESTIONNAIRE

This is an investigation of general public opinion concerning Jewish people. The following are statements with which some people agree and others disagree. Please mark each one in the left margin, according to the amount of your agreement or disagreement, by using the following scale:

- +3: firm, strong agreement; undoubtedly true in general.
- +2: moderate agreement; true in many cases; often true.
- +1: slight agreement; true in some cases; occasionally.
- 1: slight disagreement; more false than true.
- 2: moderate disagreement; usually not the case; probably wrong.
- 3: strong disagreement; an absolute misconception; false.

- \_\_\_ 1. It would hurt the business of a large concern if it had too many Jewish employees.
- \_\_\_ 2. The Jews should make sincere efforts to rid themselves of their conspicuous and irritating faults, if they really want to stop being persecuted.
- \_\_\_ 3. In order to maintain a nice residential neighborhood it is best to prevent Jews from living in it.
- \_\_\_ 4. War shows up the fact that the Jews are not patriotic nor willing to make sacrifices for their country.
- \_\_\_ 5. The best way to eliminate the Communist menace in this country is to control the Jewish element which guides it.
- \_\_\_ 6. Jews seem to prefer the most luxurious, extravagant and sensual way of living.
- \_\_\_ 7. Much resentment against Jews stems from their tendency to keep apart and to exclude Gentiles from Jewish social life.
- \_\_\_ 8. Colleges should adopt a quota system by which they limit the number of Jews in fields which have too many Jews now.
- \_\_\_ 9. The Jews must be considered a bad influence on Christian culture and civilization.
- \_\_\_ 10. In order to handle the Jewish problem, Gentiles must meet fire with fire and use the same ruthless tactics with the Jews that the Jews use with Gentiles.
- \_\_\_ 11. The Jewish districts in most cities are results of the clannishness and stick-togetherness of Jews.
- \_\_\_ 12. Jews may have moral standards that they apply in their dealing with each other, but with Christians they are unscrupulous, ruthless, and undependable.
- \_\_\_ 13. On the whole, the Jews have probably contributed less to American life than any other group.
- \_\_\_ 14. One thing that has hindered the Jews from establishing their own nation is the fact that they really have no culture of their own; instead, they tend to copy the things that are important to the native citizens of whatever country they are in.
- \_\_\_ 15. A step toward solving the Jewish problem would be to prevent Jews from getting into superior, profitable positions in society, for a while at least.
- \_\_\_ 16. The true Christian can never forgive the Jews for their crucifixion of Christ.
- \_\_\_ 17. Jews go too far in hiding their Jewishness, especially such extremes as changing names, straightening noses, and imitating Christian manners and customs.

18. It is not wise for a Christian to be seen too much with Jews, as he might be taken for a Jew, or be looked down upon by his Christian friends.
19. When Jews create large funds for educational or scientific research (Rosenwald, Heller, etc.) it is mainly a desire for fame and public notice rather than a really sincere scientific interest.
20. There is something different and strange about Jews; one never knows what they are thinking or planning, nor what makes them tick.
21. The Jewish problem is so general and deep that one often doubts that democratic methods can ever solve it.
22. A major fault of the Jews is their conceit, overbearing pride, and their idea that they are a chosen race.
23. One of the first steps to be taken in cleaning up the movies and generally improving the situation in Hollywood is to put an end to Jewish domination there.
24. There is little hope of correcting the racial defects of the Jews, since these defects are simply in their blood.
25. One big trouble with Jews is that they are never contented, but always try for the best jobs and the most money.
26. The trouble with letting Jews into a nice neighborhood is that they gradually give it a typical Jewish atmosphere.
27. It is wrong for Jews and Gentiles to intermarry.
28. One trouble with Jewish business men is that they stick together and connive, so that a Gentile doesn't have a fair chance in competition.
29. No matter how Americanized, a Jew may seem to be, there is always something basically Jewish underneath, a loyalty to Jewry and a manner that is never totally changed.
30. Jewish millionaires may do a certain amount to help their own people, but little of their money goes into worthwhile American causes.
31. Most hotels should deny admittance to Jews, as a general rule.
32. The Jew's first loyalty is to Jewry rather than to his country.
33. It is best that Jews should have their own fraternities and sororities, since they have their own particular interests and activities which they can best engage in together, just as Christians get along best in all-Christian fraternities.
34. Jewish power and control in money matters is far out of proportion to the number of Jews in the total population.
35. Jewish leaders should encourage Jews to be more inconspicuous, to keep out of professions and activities already over-crowded with Jews, and to keep out of the public notice.
36. I can hardly imagine myself marrying a Jew.
37. The Jews should give up their un-Christian religion with all its strange customs (kosher diet, special holidays, etc.) and participate actively and sincerely in the Christian religion.
38. There is little doubt that Jewish pressure is largely responsible for the U.S. getting into the war with Germany.
39. The Jews keep too much to themselves, instead of taking the proper interest in community problems and good government.
40. Jews seem to have an aversion to plain hard work; they tend to be a parasitic element in society by finding easy, non-productive jobs.

- \_\_\_ 41. It is sometimes all right to ban Jews from certain apartment houses.
- \_\_\_ 42. Jews tend to remain a foreign element in American society, to preserve their old social standards and to resist the American way of life.
- \_\_\_ 43. Districts containing many Jews always seem to be smelly, dirty, shabby and unattractive.
- \_\_\_ 44. It would be to the best interests of all if the Jews would form their own nation and keep more to themselves.
- \_\_\_ 45. There are too many Jews in the various Federal agencies and bureaus in Washington, and they have too much control over our national policies.
- \_\_\_ 46. Anyone who employs many people should be careful not to hire a large percentage of Jews.
- \_\_\_ 47. One general fault of Jews is their over-aggressiveness, a strong tendency always to display their Jewish looks, manners, and breeding.
- \_\_\_ 48. There are a few exceptions, but in general Jews are pretty much alike.
- \_\_\_ 49. Jews should be more concerned with their personal appearance, and not be so dirty and smelly and unkempt.
- \_\_\_ 50. There seems to be some revolutionary streak in the Jewish make-up as shown by the fact that there are so many Jewish Communists and agitators.
- \_\_\_ 51. The Jews should not pry so much into Christian activities and organizations, nor seek so much recognition and prestige from Christians.
- \_\_\_ 52. Jews tend to lower the general standard of living by their willingness to do the most menial work and to live under standards that are far below average.



# A STUDY OF VALUES

## PART I

**DIRECTIONS:** A number of controversial statements or questions with two alternative answers are given below. Indicate your personal preferences by writing the appropriate figures in the right-hand columns, as indicated:

If you agree with alternative (a) and disagree with (b), write 3 in the first column and 0 in the second column, thus

(a)	(b)
3	0

If you agree with (b); disagree with (a), write

0	3
---	---

If you have a slight preference for (a) over (b), write

2	1
---	---

If you have a slight preference for (b) over (a), write

1	2
---	---

Do not write any other combination of figures after any question except one of these four.

There is no time limit, but do not linger long over any one question or statement, and do not leave out any of the questions, unless you find it really impossible to make a decision.

1. The main object of scientific research should be the discovery of pure truth rather than its practical applications. (a) Yes; (b) No.

(a)	(b)

2. Do you think that it is justifiable for the greatest artists, such as Beethoven, Wagner, Byron, etc., to be selfish and negligent of the feelings of others? (a) Yes; (b) No.

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY, PUBLISHERS

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29. Under similar circumstances would you choose to write about: (a) the best way to distribute one's income between, say, the necessities of life, luxuries, and savings, or (b) the personality of some close friend of yours.

30. When witnessing a gorgeous ceremony (ecclesiastical or academic, induction into office, etc.) are you more impressed: (a) by the unified idea or institution which the group represents, or (b) by the color and pageantry of the occasion itself?

(a)	(b)

Continue with Part II.

## PART II

**DIRECTIONS:** Each of the following situations or questions is followed by four possible attitudes or answers. Arrange these answers in the order of your personal preference from first to fourth by writing, in the left hand margin,

- ...1... beside the answer that appeals to you most,
- ...2... beside the answer which is next most important to you,
- ...3... beside the next, and
- ...4... beside the answer that least represents your interest or preference.

You may think of answers which would be preferable from your point of view to any of those listed. It is necessary, however, that you make your selection from the alternatives presented, and arrange all four in order of their desirability, guessing when your preferences are not distinct. If you find it really impossible to guess your preference, you may omit the question.

1. Do you think that a good government should aim chiefly at —
- .....a. more aid for the poor, sick, and old
  - .....b. the development of manufacturing and trade
  - .....c. introducing more ethical principles into its policies and diplomacy
  - .....d. establishing a position of prestige and respect among nations

2. In your opinion, can a man who works in business for his living all the week best spend Sunday in —

- .....a. trying to educate himself by reading serious books
- .....b. trying to win at golf, or racing
- .....c. going to an orchestral concert
- .....d. hearing a really good sermon

3. If you could influence the educational policies of the public schools of some city, would you undertake —

- .....a. to promote the study and the performance of drama
- .....b. to develop coöperativeness and the spirit of service
- .....c. to provide additional laboratory facilities
- .....d. to promote school savings banks for education in thrift

4. Do you prefer a friend (of your own sex) who —

- .....a. is efficient, industrious, and of a practical turn of mind
- .....b. is seriously interested in thinking out his attitude toward life as a whole
- .....c. possesses qualities of leadership and organizing ability
- .....d. shows refinement and emotional sensitivity

5. If you lived in a small town and had more than enough income for your needs, would you prefer to —

- .....a. apply it productively to industrial development
- .....b. help to endow the church to which you belong
- .....c. give it to a university for the development of scientific research
- .....d. devote it to hospitals

6. When you go to the theatre do you, as a rule, enjoy most —

- .....a. plays that treat the lives of great men
- .....b. ballet or similar imaginative performances
- .....c. plays with a theme of human suffering and love
- .....d. problem plays that argue consistently for some point of view

7. Assuming that you are a man with the necessary ability, and that the salary for each of the following occupations is the same, would you prefer to be a —

- .....a. mathematician
- .....b. sales manager
- .....c. clergyman
- .....d. politician

8. If you had unlimited leisure and money, would you prefer to —

- .....a. make a collection of fine sculptures or paintings
- .....b. establish a mental hygiene clinic for taking care of the maladjusted and mentally deficient
- .....c. aim at a senatorship, or a seat in the Cabinet
- .....d. enter into banking and high finance

9. At an evening discussion with intimate friends of your own sex, are you most interested when you talk about —

- .....a. the "meaning" of life
- .....b. philosophy and psychology
- .....c. literature
- .....d. socialism and social amelioration

10. Which of the following would you prefer to do during part of your next summer vacation (if your ability and other conditions would permit) —

- .....a. write and publish an original biological essay or article
- .....b. stay in some secluded part of the country where you can appreciate fine scenery
- .....c. go in for a local tennis or other athletic tournament
- .....d. get experience in some new line of business

11. Do great exploits and adventures of discovery such as Lindbergh's and Byrd's seem to you significant because —

- .....a. they represent conquests by man over the difficult forces of nature
- .....b. they add to our knowledge of mechanics, geography, meteorology, etc.
- .....c. they weld human interests and international feelings throughout the world
- .....d. they contribute to the ultimate revelation of the meaning of the universe

12. Should one guide one's conduct according to, or develop one's chief loyalties toward —

- .....a. one's religious faith
- .....b. ideals of beauty
- .....c. one's business organizations and associates
- .....d. society as a whole

13. To what extent do the following famous persons interest or attract you —

- .....a. Florence Nightingale
- .....b. Napoleon
- .....c. Henry Ford
- .....d. Charles Darwin

14. If you should marry (or are married), do you prefer a wife who —  
(Women answer the alternative form below) —

- .....a. can achieve social prestige, commanding admiration from others
- .....b. likes to stay at home and keep house
- .....c. is fundamentally spiritual in her attitude toward life
- .....d. is gifted along artistic lines

(For women) Do you prefer a husband who —

- .....a. is successful in his profession, commanding admiration from others
- .....b. is domestic in his tastes
- .....c. is fundamentally spiritual in his attitude toward life
- .....d. is gifted along artistic lines

15. Viewing Leonardo da Vinci's picture — "The Last Supper" — would you tend to think of it —

- .....a. as expressing the highest spiritual tendencies and emotions
- .....b. as one of the most priceless and irreplaceable pictures ever painted
- .....c. in relation to Leonardo's versatility and its place in history
- .....d. as a masterpiece of design



## PUBLIC OPINION QUESTIONNAIRE

Below appear some general questions, answers to which will be of value in interpreting the results of this study. Please answer all of them.

Are you a veteran of World War II (Check one) Yes\_\_\_\_ No\_\_\_\_

In what college class are you? (Check one) Freshman\_\_\_\_

Soph. \_\_\_\_\_

Junior \_\_\_\_\_

Senior \_\_\_\_\_

Other \_\_\_\_\_

What is your religious preference? Protestant\_\_\_\_

Jewish \_\_\_\_\_

Catholic \_\_\_\_\_

Other (fill in) \_\_\_\_\_

No preference \_\_\_\_\_

Sex-----Male\_\_\_\_Female\_\_\_\_

Age on last birthday\_\_\_\_yrs. Date of birth\_\_\_\_\_

Major\_\_\_\_\_

Which of the following Basic College courses have you taken?  
(include those you are taking this term) Please indicate  
number of terms by writing in 1, 2 or 3 in the blank spaces.

Written and Spoken English\_\_\_\_

Biological Science.....\_\_\_\_

Physical Science.....\_\_\_\_

History of Civilization...\_\_\_\_

Lit. & Fine Arts.....\_\_\_\_

Social Science.....\_\_\_\_

Effective Living.....\_\_\_\_

\*\*\*\*\*

Some people are prejudiced against Jewish people; some people are not. For a moment imagine yourself as an individual who is distinctly prejudiced against Jews. State as many reasons for the prejudice as you can.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.

Now imagine yourself as an individual who is distinctly not prejudiced against Jews. State as many reasons for not being prejudiced as you can.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.