

ATTITUDES TOWARD MINORITY GROUPS IN
RELATION TO RURAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

By

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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I feel that the total research project, of which this is only one part, represents a real community of effort. The interchange of the ideas of men from several related disciplines strengthened

the research program. This applies to all phases of the research. Nevertheless, I must accept sole responsibility for the application of the method of analysis and the interpretation of the data.

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PART I

ATTITUDES IN THE RURAL MIDWEST
TOWARD MINORITY GROUPS

CHAPTER ONE

THE PROBLEM AND METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

The Problem

This research was undertaken first of all to answer what appeared to be a comparatively simple question. What are the patterns of sentiments and beliefs toward certain traditional minority groups which are to be found in the rural midwest? In recent years a number of surveys, particularly those sponsored by the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League, have inquired into the attitudes toward minority groups which are expressed by residents of large urban centers. But while there has been a great amount of speculation about the possible sentiments that operate in rural areas, particularly the midwest, until the present project there have been no systematic attempts to determine the climate of opinion in this important part of the nation. It is true that professional polling agencies have, from time to time, conducted national surveys of a sample population to determine answers to a specific question or so about Jews or Negroes. From such surveys estimates have been made of regional differences but such results are not comparable to the more intensive surveys of urban centers. Hence, this research was entered into, first of all, to obtain a reasonably complete picture of the general climate of opinion which prevails in a typical portion of the rural cornbelt of midwest America.

Since World War II it has become increasingly apparent that the

attitudes of rural folk toward minorities, their insulation from or susceptibility to anti-democratic creeds and propaganda, their ideology, in other words, is extremely important to the determination of national events. The evidence of recent studies¹ has shown that the Nazi movement received much of its support from the German peasant. What then is the prevailing level of tolerance or intolerance in rural mid-America toward minorities?

But while the answer to this question is important to action agencies interested in discovering where programs for increasing group understanding are most needed, it does not in itself throw light on what kinds of programs are necessary. In fact much of the thinking along this line assumes that there is one rural America and that the folk therein are much the same. In a modern industrial society it is easy to assume that rural areas are primarily composed of farm folk with a few merchants and professional people to supply their wants. But studies of rural life indicate that this assumption does not hold--especially in the midwest. There the lines of communication are extensive and the differences between city and country are becoming less and less easy to determine. That is, rural midwest America is not a simple, folk society but a complex set of interrelated social systems. Insofar as this is true a more difficult problem for research is raised. What is the relationship between the social structure of a typical midwestern area to attitudes toward minority groups?

¹See Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, "The Spread of German Nazism in Rural Areas," Am. Soc. Rev., 11:724-734, 1946.

The necessity to raise this question rests upon the assumption that in the rural regions, as in larger cities, social structure is a complex equilibrium which depends for its maintenance upon a variety of interrelated variables. The answer to the question, insofar as it can be answered, implies the possibility of discovering certain generalizations about human relations which may apply not only to rural society in mid-America but, with modifications, to urban society as well.

The specific problem of this research may now be stated. What are the patterns of attitudes expressed in the rural midwest toward certain minority groups, and in what ways are these patterns related to the social structure? This problem may be phrased as a guiding hypothesis for the research analysis which follows. Namely, within a total pattern of sentiments and beliefs about certain minority groups manifested by people of the rural midwest, there are distinguishably different sub-cultural patterns which are associated with different positions in the social structure.

Selection of the Region

The final selection of the specific region to be investigated was made after considerable study. The criteria of "rurality" and "midwestern" are themselves so broad that many variations are possible. For example, western Kansas is both midwestern and rural but the pattern of land use is obviously different, among other reasons because of the dependence upon one crop, from that of western Ohio which is also midwestern and rural. The methodological problem was that of selecting an area small enough to be sampled adequately, large enough

to include all major aspects of human relationships within the area, and typical, to a considerable extent, of many other such areas in the midwest.

Typicality is a useful construct as long as it is understood to refer to a common pattern which approximates some portion of reality. Ideal-types, as Weber, who made extensive use of this methodological tool, has pointed out, are not averages in a statistical sense, although statistics may play some part in determining the criteria to be included in the ideal-type. To select the average, in a statistical sense, rural midwestern locality is to deviate considerably from any one of the several typical patterns of technological and ecological relationships which are actually to be found. For this research one typical pattern was selected and, from a number of areas where this pattern predominated, a final selection of a "typical" region was made.²

The resulting choice was designated as Maple County, MidState.³ This county was typical of many regions in the corn belt. The principal crops are mixed grain and livestock. The county seat is located in the center of the county, is larger than any of the other towns, and, to a considerable extent, dominates the surrounding area in terms of trade, political, and social activity. Moreover, Maple County is located at a sufficient distance from large urban centers so that it is not directly dominated by a metropolis. On the other hand, the county is close enough, with high speed highways, to large

²For a more detailed discussion of the actual steps which were taken to make this choice the reader is referred to Appendix A.

³This is a pseudonym, as are other names used in this thesis. The purpose is to preserve anonymity, particularly as much of this thesis data will be used in the total project report which makes many references to specific individuals who were guaranteed anonymity by the researchers.

metropolitan areas so that it is typical of much of the midwest where a journey to a large city and back may be made within one day's time.

In general, Maple County, MidState is a typical corn belt, county-seat dominated, area. It is neither so large as to include a disproportionate number of industrial, urban residents, nor so small as to indicate an atypical, sparsely settled region. The county, according to the 1950 census, has a population of about 30,000. The principal town of Johnstown, the county seat, according to the 1950 census, has a population of about 8500. Brownsville, which has considerably more industrial workers, proportionately, than the other towns, has a population of about 1800. This is the 1940 census figure and it is probable that the population, at the time the research was undertaken, was nearer 2000. Adams is a town composed in large part of widows and retired farmers and has about 1300 inhabitants according to the 1940 census. It is not likely that this figure will be changed much when the 1950 census figures are available. There is one other town in Maple County but it is located at the extreme northwestern tip of the county and was not included in the county seat community area which was selected for analysis.

Maple County is typical also of many other such counties in the midwest because there are few members of traditional minority groups who live in the county. It is typical also in that there is an ethnic group of fairly recent origin which has found a place for itself there. In this case it is a Polish group, now in the third generation, which originally came to the county in the latter part of the nineteenth

century. In other regions such a group is likely to be composed of Scandinavians, Dutch, or Germans who came to this country and migrated to the midwest during the last century.

Selection of the Sample

Having selected an area which was deemed typical of the rural midwest, the next step was that of selecting a sample which was accurate enough in its main outline so that it could represent the larger population in the area from which it was drawn. The problem, in other words, was that of drawing a random sample population which was sufficiently stratified to represent the main county seat community area which had been chosen for study. Because of budget limitations the projected sample was to be approximately 400, which necessitated considerable care in the drawing of the sample.

The writer, serving as a community observer for several months before interviewing began, together with the chairman of the total research project, developed several criteria for the purpose. It was, first of all, necessary to draw proportionate numbers of respondents to approximate the actual proportion of rural and town residents of the county seat community.

In the smaller towns of Brownsville and Adams, where no important residential differences were observable, geographic divisions were made to insure that all parts of the town were given an equal chance to be represented, and proportionate samples of households were drawn for interviews.

In the larger city of Johnstown there were no clearly defined

broad areas of residential difference but there were a variety of sub-areas scattered throughout the town which were obviously different from adjoining areas. To obtain a representative sample of heads of households in the county seat the town was stratified into relatively homogeneous ecological areas. These areas were delineated by the community observer and the chairman of the research project upon the basis of the type of housing and the predominate occupational level known to live in these areas. The sources of information were the city directory, real estate agents, informants who had lived for many years in the town, and the ratings of the researchers as they observed and mapped each of the housing areas in the city. A proportionate random sample was drawn from each of the six strata delineated by this method.

The problem in the rural area was somewhat more difficult. Since the major task of the research was to determine the relationship between social structure and attitudes toward minority groups, it was necessary to attempt to stratify the rural region into structural components.

One of the first things to impress the observer in Maple County is the similarity of the country side--not so much in terms of its physical appearance but the general impression of the similarity of its residents. But the second observation is one of rather sharp differences. As the observer drives around the country, stopping at country stores, visiting with farmers, and inquiring about what organizations and activities are available to the residents of any particular local area, he is gradually impressed with the extent to which localities differ. This difference is associated with the kinds

of people and their occupational and social activities.

One basis for stratification of the rural area, therefore, was the amount of possible interaction which could take place within a given area. A map of the total county seat community was drawn on which numerous small rural localities were delineated. Such localities were determined from interviews with a number of informants in the localities and adjacent thereto. These locality groups were composed of people who had some interaction centered in such activities as a district school, rural church, country store, home extension club, birthday club, or a combination of these and similar activities. But when these localities with such known centers of possible interaction were identified there remained large areas, particularly in the larger reorganized school districts, where no such activities were available as possible stimulants to interaction and organizational membership. Such areas were then divided into segments of approximately the same size as those with identifiable centers. The boundaries of these segments were usually determined by the boundaries of the identifiable locality groups, such as former school district boundaries, high school attendance area boundaries, and the judgments of informants. In a few cases, where no such "natural" boundaries could be discovered, arbitrary lines were drawn to divide the areas into localities of about the same size as those that could be identified. The final map showed locality groups of approximately twenty-five to forty families. There were approximately one hundred such localities in the open country area of the county seat community. A few localities that were on the periphery of the county and clearly bound to other communities were eliminated from the sampling universe.

These open country localities were classified according to two criteria: (1) the presence or absence of identifiable bases of locality group integration, and (2) the degree of communication and contact with the county seat center. In the former category the locality group was classified as "integrated" if there was a strong, functioning rural school district, or some other equally strong agency of local interaction; or if there were two less inclusive activities such as a country store, neighborhood club, or the like. Those localities which had no such activities, or an activity which involved only part of the people, were classified as "non-integrated."

In accordance with the second criterion the localities were classified as county seat trade center localities if the families in a given locality were likely to have frequent contact with the county seat through such interests as high school attendance, inclusive shopping, church activities, or similar reasons for visiting Johnstown. Those localities in which the inhabitants had more frequent contacts, of the kind indicated, with a subsidiary village in or near the county than they did with the county seat, although they were likely to go there on occasion for business, medical care, specialized shopping or similar services, were classified as a part of the greater county seat community but not county seat trade center localities.

By the above described classification all of the localities were identified as belonging to one of four strata. In addition, the problem of sampling a disproportionate number of rural farm or non-farm respondents had to be solved. Using the 1945 farm census data

the various townships within the county were classified into various proportions of rural farm residents. By inspection there appeared to be a "natural" break when the proportion of 80 per cent was used. That is, this proportion appeared to differentiate between townships with primarily farm residents and those with considerably larger numbers of non-farm residents. Accordingly, this proportion was taken as the best means of distinguishing between townships in terms of high and low percentages of rural farm residents. This further classification resulted in a division of the locality groups into those located in townships with less than 80 per cent rural farm residents and those in townships with more than 80 per cent rural farm residents. There were thus eight possible categories of locality groups. A proportionate random sample of localities was drawn from each of these categories. A total of ten localities were selected for study, since this figure yielded approximately the anticipated proportion of rural respondents necessary to complete the sample of the county seat community.

In each of these localities and in the towns either the male or female head of all households was interviewed. The selection of the households in which the female was to be interviewed was made by random numbers. If a household did not have the designated male or female head, or if this person could not be reached for an interview, substitutions were not made in the rural localities but were made in the towns. Interviews were obtained with over 90 per cent of the designated household heads in the ten rural localities. Since the localities were selected as indicated the respondents represent a

cross section of the open country social groupings in the county seat community. They also comprise a representative sample of the male and female heads of households in the open country.

It should be pointed out that the success of the research in reaching such a large proportion of the rural respondents resulted in a somewhat larger proportion of respondents who lived in the open country area than the population data required. This does not affect the subsequent analyses of the various structural components of the sample but it does affect, in the direction of a greater number of rural respondents, the representativeness of the total sample. For purposes of reporting the total sample findings an attempt was made to correct this bias by selecting at random, on the basis of the stratification used in the towns, thirty-seven town respondents whose responses were duplicated on the I.B.M. cards and included with the 429 actual respondents in order to compute the results for the total sample.⁴

Development of the Measurement Techniques

The final methodological problem which required solution before the research could be undertaken was that of the operations which might be applied to yield the desired information with respect to the kinds of attitudes manifested by rural midwestern people toward certain minority groups. For this particular research three traditional minorities, none of whom were represented to any extent in the county

⁴This process, which was undertaken to keep the total sample exactly as the sampling procedure required, actually resulted in extremely small differences in mean responses--ranging from .00 to .08. It should also be pointed out that there were 430 respondents in this sample but one was eliminated from the attitude analysis because of insufficient data.

seat community of this study, were selected. These were Jews, Negroes, and Mexicans. All three groups have been the target for overt hostility in many areas of this country. Jews and Negroes have long been traditional minorities in the United States. Mexicans, since the need in many parts of the midwest for migratory workers for certain crops, have appeared for short times in increasing numbers throughout the middle part of America. In their own areas in the southwest, Mexicans have occupied a disadvantaged position and minority status. They were included for investigation in this sample in order to see to what extent attitudes in the midwest toward a minority group which was becoming increasingly visible, were favorable or unfavorable.

The principal tool for investigation of attitudes was the interview. The final schedule required about one hour and covered a wide range of control questions (independent variables such as age, sex, occupation, etc.), information with respect to the kinds of social systems in which the respondent participated, and a number of attitude questions pertaining to the three minority groups.

This interview schedule was constructed after the community was selected and was adapted to the specific situation in which it was used. Numerous items in the schedule, particularly those items designed to measure attitudes toward minority groups, were similar to those used in other studies in Baltimore, Minneapolis, and St. Paul.⁵ In some cases, however, items used to indicate attitudes in

⁵These studies were conducted under the auspices of the Department of Scientific Research of the American Jewish Committee and, with the exception of the Baltimore study, are not yet published.

urban areas were found to be ill-adapted to the rural situation when pretested, and were modified accordingly.

The total schedule went through eight successive editions during the construction process. Several of these editions were taken into communities, very much like the one to be studied, and pretested. Before going into the sample area one entire locality of about forty households in another similar county was interviewed to test the effectiveness of the questions. After arriving in the sample area a locality which had not been drawn for the sample was used as a final "trial run" and for training the interviewers in last minute preparation for the study itself.

All of these preparations were important, both for the training of interviewers in the more precise use of the instrument, and for discovering weaknesses which required correction before the instrument was ready for the field. Many of the revisions involved vocabulary changes which were necessary to put the questions and introductory statements into the specific vernacular of the rural people in the sample region. Others involved changes in question sequence to secure more effective responses.

The entire process of schedule construction was carried on through regular consultation among members of the research committee. The composition of this committee was of particular significance in this as well as other stages of the total research project. It included anthropologists, a psychologist with much experience in the analysis of prejudice, a statistician who had worked on numerous social science projects, sociologists from several fields of special interests and

training, and social psychologists. The contributions of all of these were fused into the interviewing instrument.⁶

The instrument included three kinds of attitude questions. There were a number of questions with a possible five-point scale response, ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." These questions were asked of the respondent by the interviewer, who then estimated the intensity of the response. Most of the members of the interviewing team took part in the pretesting and were thoroughly familiar with the schedule and what it was designed to do. The instructions to interviewers for coding the answers to the five-point scale items were that they must determine first the direction of the response and then estimate its intensity. They were strongly cautioned to use the extreme ends of the scale only when they were absolutely certain that it was proper to do so. In cases of doubt they were to code the less intense response. While this permitted some extreme responses to be coded at a more moderate level, it tended to insure that all responses which were coded as extreme were likely to be so. Errors by the interviewer in coding these items thus tended to move toward the middle of the scale.

There were five five-point scale items which pertained to attitudes toward Jews. In addition to the score for each question the responses to these five questions were summed for each respondent and a "total Jewish Prejudice score" calculated. There were four five-point scale items which pertained to attitudes toward Negroes.

⁶The final draft of this schedule is included in Appendix B. It includes all the questions for the total research project and, hence, more than is being reported for this particular research problem. In order to preserve anonymity identifying town, county and state names have been changed to agree with those used herein.

These were summed in the same way so that a "total Negro Prejudice score" could be obtained.

In addition to the above described items, there were six items, two referring to each minority, which used a three-point scale. Some of these items were taken from, all were modelled after some of those used in the California studies of prejudice.⁷ In this case the respondent was handed a card containing the items and the three possible responses and, as the interviewer read each question, the respondent indicated the response which best fit his particular point of view. All of these questions were summed for each respondent and, in addition to the score for each separate question, a "Total Prejudice score" was calculated. This score was designed to measure to some extent the general pattern of sentiments toward all three minority groups to supplement the information obtained with respect to the pattern of sentiments toward each minority group.

Besides these two kinds of structured questions there were three unstructured questions. Two of these questions pertained to Negroes and were based on what had been a very real situation to many of the people of Johnstown and the surrounding county seat community. About eight months before the research began there had been a letter published on the front page of the county seat newspaper, purportedly from a Negro minister in Detroit, wherein a request was made for fifty Negro families to move to Johnstown. As one Johnstown informant told the writer, "You never heard of so much excitement.

⁷The questions referred to were developed for use in the California Attitude Scale by the Institute of Child Welfare, University of California.

Everybody in town was talking about it, but I guess, deep down inside, nobody was for it." As a matter of fact the letter was a hoax by one of the residents of Johnstown, although very few people in town were aware of this.

This letter, with its attendant public discussion, furnished a basis for an open-ended question to which the respondent was allowed to respond as he wished. Probes were used to obtain more information if the respondent appeared reluctant. Further on in the schedule another open-ended question pertaining to the possibility of a Negro family moving next door to the respondent was also asked. This question corresponded to a structured question concerning the desirability of Negroes living in white neighborhoods. An additional unstructured question, which concerned the possibility of a Jewish merchant buying the largest store in town, was also used. This was done to approximate the situation with respect to the possibility of Negroes moving to Johnstown, and to test the stereotypes that might be associated with Jews in market relationships.

The Mexican questions were fewer in number and all were of the structured type. Two were five-point scale items and two were three-point scale items. There was no attempt made to develop a total Mexican prejudice score because the number of five-point scale items did not appear to warrant it. The two three-point Mexican questions, however, were included in the "Total Prejudice score."

The interviewing was completed as rapidly as possible. In order to reduce the possibility that responses would be modified by

communication between persons who had been interviewed and those who had not, each locality and stratum in town was interviewed within a two day period. The basic team of interviewers was made up of graduate students in sociology and recent graduates with training in sociology and psychology. The pretesting experience served as a training period. Out of this experience a set of interviewing instructions was prepared. These instructions were used in training several school teachers, from communities near the scene of the study, who were used as additional interviewers. All of these had personal instruction and training in the field with a member of the basic interviewing team before they began actual interviewing. All schedules were carefully edited by an experienced interviewer who served as a field supervisor. This editing immediately after the interview made it possible to complete inadequate reporting and make other corrections in the schedule that would have been impossible if the editing had been delayed until return from the field.

Reliability of the Instrument

The question of the reliability and validity of any instrument designed to obtain attitudes is always a difficult problem. There are a number of statistical devices which may be used to approximate some answer to this question, although each presents certain methodological problems and the possibility for some error. The question of validity is ultimately an epistemological problem. To what extent the knower can know, how much congruence of meaning there is between asker and responder, are questions which cannot be answered with finality for this or any other research at our present stage of

scientific development. Nevertheless, some attempt must be made to obtain valid responses. In this research much dependence was placed on the field trials to which the schedule was put. Questions were altered again and again until they provoked replies that indicated that asker and responder were within communicating range, although such lines of communication were, in all probability, subject to many unique variations in terms of ultimate meaning.

It is necessary at this point to fall back upon the advantages and disadvantages of the operational method. In terms of operations, certain respondents, selected as representatives of a larger population, were asked certain questions pertaining to various facets of opinions about three minority groups. Operationally it may be claimed only that the replies indicate the willingness of the respondents to manifest certain sentiments--sentiments delimited by the nature of the questions themselves.

If this were primarily a study of the organization of attitudes within the unique frame of reference of the psychological individual these operations would not be enough. They can reveal little about the personal meaning attached to such expressions. Questions relative to the saliency of a particular item for a particular respondent may well be raised. To what extent the willingness or unwillingness of the respondent to manifest a certain sentiment is related to his willingness or unwillingness to engage in particular actions toward individual members of minority groups is not determinable by these operations. But there are certain other possibilities from a sociological point of view.

The problem is one of obtaining a picture at a particular moment in time of the beliefs and sentiments manifested by rural people in the midwest toward Jews, Negroes and Mexicans. The greater the number of questions, the more carefully the interviewer is trained, the larger the population interviewed, the more completely questions are reworked so that respondents appear to know what is intended by the question, the more nearly validity is approached. It has been the intent of this chapter to present the specific nature of the steps taken in this research to approach validity and to show that these steps were at least adequate.

The reliability of the items used in the schedule presents a somewhat different problem. If it had been the intent of the schedule to use a given set of responses to predict similar responses which might be made in the future by an individual respondent, we would be presented with one kind of problem. Even here, as Pepinsky⁸ has ably argued with respect to sociometric testing, there is need to examine carefully what we mean by reliability in any individual case. But the schedule was designed to test the range and mean of responses which a sample population, considered as a group or set of sub-groups, made to certain questions. In other words, what sentiments are manifested by this population? No assumption is made that sentiments will not change in individual cases, but an assumption is made that the responses, considered as a group, to a variety of questions about Jews, Negroes and Mexicans, will yield a

⁸Pauline Pepinsky, "The Meaning of 'Validity' and 'Reliability' as Applied to Sociometric Tests," Ed. and Psychol. Meas., 9:39-49, 1949.

pattern of sentiments, a slice of the total culture of the respondents, which will indicate the level of tolerance or intolerance that is, in general, operating for the total group and the sub-groups thereof.

This argument, however, is not intended to be used to avoid testing for reliability. While it was not feasible to perform a test of reliability which was based on the sample population or to obtain a similar population for a reliability check, the attitude questions used in the schedule were administered in a pre- and post-reliability experiment to a population of college students at Michigan State College. An explanation of the method and a description of the results from this experiment are given in Appendix B where the findings are summarized in Table A.

Since, for the purposes of this research, the basic problem was to be certain that the attitude questions provoked responses that were reasonably indicative of the sentiments of the sample population, considered as a group at a given moment in time, the pre- and post-test means for the individual questions are, perhaps, most significant. These differences range from .01 to .16 and are small enough to indicate, insofar as the college population is an adequate standard, that the attitude questions appear to provoke quite similar responses when given at two fairly close periods in time. The very large per cent of respondents who gave the same response to both tests indicates that, in individual cases, the instrument appears to have a fairly high degree of reliability.

It may be noted in passing that the writer has used the terms

sentiments and attitudes interchangeably. It should be clear from the foregoing discussion why this usage has prevailed. Attitudes are not taken in this research to refer to the unique organization of any individual in terms of a set of behavioral responses. Rather they are taken as objective manifestations of the underlying current of beliefs and sentiments which prevail in the culture of the group which was chosen for study. It should be remembered, as data are presented and interpreted in future chapters, that full allowance must be made for the limitations of method. Following Pareto's analysis of the role of sentiments this writer will use the data to impute sentiments which are manifested by the total sample and sub-groups of this sample in response to the questions designed for the interview schedule. While, in the final analysis, these sentiments may never known in all their completeness, the empirical data should constitute one kind of evidence of their presence.

The Method of Analysis

The method of analyzing the data of the research, in order to determine if there are differences in attitudes toward minorities which are associated with differences in position in the social structure, will be that of the analysis of variance. This analysis yields a statistic known as F which, when only two groups are compared, is the algebraic equivalent of the familiar Student's t . In such a case $F = t^2$.

By means of the analysis of variance, however, several groups may be compared simultaneously. The essential problem is to determine if the variance between groups is significantly greater than the

variance within groups. F , as computed by the analysis is the statistic which indicates the probability that the difference between groups in comparison with the difference within groups is a chance occurrence. Fisher has developed tables to determine the size of F , in relationship to the number of groups and the size of the sample population, which is required in order to be statistically significant at a given probability level. In this research Snedecor's tables,⁹ based on the original tables of Fisher, were used. For this research both the five per cent and the one per cent probability levels were used. The one per cent level, wherein the results could occur by chance only once in a hundred trials, will be accepted with confidence. The five per cent level will be accepted more cautiously and its interpretation will depend upon supplementary data.

The analysis of variance technique depends upon two major assumptions. One is that the errors which occur will be distributed at random in terms of a normal population of errors. This assumption was made for the data of this research after the original distributions for the questions and their sub-group components were inspected. While no test of this assumption was made the distributions appeared to approximate normal distributions in a statistical sense.¹⁰

⁹G. W. Snedecor, Statistical Methods, Ames: Iowa State College Press, 1946, pp. 222-225.

¹⁰Pearson has demonstrated that even with moderately skewed distributions very little bias is introduced into the F test. See E. S. Pearson, "The Analysis of Variance in Cases of Non-Normal Variation," Biometrika, 23:114-133, 1931.

The second assumption is that of homogeneity of variance. That is, in making any analysis of variance it is assumed that "whatever factor has resulted in significant differences in group means will not also result in significant differences in group variances."¹¹ Theoretically every analysis of variance should be preceded by a test of the assumption of homogeneity of variance. While this was not done in this research a sample of the analyses of variance computed in this thesis was selected and tested for homogeneity of variance. The results are shown in Table B in Appendix C. None of these tests for homogeneity of variance were significant at the five per cent probability level. Most were far below a probability of sufficient size to throw any doubt on the assumption of homogeneity. On the basis of this sample of tests it is believed that the assumption of homogeneity of variance has been met for the data analyzed in this research.

In addition to the use of the analysis of variance, the rank order findings, which show the consistency of position of sub-samples on a particular set of questions, will also be used to supplement the data. The findings which are to be discussed depend upon an accumulation of evidence and not upon the result of any one statistical analysis.

Finally, it must be plainly specified that the findings of this research must be understood solely in terms of the limitations of the sample, instrument, and analysis technique. For convenience the data

¹¹E. P. Lindquist, Statistical Analysis in Educational Research, Cambridge: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940, p. 99.

will be handled without repeated emphasis upon the limiting factors. This tends to lead to an apparent reification of the findings. It is for this reason that the writer wishes to emphasize now that the results of this research must always be understood in terms of the limitations of the methodology which have emerged from the discussion of this chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

MAPLE COUNTY AND ITS ATTITUDES TOWARD MINORITY GROUPS

I

Maple County - The Setting

In Maple County main traveled highways bisect the county both north to south and east to west. These highways also divide the county seat, Johnstown, into four quadrants. The highways provide ready access to large metropolitan centers as well as to the state capital and numerous smaller cities. None of these centers is closer than fifty miles and the larger ones are somewhat further. A railroad runs through the county seat and numerous transport truck routes travel the highways of the community.

Johnstown is located near the geographical center of the county and provides the main trading, high school, and communication center for the county. These four towns of Johnstown, Brownsville, Adams and Edgertown are the only towns large enough to provide the services necessary in a rural community. Each has a high school, post office, bank, railroad services, churches, clothing and hardware, lumber, implement, feed, grocery and other retail outlets. Johnstown has the only hospital, which is a county project, the only daily paper, and a recently established radio station. The other towns publish weekly papers which circulate generally in the trade area of each, but the Johnstown News reaches many more homes throughout the county.

Although each of the other towns has numerous organizations such as lodges, church groups, cooperatives, and other interest groups, the county-wide organizations, such as the Farm Bureau, Agriculture Extension Services, political parties, Rural Youth, library, Public

Health Services, and the Maple County Community Association all have their headquarters in Johnstown. In addition to these the offices of the county government and the district court are located in the county seat. With a population of 8500 Johnstown is decidedly larger than any of the other towns, and its position as the county seat in the center of the county makes it the center of a larger community that includes nearly all of the county. The other towns are likewise the centers of subsidiary communities which have many ties into the county seat. For some purposes, however, these communities function as more or less independent units.

Johnstown in addition to being the main center of trade for this rural county, with approximately 14,000 open country farm and non-farm people, has several small industries. Among these are foundries, a furnace factory, plastic products manufacturing, shoe factory, overall factory and several others producing a variety of metal products and automobile parts. Since a transport trucking company formerly had a terminal in Johnstown and it is on some of the main highways from automobile manufacturing centers numerous transports are occasionally parked near the homes of Johnstown drivers. A state sponsored institution for the training of handicapped children, located just outside the city, is a major activity in this county seat community.

Brownsville, which is southwest of the county seat, also has industries which employ considerable numbers of workers. Many people who live in the villages and open country portions of the community

commute to Brownsville daily to work in the small industries there. This trade center, although not as complete as Johnstown, provides most of the services for the surrounding farming area. Although far from equal in size, production, or trade, Brownsville aspires to compete with the county seat as a center of activity. Its services, including a weekly newspaper and an extensive reorganized school district, make it the main center for a considerable portion of the western part of the county. The centralization of the county-wide activities in Johnstown, however, structures the community activities in such a way that Brownsville remains a subsidiary center in many respects.

East of the county seat is the town of Adams. It has practically no industry. It is a high school center for an extensive rural area which lies primarily to the north and south. The residents not engaged in the usual trade center activities are employed elsewhere, mainly in Johnstown. Many retired farmers and widows have established residence in Adams and make up a sizeable portion of the population. Proximity to Johnstown and the fact that many Adams' residents work there limit the importance of Adams as a trade center.

On the northern boundary of the county is the town of Edgerton. In many respects it is like Adams, but since it is less than 20 miles from the city of Wheatville in the adjoining county, its people leave the county to find employment and many other activities. For this reason, and because of its location on the periphery of the county, it was eliminated as an area of concentrated investigation. The county seat community, which is the scene of the study, should not

be construed, therefore, as identical with the geographical limits of the county.

Although the towns of Maple County have been described it is only because they are the centers of activity not because they dominate the community. Maple County is essentially a farming community. In Johnstown the people will tell you that the community is dependent upon its farmers for its prosperity. This is not wholly true. The industries of Johnstown and Brownsville play a major role in the economic life of the country people as well as the townspeople. As one drives through the various sections of the community the observer is impressed with the areas where there is an apparent concentration of farming. Further investigation, however, reveals that many farm homes are occupied by white collar or manual workers who gain their livelihood in the nearby towns. The increasing size of farm operations, made possible by modern machinery, has released the population for employment elsewhere. The prosperous farming areas are spotted with numerous marginal and sub-marginal sections. In these a larger proportion of the farms are worked by families whose members are either full or part-time workers in the towns. These economic interrelations are indicative of the patterns of interaction which bring the town and country people into a common community. This is not to say, however, that there are no differences between the two portions of the community.

The range of the educational level of the adults of Maple County is indicated by the educational level of the 430 respondents in the sample as shown by Table 1. The median level of education is in the

Table 1

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF MAPLE COUNTY RESPONDENTS

<u>*Grade Completed</u>	<u>Open Country</u>		<u>Towns</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Four years or less	10	4.0	3	1.7
Five to seven	23	9.1	12	6.8
Eight	81	32.0	42	23.7
Nine to Eleven	66	26.1	38	21.5
Twelve	50	19.7	49	27.7
Thirteen or fourteen	10	4.0	17	9.6
Fifteen or sixteen	10	4.0	13	7.3
Seventeen and over	0	-	2	1.1
Other	3	1.1	1	0.6
Total	253	100.0	177	100.0

(*This information was obtained from the interview schedules)

9-11 year interval for both groups but it will be noted that there is considerable difference between the townspeople and those who live in the country. In the open country 45% have attained the eighth grade or less, while in the three towns only 32% are in this category. There was little difference between men and women in educational level, according to the analysis of the interview schedules.

Maple County is predominately a Protestant community. The Methodist Episcopal church is the largest single denomination. Slightly over one in five of the respondents indicated affiliation with that church. The Roman Catholic group is the next largest

denomination with about 13% of the sample affiliated. Numerous other Protestant denominations are represented in the county. These include the Baptists, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Free Methodists, Church of God, Nazarene, Adventist, Congregational and several others.

The two Catholic parishes in the community have their churches located in Johnstown and Brownsville. The latter is composed predominately of people of Polish origin and the priest is also Polish. The Johnstown parish has a much greater diversity of national origins. There are some of Polish, Italian, German, Irish, and other origins, but for the most part they are not identified as ethnically different. Both Catholic parishes maintain elementary schools but there is no parochial secondary school in Maple County.

The Catholics in the Brownsville are identified as Polish by the non-catholic people. Such equating of Catholic and Polish may not be accurate in all individual cases but it indicates that the stereotype is predominantly Polish rather than Catholic. Although some Catholics in the Johnstown parish have prominent roles in the community and are frequently mentioned in conversation, they are not commonly identified as Catholics. This is evidence of the relatively slight differentiation between Catholics and Protestants in the community. Even in the Brownsville area, where there is a high percentage of Polish Catholics, the superintendent of schools reported that these people supported wholeheartedly the school reorganization and indicated no desire to maintain separate secondary schools.

There are Methodist Episcopal churches in each of the towns and in various rural hamlets and open country areas of the community.

As one drives through Brownsville, Johnstown, and Adams the prominent churches are readily visible. The Methodist Episcopal is recognized in all, but in Johnstown the Presbyterian, Baptist, and Episcopalian are also active centers of religious services and church organizations. The observer must leave the main streets and sometimes investigate the more depressed areas of the city to find the other church buildings.

Churches in the rural hamlets and open country are seemingly more homogeneous in their religious services and orientation even though there are various denominations represented among them. Many of the rural people whose life style is not compatible with the religious orientation of the country churches have transferred their affiliation to the town churches. Over one-third of the rural people in the sample had their church affiliation in the town. This urbanization of religious life leaves the country churches with decidedly smaller numbers and less financial support than is necessary for a varied and attractive church program. The decline in interest and support has culminated in the disbanding of several rural churches in the community. After an interval some of these have reorganized, usually as interdenominational groups. Others, on the other hand remain only as dilapidated buildings or buildings converted to other purposes. They exist as memories about which the older people are occasionally reminiscent. Only two or three of the rural churches could be classified as strong and active. These are located some distance from the county seat and other towns. In other places the congregations continue to function but they are very

small and generally have only a very limited program of activities.

Although the urbanization process has had a significant effect on the religious life of Maple County, it must not be concluded that the residents have become secularized to the point that they consider religion unimportant. The church and related organizations are still the central focus of the community life of many. None would think of suggesting that the church is undesirable, although a few more worldly individuals might indicate that it has failed in its mission. Some indication of the significance of religion in the lives of these people is provided by the fact that only about one in five of the respondents in the sample said that they did not consider themselves or their spouses identified with any religion. Even a smaller proportion indicated that they were not "brought up in" any church. The high proportion of religious identification should not, however, be interpreted as indicative of a high rate of participation in church activities. About one in five of the sample took no part in church affairs, although they identify themselves with a church, while another one in five belong and attend church occasionally, but are not active. About 30-40 per cent of the people of Maple County, according to the sample data, take an active part and support the church activities. In general, therefore, it may be said that most people in the community look with favor on the churches, but only a minority are active and find their major focus of social interaction in the church.

Many organizations besides the church attract the interests of Maple County people. As the observer becomes acquainted with the

activities of the community, particularly in the late winter months, he obtains the impression that organizational functions consume a major portion of the time of many people. The respondents indicated that 65 per cent of the men and 60 per cent of the women belong to at least one organization other than the church. These memberships include a wide variety of activities. The most popular organizations are clearly different for rural and town people. In the rural areas the Farm Bureau, with 36 per cent of the men and 22 per cent of the women reported as members, attracts by far the largest number of participants. Among the country men the Grange and the combination of either Masons or Oddfellows are the next most popular organizations. For the rural women, however, the various church and missionary groups and the Home Extension clubs rank higher than the Grange. Although the Agriculture Extension Service does not sponsor a men's club comparable to the Home Extension Clubs for women, it should not be assumed that they do not have contact with many of the farm men. Observation would indicate that the Extension Office has as much or more communication with the men as with the women. This is carried on, however, through more informal groups and other organizations such as the Farm Bureau. Although the Farm Bureau does not control or employ the extension staff in MidState, as it does in some other midwestern states, there is a very close relationship with that organization.

If one considers the activities of the Agriculture Extension Service, including the 4-H clubs and Rural Youth, the Farm Bureau, the Grange, and the Soil Conservation activities as a cluster of

interrelated farm groups, they can be readily recognized as the core of the farm social system. Many non-farm people who live in the county are affiliated with some of these organizations or activities, but they are dominated by the active farmer or those that the Maple County people call the "real farmers." This term is used to distinguish them from the part-time or week-end farmers who hold other jobs, and from the less commercially oriented farmers who make a living but not a business out of their farming activities.

The farming nature of the organizational activities of the rural people is further indicated by an analysis of the groups in which they are most active. Among the men in the sample the Farm Bureau ranks first and the Grange second. Among women the Farm Bureau and the Home Extension clubs rank directly below the church and missionary groups. The high level of participation in these farm and home oriented organizations is no doubt related to the services which they provide. The Farm Bureau, for example, in addition to functioning as a legislative pressure group, operates a number of cooperatives, sponsors a hospital insurance group, provides a soil testing service, and takes an active role in many other community functions. The Extension Service through three staff members, the Smith-Hughes vocational teachers who operate separately in the schools, and many volunteer workers, provide many educational services through the schools, farm planning groups, 4-H clubs for both boys and girls, Rural Youth groups, Home Extension clubs, and numerous farm demonstrations of various sorts. In all of these groups the opportunity for recreation and fellowship are seldom overlooked.

In the Grange such activities are its primary function in Maple County.

The society of "real farmers" is readily evident to the observer through this cluster of farm and home activities which provides avenues of interaction and communication throughout the community. The county agriculture agent is one of the most widely known and the most frequently mentioned leaders in the county. Although there are some rural segments with which he has little communication, there is no doubt that he and his staff in the extension office provide a major center for the distribution of information, ideas, and beliefs in Maple County. The office of the Farm Bureau is closely allied with the extension office and serves much the same function in the communication system in this farm society. With some justification the president of the Farm Bureau reports that within a few hours he could personally contact 30 or 40 "leaders" who would, in turn, have direct communication with and influence on many of the farm people in the county. In this calculation it must be recognized that this man is talking about the core of the farming system. The numerous non-farm and part-time farm people who live on the land are seldom included in his sphere of associations. Neither are many of the subsistence farmers.

The organizational and communicational relationships of these non-farm oriented groups in the county are not so easily identified. Many have their main patterns of association with other occupational groups. The factory workers and truckers sometimes find little in common with the farmers or the white collar workers who live on the land. A significant proportion of these part-time or marginal farmers,

who do not belong in the core system of associations, are engaged in other occupations that claim their main interest. This directs them into other organizations and activities. There are, on the other hand, some non-farm people, the products of farm homes that could not provide employment for all the adults, who remain a part of the farm society and belong to the same organizations that their farming relatives do. It is not unusual for these to anticipate turning to farming when they can accumulate the necessary fund to start buying a farm and equipment. Except for this latter group the non-farm people who live on the land may be found in a scattering of other organizations such as veterans organizations, lodges, and labor unions, of the towns.

A much wider diversity of interests is indicated in the organizational memberships of the people living in the towns. The combination of the Masons and the Oddfellows attracts as much as one-fifth of the men. Next in frequency are the veterans organizations to which 17 per cent of the town men belong. Among the women the multitude of church organizations when taken together includes a larger proportion of women than any other group of organizations. In second rank are the women's branches of the Masons and Oddfellows. Veteran organization auxiliaries and music, garden, and similar clubs, as well as the strictly social clubs, have significant proportions of the town women in their membership lists.

The townspeople who belong to no organizations other than the church make up about the same proportion of the total group as do the rural people in the same category. The proportion of the women

is identical, in the sample, while the town men seem to be slightly more frequently members of some organization. In the towns, however, there is no readily visible concentration in a related system of organizations as there is in the farming system. Membership and activity is widely dispersed among many different lodges, veterans organizations, service clubs, church related groups, and, among the women, various women's clubs. This no doubt reflects somewhat the diversity of occupations in the towns. It also suggests greater social stratification.

As the observer sees the people who live on the land in Maple County he readily discovers that there are two groups of people with decidedly different types of lives. One is made up of the 62 per cent whose primary occupation is farming; the other is composed of the 38 per cent who are not primarily farmers. The latter are differentiated by a wide range of occupations and other status determinants. The former, who are nearly all engaged in about the same type of diversified grain and livestock farming, are less easily placed in definite strata. However, a farm class system seems to be emerging out of the differences between the "big farmers" (who are still very infrequent), the "real farmers", and the traditional or old-fashioned farmers. All of these have much more in common, however, than the farmers have, as a whole, with the non-farmers. There are, of course, many instances of association between these two major groups of country people, but the evidences of differences are more easily observed than evidences of similarity.

The patterns of relationship between the various groups of

townspeople and the people who live on the land are of particular interest in the analysis of this county seat centered community. While the "big farmers" necessarily have close contact with the business and professional people of Johnstown, the other country residents also have numerous contacts with that portion of the community that lives in the towns. All of the rural people have trade and other business relations with the centers. Many families in the rural localities interact with the townspeople through the school and church affairs, as well as through more intimate visiting and kinship relations. Just over half of the respondents who live in the rural localities do most of their trading in Johnstown, while one out of five concentrate their activities in Brownsville. The other 30 per cent go to other towns, or indicated that they divided their trade somewhat equally between two or more towns.

Among the residents of the rural localities approximately two-thirds go to Johnstown at least once a week regardless of their primary trading center. Of these, nearly one out of five go at least once a day. Of the remaining one-third, another one out of five go at least once a month but less often than once a week. The interaction between Johnstown and country people flows in the other direction for a considerable number also. More than two out of five of the respondents in rural localities were visited at least once a month by relatives or friends from Johnstown. In addition to personal contacts, the Johnstown News is read regularly by about two-thirds of the rural residents.

All of these data support the observation that there is constant and extensive communication between the town and country people in the Maple County community. Although the farmers operate in a somewhat different system of relations than do the non-farmers, there are no sharp barriers between them. Many of the residents of Johnstown and the other towns of the county were born and brought up on the farms of the community and have relatives who are still there. There are also many people living in the country, particularly the non-farmers, who have previously lived in Johnstown, Brownsville, Adams or other towns. The interests and the organizational activities of the farm people are somewhat different, but nearly all recognize that those interests constantly bring them into contact with the interests of the townspeople. These frequent points of interaction, and the common areas of interest, are the bases upon which the community of Johnstown and the villages and open country of Maple County operate.

II

Attitudes toward Minorities

With the foregoing picture in mind of the life and general social characteristics which are to be found within the area chosen for study, we may now inquire into the kinds of attitudes a representative sample of these people manifest toward certain minority groups. The data to be presented are based on the total sample as adjusted to maintain the proportionate number of town and open country residents who actually lived in the county.

The following tables indicate something of the pattern of sentiments which obtains with respect to Jews, Negroes and Mexicans. These tables show the number of respondents and per cent of responses to each question in terms of the scale used to categorize the responses. The average response, based on the scale used to measure it, is also shown.

For the five-point scale items a response of "strongly agree" is coded as one and is the most unfavorable response that can be made to an item. For the three-point scale items a "disagree" response is coded as one and is the most unfavorable response that can be made. Thus, the lower the mean response to any of the structured items the greater the degree of "intolerance" or "prejudice" which may be ascribed to the sample.

The mid-point of the five-point scale is "can't decide" and is coded three.¹ Average responses lower than this would seem to indicate a fairly strong unfavorable attitude as measured by any particular question. But since a "can't decide" response can hardly be classified as a tolerant response, a response of less than four on the scale cannot be considered indicative of a favorable attitude toward the minority group covered in a particular question.

The unstructured questions were designed to provoke a freer response. The categories which were used for scaling these responses were determined after the interviews had been brought back

¹There were a few "don't know" and "no response" answers on both the five and three-point scale items. Since these were infrequent for any one item they were coded at the mid-point of the scale for both kinds of items. This was done primarily to facilitate computations on the I.B.M. machines. On logical grounds this procedure can be defended, but on methodological grounds it is an assumption.

to the research laboratory. These categories were developed after a large sample of responses had been inspected. It cannot be claimed that the scaling represents equal intervals (any more than the scale for the structured questions actually represents equal intervals), but the scale does indicate the approximate steps covered in the range of unstructured responses found in the data. For these unstructured questions a scale score of one represents the most favorable response to the question. Thus, the higher the average response to any of the unstructured questions, the greater the degree of "intolerance" or "prejudice" manifested by the sample. This, it should be noted, is contrary to the direction of responses to the structured questions. It should be noted also that the possible range of responses for the unstructured questions is not the same in each case. This is due to the wording of the particular questions, with the resultant range of responses actually found from the data.

The three prejudice scores,² being based on structured items, are scaled so that the lower the score the greater the degree of intolerance manifested by the sample.

Attitudes toward Jews may be determined from an examination of Tables 2 and 3. These tables indicate that the sentiments rural people manifest toward Jews, in response to the instrument used, are far from favorable. For the five-point scale items there is no question wherein the average response is as great as three. These questions range from stereotypes about Jews to those involving

² These are explained in more detail further on in this discussion.

Table 2

ATTITUDES OF MAPLE COUNTY RESPONDENTS TOWARD JEWS AS
MEASURED BY STRUCTURED QUESTIONS (EXPANDED SAMPLE)

<u>Five-Point Scale Items</u>	Scale Weight =	1		2		3		4		5		Average* Scale Response
	Total No. of res- pondents	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
The trouble with most Jews is that they think they're better than other people.	465	53	11.40	148	31.83	101	21.72	146	31.40	17	3.65	2.84
In most everything they do Jews try to push ahead of everybody else.	465	98	21.08	257	55.27	56	12.04	50	10.75	4	0.86	2.15
We should see to it that not too many Jews become doctors, lawyers, or teachers.	463	42	9.07	168	36.29	72	15.55	161	34.77	20	4.32	2.89
Americans must be on guard against the Jews getting too much power.	465	97	20.86	244	52.47	45	9.68	69	14.84	10	2.15	2.25
We would all be better off if we shipped the Jews back to Palestine.	464	47	10.13	134	28.88	91	19.61	176	37.93	16	3.45	2.96

<u>Three-Point Scale Items</u>	Scale Weight =	1		2		3		Average Scale Response
	Total No. of res- pondents	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
The Jewish people are just as honest, warm and friendly as other people.	465	142	30.54	174	37.42	149	32.04	2.02
It is all right with me if more Jewish people move into my neighborhood.	463	246	53.13	108	23.33	109	23.54	1.70

(*Scaled so that the lower the score the greater amount of prejudice.)

Table 3

ATTITUDES OF MAPLE COUNTY RESPONDENTS TOWARD JEWS AS MEASURED BY ONE UNSTRUCTURED QUESTION AND A TOTAL JEWISH PREJUDICE SCORE BASED ON FIVE-POINT SCALE ITEMS (EXPANDED SAMPLE)

Question: If a Jewish person were trying to buy the biggest store in town, do you think anything should be done about it or not?

Scale of Responses (coded after interview)

<u>Scale</u> <u>Weight</u>		<u>Total No.</u> <u>of res-</u> <u>pondents</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
1	Unqualified acceptance	44	9.46
2	No, nothing	208	44.73
3	Qualified (conditional) acceptance	16	3.44
4	Avoidance of decision	87	18.71
5	Rejection without plans for action	48	10.32
6	Rejection with ill-defined plans for action	17	3.66
7	Rejection with plans for legal or economic action	36	7.44
8	Rejection with plans for action involving overt hostility and possible conflict	9	1.94
Average Scale Response = 3.27		Totals	465 100.00

Jewish Prejudice Score (based on five-point scale items, with a theoretical raw score range from 5 to 25, and a scale range, based on the nine-point Jewish Prejudice Scale, of 1 to 9.)

<u>Scale</u> <u>Weight</u>	<u>Raw</u> <u>Scores</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>of res-</u> <u>pondents</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
1	5-6	25	5.37
2	7-8	27	5.80
3	9-10	79	16.95
4	11-12	88	18.88
5	13-14	87	18.67
6	15-16	68	14.59
7	17-18	68	14.59
8	19-20	15	3.22
9	21 and over	9	1.93
Average Scale Response = 4.70		Totals	466 100.00

restrictive and the possibility of oppressive action. The most extreme question, which intimates that "we would all be better off if we shipped the Jews back to Palestine" invokes the most favorable attitudes. But even here 39 per cent of the sample agree with this sentiment and 20 per cent can't decide. The mean response is 2.96, which is below the mid-point of the scale.

For the three-point scale items the results are similar. Sixty-eight per cent either disagree or can't quite agree with the statement "Jews are just as honest, warm and friendly as other people." An even greater number disagree or can't quite agree with the possibility of Jews moving into the immediate neighborhood.

The response to the unstructured question is on a somewhat different dimension but less than 10 per cent of the sample gave unqualified approval to the possibility of a Jewish merchant buying the largest store in town, while nearly 13 per cent reject this possibility with some idea of action to prevent it. Although a majority will accept this possibility there is a sizeable minority who either avoid a decision on the question or reject the idea outright.

The average response to the Jewish Prejudice scale is 4.70. This score was computed primarily for the comparative analysis which will be presented later, but it should be interpreted at this point. In order to obtain this score the responses of each individual to each of the five five-point scale questions pertaining to Jews were summed and on the basis of the resulting distrib-

ution of these raw scores a nine-point Jewish Prejudice Scale was constructed.³ Thus, a respondent who received a score of one for each of the questions would have a total score of five, which was given a scale weight of one on the Jewish Prejudice Scale. Table 3 shows this scale together with the actual raws scores, grouped by intervals of two, upon which it was based, and the percentage of respondents to be found at each point.

The average response to the scale was determined by adding each of the summed responses to the five questions which was made by each individual respondent, in accordance with the scale weights assigned to the raw scores, and dividing by the total number of respondents. The resulting score is an average which is based on the ~~nine~~-point Jewish Prejudice Scale and gives an approximation to the average response to the five five-point scale Jewish questions when they are considered as a group. Since this scale was constructed directly from the original data, it is not composed of entirely equally spaced steps.⁴ It should, therefore, not be

³The reader may ask why a reduction to a nine-point scale. The answer is partly arbitrary, partly mechanical, and partly based upon the data. Since the data were to be computed by means of I.B.M. machines, it was important to obtain scores which could be coded in one column on the I.B.M. card. This was possible by doubling up the actual intervals obtained by summing the separate scores for individual items. Inspection of the original distributions (which are shown in Appendix D) indicated that this would allow maximum use of the data for machine purposes without doing great violence to the distributions. Since these scales were to be used for internal comparisons and not for direct comparisons of Jewish, Negro and Mexican attitude responses, the slight inequities of scaling do not appear to do serious violence to the purposes for which the scales were intended.

⁴A scale weight of nine was given all responses of twenty-one or over. Actually there were no responses which totaled twenty-five.

compared directly with the other prejudice scores. It is probably better to interpret the average score in terms of the scaling of the original questions.

Thus, 4.70, being under five, indicates an average response which is below the middle of the nine-point Jewish Prejudice Scale. Hence, in terms of the original questions this score of 4.70 is the equivalent of an average response which is below three, the middle of the five-point scale for the individual items. If every respondent has as much as an average response of three to each of the five questions, the maximum point that could be reached on the nine-point Jewish Prejudice Scale would be five. The average response to the five Jewish questions, when they are treated as a group, is clearly at the less tolerant end of the prejudice scale.

Attitudes toward Negroes are shown by Tables 4 and 5. The questions cannot be equated with those applying to Jews so it is not proper to make direct comparisons. The questions range from those designed to provoke stereotypes to those involving restrictive action, sentiments attached to property, and subordinate white relationships to Negroes.

Two of the five-point scale questions have an average response greater than three, but less than four. One of these questions is just barely beyond the level of three. It is, however, the response to the question, involving the encouragement of Negroes to exercise the right of franchise, which may throw considerable light upon the extent to which Maple County residents are favorable toward

Table 4

ATTITUDES OF MAPLE COUNTY RESPONDENTS TOWARD NEGROES
AS MEASURED BY STRUCTURED QUESTIONS (EXPANDED SAMPLE)

Scale Weight =		1		2		3		4		5		Average Scale Response
Five-Point Scale Items	Total No. of res- pondents	No.	Strongly Agree	No.	Agree	No.	Can't Decide	No.	Disagree	No.	Strongly Disagree	
			Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	Per Cent
Generally speaking Negroes are lazy and ignorant.	466	39	8.37	201	43.13	67	14.38	145	31.12	14	3.00	2.77
It is a good idea to keep Negroes out of white neighborhoods.	466	129	27.68	264	56.65	25	5.37	45	9.66	3	0.64	1.99
* Negroes should be encouraged to vote in all elections that whites vote in.	466	10	2.14	95	20.39	45	9.66	273	58.58	43	9.23	3.52
The trouble with Negroes with higher education is that they think they know too much.	466	40	8.48	122	26.19	105	22.53	172	36.91	27	5.79	3.05

Scale Weight =		1		2		3		Average Scale Response
Three-Point Scale Items	Total No. of res- pondents	No.	Disagree	No.	Can't Quite Agree	No.	Agree Completely	
			Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	Per Cent
The white and Negro people would get along better if they ate in the same restaurants.	466	314	67.38	80	17.17	72	15.45	1.48
It would make no difference to me if I had to take orders from a Negro.	463	324	69.98	60	12.96	79	17.06	1.47

(*This item was coded so that "agree" responses indicate prejudiced responses, as is the case for the other five-point scale items. Thus, for all items the lower the score the greater amount of prejudice.)

Table 5

ATTITUDES OF MAPLE COUNTY RESPONDENTS TOWARD NEGROES AS
MEASURED BY TWO UNSTRUCTURED QUESTIONS AND A TOTAL NEGRO
PREJUDICE SCORE BASED ON FIVE-POINT SCALE ITEMS (EXPANDED SAMPLE)

Question: Sometime ago it was reported that some Negro families were interested in moving to Johnstown. Did you hear anything about this? IF YES, What do you think should have done about this?

Scale Weight	Scale of Responses (coded after interview)	Total No. of res- pondents	Per Cent
1	Unqualified acceptance	73	16.98
2	Qualified (conditional) acceptance	52	12.09
3	Avoidance of decision	66	15.35
4	Rejection without plans for action	102	23.72
5	Rejection with ill-defined plans for action	43	10.00
6	Rejection with plans for moving away	3	0.70
7	Rejection with plans for legal or semi-legal action	87	20.23
8	Rejection with plans for action involving overt hostility and possible conflict	<u>4</u>	<u>0.93</u>
Average Scale Response = 3.85		Totals 430	100.00

Question: If a Negro family were planning to move onto the farm or (if in town) into a home next door, do you think anything should be done about it or not?

1	Unqualified acceptance	33	7.10
2	No, nothing	101	21.72
3	Qualified (conditional) acceptance)	40	8.60
4	Avoidance of decision	55	11.83
5	Rejection without plans for action	81	17.42
6	Rejection with ill-defined plans for action	36	7.74
7	Rejection with plans for moving away	26	5.59
8	Rejection with plans for legal or semi-legal action	81	17.42
9	Rejection with plans for action involving overt hostility and possible conflict	<u>12</u>	<u>2.58</u>
Average Scale Response = 4.59		Totals 465	100.00

Table 5 (Continued)

ATTITUDES OF MAPLE COUNTY RESPONDENTS TOWARD NEGROES AS
MEASURED BY TWO UNSTRUCTURED QUESTIONS AND A TOTAL NEGRO
PREJUDICE SCORE BASED ON FIVE-POINT SCALE ITEMS (EXPANDED SAMPLE)

Negro Prejudice Score (based on five-point scale items,
with a theoretical raw score range from 4 to 20, and a
scale range, based on the nine-point Negro Prejudice
Scale of 1 to 9)

<u>Scale</u> <u>Weight</u>	<u>Raw</u> <u>Scores</u>	Total No. of res- pondents	<u>Per Cent</u>
1	4-5	8	1.72
2	6-7	25	5.36
3	8-9	76	16.31
4	10-11	140	30.04
5	12-13	117	25.11
6	14-15	65	13.95
7	16-17	32	6.87
8	18-19	1	0.21
9*	20	2	0.43
Average Scale Response - 4.44		Totals	466 100.00

(*Actually, since it is impossible to obtain but one score, a more accurate weight would be 8.5. This is impractical, however, for machine analysis. The differences appear to be relatively unimportant for the comparative analyses which are later made. The data in Appendix D also indicate this.)

Negroes. The average response for this question is 3.52. Insofar as the area sampled is in the midwest, wherein the right of franchise for all is presumably an important belief, this average response, being half a scale step below "agree" is hardly indicative of great tolerance toward Negroes.

The questions implicitly involving segregation yield average responses which are definitely unfavorable, as is the question concerning the possibility of the subordinancy of the white respondents to Negroes.

Table 5 shows that 54 per cent of the sample rejected the idea of Negroes moving to Johnstown, 15 per cent could not decide, while 31 per cent rejected this possibility with some plan for action to prevent it. Thirty-one per cent also reject, with some plans for action to prevent it, the possibility of a Negro family moving next door or on a farm adjoining the respondent.

The average response on the total Negro Prejudice Scale is 4.44. (This scale was constructed in the same way as the total Jewish Prejudice Scale.) This is below the mid-point. In terms of the original questions this indicates an average response of less than three. When it is remembered that the total Negro Prejudice Scale includes the response to the question of Negroes voting, it cannot be said that tolerance toward Negroes, as measured by the instrument, is great. This would seem to be the conclusion with respect to the attitudes of Maple County respondents toward Negroes as shown by all the questions.

Attitudes toward Mexicans are shown by Table 6. It does not require elaboration of these findings to conclude that attitudes

Table 6

ATTITUDES OF MAPLE COUNTY RESPONDENTS TOWARD MEXICANS AND TOTAL PREJUDICE SCORE
(EXPANDED SAMPLE)

Scale Weights =		1		2		3		4		5		Average Scale Response	
		Total No. of res- pondents	Strongly Agree	Agree		Can't Decide		Disagree		Strongly Disagree			
<u>Five-Point Scale Items</u>		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent		
*Mexicans should be permitted to become citizens and vote the same as anybody else.		466	24	5.15	150	32.19	56	12.02	218	46.78	18	3.86	3.12
It is a good idea to keep Mexicans out of white neighborhoods.		466	90	19.31	282	60.51	44	9.44	45	9.66	5	1.08	2.13

Scale Weight =		1		2		3		Average Scale Response
		Disagree		Can't Quite Agree		Agree Completely		
<u>Three-Point Scale Items</u>	<u>of res- pondents</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	
If more Mexicans want to come to MidState they should be allowed to enter.	466	242	51.93	169	36.27	55	11.80	1.60
Mexicans should be allowed to eat in the same restaurants as white people.	465	172	36.99	140	30.11	153	32.90	1.96

Total Prejudice Score (based on all six three-point scale items - Mexican, Negro, Jewish items - with a theoretical raw score range from 6 to 18, and a scale range, based on the seven-point Total Prejudice Scale of 1-7)

<u>Scale Weight</u>	<u>Raw Scores</u>	<u>No. of Respondents</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
1	6-7	100	21.74
2	8-9	119	25.87
3	10-11	96	20.87
4	12-13	62	13.48
5	14-15	54	11.74
6	16-17	22	4.78
7**	18	7	1.52
Average Scale Response = 2.88		Totals 460	100.00

(*This item was coded so that "agree" responses indicate prejudiced responses, as is the case for the other five-point question. Thus, for both items the lower the score the greater amount of prejudice.)

(**As for the Negro Prejudice Scale, the weighting at this end of the scale is slightly heavier than strict accuracy requires. The scale weight of 7 was used, however, for the same reasons indicated in Table 5.)

toward Mexicans, just as for Jews and Negroes, are not favorable in Maple County.

The Total Prejudice Scale, shown in Table 6, was constructed in the same way as the Jewish Prejudice Scale, but was based on the six three-point scale items. Since there two such items for each of the minority groups, this was called a "total prejudice" scale. The average response is 2.88. This is below the mid-point of the Total Prejudice Scale. In terms of the original questions this indicates that the average response to all the three-point scale items is under two. This scale, like the other scales, does not indicate a high level of tolerant sentiments toward the three minority groups which have been examined.

The foregoing tables show a definite pattern of sentiments toward the three minority groups. Granted the imperfection of the questions and the differences to be found between them, the general impression still remains that Maple County residents are not favorable toward these minorities. The responses indicate the general climate of opinion which is to be found in the culture of the respondents. The answer to the first question raised in this research appears to be that the total cultural pattern of sentiments and beliefs with respect to Jews, Negroes, and Mexicans, which is manifested by the kinds of responses provoked by the instrument, is decidedly unfavorable to these minorities.

The question yet remains as to the nature of this cultural pattern. Is it one which pervades all aspects of the social structure of these people so that there are few differences to be found no

matter how the respondents are differentiated? Or are there differences in this pattern, differences which appear to be sub-cultural variations of the total pattern, which are related to certain aspects of the social structure? It is with the answer to these questions that the following section will be concerned.

PART II

ATTITUDES AS A FUNCTION OF
POSITION IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

INTRODUCTION TO PART TWO

How universally are the sentiments manifested by the total sample toward Jews, Negroes, and Mexicans maintained by various sub-groups within the sample? Are there significant differences among sub-groups and what sub-groups are important from a structural point of view? When certain variables are selected as indices of the social structure what variation is to be found in attitudes, and in what way are such variations, if discovered, related to position in the social structure?

There are few studies that deal directly with the relationship of social position to sentiments toward minorities. Such studies as are available will be reported when appropriate to the discussion of a particular variable. Such variables as age, sex, education, income, and occupation are common indicators of position within a social structure and will be analyzed in this section together with a number of other variables which are less commonly discussed. Since sociology and anthropology are comprehensive fields, it will be necessary in this thesis to investigate a variety of variables in order to discover to what extent the guiding hypothesis of this research is supported. Such an extensive analysis is also indicated, if relationships between position in the social structure and attitudes toward minorities are found, in order to delimit more precisely the kinds of variables which are important. Before doing so, however, the following definitions and assumptions should be clarified.

First, the term independent variable will be used on occasion to describe the various indices of social structure which are to be tested. It is not assumed, however, that any of these variables are independent of each other. On the contrary, insofar as they are actual indicators of position within a social system, the opposite assumption must be made. Although the relationship of every single variable to every other variable used in this research was not determined, sufficient analysis of interrelationships has been undertaken to show that this assumption is justified.¹

On the other hand, while a dynamic interpretation of a social system requires the acceptance of the interrelatedness of sentiments to all other aspects of the social system, it is precisely the character of this interrelatedness which is the object of this research. Education, as measured by the number of years in a system of formal education, is on quite a different dimension than the response to a question such as, "Generally speaking Negroes are lazy and ignorant." Hence, in that sense education or some other such variable may be regarded as an independent variable.

Second, social structure as usually defined in the social sciences refers to the persistent sets of relationships that occur within a group or set of groups. The social structure of a group, therefore, is the totality of persistent social relationships which can be abstracted at a given moment in time. Social structure in this sense is essentially a static concept.

¹ See Tables D and E in Appendix E.

When it is said that the independent variables which are to be discussed are indicators of the social structure, it is meant that they are indicators of certain kinds of relationships. Thus, the relationship of sex differences to attitudes is investigated because in any society there are a variety of social relationships peculiar to sex differences. Likewise, people interact in terms of different age grades. Age and sex are organizational axes of social structure. Differences in age and sex are, therefore, indices of different positions within the social structure. Because of one's age or sex interaction frequently takes place in different sets of social relationships than will occur for another person of different age or sex. Insofar as these different sets of relationships may be indicated by different age or sex groupings, the question can be asked: Does the differing position of a given set of social actors from that of another set of social actors within the same social structure have any relationship to attitudes toward certain minority groups? That is, do people, within the social structure under consideration, differ in terms of their membership in a particular age or sex group?

Finally, the use of the term function should be clarified. As used herein, and as a part of the title of this section, function is a concept which has been borrowed from mathematics. The hypothesis that attitudes toward a minority group are related to, or a function of, any one of the variables chosen for analysis in this thesis may be expressed functionally by the equation $f(x) = y$. That is, as x ,

the independent variable, is changed, attitudes, the dependent variable y , will also change. It is in this sense that function is used in this section. The choice of this term has been deliberate in order to avoid the possibility of imputing causality to such relationships as may be uncovered.

CHAPTER THREE

ATTITUDES AS A FUNCTION OF SEX, AGE, ETHNIC AND RESIDENTIAL DIFFERENCES

Sex Differences in Attitudes

One of the first methodological questions which had to be answered before this research could proceed was that of the proportion of men and women that should be included in the sample. The final decision was to sample on the basis of one woman respondent for every two male respondents. It was reasoned that a sample of men only might not be representative. On the other hand, observation of the county indicated that in many ways the attitudes of women in rural areas would not differ greatly from that of men. The resulting decision to sample on a one-to-two basis was a compromise. If there were no differences between men and women, this proportion would increase the number of formal organizational membership patterns which could be traced through male associations. If the hypothesis of no difference was disproved by the research findings, it would still be possible to approximate a representative sample by weighting the sample so that the proportion of women would equal the proportion of men.

There have been a number of studies which have included some material on the relationship between sex status and attitudes toward minorities. Haag¹ found very little difference between the sexes with respect to attitudes toward Negroes. Closson² found that male

¹H. L. Haag, "A Study of Racial Attitudes of High School and University Students," unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Michigan, 1930.

²E. E. Closson, "A Study of the Factor of Information in Race Prejudice," unpublished M. A. thesis, State University of Iowa, 1930.

high school students in Iowa were more liberal in race attitudes. Moore³ found that southern college women students are more tolerant of Negroes than are southern college men students.

Minard's⁴ study of high school and junior high school children of Iowa indicated that sex differences in attitudes are negligible. Cole⁵ found high school women to be more liberal, at least in Colorado. In Sims and Patrick's⁶ frequently quoted study, it was determined that southern college women were more favorable in their attitudes toward Negroes than were the southern college men. The opposite was true for northern college students. Porterfield⁷ found little or no sex differences in attitudes toward race. This is also true for Murphy and Likert.⁸

One of the first systematic nation-wide surveys of attitudes toward Negroes was conducted by the Fortune Survey for the Carnegie-

³G. W. Moore, "Social and Political Attitudes of Students at North Carolina State College," unpublished M. A. thesis, North Carolina State College, 1931.

⁴Ralph D. Minard, Race Attitudes of Iowa Children, University of Iowa Studies in Character, Vol. 4, No. 2, Iowa City: U. of Iowa, 1931.

⁵N. E. Cole, "The Personal Attitudes of High School Pupils in Colorado toward Alien Nations and Peoples," unpublished M. A. thesis, Colorado State Teachers College, 1932.

⁶V. M. Sims and J. R. Patrick, "Attitudes toward the Negro of Northern and Southern College Students," J. of Soc. Psychol., 7:192-204, 1936.

⁷A. L. Porterfield, "Education and Race Attitudes," Sociol. and Soc. Res., 21: 538-543, 1937.

⁸G. Murphy and R. Likert, Public Opinion and the Individual, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938.

Myrdal project.⁹ This survey found minor differences between the sexes but they varied in direction. Horowitz¹⁰ summarizes much of the foregoing research and concludes that attitudes toward Negroes have not been demonstrated to be significantly related to differences in sex status.

Boynton and Mayo¹¹ find little sex differences in attitudes toward Negroes. Harlan¹² found that women college students were more favorable toward Jews than were men college students. Smith¹³ found that men students were more favorable to the Negro than were women students.

Allport and Kramer¹⁴ found, on an instrument designed to test a summation of attitudes toward Negroes, Jews, and Catholics, that Radcliffe women were more tolerant than Harvard men. Both groups were more tolerant than Dartmouth men. The authors deduce a cultural difference, but conclude that college women are more tolerant than college men.

⁹This was a special poll conducted by the Fortune Survey in connection with the study of the Negro in America, sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation under the leadership of Gunnar Myrdal. It is reported by Horowitz (see the following reference).

¹⁰E. L. Horowitz, "Race Attitudes," in Otto Klineberg (ed.), Characteristics of the American Negro, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944, pp. 141-243. For summary see p. 229.

¹¹Paul L. Boynton and George D. Mayo, "A Comparison of Certain Attitudinal Responses of White and Negro High School Students," J. of Negro Educ., 11:487-494, 1942.

¹²Howard H. Harlan, "Some Factors Affecting Attitudes toward Jews," Am. Sociol. Rev., 7:816-827, 1942.

¹³F. Tredwell Smith, An Experiment in Modifying Attitudes Toward the Negro, New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943.

¹⁴Gordon W. Allport and Bernard M. Kramer, "Some Roots of Prejudice," J. of Psychol., 22:9-39, 1946.

Campbell¹⁵ concludes that men are slightly less favorable toward Jews than are women, but these differences are not statistically significant. A more recent and ambitious poll was that sponsored and directed by the American Jewish Committee and conducted in the field by the National Opinion Research Center. This is the Baltimore study. In this project a statistically significant difference was found between men and women. The investigators conclude that "In general, women express more 'anti-Semitism' than do men."¹⁶

From the foregoing review it is evident that previous research is either inconclusive or contradictory and usually confined to college students. Since the techniques of sampling and measurement used in such research vary greatly, it is difficult to make direct comparisons.

In terms of the guiding hypothesis of this research all of the variables which are to be examined may be included under it. Some, such as the degree of participation in organizations, are indicators of position in the dynamic interactional patterns of a social system. Others, such as age and sex, refer more directly to the static structural aspects of the social system. All, in one way or another, test the proposition that attitudes toward minorities are related to position in the social structure. For the immediate analysis, therefore, the specific hypothesis is that differences in sex are related

¹⁵ A. A. Campbell, "Factors Associated with Attitudes toward Jews," in T. M. Newcomb and E. L. Hartley (eds.), Readings in Social Psychology, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1947, pp. 518-527.

¹⁶ The Baltimore Poll - mimeo, New York: Dept. of Scientific Research, American Jewish Committee, 1949, pp. 55-56.

to differences in attitudes toward Jews, Negroes, and Mexicans.

This hypothesis may be tested with respect to attitudes toward Jews by examining Table 7 which gives the mean, rank order, and F for men and women for the Jewish items and the total Jewish Prejudice score. There are no significant differences revealed by this analysis. There is no marked trend and for several questions the means of both groups are remarkably alike..

Attitudes toward Negroes are shown in Table 8. Once again there are no significant differences for any question, nor for the total Negro Prejudice score. The direction varies from question to question and the means for both groups are often strikingly similar.

The findings for attitudes toward Mexicans are of a similar nature, as shown by Table 9. This table also shows the Total Prejudice Score, which, it will be recalled, measures attitudes toward all three minorities. Again the differences between men and women are slight and not statistically significant, either for attitudes toward Mexicans or toward all three minorities as reflected by the Total Prejudice score. It is interesting to note, both for this table and for the two which preceded it, the large number of questions wherein the variance within groups is greater than the variance between groups.

From the foregoing it may be concluded that, for this sample, and in terms of the measurements which have been used, there are no significant differences in attitudes of men and women toward

Table 7¹

ATTITUDES OF MEN AND WOMEN TOWARD JEWS

	Total No. of re- spondents ³	Jewish merchant		Jews think they're better		Jews push		Restrict Jews		Guard against Jews		Ship Jews back		Total Jewish Pr Score		Jews are honest		Jews in my neigh- borhood	
		Mean	R ⁴	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Men	282	3.34	2	2.92	1	2.16	2	2.95	1	2.28	1	2.99	1	4.78	1	2.02	2	1.71	2
Women	146	3.03	1	2.75	2	2.19	1	2.79	2	2.23	2	2.96	2	4.66	2	2.08	1	1.75	1
Total	428	3.24		2.86		2.17		2.90		2.27		2.98		4.74		2.04		1.72	
F ²		2.72		2.48		#		1.92		#		#		#		#		#	

¹For this and all subsequent tables the attitude questions are given in abbreviated form. The reader is referred to the chapter which describes the total sample responses for the exact wording of the questions.

²F is the ratio of "between" group variance to "within" group variance. For this table F must be 6.70 to reach the 1% probability level; 3.86 to reach the 5% probability level.

³In order to keep the information shown on this and subsequent tables on one page the total number of respondents for each specific question is not shown. The total number column enables the reader to see the approximate size of each sub-group used in the analysis of variance for each question.

⁴R stands for rank order. In this and all subsequent tables a rank of 1 represents the most tolerant position. Whenever necessary the mean for a group is carried to the third decimal place in order to assign the correct rank value. In case two means are exactly the same, they are both assigned the same rank order.

- This sign will always be used to indicate that the "within" group variance is greater than the "between" group variance. Hence an F test is unnecessary since the hypothesis that there is greater variance between groups than within groups is already disproved. It is thus unnecessary to inquire if the variance between groups in comparison to the variance within groups exceeds a given probability level.

Table 8

ATTITUDES OF MEN AND WOMEN TOWARD NEGROES

	Total N ₀ . of re- spondents	Negroes to Johns- town		Negroes next door		Negroes are lazy		Keep Negroes out of white neighborhoods		Negroes should vote		Negroes with education		Total Negro Pr Score		Whites and Negroes in same restaurants		Orders from a Negro	
		<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>
Men	283	3.94	2	4.64	2	2.74	2	2.03	1	3.57	1	3.07	1	4.47	1	1.48	2	1.49	1
Women	146	3.65	1	4.23	1	2.85	1	1.95	2	3.42	2	3.03	2	4.41	2	1.50	1	1.41	2
Total	429	3.84		4.50		2.78		2.00		3.52		3.05		4.45		1.49		1.46	
F ¹		1.78		2.92		1.03		#		1.93		#		#		#		#	

¹For this table F must be 6.70 to reach the 1% probability level; 3.86 to reach the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than between group variance.

Table 9

ATTITUDES OF MEN AND WOMEN TOWARD MEXICANS,
AND ANALYSIS OF TOTAL PREJUDICE SCORE

	Total No. of re- spondents	Mexicans as citizens and voters		Keep Mexicans out of white neighborhoods		Mexicans coming to Mid State		Mexicans in restaurants with whites		Total ² Prejudice Score	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Men	283	3.12	2	2.15	1	1.58	2	1.97	1	2.89	2
Women	146	3.14	1	2.08	2	1.67	1	1.97	1	2.97	1
Total	429	3.12		2.13		1.61		1.97		2.92	
F ¹		#		#		1.56		#		#	

¹For this table F must be 6.70 to reach the 1% probability level; 3.86 to reach the 5% probability level.

²It must be stressed that this score was obtained from the six three-point scale questions and applies to all three minority groups. It is not applicable only to Mexicans but to Jews and Negroes as well. It is shown on the tables which apply to attitudes toward Mexicans for convenience of presentation only.

- Within group variance is greater than between group variance.

the three minority groups tested. Hence the findings do not confirm the guiding hypothesis of this research.

Age and Attitudes toward Minorities

There are not as many studies of adult age differences as there are studies of sex differences in attitudes toward minority groups. The Fortune Survey¹⁷ of 1946 concludes that the age group 35-49 is slightly more anti-Semitic than the age group 21-34. The Fortune Survey¹⁸ of 1947 also concludes that, with respect to attitudes toward Jews and Negroes, the younger age groups are more tolerant than the older.

Campbell¹⁹ finds no consistent relationship between age and attitudes toward Jews. The same is true for the study by Bettelheim and Janowitz²⁰. This latter study is limited to a special population: 150 adult, urban veterans, studied by means of intensive interviews.

The findings of the Baltimore study²¹ indicate that there is a tendency for younger (18-35) people to be less anti-Semitic than older (35-54) people. When education was held constant, however, there were no significant differences.

The foregoing review would indicate that age differences are not statistically significant as far as attitudes toward Negroes and

¹⁷"The Fortune Survey", Fortune, February, 1946.

¹⁸"The Fortune Survey," Fortune, October, 1947.

¹⁹Campbell, op. cit.

²⁰Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, Dynamics of Prejudice, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950, pp. 48-49.

²¹The Baltimore Poll, op. cit., p. 58.

Jews are concerned, but that there may be a tendency for younger people to be more tolerant. The Baltimore study suggests that this tendency is associated with the educational level and not the factor of age.

It has been customary for sociologists to treat age and sex as two important variables. Part of the reason for this stems from the observations of anthropologists that age grades and sex status are important organizational axes in primitive cultures. Observation of contemporary America also indicates that the members of a given social system interact in a variety of different ways because of membership in different age and sex groups. In terms of the guiding hypothesis the specific hypothesis of the following analysis is that differences in adult age grades²² are related to differences in attitudes toward Jews, Negroes and Mexicans.

The data bearing on this hypothesis may be examined first by reference to Table 10. There are no statistically significant differences for any one question, nor for the Jewish Prejudice score. However, two questions are almost significant at the five per cent probability level. There is also some tendency for the younger, particularly those under 30, to be more tolerant than the older. This is quite clear in the rank order for the Jewish Prejudice score, but the trend is not consistent between age grades on the other questions.

²²A study of school age children was a part of the total project but not of this particular research. There is some evidence, which cannot be reported here, that even with education held constant the younger school age children are more tolerant than adults in Maple County.

Table 10

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS BY AGE GRADES

Age	Total no. of respondents	Jewish merchant		Jews think they're better		Jews push		Restrict Jews		Guard against Jews		Ship Jews Back		Total Jewish Pr Score		Jews are honest		Jews in my neighborhood	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Under 20 ¹	3	3.67	-	2.67	-	2.33	-	3.33	-	2.67	-	3.00	-	5.33	-	1.67	-	2.67	-
20-29	62	2.56	1	3.00	1	2.19	2	3.21	1	2.24	4	3.21	1	5.00	1	2.07	2	1.76	1
30-39	85	3.40	5	2.99	2	2.14	4	2.89	3	2.41	1	3.14	2	4.90	2	2.01	5	1.68	5
40-49	79	3.28	2	2.85	4	2.14	4	2.97	2	2.29	3	3.00	3	4.85	3	2.01	2	1.74	2
50-59	92	3.29	3	2.88	3	2.17	3	2.88	5	2.32	2	2.94	4	4.65	4	2.09	1	1.69	5
60-69	61	3.39	4	2.66	6	2.30	1	2.54	6	2.02	6	2.87	5	4.43	5	1.98	6	1.70	3
70-79	35	3.63	6	2.69	5	2.00	6	2.91	4	2.14	5	2.49	6	4.34	6	2.03	3	1.66	6
80 and over ¹	7	3.86	-	2.72	-	2.29	-	2.57	-	2.43	-	2.57	-	4.57	-	2.29	-	1.72	-
Not asked or no response ¹	4																		
Total	428	3.24		2.86		2.17		2.90		2.27		2.98		4.74		2.04		1.72	
F ²		1.89		#		#		1.86		1.00		1.60		#		#		#	

¹Not included in rank order because of small size of sample. The "not asked" and "no response" categories were included, for the sake of completeness, in the analysis of variance.

²For this table F must be 2.46 to reach the 1% probability level; 1.90 to reach the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than between group variance.

Table 11 shows attitudes toward Negroes. Again there are no statistically significant differences between age groups for any one question, nor for the Negro Prejudice score. Nor are there any instances where even the five per cent probability level is approached. There is again some tendency for the younger adult age groups to be more tolerant but the trend is not consistent between age groups.

Attitudes toward Mexicans by age groups are shown in Table 12. There are no statistically significant differences. There is a slight tendency for those under 30 to be more tolerant.

Attitudes toward all three minorities, as tested by the Total Prejudice score, are also shown in Table 12. There are no statistically significant differences.

As a further test of possible differences between age groups the sample was reclassified into those over and those under 50 years of age.²³ A selected number of Jewish questions and both the Jewish and the Negro Prejudice scores were then reexamined. The results are shown in Table 13. On one question there is a

²³Two "not asked" and two "no response" cases were also included in the analysis of variance in order that such an analysis might be made quickly from the existing data. In order to eliminate these four cases entirely it would have been necessary to make an entirely new set of calculations - a procedure which did not seem justified by the data already reviewed. The age level of 50 was an arbitrary reference point which was selected by inspecting the data. It appeared to provide a basis for local-broad differences if there were any.

Table 11

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES BY AGE GRADES

Age	Total no. of respondents	Negroes to Johns- town		Negroes next door		Negroes are lazy		Keep Negroes out of White neighborhoods		Negroes should vote		Negroes with education		Total Negro Pr Score		Whites and Negroes in same restaurant		Orders from a Negro	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Under 20 ¹	3	3.33	-	2.67	-	2.33	-	2.00	-	3.33	-	3.00	-	4.00	-	1.00	-	1.00	-
20-29	62	3.44	1	4.33	1	3.00	1	1.97	5	3.55	4	3.26	1	4.68	1	1.45	6	1.56	1
30-39	86	4.05	5	4.60	4	2.94	2	2.06	1	3.29	6	3.09	3	4.50	3	1.47	2	1.40	5
40-49	79	4.12	6	4.48	3	2.89	3	2.01	3	3.60	2	3.11	2	4.59	2	1.47	2	1.47	3
50-59	92	3.97	4	4.63	5	2.58	6	2.00	4	3.59	3	3.02	4	4.337	5	1.46	4	1.50	2
60-69	61	3.51	2	4.41	2	2.59	5	2.03	2	3.51	5	2.97	5	4.344	4	1.62	1	1.46	4
70-79	35	3.69	3	4.66	6	2.69	4	1.86	6	3.69	1	2.77	6	4.23	6	1.46	4	1.29	6
80 and over ¹	7	3.57	-	4.57	-	2.43	-	2.23	-	3.29	-	2.43	-	3.86	-	1.57	-	1.83	-
Not asked or no response ¹	4																		
Total	429	3.84		4.50		2.78		2.00		3.52		3.05		4.45		1.49		1.46	
F ²	#	#		#		#		#		#		1.01		#		#		#	

¹Not included in rank order because of small size of sample. The "not asked" and "no response" categories were included, for the sake of completeness, in the analysis of variance.

²For this table F must be 2.46 to reach the 1% probability level; 1.90 to reach the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than between group variance.

Table 12

ATTITUDES TOWARD MEXICANS
AND ANALYSIS OF TOTAL PREJUDICE SCORE BY AGE GRADES

Age	Total no. of respondents	Mexicans as citizens and voters		Keep Mexicans out of white neighborhoods		Mexicans coming to Midstate		Mexicans in restaurants with whites		Total Prejudice Score	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Under 20 ¹	3	3.33	-	2.00	-	1.67	-	2.67	-	3.33	-
20-29	62	3.23	2	2.07	4	1.66	1	2.12	1	3.07	1
30-39	86	2.92	6	2.20	2	1.64	2	1.99	3	2.78	5
40-49	79	3.151	4	2.05	5	1.59	5	1.87	5	2.87	4
50-59	92	3.152	3	2.15	3	1.60	4	1.92	4	2.95	3
60-69	61	3.11	5	2.25	1	1.62	3	2.02	2	2.98	2
70-79	35	3.26	1	1.94	6	1.49	6	1.77	6	2.62	6
80 and over ¹	7	3.29	-	2.14	-	1.71	-	2.00	-	3.29	-
Not asked or no response ¹	4										
Total	429	3.12		2.13		1.61		1.97		2.92	
F ²		1.15		#		#		1.17		#	

¹ Not included in rank order because of small size of sample. The "not asked" and "no response" categories were included, for the sake of completeness, in the analysis of variance.

² For this table F must be 2.46 to reach the 1% probability level; 1.90 to reach the 5% probability level.

#- Within group variance is greater than between group variance.

Table 13

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS AND NEGROES
WHEN AGE GRADES ARE CONSOLIDATED

<u>Age</u>	<u>Total No. of re- spondents</u>	<u>Jewish</u> <u>merchant</u>		<u>Jews think</u> <u>they're</u> <u>better</u>		<u>Restrict</u> <u>Jews</u>		<u>Guard</u> <u>against</u> <u>Jews</u>		<u>Ship</u> <u>Jews</u> <u>back</u>		<u>Total</u> <u>Jewish</u> <u>Pr Score</u>		<u>Total</u> <u>Negro</u> <u>Pr Score</u>	
		<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>
Under 50	230	3.13	1	2.94	1	3.01	1	2.33	1	3.11	1	4.91	1	4.57	1
50 and over	195	3.41	2	2.77	2	2.77	2	2.19	2	2.82	2	4.52	2	4.30	2
Not asked or no response	4														
Total	429	3.24		2.86		2.90		2.27		2.98		4.74		4.45	
F ²		2.69		1.29		2.89		#		3.91*		2.32		1.96	

¹Included in analysis of variance.

²For this table F must be 4.66 to reach the 1% probability level; 3.02 to reach the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than between group variance.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

difference which is statistically significant beyond the five per cent probability level. On the other hand the tendency toward significance for the two Jewish questions, which was indicated by Table 10, has decreased when the age grades were consolidated.

It should be noted, however, that there is a consistent tendency for those under 50 to be more tolerant^{of} Jews and Negroes than those over 50. A re-examination of Tables 10, 11, and 12 would seem to indicate that this trend might possibly hold for still other Negro and Jewish questions, but that the trend on the Mexican questions is not decisive.

Further analysis was not attempted because of the lack of statistically significant findings. It might be stated, however, that, from the data examined, there is a tendency for the younger (under 50) to be more tolerant than the older (over 50) on a number of the attitude questions and the Jewish and Negro Prejudice scores.

But it should be recalled that a review of previous research indicated much the same tendency, although the findings were not, just as here, clear-cut for particular age groups, and did not hold for all the groups where the significance of age group differences was tested. The Baltimore study²⁴ indicated that this trend, where found, might be due to the fact that the older had, as a rule, less education than the younger.

In this sample it is also true that the older have less formal education than the younger, as shown by Table 14. The Chi Square of

²⁴The Baltimore Poll, *ibid.*

Table 14

<u>COMPARISON OF AGE GRADES BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL</u>			
<u>Formal Education</u>	<u>No. under 50 years of age</u>	<u>No. over 50 years of age</u>	<u>Total No. of Respondents</u>
8th grade or less	62	108	170
9-11 grades	61	42	103
High school graduate or above	107	42	149
Total	230	192	422
Chi Square - 41.23 (significant beyond .001 probability level)			
Coefficient of Contingency - .29			

41.23, which is significant beyond the .001 probability level, confirms our inspection of the table. The Coefficient of Mean Square Contingency (.29) is, therefore, significant. While this relationship is not sufficient to be highly predictive in individual cases, it throws considerable support to the hypothesis that the tendency for the younger age grades to be slightly more tolerant than the older age grades is associated with the educational level.²⁵ In view of this finding and the fact that the above discussed data reveal almost no statistically significant differences between age grades, further analysis was not attempted.

²⁵In anticipation of the findings with respect to education, it may be stated that this variable is consistently related to tolerance toward minorities. The high school graduate and above group is consistently more tolerant than the other groups.

Attitudes as a Function of Early and Later American Origin

In Maple County the Polish-Americans constitute the only readily identifiable ethnic group. This group is composed of late nineteenth century immigrants and their descendants. These people are still concentrated in a few areas in the county, although there is an increasing tendency for second and third generation Polish-Americans to scatter over the county. The actual number of people, including foreign-born and second and third generations, who make up this group is unknown. It is probably about four per cent of the total county population, although this figure may be too low.

By chance one of the locality groups used for the total sample was one which was predominantly Polish. If the above estimate is accurate, then this tended to overload the sample.²⁶ It thus seems advisable to determine whether the Polish group differs sufficiently from the rest of the sample to bias it as a representative sample. Moreover, it is important in terms of the major research hypothesis to determine if this ethnic structure differs in the manifestation of sentiments toward minorities from the predominating Old American social structure.

With respect to this latter problem there has been little research which bears specifically upon the present analysis,

²⁶Proportionately the total sample included 11.6% Polish-Americans. The actual number, however, would not seem to be sufficiently large to bias unduly the total sample unless the responses of the Polish-Americans differ greatly from those of old Americans. That this is not the case may be seen by examining the tables reported in this section. The differences between the means for the total sample and that for the Old Americans is small, varying from .00 to .09.

although there have been a number of studies of "social distance", and a few studies of cleavages between ethnic and other groups.²⁷

Before discussing the analysis the method of determining the Polish-Americans in the sample should be explained. The interview schedule asked if either of the respondent's parents was born in a foreign country. Only twenty-seven respondents answered in the affirmative, although the known number of Polish-Americans in the sample was higher than that. This was due to the fact that the sample included third generation Polish-Americans. Hence it was necessary to use another procedure. It was known that the Catholics in the rural localities were Polish. It was assumed that the Catholics living in the town of Brownsville, where the Polish Catholic church is located, would also be Polish. It was further assumed that Catholics in the towns of Johnstown and Adams, where there are practically no Polish-Americans, would not be Polish. The Catholics were

²⁷ Examples of the latter study are Elin L. Anderson, We Americans: A Study of Cleavage in an American City, Cambridge; Harvard University Press, 1937; or C. P. Loomis, "Ethnic Cleavages in the Southwest as Reflected in Two High Schools," Sociometry, 6:7-26-, 1943. Since the time of Bogardus' first study there have been a number of studies of social distance. For the original study see Emory S. Bogardus, Immigration and Race Attitudes, Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1928. In this and subsequent studies it has been shown that, apart from a higher self-evaluation, various ethnic groups tend to rank other groups in about the same order. The populations studied, however, are usually college or high school students and are not similar to the population of Polish-Americans under consideration here.

then sorted out of the sample and those who were residents of Johnstown and Adams (a total of 12) were eliminated. The remainder constituted the group which will be discussed as Polish-Americans in contrast to the predominantly white, old American, Protestants who constitute the remainder of the total sample.

Observation of the county led to the conclusion that the Polish-Americans of the second and third generations were in the process of becoming completely assimilated into the culture of their environment. For example, the present Polish-speaking priest is the target of a determined campaign by these generations to become more like other Americans. He has been forced to give up the requirement of Polish as a second language in the parochial school, and he commented at length to the writer on his inability to interest his people in Polish language newspapers. Moreover, the parochial school in Brownsville has only eight grades. Beyond that grade, and in increasing numbers, the younger generation of Polish-Americans attends the local, public high school.

Because of these and other observations the writer was of the opinion that the sample of Polish-Americans would, on the whole, be very similar in attitudes toward minority groups to the old Americans in the sample. But community observation, although informative, was not the basis for deriving the specific empirical hypotheses to be tested by this research. Rather the major hypothesis of cultural differentiation was the basis for testing empirical differences in social structure. Hence, the specific hypothesis of this analysis of differences in ethnic origin must be that differences in ethnic

membership are related to differences in attitudes toward Jews, Negroes and Mexicans.

Data bearing on this hypothesis with respect to attitudes toward Jews may be examined by referring to Table 15. This table shows the mean, rank order and F for Polish-Americans and old Americans for each question and for the total Jewish Prejudice score. There are no statistically significant differences for any question, nor for the total Jewish Prejudice score. For the total Jewish Prejudice score and for all but one question the within group variance is greater than the variance between groups. It should be noted further that, with respect to attitudes toward Jews, there is no consistent trend discernible for either group.

For a comparison of Polish and old American group attitudes toward Negroes, Table 16 should be examined. The difference between these groups is significant at the five per cent level of probability for three of the eight questions: the two unstructured questions about Negroes moving to Johnstown and moving next door, and the stereotype question which states that "Negroes with higher education think they know too much." In each case the Polish-Americans give less tolerant responses. There is no significant difference between the groups on the total Negro Prejudice score. However, the Polish-Americans rank below the old Americans on this score and on each of the four questions which are used to determine this score. Only on the last two questions do the Polish-Americans rank above the old Americans in degree of tolerance.

The foregoing seems to indicate that there is some tendency for

Table 15

ATTITUDES OF POLISH AND OLD AMERICANS TOWARD JEWS

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Total no. of respond- ents</u>	<u>Jewish</u> <u>merchant</u>		<u>Jews think</u> <u>they're</u> <u>better</u>		<u>Jews</u> <u>rush</u>		<u>Restrict</u> <u>Jews</u>		<u>Guard</u> <u>against</u> <u>Jows</u>		<u>Ship</u> <u>Jews</u> <u>Back</u>		<u>Total</u> <u>Jewish</u> <u>Pr Score</u>		<u>Jews</u> <u>are</u> <u>honest</u>		<u>Jews in</u> <u>my neigh-</u> <u>borhood</u>	
		<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>
Old Americans	378	3.25	2	2.87	1	2.17	2	2.90	1	2.26	2	3.01	1	4.75	1	2.04	1	1.72	1
Polish Americans	50	3.14	1	2.78	2	2.22	1	2.88	2	2.34	1	2.73	2	4.66	2	1.98	2	1.69	2
Total	428	3.24		2.86		2.17		2.90		2.27		2.98		4.74		2.04		1.72	
F ¹		#		"		#		#		#		2.82		#		#		#	

¹For this table F must be 6.70 to reach the 1% probability level; 3.86 to reach the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than between group variance.

Table 16

ATTITUDES OF POLISH AND OLD AMERICANS TOWARD NEGROES

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Total no. of respondents</u>	Negroes to Johns- town		Negroes next door		Negroes are lazy		Keep Negroes out of White neighborhoods		Negroes should vote		Negroes with education		Total Negro Pr Score		Whites and Negroes in same restaurant		Orders from a Negro	
		<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>
Old Americans	379	3.76	1	4.41	1	2.80	1	2.01	1	3.52	1	3.09	1	4.48	1	1.49	2	1.44	2
Polish Americans	50	4.43	2	5.16	2	2.56	2	2.00	2	3.48	2	2.76	2	4.20	2	1.52	1	1.64	1
Total	429	3.84		4.50		2.78		2.00		3.52		3.05		4.45		1.49		1.46	
F ¹		4.38*		4.33*		2.30		#		#		4.10*		1.79		#		3.09	

¹For this table F must be 6.70 to reach the 1% probability level; 3.86 to reach the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than between group variance.

* - Significant beyond 5% probability level.

the Polish-Americans to be less tolerant of Negroes than are the old Americans in the sample. This conclusion holds only for the questions which are being examined. However, assuming that this trend would hold for Negroes as a general rule, it is interesting to speculate on the reason for this particular finding. If this had been the finding with respect to Jews it would at first glance seem to be easier to explain. That is, a case might be made for the continuance in this country of attitudes toward Jews that were originally a part of the Polish cultural heritage. On the other hand, neither in Poland nor in Maple County have these people had much actual experience with Negroes. One suggestion, however, can be offered which "explains" both the similarity of attitudes toward Jews and differences in attitudes toward Negroes. If it is true that most of the Polish-Americans in the sample are in a stage where they are trying to become completely identified with the old American group, then it would follow that they would, insofar as possible, share the sentiments of that group. On the other hand, one characteristic of such striving groups is that they do not interpret all the nuances and shadings of the culture they wish to assimilate - otherwise it would not be necessary to strive. Hence, the predominantly unfavorable stereotypes of the Negro, which are a part of this culture (as the analysis of the total sample has shown), are accepted and articulated even more readily by Polish-Americans than by old Americans.

Robin Williams arrives at a similar conclusion when he says: "Prejudice against Negroes and certain other minorities is likely to be especially vigorous and vocal among ethnic groups which have

been only recently 'Americanized' and which are attempting to move up in the class hierarchy."²⁸

On the other hand the United States officially fought against the forces of 'anti-Semitism' abroad during World War II. This might, therefore, cause the Polish-Americans to modify any similar extreme statements about Jews which were a part of the Polish half of their cultural heritage.

Attitudes toward Mexicans are shown in Table 17. There are no significant differences for any question and the variance within groups is greater than the variance between groups for three of the four questions. There is no discernible trend.

The Total Prejudice score, showing attitudes toward all three minorities, is also shown in Table 17. There are no significant differences and the variance within groups is greater than the variance between groups.

The conclusion seems indicated that with respect to Jews and Mexicans the hypothesis that there are significant differences between the sentiments manifested by Polish and old Americans in Maple County has not been supported. There is, on the other hand, some tendency for the Polish-Americans to be less tolerant of Negroes than the old Americans are. Since this tendency is not strongly supported by the analysis of variance, the hypothesis that differences in attitudes are related to differences in ethnic origin cannot be accepted with complete confidence. But, since the tendency

²⁸Robin Williams Jr., The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions, Social Science Research Bull. 57, 1947. p. 61.

Table 17

ATTITUDES OF POLISH AND OLD AMERICANS TOWARD MEXICANS
AND ANALYSIS OF TOTAL PREJUDICE SCORE

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Total no. of respondents</u>	Mexicans as citizens and voters		Keep Mexicans out of white neighborhoods		Mexicans coming to Midstate		Mexicans in restaurants with whites		Total Prejudice Score	
		<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>
Old Americans	379	3.15	1	2.15	1	1.61	2	1.96	2	2.90	2
Polish Americans	50	2.96	2	1.96	2	1.64	1	2.02	1	3.04	1
Total	429	3.12		2.13		1.61		1.97		2.92	
F ¹		#		2.13		#		#		#	

¹ For this table F must be 6.70 to reach the 1% probability level, 3.86 to reach the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than between group variance.

exists, neither can it be unequivocally rejected.

Since the sample of Polish-Americans includes nearly all of the Catholics in the total sample, the foregoing is also an analysis of the attitudes of Polish Catholics in Maple County in comparison with the remainder of the sample. A more detailed analysis of the relationship of religious identification to attitudes toward minorities will be presented in Chapter Seven.

Ecological Relationships as a Function of Attitudes toward Minorities

The respondents from the three towns may now be compared with each other and the respondents living in the open country. It would seem pertinent to do so since these three towns appear to differ in many ways, and because all of them differ from the rural localities.

If the census criterion is used, only one of these towns, Johnstown, belongs in the urban category. The research findings with respect to urban-rural differences in attitudes toward minority groups are mixed or inconclusive. Actually, there are no studies which parallel this research and the problem of differentiating attitudes in towns of the sizes included in this sample remains relatively untouched. The few findings that are available are here reported as suggestive only and not as bearing directly upon this research.

Sims and Patrick²⁹ found no relationship between size of community from which college students come and their attitudes toward the Negro. Harlan³⁰ reports that rural and small town college students

²⁹Sims and Patrick, op. cit.

³⁰Harlan, op. cit.

are more tolerant with respect to attitudes manifested toward Jews than are college students who come from large cities. Minard³¹ finds that small town children are less prejudiced than children from large towns and cities. Meltzer³² found, in a study of the social distance manifested by school children, that the general order of preference or expressed social distance for his sample was about the same whether the children were urban or rural. However, there was a tendency for the rural children to be less tolerant toward other ethnic groups, except for the Negro, than urban children. Horowitz³³ finds that urban college students are more tolerant of Negroes than are rural college students. Garrison and Burch³⁴ also report the same finding for North Carolina State College students.

The Fortune Surveys of 1946 and 1947,³⁵ respectively, present somewhat contradictory findings. The 1946 poll concludes that 'anti-Semitism' is strongest in large cities and weakest in towns. The 1947 poll, however, concludes that prejudice toward Jews and Negroes is greatest among farmers and people in small towns. Actually, of course, these two findings may be compatible because of the different

³¹Minard, op. cit.

³²H. Meltzer, "Group Differences in Nationality and Race Preference of Children," Sociometry, 2:86-105, 1939.

³³Horowitz in O. Klineberg, op. cit.

³⁴K. C. Garrison and U. S. Burch, "A Study of Racial Attitudes of College Students," J. of Soc. Psychol., 4:230-235, 1933.

³⁵The Fortune Survey, Fortune, February 1946 and October 1947, op. cit.

(that is, non-comparable) population units which were used, and because of the different type questions. If we assume Johnstown to be urban, it might be classed as something less than a large city while differing greatly from towns like Brownsville and Adams. We might then conclude, on the basis of the Fortune Survey, that the attitudes of Johnstown residents would be more favorable to Jews and Negroes than are the attitudes of residents of either the other towns or the rural area.

Observation of the county indicated that the town of Brownsville, because of the extent of its industry, might be expected to differ from Adams, which was about the same size but without industry. Likewise, Johnstown might be expected to differ from both. On the other hand, the rural area gave every indication of the increased urbanization of open country or rural life. Actually, about 40 per cent of the rural sample is composed of people who are not farmers. The increased industrialization process which, accelerated by World War II, has mechanized and electrified many of the farms in the mid-west, has resulted in a style of rural life which is similar in many important ways to the life of those who dwell in the towns of the rural area. To what extent these increasing similarities would be reflected in similar attitudes toward minorities was precisely the point to be investigated, both in terms of residence and in terms of occupation.

For the above reasons, and in terms of the guiding hypothesis, the specific hypothesis for this analysis is that differences in attitudes toward the three minority groups are related to differences

in residence. It should be clear that residence is only an indicator of position within the social structure of this county. The geographical fact of residence is of importance only insofar as it points to differences in extent, kind, and complexity of social systems available to residents of the different areas. It is assumed that such differences in interaction result in differences in beliefs and sentiments. The crucial problem here becomes that of determining to what extent beliefs and sentiments manifested toward certain minority groups are affected by cultural variations induced by location in different residential areas.

This hypothesis is supported to some extent by the data for attitudes toward Jews, as shown by Table 18. There are significant differences at or beyond the five per cent probability level for three of the questions. Differences for the Total Jewish Prejudice score are also significant, somewhat beyond the five per cent probability level. An analysis of the rank order and the means for each of the residential groups indicates that, for the most part, these differences are due to the tendency for Brownsville and Adams to be more tolerant than either Johnstown or the rural localities. This tendency supports the hypothesis and appears to be consistent for the residential groups involved.

The hypothesis may be tested for Negroes by examining the data presented in Table 19. Here there is only one difference which is significant, although it is significant at the one per cent probability level. It is interesting to note that while there is no statistically significant difference on the question of Negroes moving to Johnstown,

Table 18

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS BY RESIDENCE

<u>Residence</u>	Total no. of respond- ents	Jewish merchant		Jews think they're better		Jews push		Restrict Jews		Guard against Jews		Ship Jews Back		Total Jewish Pr Score		Jews are honest		Jews in my neigh- borhood	
		<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>
Brownsville	39	3.03	1	3.23	1	2.15	3	3.28	1	2.72	1	3.23	2	5.33	2	2.21	1	2.03	1
Adams	28	3.21	2	3.04	2	2.43	1	3.18	2	2.39	2	3.25	1	5.36	1	2.14	2	1.86	2
Johnstown	108	3.29	4	2.93	3	2.05	4	2.96	3	2.31	3	3.00	3	4.71	3	1.96	4	1.67	4
Rural localities	253	3.25	3	2.76	4	2.20	2	2.78	4	2.17	4	2.90	4	4.59	4	2.03	3	1.68	3
Total	428	3.24		2.86		2.17		2.90		2.27		2.98		4.74		2.04		1.72	
F ¹		#		2.61*		1.50		3.30*		3.63*		1.85		2.92*		1.06		2.38	

¹ For this table F must reach 3.83 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.62 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than between group variance.

* - Significant at or beyond 5% probability level. (Note - 2.61 is assumed to be just at the 5% probability level)

Table 19

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES BY RESIDENCE

<u>Residence</u>	<u>Total no. of respondents</u>	Negroes to Johns- town		Negroes next door		Negroes are lazy		Keep Negroes out of White neighborhoods		Negroes should vote		Negroes with education		Total Negro Pr Score		Whites and Negroes in same restaurant		Orders from a Negro	
		<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>
Brownsville	39	3.37	1	4.92	3	2.90	2	2.18	2	3.56	2	3.23	1	4.69	2	1.72	1	1.59	1
Adams	28	3.81	3	4.14	2	3.04	1	2.21	1	3.75	1	3.21	2	4.79	1	1.61	2	1.32	4
Johnstown	109	4.15	4	5.33	4	2.78	3	1.85	4	3.48	4	3.17	3	4.43	3	1.37	4	1.36	3
Rural localities	253	3.77	2	4.12	1	2.73	4	2.02	3	3.50	3	2.96	4	4.36	4	1.49	3	1.50	2
Total	429	3.84		4.50		2.78		2.00		3.52		3.05		4.45		1.49		1.46	
F ¹		1.50		7.48**		#		2.16		#		1.66		1.97		2.41		1.55	

¹For this table F must reach 3.83 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.62 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than between group variance.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

this town ranks as least tolerant on this question.

In general, it appears from Table 19 that the residential groups do not differ significantly with respect to attitudes toward Negroes. There is again a tendency on several questions for both Johnstown and the rural localities to be less tolerant, although, on the one question for which there is a significant difference, Johnstown differs most from the rural localities.

Attitudes toward Mexicans are summarized in Table 20. Two of the four Mexican items reveal significant differences, one beyond the one per cent probability level. These differences clearly seem to be due to the fact that Johnstown respondents are less favorable in their attitudes toward Mexicans than are respondents from the other residential areas.

Table 20 also shows the Total Prejudice score. The differences are significant beyond the one per cent probability level. Again this appears to be due to the Johnstown respondents. It may be concluded from this table that there is some evidence to support the hypothesis of difference and that, for these items, Johnstown continues to be consistent in the direction of less favorable attitudes toward minority groups.

From the foregoing it may be seen that there is some evidence to support the hypothesis that differences in residence are associated with differences in attitudes toward minority groups. While the differences are not great for any one question, this holds true particularly for attitudes toward Jews and Mexicans. There is a consistent tendency for Johnstown to be less tolerant than the other residential areas on

Table 20

ATTITUDES TOWARD MEXICANS AND ANALYSIS OF TOTAL PREJUDICE
SCORE BY RESIDENCE

<u>Residence</u>	<u>Total no. of respondents</u>	<u>Mexicans as citizens and voters</u>		<u>Keep Mexicans out of white neighborhoods</u>		<u>Mexicans coming to Midstate</u>		<u>Mexicans in restaurants with whites</u>		<u>Total Prejudice Score</u>	
		<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>
Brownsville	39	3.15	2	2.15	3	1.69	1	2.33	1	3.54	1
Adams	28	3.43	1	2.43	1	1.61	3	2.04	2	3.00	2
Johnstown	109	3.10	3	1.95	4	1.51	4	1.71	4	2.52	4
Rural localities	253	3.09	4	2.17	2	1.64	2	2.02	3	2.98	3
Total	429	3.12		2.13		1.61		1.97		2.92	
F ¹		#		3.00*		1.08		6.36**		4.80**	

¹ For this table F must reach 3.83 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.62 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than between group variance.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

all questions. The rural localities also tend to be similar to Johnstown on a number of the questions but the trend for these localities is not as consistent as it is for Johnstown. Conversely, the samples of Brownsville and Adams tend to be similar on a number of questions and tend to be more tolerant. This holds true for attitudes toward Negroes even though 31 per cent of the Brownsville sample is Polish.

Furthermore, since proportionately Johnstown and the rural localities comprise the greater part of the sample and tend to manifest similar attitudes on many questions, it may be concluded also that there appear to be no significant differences between urban and rural residence in terms of attitudes toward minorities. At least the data of this sample do not indicate that analysis along this line would be profitable.

Conclusions

In this chapter certain traditional variables, such as sex, age, ethnic and residential differences, have been analyzed in order to determine to what extent such variables are related to attitudes toward Jews, Negroes and Mexicans. The specific empirical conclusions which appear to be warranted by the data may be stated as follows:

1. There appear to be no differences between the sexes with respect to attitudes toward minorities, either in terms of statistical significance or trends.
2. There are practically no differences among various age grades which are statistically significant. There is a tendency for the

younger age grades to be more tolerant than the older age grades. but this trend appears to be associated with the educational factor.

3. In general, the Polish-Americans tend to be remarkably like the older Americans in their attitudes. There is, however, a tendency for the Polish to be even less favorable in their attitudes toward Negroes than are old Americans.
4. There is evidence that residence is related to attitudes toward minority groups. Brownsville and Adams tend to be more tolerant than either Johnstown or residents of the rural localities. Johnstown is consistently less tolerant while the rural localities tend to be less tolerant but are not as consistent as Johnstown residents. The analysis of residence indicates also that for this sample there would be few differences between urban and rural groups, if the census classification were used as a basis for analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

ATTITUDES AS A FUNCTION OF SOCIAL STATUS: OCCUPATION

Some of the variables so far discussed, such as age and sex, are primarily indicators of ascribed status or position in the social structure. There are a number of other variables, however, such as education, income, and occupation, which appear to be clearly indicative of achieved status.¹ That is, in a relatively open system of vertical mobility greater amounts of formal education, professional or white collar occupations, and higher incomes, are indicative of status which is or can be achieved within such a system. Associated with such status and such indicators of status are greater amounts of prestige, in terms of a community's rating along a vertical scale of social esteem.² It is with these variables--variables which are indicative of higher and lower social status within a community--that this and the following two chapters will be concerned.

¹ The terms ascribed and achieved status are used in the meaning originally proposed by Ralph Linton.

² The literature in support of this statement is rather extensive and will not be detailed here. The Warner studies, Lynd's analysis of Middletown, and many other community studies bear upon this point. It is not necessary to agree on the precise meaning of the terms social class or social status, or other such terms, to state that, regardless of what theoretical frame of reference is brought to bear, education, occupation, and income are differentially distributed among members of modern industrial social systems and that such differential distribution appears to be associated with differential amounts of social esteem.

Theoretical Considerations with Respect to
Social Status and Attitudes toward Minorities

In terms of a general theory of social systems and the interaction that takes place therein, and in view of direct observation of the community, the hypothesis was advanced that different strata of a social system will evince different attitudes toward members of minority groups. This hypothesis, which is a derivative of the major hypothesis of this research stems from an assumption that such strata are culturally differentiated in terms of beliefs and sentiments, even though, as a part of a total social system, such strata also share in common many beliefs and sentiments. Examples of basic common beliefs and sentiments shared by the entire social system are those pertaining to economic and political ideology, and cosmology. Attitudes toward minority groups fit into a general and basic pattern of beliefs and sentiments within the entire social system in that certain attitudes will be accepted and certain attitudes rejected in quite obviously different degrees. For example, in this sample most people agree that the Negro should be allowed to vote but many feel that he should not be allowed to move into the house next door. Likewise, a very large number of people believed that Jews are pushing and forward, but not nearly as many agree that it would be a good idea to ship the Jews back to Palestine. The differences in the responses to such questions are quite distinct, as was seen in the data presented for the total sample. That is, there is a distinct cultural pattern which the previous analyses have shown (and which future analyses will continue to show) is visible no matter how you differentiate and

analyze various classes of respondents within the total culture.

On the other hand, the hypothesis to be tested in this and the next two chapters is that within a common pattern of beliefs and sentiments about minority groups there are differences in attitudes which are related to differences in social status. But this general hypothesis does not include the direction of these attitudes, as it should if it is to be soundly stated. In terms of group hostility several alternate, though not necessarily mutually exclusive, sub-hypotheses should be examined.

Arnold Rose³ and Robin Williams⁴ have summarized and discussed many of the current theories of prejudice and hostility between groups. Rose does not systematically catalogue theories of prejudice but he includes some twenty possible hypotheses. Williams has examined somewhat more rigorously the concept of prejudice and outlines 102 propositions, ranging from tentative guesses to well-supported assumptions. One major hypothesis that both writers advance is the "competition" hypothesis. This hypothesis has several variations. Prejudice may be defined simply as the outcome of actual or threatened economic competition.⁵ Or the relationship of prejudice to competition may be

³Arnold Rose, Studies in the Reduction of Prejudice, mimeo, Chicago: American Council on Race Relations, 1947, Chapter 7, "The Psychology of Prejudice."

⁴Robin Williams, Jr., op. cit. See Chapter 3, "Propositions on Intergroup Hostility and Conflict," pp. 36-77.

⁵This is a familiar Marxian theme. One non-Marxian exponent of this hypothesis is Carey McWilliams who has presented this theme in a number of books. With respect to 'anti-Semitism' he has outlined it in A Mask for Privilege, Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1948.

envisaged as a somewhat more complex, subtle relationship and stated in some form similar to the following:

"Among the members of any dominant group the greatest incidence of open conflict behavior toward a given minority will be found among those classes which are most vulnerable to competition from the minority. It is a legitimate guess from the scattered evidence at hand that group conflict is not so much a correlate of difference in status as it is of changes in status and in the highly visible symbols thereof."⁶

All such theories, whether approached from a Marxian or a psychoanalytic point of view, deal with the concept of competition for such goods as power, status, and wealth. There is, in other words, a real difference and a real conflict because of that difference. In this conflict easily identifiable ethnic or racial groups may be used as symbols in the calculated pursuit of rational, individual ends, or they may be perceived as threats to the already insecure position of deprived groups. According to a number of theories, both phenomena are involved.

Still another basic hypothesis is the "security-deprivation" hypothesis. This hypothesis is related to but is also sometimes contradictory to the "competition" hypothesis. In terms of this hypothesis members of groups who are deprived, or feel themselves to be deprived, of scarce goods within a given social system will direct the hostility generated by such deprivation to the vulnerable groups, or "scapegoats", who are permitted objects of aggression within the social system. This and similar theories are the product

⁶ Robin Williams Jr., op. cit., p. 59.

of psychoanalytic analysis and frequently stem from John Dollard's⁷ treatment of Freud's "frustration-aggression" hypothesis. The "security-deprivation" hypothesis has been applied frequently as an explanation of violent 'anti-Semitism.' Parsons, for example, theorizes that

"....The most important source of virulent anti-Semitism is probably the projection on the Jew, as a symbol, of free-floating aggression, springing from insecurities and social disorganization."⁸

The reverse side of the above hypothesis has been suggested by Charles Dollard:

"Maintenance of the 'American Creed' in intergroup matters is usually strongest among small groups of professional and upper-class persons, and emphasis upon its universal values circulates downward in the social stratification pyramid. In general, only persons in 'upper' groups have sufficient security to work actively for innovations in the direction of greater privileges for minorities."⁹

Still other hypotheses emphasize the role played by the early socialization process. Thus, the young learn the approved cultural stereotypes, both favorable and unfavorable. While hostility may be a resultant of factors within a social system, either due to the strain imposed on the individual by the socialization process itself, or resulting from competition for scarce goods, there are in many social systems myths, old folk tales, and traditional beliefs pertaining to various kinds of minority group membership. The "social-

⁷This hypothesis is elaborated upon in John Dollard and others, Frustration and Aggression: New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939.

⁸Talcott Parsons, "The Sociology of Modern Anti-Semitism," in Isaac Graeber and Stuart H. Britt (eds.), Jews in a Gentile World, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942, p. 121.

⁹Robin Williams Jr., op. cit., p. 59.

ization" hypothesis has been treated in this thesis primarily as an underlying assumption. That is, the analyses that have and will be made assume that beliefs and sentiments pertaining to minority groups are passed on from old to young in our culture. Hence, major attention has been directed to the various possibilities for cultural differentiation and cultural generalization in terms of attitudes toward the minority groups selected for study.

The "competition" and "security-deprivation" hypotheses, on the other hand, suggest possibilities for the prediction of the direction of differences between sub-groups within a general social system. For the purposes of this thesis, and in view of the foregoing, sub-hypotheses with respect to the direction of differences in attitudes toward minorities that are associated with the status variables which are to be examined in this and subsequent chapters may be stated as follows:

1. In terms of an hypothesis of competition we may expect that higher status groups will display more prejudice and hostility toward Jews than do lower status groups. (The assumption here is that upper status groups are more likely to be in either economic or other competition with Jews than are lower status groups.)
2. In terms of an hypothesis of competition we may expect that lower status groups will display more prejudice and hostility toward Negroes and Mexicans than do upper status groups. (The assumption here is that Negroes and Mexicans offer greater economic and other competition to lower status groups than they

do to upper status groups. For example, in the county seat community of this research, where there are a few Negro families, the Negroes are strictly lower status in terms of income, occupation, residence and prestige. They are not even thought of as possible competitors for any scarce value by members of upper status groups.)

3. In terms of a "security-deprivation" hypothesis we may expect that upper status groups will display greater tolerance toward all minorities than do lower status groups. (This assumes that upper status group members have greater security in terms of the values obtainable within the social system than do lower status group members who are deprived, or feel deprived, of some of the values obtainable within the social system.)

It will be noted that the third hypothesis appears to be in contradiction to the first hypothesis. These hypotheses, however, are by no means mutually exclusive. It is quite possible that upper status group members may feel secure enough to display tolerance in their stated sentiments toward all minority groups and yet act in a discriminatory way toward Jews, for example, if or when Jews are perceived as actual competitors. The reverse may also be true. That is, lower status group members may direct as much aggression toward Jews as toward minority group members with whom they are in actual competition, because aggression toward Jews is permissible within the total social system. Hence, an open channel of aggression will be utilized by such lower status groups, in terms of a "security-deprivation" theory, regardless of the extent of actual competition.

But the data to be examined are confined to the manifestations of sentiments toward minorities. Hence, the sub-hypotheses can only be tested in terms of such manifestations. If upper status groups consistently manifest more tolerant sentiments toward all three minorities than do lower status groups, the "security-deprivation" hypothesis is supported. But the "competition" hypothesis is supported only with respect to the manifestation of sentiments toward Negroes and Mexicans

Occupation in Relationship to
Attitudes toward Minority Groups

One important indicator of social status, in terms of a system of vertical social mobility, is that of occupation. There is little previous published research with respect to the relationship of attitudes and occupation. Murphy and Likert¹⁰ found, for college students at Columbia and New York University, that sons of professional men and business men were slightly more tolerant than sons of laborers. This was not true for University of Michigan students.

Nor did Sims and Patrick¹¹ find any systematic relationship between parental occupation and attitudes of college students. Horowitz¹² likewise found no significant relationship between generalized tolerance and occupation.

In an early Fortune Survey the authors conclude that "by size of place and by occupation, differences were negligible, except that

¹⁰Gardner Murphy and R. Likert, op. cit.

¹¹V. M. Sims and J. R. Patrick, op. cit.

¹²Horowitz in O. Klineberg, op. cit., report of study by V. Mintz, p.225.

farm hands were far out of line--20.9 per cent being anti-Jewish."¹³ In a later Fortune Survey,¹⁴ however, it was found that, with respect to attitudes toward both Negroes and Jews, farmers are more prejudiced, while professional, executive and minor salaried (white collar) workers are more tolerant. In the Bettelheim and Janowitz study¹⁵ differences on an index of socio-economic status (of which occupation was one factor) were not significant.

From these scattered findings there appears to be little evidence to support the hypothesis that differences in occupation are related to differences in attitudes toward minority groups. However, much of this research was not conducted on sufficiently stratified populations to provide an adequate test of such an hypothesis. In terms of the hypothesis which was presented earlier in this chapter, there should be differences in attitudes toward minority groups which are related to differences in occupation, insofar as occupation is indicative of social status. It is further hypothesized that the direction of such differences will accord with either a "competition" or a "security-deprivation" hypothesis, or, for some minority groups, both.

The occupational classifications which were used for coding

¹³"The Fortune Survey," January, 1936.

¹⁴Fortune, October, 1947, op. cit.

¹⁵Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, op. cit.

the original data were those of Edwards.¹⁶ The so-called Edwards' scale has been used frequently in many research projects as a basis for such classifications. It has been subject to criticism but no argument will be presented here either as to its merits or demerits. It is used for this research as an approximation for the examination of the variable of occupation--bearing in mind that occupation itself is considered as a rough but appropriate measure of social status. Only men were included in this analysis, since the number of female full-time workers in the sample was very small.

Table 21 shows the mean, rank order, and F for each of the questions pertaining to attitudes toward Jews and for the total Jewish Prejudice score. Four of the five five-point scale questions are significant; three of them beyond the one per cent probability level. The total Jewish Prejudice score is also significant beyond the one per cent probability level. This provides strong support for the hypothesis that differences in occupation are related to differences in attitudes toward Jews.

The rank order on the Jewish questions and the Jewish Prejudice score indicate that, in general, the farm group and the unskilled labor group tend to be consistently more prejudiced toward Jews than are other occupational classes. On the other hand, the professional and proprietor classes tend to be more liberal. These trends are brought out more clearly in Table 22. In this table the professional-

¹⁶Alba Edwards, A Social-Economic Grouping of Gainful Workers of the United States, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938, p. 2.

Table 21

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS BY OCCUPATION - MEN ONLY

Occupational Classification	Total no. of respond- ents	Jewish merchant		Jews think they're better		Jews push		Restrict Jews		Guard against Jews		Ship Jews Back		Total Jewish Pr Score		Jews are honest		Jews in my neigh- borhood	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Professional	11	3.09	3	3.45	2	2.55	1	3.55	2	3.00	1	3.91	1	5.45	2	2.09	3	2.00	1
Proprietor	28	2.64	1	3.46	1	2.11	5	3.61	1	2.96	2	3.68	2	5.96	1	2.25	1	1.82	4
Clerical	24	2.92	2	3.13	3	1.92	6	3.13	3	2.38	3	3.08	4	4.72	5	2.04	6	1.74	5
Skilled	48	3.15	4	2.90	5	2.33	2	3.00	6	2.25	4	3.13	3	5.02	3	2.10	2	1.83	3
Semi-skilled	47	3.531	5	3.00	4	2.26	3	3.02	5	2.19	5	2.94	6	4.77	4	2.06	5	1.87	2
Unskilled	14	4.29	7	2.36	7	1.79	7	3.07	4	1.79	7	3.00	5	4.29	7	2.07	4	1.43	7
Farmer	107	3.532	6	2.74	6	2.13	4	2.61	7	2.12	6	2.66	7	4.38	6	1.90	7	1.57	6
Farm Labor ¹	1																		
Not determined ¹	2																		
Total	282	3.34		2.92		2.16		2.95		2.28		2.99		4.78		2.09		1.71	
F ²		1.43		2.41*		#		3.26**		3.05**		4.11**		2.78**		1.02		1.55	

¹These groups are not included in the rank order analysis, although they are included in the analysis of variance, because the small size of the samples makes comparisons difficult.

²For this table F must reach 2.60 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 1.98 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

Table 22

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES - MEN ONLY

Occupational Class	Total no. of respond- ents	Jewish merchant		Jews think they're better		Jews push		Restrict Jews		Guard against Jews		Ship Jews Back		Total Jewish Pr Score		Jews are honest		Jews in my neigh- borhood	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
White Collar	63	2.83	1	3.33	1	2.11	3	3.41	1	2.75	1	3.49	1	5.39	1	2.14	1	1.82	1
Manual	112	3.45	2	2.87	2	2.22	1	3.01	2	2.18	2	3.02	2	4.80	2	2.06	2	1.78	2
Farm	107	3.53	3	2.74	3	2.13	2	2.61	3	2.12	3	2.66	3	4.38	3	1.90	3	1.57	3
Total	282	3.34		2.92		2.16		2.95		2.28		2.99		4.78		2.02		1.71	
F ¹		3.10*		6.53**		#		11.16**		8.66**		12.58**		6.41**		2.16		2.67	

¹For this table F must reach 4.71 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 3.04 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

* - Significant beyond 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

proprietor-clerical classes are grouped together under the white-collar classification, while the skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled and farm labor groups are classified together as manual labor.¹⁷

It can be seen at once that such a regrouping of the data accentuates the significant differences of Table 21. All of the questions that were significant in Table 21 are significant in Table 22, and beyond the one per cent probability level. Moreover, the unstructured questions concerning the possibility of a Jewish merchant buying the largest store in town is also significant, although at only the five per cent probability level. The F for the two three-point questions has also increased, although the level of probability is still too low to speak with confidence. Perhaps, most important of all is the consistency of the trends as shown by the rank order on each of the questions. With the exception of the question concerning the "pushingness" of Jews, the rank order is consistent on all questions and on the total Jewish Prejudice score. Farmers rank as least tolerant, while white collar workers are most tolerant, and manual workers rank in between these two groups.

The large F's in Table 22 immediately raise the possibility that the differences in occupational classes are accentuated and, perhaps, largely due to the differences in farm and non-farm

¹⁷For convenience in calculating the analysis of variance necessary for this table, the undetermined and farm labor groups (a total of three respondents) were classified with the manual labor group. There is some justification for this but, whether there is or not, it can be demonstrated statistically that such a grouping affects the findings to a very limited extent.

occupations. This hypothesis may be tested by examining Table 23.

That there is considerable support for this hypothesis may be seen at once. Four of the five-point scale questions are significant, two at the one per cent probability level. The total Jewish Prejudice score is significant beyond the one per cent probability level. The question about the Jewish merchant is not significant but both the three-point questions are. Moreover, in terms of rank order, farmers are always more prejudiced in their responses to the questions asked than are non-farmers.

A further test may be made by examining occupational classes of non-farmers. The results of such an analysis are shown in Table 24. Here there is some evidence that differences in attitudes toward Jews are not confined to differences in farmers and non-farmers. Three of the questions are significant, although only one beyond the one per cent probability level. The total Jewish Prejudice score is significant just at the five per cent probability level. The evidence here is not as strong as in the previous tables, but is still strong enough to indicate that differences in occupational classification are related to differences in attitudes toward Jews for both farm and non-farm groups, analyzed alone and together.

The trends in Table 24 are by no means as clear-cut as in Table 23 but, in general, the professional-proprietor class tends to be most tolerant and the unskilled labor class tends to be

Table 23

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS BY FARM AND NON-FARM OCCUPATIONS - MEN ONLY

<u>Occupational Classification</u>	<u>Total no. of respond- ents</u>	<u>Jewish merchant</u>		<u>Jews think they're better</u>		<u>Jews push</u>		<u>Restrict Jews</u>		<u>Guard against Jews</u>		<u>Ship Jews Back</u>		<u>Total Jewish Pr Score</u>		<u>Jews are honest</u>		<u>Jews in my neigh- borhood</u>	
		<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>
Non-farm	172	3.23	1	3.04	1	2.19	1	3.16	1	2.39	1	3.20	1	5.03	1	2.10	1	1.81	1
Farm	107	3.53	2	2.74	2	2.13	2	2.61	2	2.12	2	2.66	2	4.38	2	1.90	2	1.57	2
Total	279	3.34		2.92		2.16		2.95		2.28		2.99		4.78		2.03		1.73	
F ¹		1.81		5.24*		#	1	11.13**		4.12*		24.41**		8.48**		4.42*		5.85*	

¹For this table F must reach 6.70 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 3.86 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

Table 24

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS BY OCCUPATION - NON-FARM MEN ONLY

<u>Occupational Classification</u>	<u>Total no. of respond- ents</u>	<u>Jewish merchant</u>		<u>Jews think they're better</u>		<u>Jews push</u>		<u>Restrict Jews</u>		<u>Guard against Jews</u>		<u>Ship Jews Back</u>		<u>Total Jewish Pr Score</u>		<u>Jews are honest</u>		<u>Jews in my neigh- borhood</u>	
		<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>
Professional	11	3.09	3	3.45	2	2.55	1	3.55	2	3.00	1	3.91	1	5.45	2	2.09	3	2.00	1
Proprietor	28	2.64	1	3.46	1	2.11	4	3.61	1	2.96	2	3.68	2	5.96	1	2.25	1	1.82	4
Clerical	24	2.92	2	3.13	3	1.92	5	3.13	3	2.38	3	3.08	4	4.72	5	2.04	5	1.74	5
Skilled	48	3.15	4	2.90	5	2.33	2	3.00	5	2.25	4	3.13	3	5.02	3	2.10	2	1.83	3
Semi-skilled	47	3.53	5	3.00	4	2.26	3	3.02	4	2.19	5	2.94	5	4.77	4	2.06	4	1.87	2
Unskilled ¹	15	4.13	6	2.33	6	1.80	6	3.00	5	1.80	6	2.93	6	4.20	6	2.00	6	1.40	6
Total	173	3.22		3.03		2.18		3.16		2.38		3.19		5.02		2.10		1.80	
F ²		1.34		2.33*		1.24		1.70		3.09**		2.49*		2.18*		#		#	

¹For this and similar tables showing attitudes toward Negroes and Mexicans, this classification includes the one farm laborer in the sample.

²For this table F must reach 2.92 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.16 at the 5% probability level.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

least tolerant toward Jews. An attempt was made to clarify these trends by reclassifying the data according to Table 25.

In this table only the questions which were found significant in Table 24 were examined. The reclassification into professional-proprietor, clerical, skilled, and semi-skilled and unskilled groups increased significance beyond the one per cent probability level for one question and the differences in response as measured by the total Jewish Prejudice score now approach the one per cent level of probability.

According to Table 25 the semi-skilled and unskilled respondents, taken together, are more prejudiced in their responses toward Jews than are the professional-proprietor respondents. The differences in rank order and means for the skilled and clerical groups are not consistent nor, in all probability, significant.

Conclusions with Respect to Attitudes
toward Jews and Occupational Differences

This rather extensive analysis of the relationship of attitudes toward Jews to occupational differences may now be summarized. The hypothesis that there are differences in attitudes toward Jews which are related to differences in occupational classification has been supported, in the following manner:

1. When the Edwards' scale is used as a basis for analysis, a number of differences are revealed.
2. Reclassification of this scale into farmer, white collar, and manual worker groups accentuates such differences and

Table 25

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS BY OCCUPATION -
NON-FARM MEN ONLY (Reclassified)

<u>Occupational Classification</u>	<u>Total no. of respond- ents</u>	Jews think they're better		Guard against Jews		Ship Jews back		Total Jewish Fr Score	
		<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>
Professional-proprietor	39	3.46	1	2.97	1	3.74	1	5.82	1
Clerical	24	3.13	2	2.38	2	3.08	3	4.72	3
Skilled	48	2.90	3	2.25	3	3.13	2	5.02	2
Semi- and unskilled	62	2.84	4	2.10	4	2.94	4	4.63	4
Total	173	3.03		2.38		3.19		5.02	
F ¹		3.16*		5.67**		4.85**		3.78*	

¹For this table F must reach 3.91 to be significant at the 1% probability level;
2.67 at the 5% probability level.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

there is a definite trend, supported by statistically significant differences, for white collar workers to be least prejudiced, farmers to be most prejudiced, and manual workers to be less prejudiced than farmers but more prejudiced than white collar workers.

3. There is also considerable evidence that the non-farm occupations, when summed and compared with the farm group, differ significantly; the non-farm occupations, when considered as one category, always are most tolerant.
 4. Differences in occupational classification are not due solely to differences in farm and non-farm groups. When the non-farm occupations are analyzed, there is some support, though not as strong, for the hypothesis that differences in occupation are related to differences in attitudes toward Jews. The professional-proprietor group tends to be most tolerant and the unskilled and semi-skilled labor group tends to be least tolerant. The clerical group does not exhibit a consistent trend to be more tolerant than the skilled labor group. It is apparent that the clerical group does not consistently accentuate the differences for the so-called white collar classification, nor does the skilled labor group consistently accentuate the differences for the manual labor classification. Apparently the groups that do make the difference are the professional-proprietory group, on one hand, and the semi- and unskilled group, on the other.
- Before discussing the direction of the differences in attitudes

toward Jews manifested by the several occupational classes, the position of the farmers should be discussed. From the observations of this writer, it does not seem possible to include the farmers of Maple County in any clear-cut system of vertical social mobility. While some observers¹⁸ have been able to make such clear-cut differentiations, community observation of Maple County supports a theory of rapid acculturation and industrialization of the farm which is leading to but has not yet solidified into a definite system of social strata analagous to and tied into the somewhat more rigid lines of stratification found in the towns and villages of the county. That is, there is an emerging social class system in Maple County which may, in time, make it possible to differentiate different classes of farmers. The old folk economy of traditional agriculture is rapidly disappearing and, hence, the sentiments associated with such an economy are also disappearing. But they have not yet disappeared. Moreover, there are similarities to the hazards, methods, and traditions of the occupation of farming in a diversified farming area such as that of Maple County which make for the maintenance of many common sentiments, beliefs, and technology for the majority of farmers when viewed as a single occupational group.

¹⁸Notably Evon Z. Vogt, Jr., Chapter 14, "Town and Country: The Structure of Rural Life," in W. Lloyd Warner, Democracy in Jonesville, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949. This writer would hesitate from the evidence that Vogt advances to conclude that a definite system of social stratification is in operation, although there is obviously the basis for the development of such a system.

In general, at the time of this research, the attitudes of farmers tend to reflect the attitudes of one group and not several. A number of attempts were made to differentiate various classes of farmers for purposes of statistical analysis with varying degrees of success.¹⁹ But, in general, farmers as a group do not fit into any one place in a system of social stratification based on occupation. The farmers of Maple County are not at the bottom of the social scale, nor are they at the top. They are somewhat apart from any system of evaluation used by non-farmers, and there is no analogous system which is applied to the farmer by his own kind. The measure that is important is the answer to the question, "Is he a good farmer?" The proper answer to this question imposes a system of social evaluation which is not yet equated to one based entirely on a money economy and an industrial technology. The writer believes that

¹⁹These attempts were based on size and kind of farming operations. One analysis, based on the three prejudice scores, is given in Table F in the Appendix G. This analysis was undertaken in order to see if there were differences between part-time farmers, who are largely manual workers, and other farmers. None of the scores were statistically significant, but the manual workers who live in the country and practice farming as a second occupation are consistently the most tolerant group, while the "pure" farmers are the least tolerant group. This tendency merely confirms community observation wherein a clear difference in systems of interaction for rural non-farm as compared to rural farm was indicated. Since the manual workers in Table F are included in the sample of manual workers in Table 22, these findings merely accent the finding that farmers are less tolerant than either the white collar or manual labor groups. An attempt was also made to differentiate farmers by a "status index." The results are discussed in Chapter Six.

the latter type of evaluation is emerging, but the point made here is that, for present purposes, an emerging system of social stratification must not be confused with an emergent system.

We may now consider the direction of differences in attitudes toward Jews. The farmers, as a group, are clearly more 'anti-Semitic' than are the non-farmers, either when compared to separate classes of non-farmers, except unskilled labor, or to non-farmers in general. But, at the time of this research, there is no evidence that the farmers, as a group, are insecure, deprived, or in serious competition with any other groups. They have little in common with unskilled labor. In 1949 prices of farm products tended to remain high and the general level of living for farmers has steadily risen since before World War II, until it equals or surpasses many of the white collar workers in the towns. On the other hand, there is evidence that in Maple County many farmers feel that Jews control livestock purchases and other marketing enterprises. To the extent that this feeling exists, Jews may be perceived as competitors in an economic market. On the other hand, many of the comments of farmers indicated that the identification of livestock buyers with Jews was primarily a stereotype and occurred even though the respondent was aware that the particular livestock buyer under discussion was not Jewish. It is possible that Jews are perceived as representative of a competitive, urban, money economy, as far as farmers are concerned, and that the attitudes of intolerance toward Jews reflect a traditional dislike for such urbanity.

Moreover, such attitudes may be associated with the fear of being defrauded, an hypothesis advanced by Ichheiser.²⁰ In any event, there is no support for the "security-deprivation" hypothesis as far as farmers are concerned. There is some possibility that the data support the "competition" hypothesis or some of its possible variants.

But the discussion of farmers' attitudes is not one which is associated with an index of social status. More important data for occupational groups whose differences in attitudes are associated with differences in social status is that for the non-farm group. Although this sample is small there is some support for the "security-deprivation" hypothesis. There is little support for a "competition" hypothesis. That is, the upper status group (professional-proprietor) is more tolerant of Jews than the lower status group (semi-skilled and unskilled labor).

Occupational Differences and Attitudes toward Negroes and Mexicans

The data for attitudes toward Negroes, analyzed for all of the occupational classes used in the original analysis, are shown in Table 26. While the findings are not clear-cut, two of the five-point questions are significant, one beyond the one per cent probability level, and the total Negro Prejudice score is significant beyond the five per cent probability level. There is some

²⁰Gustav Ichheiser, "Fear of Violence and Fear of Fraud, with some Remarks on the Social Psychology of Anti-Semitism," Sociometry, 7:376-383, 1944.

Table 26

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES BY OCCUPATION - MEN ONLY

Occupational Classification	Total no. of respond- ents	Negroes to Johns- town		Negroes next door		Negroes are lazy		Keep Negroes out of White neighborhoods		Negroes should vote		Negroes with education		Total Negro Pr Score		Whites and Negroes in same restaurant		Orders from a Negro	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Professional	11	3.82	4	4.36	2	2.91	3	2.27	1	4.46	1	3.73	1	5.55	1	1.36	6	2.00	1
Proprietor	28	4.17	6	5.36	7	3.07	1	1.96	6	3.68	3	3.54	2	5.00	2	1.46	4	1.30	6
Clerical	25	3.67	1	5.08	6	2.92	2	2.00	5	3.40	6	3.12	4	4.48	4	1.48	3	1.46	4
Skilled	48	3.78	2	4.67	3	2.65	5	2.02	4	3.31	7	3.17	3	4.40	5	1.58	2	1.46	4
Semi-skilled	47	4.04	5	4.68	4	2.89	4	2.11	2	3.89	2	3.06	5	4.70	3	1.60	1	1.68	2
Unskilled	14	5.38	7	5.07	5	2.64	6	1.79	7	3.43	5	2.71	7	3.93	7	1.29	7	1.21	7
Farmer	107	3.80	3	4.23	1	2.60	7	2.04	3	3.48	4	2.86	6	4.23	6	1.44	5	1.47	3
Farm Labor ¹	1																		
Not determined ¹	2																		
Total	283	3.94		4.64		2.74		2.03		3.57		3.07		4.47		1.48		1.49	
F ²		1.18		1.35		1.04		#		2.73**		2.19*		2.47*		#		1.62	

¹These groups are not included in the rank order analysis, although they are included in the analysis of variance, because the small size of the samples makes comparisons difficult.

²For this table F must reach 2.60 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 1.98 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

tendency, therefore, for the various occupational groups to differ in attitudes toward the Negro.

The direction of differences is not clear when the rank order on the various questions is considered, but there is a tendency for the professional-proprietor group to be more tolerant toward Negroes than the other groups, at least for the questions for which there are statistically significant differences. There is also a clear-cut trend for the unskilled labor group to be least tolerant.

Further analysis of differences is shown in Table 27. While only one question is statistically significant, the total Negro Prejudice score is significant at slightly beyond the one per cent probability level. The reason for this is apparent when the rank order comparisons are made for each question. For three of the four five-point questions, upon which the Negro Prejudice score is based, white collar workers rank as most tolerant, farmers as least tolerant, and manual workers in between.

In order to determine the extent to which occupational differences in attitudes toward Negroes are associated with differences between farm and non-farm occupations, Table 28 may be examined. Insofar as the structured questions are concerned, the findings are similar to Table 27. That is, farmers tend to be less tolerant in their responses than are non-farmers. This trend is brought out by the total Negro Prejudice score, wherein the difference is statistically significant beyond the five per

Table 27

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES - MEN ONLY

Occupational Classification	Total no. of respond- ents	Negroes to Johns- town		Negroes next door		Negroes are lazy		Keep Negroes out of White neighborhoods		Negroes should vote		Negroes with education		Total Negro Pr Score		Whites and Negroes in same restaurant		Orders from a Negro	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
White Collar	64	3.90	2	5.08	3	2.98	1	2.03	2	3.70	1	3.41	1	4.89	1	1.45	2	1.48	2
Manual	112	4.09	3	4.78	2	2.73	2	2.027	3	3.57	2	3.07	2	4.46	2	1.54	1	1.51	1
Farm	107	3.80	1	4.23	1	2.60	3	2.04	1	3.48	3	2.86	3	4.23	3	1.44	3	1.47	3
Total	283	3.94		4.64		2.74		2.03		3.57		3.07		4.47		1.48		1.49	
F ¹		#		2.76		2.58		#		1.13		5.58**		4.81**		#		#	

¹ For this table F must reach 4.71 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 3.04 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

Table 28

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES BY FARM AND NON-FARM OCCUPATIONS - MEN ONLY

Occupational Classification	Total no. of respondents	Negroes to Johns- town		Negroes next door		Negroes are lazy		Keep Negroes out of White neighborhoods		Negroes should vote		Negroes with education		Total Negro Pr Score		Whites and Negroes in same restaurant		Order from Negro
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	
Non-farm	173	4.02	2	4.85	2	2.84	1	2.03	2	3.62	1	3.19	1	4.62	1	1.51	1	1.51
Farm	107	3.80	1	4.23	1	2.60	2	2.04	1	3.48	2	2.86	2	4.23	2	1.44	2	1.47
Total	280	3.94		4.62		2.75		2.03		3.57		3.06		4.48		1.49		1.49
F ¹		#		4.39*		3.28		#		1.52		6.63*		5.42*		#		#

¹For this table F must reach 6.70 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 3.86 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

cent probability level.

But this trend does not hold for the two unstructured questions, on one of which the difference is significant beyond the five per cent probability level, the farm group being most tolerant. Since this is in contradiction to the general trend, it should be explained.

Although, in this thesis, the specific content of the various questions has not been examined to any extent, it may be well to do so at this point. The two unstructured questions are on a somewhat different level than the structured questions. The latter permit the manifestation of certain traditional (stereotyped) beliefs and sentiments pertaining to Negroes. In terms of such sentiments the farm group tends to be less tolerant. The unstructured questions, however, deal with a situation which had quite concrete meaning to many of the respondents who were residents of Johnstown. As has been shown in Chapter Three, Johnstown respondents tend to be considerably less tolerant in response to these two questions than other respondents. The difference for the question about a Negro family moving next door is statistically significant beyond the one per cent probability level. Moreover, for our present analysis, Johnstown respondents comprise nearly 40 per cent of the non-farm respondents. Hence, the difference between farm and non-farm groups would appear to be related to the attitudes of Johnstown respondents more than to farm and non-farm differences.

It should also be pointed out that such questions as zoning, deed restrictions, protection of property values, and the like, which are frequently associated with or become rationalizations for action against Negroes, are typically urban questions. To farmers the problem of a Negro family moving to the adjoining farm would appear to be conceived quite differently than the same problem is conceived of by non-farm respondents who, in general, share in a more urban orientation.

In other words, the apparently contradictory findings are, in part at least, a function of the questions in relation to a specific social situation. The writer would contend that, on the basis of the trend shown by the structured questions, it is probable that farm respondents would appear less tolerant on other action-type questions, if such questions could be framed to induce the same kind of social situation as applied in this case to Johnstown, and, to a lesser extent, other town respondents. Hence, in terms of manifestations of sentiments toward Negroes, the evidence still seems to indicate that the farm group is less tolerant than the non-farm group.

A further test of occupational differences is shown in Table 29, wherein the non-farm occupations are analyzed separately. There is only one question for which the differences are statistically significant. The trends are not clear-cut except that the unskilled labor group is consistently among the most prejudiced groups. Hence, much of the difference that has been found in attitudes toward Negroes appears to be related to

Table 29

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES BY OCCUPATION - NON-FARM MEN ONLY

Occupational Classification	Total no. of respondents	Negroes to Johns- town		Negroes next door		Negroes are lazy		Keep Negroes out of White neighborhoods		Negroes should vote		Negroes with education		Total Negro Pr Score		Whites and Negroes in same restaurant		Orders from a Negro	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Professional	11	3.82	3	4.36	1	2.91	3	2.27	1	4.46	1	3.73	1	5.55	1	1.36	5	2.00	1
Proprietor	28	4.17	5	5.36	6	3.07	1	1.96	5	3.68	3	3.54	2	5.00	2	1.46	4	1.30	5
Clerical	25	3.67	1	5.08	5	2.92	2	2.00	4	3.40	5	3.12	4	4.48	4	1.48	3	1.46	3
Skilled	48	3.78	2	4.67	2	2.65	5	2.02	3	3.31	6	3.17	3	4.40	5	1.58	2	1.46	3
Semi-skilled	47	4.04	4	4.68	3	2.89	4	2.11	2	3.89	2	3.06	5	4.70	3	1.60	1	1.68	2
Unskilled	15	5.38	6	5.07	4	2.60	6	1.80	6	3.47	4	2.80	6	4.00	6	1.27	6	1.20	6
Total	174	4.02		4.86		2.83		2.03		3.63		3.20		4.63		1.51		1.51	
F ₁		1.20		#		#		#		3.54**		1.49		1.84		#		1.95	

For this table F must reach 2.92 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.16 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

the difference in farm and non-farm occupations. The data of Table 27, however, especially as brought out by the total Negro Prejudice score, indicate that there is a tendency for the white collar group to be more tolerant than the manual labor group.

Attitudes toward Mexicans were analyzed in exactly the same way as attitudes toward Negroes were analyzed. Tables G, H, I and J, in Appendix G, show the results of these analyses, none of which revealed statistically significant differences between groups. There is again a tendency, as shown by Table H, for the white collar group to be more tolerant than either the farm or manual labor groups. When the non-farm group as a whole is compared with the farm group the non-farm respondents tend to be more prejudiced. However, since the variance within groups is always greater than the variance between groups, and the differences between the means are so small, further discussion of this trend appears to be unprofitable.

Differences in attitudes toward all three minority groups, when occupational classification is the basis for analysis, are also shown by the Total Prejudice score in Tables G, H, I and J. There are no statistically significant differences for any of the various comparisons of occupational differences when this score is used as a measure of attitudes. But, once again, the white collar workers continue to be less prejudiced, as measured by this score, than either the farm group or manual workers.

In summary, differences in occupation appear to be related, from a statistical point of view, less to differences in

attitudes toward Negroes and Mexicans than toward Jews. But there is some evidence that there are statistically significant differences in attitudes toward Negroes which are related to occupational differences. The principal factor for the statistical difference appears to be the difference in attitudes of farm and non-farm groups. But, although not statistically significant as a rule, white collar workers tend to be less prejudiced toward Negroes than are manual workers. Insofar as these differences are between farm and non-farm groups the findings do not bear upon any hypotheses based on occupation as an indicator of social status, but do support the major hypothesis of this research. Insofar as the findings indicate differences between white collar and manual workers, the hypothesis that differences in attitudes toward minorities are associated with differences in social status has been supported.

While no statistically significant differences were found for any of the questions concerning Mexicans, the same trends appear, as a general rule, as were found for attitudes toward Negroes. The Total Prejudice score is also in the same direction. Hence, although the statistical evidence prompts greater caution, much the same conclusions appear to be warranted.

The direction of the differences for both attitudes toward Negroes and toward Mexicans is in accord with the "security-deprivation" hypothesis. That is, the higher status groups, as measured by occupation, tend to be more tolerant than the lower status groups. This trend also supports the "competition"

hypothesis.

Conclusions

In this chapter occupation has been used as one index of social status. It has not been assumed that occupational differences will correlate in any absolute sense with a dynamic system of vertical social mobility. But broad differences in the occupations of Maple County residents should accord with broad differences in social status. Hence, the foregoing analyses should bear upon the hypothesis that there are differences in attitudes which are associated with differences in social status. Certain sub-hypotheses regarding the possible direction of such differences have also been tested. Although, as we might expect, the results are not absolute, nor clear-cut for all empirical instances which have been tested, certain overall generalizations appear to be supported.

1. There is strong support for the hypothesis that differences in social status are associated with differences in attitudes toward Jews. There is likewise support for the "security-deprivation" hypothesis in that upper status groups tend to be more tolerant than lower status groups. The "competition" hypothesis, however, has not been supported insofar as it has been applied to attitudes toward Jews.
2. Attitudes toward Negroes are not as clearly differentiated along occupational lines. However, the data indicate a tendency, as shown by rank order analysis, for upper status

groups to be more tolerant than are lower status groups.

This finding must be stated in conservative terms, but there is some support for the hypothesis that differences in attitudes toward Negroes are associated with differences in social status. The direction of such differences is in accord with both the "security-deprivation" and "competition" hypothesis.

3. The findings with respect to attitudes toward Negroes may also hold for attitudes toward Mexicans, although the evidence is less conclusive.
4. In general, attitudes toward Jews are more clearly differentiated, in terms of the instrument used in this research, by an occupational index of social status than are attitudes toward either Negroes or Mexicans.
5. The difference between farm and non-farm respondents in this sample are not wholly consistent for all minority groups. With respect to the manifestations of sentiments toward Jews the farm group is clearly more prejudiced than the non-farm group. Attitudes toward Negroes are not as clearly shown, but again it appears that the general pattern of sentiments is one wherein farm respondents are more prejudiced than non-farm respondents. With respect to attitudes toward Mexicans there is little differentiation between farm and non-farm respondents.

CHAPTER FIVE

ATTITUDES AS A FUNCTION OF SOCIAL STATUS:

INCOME AND EDUCATION

Income in Relationship to Attitudes toward Minorities

Income and education are two variables which also have been found to be associated with social status. As is the case with occupation the relationship between either income or education and the actual position a person has in a system of vertical social mobility is not absolute. But such indicators, while not perfect, can give some clues with respect to a sample population, even though they may not be predictive in every individual instance. It is from this relative point of view that these variables will be used to test the relationship of social status to attitudes toward minority groups.

The first variable to be considered is that of income. For this research data on income were gathered by asking the respondent to indicate, from a card handed to him for that purpose, the approximate total family income. This method is not precise but, for the purpose of obtaining broad status categories, serves the function for which it was intended.

Data from farm respondents were found to be of lesser value because of the observed tendency for such respondents to confuse net income with income remaining after all expenses were paid. Thus, farmers with known high crop yields and sales frequently interpreted their net income as little more than subsistence. Hence, the data were not comparable with that furnished by the

non-farm population which reported income from salaries, wages, and business profits. For this reason income as an index of social status is analyzed only for non-farm respondents.

Studies of the relationship of attitudes toward minorities to size of income are not extensive, nor are they detailed in analysis. The following are representative of such research.

Minard¹ found no class differences in attitudes toward minorities as far as high school and junior high school students were concerned. Class in this sense refers to socio-economic position, with income or wealth being the primary referent. Sims and Patrick² found the same thing to be true of college students insofar as attitudes toward Negroes were concerned. Meltzer³ also reports the same for public school children, except that he found a slight tendency for poor children to be less tolerant toward the Negro.

On the other hand, Harlan⁴ reports that prejudice toward Jews, manifested by college students, increases with the reported income of the parents. Levinson and Sanford⁵ report the same.

¹Minard, op. cit.

²Sims and Patrick, op. cit.

³Meltzer, op. cit.

⁴Harlan, op. cit.

⁵Daniel J. Levinson and R. Nevitt Sanford, "A Scale for the Measurement of Anti-Semitism, J. of Psychol., 17:339-370, 1944.

An early Fortune Survey⁶ concludes that higher socio-economic groups tend to favor residential segregation for Negroes more than lower socio-economic groups.

Horowitz⁷ reports an unpublished study of Negroes of Newark by V. Mintz wherein there were no significant relationships between generalized tolerance and actual annual income. This is also the finding of Murphy and Lickert⁸ with respect to the attitudes of college students toward Negroes. The Fortune Survey of 1946⁹ reports that 'anti-Semitism' increases with wealth. Campbell,¹⁰ however, finds no consistent relationship between attitudes toward Jews and income.

The Baltimore study¹¹ found that both the lowest and the highest income groups were more 'anti-Semitic' than the middle income group. The lowest group (those earning less than \$50 per week) tended to be the most 'anti-Semitic.' Although there was a very high relationship between educational level and income, the authors of this study found the economic factor

⁶Special poll reported by Horowitz in O. Klineberg, op. cit.

⁷Horowitz, ibid., pp. 225-226.

⁸Murphy and Lickert, op. cit.

⁹Fortune, February, 1946.

¹⁰Campbell, op. cit.

¹¹The Baltimore Poll, op. cit.

important when the educational factor was held constant.

In one other study, that of Bettelheim and Janowitz,¹² the socio-economic index, which included income as one factor, was not significantly related to attitudes toward Jews.

The foregoing research is inconclusive, as might be expected since it includes a wide variety of instruments and sampling procedures. Where stratified populations were used, in contrast to school populations, as in the Baltimore and Fortune studies, there is some evidence that 'anti-Semitism', at least, is related to distribution of income. The Campbell study, however, which attempted to approximate a representative (but small) sample of the entire United States, did not yield this finding. With the foregoing in mind, the findings of the present project, with respect to a representative rural mid-western population, may now be examined.

The relationship of attitudes toward Jews and amount of income for non-farmers is shown by Table 30.¹³ Four of the five five-point questions show a significant difference; three are

¹²Bettelheim and Janowitz, op. cit.

¹³The "breaks" for the income classification used in this table are arbitrary. The purpose was to obtain fairly large categories which might be useful as indicators of social position in a system of vertical social mobility. The method used to obtain information with respect to income was not designed to achieve absolute precision along a theoretical scale of family earnings. Its major purpose was to furnish information with respect to possible status differences. For this reason the broad categories of income which were used for this analysis were deemed most appropriate.

Table 30

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS BY SIZE OF FAMILY INCOME - NON-FARM ONLY

Annual Income Classification	Total no. of respond- ents	Jewish merchant		Jews think they're better		Jews push		Restrict Jews		Guard against Jews		Ship Jews Back		Total Jewish Pr Score		Jews are honest		Jews in my neigh- borhood	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
\$5000 and above	40	2.98	1	3.40	1	2.05	3	3.23	1	2.45	2	3.45	1	5.46	1	2.08	3	1.75	3
\$3000-\$4999	85	3.22	3	3.16	2	2.19	2	3.18	3	2.35	3	3.23	3	5.16	2	2.11	1	1.35	2
\$2000-\$3999	71	2.83	2	2.89	3	2.38	1	3.20	2	2.58	1	3.25	2	5.06	3	2.10	2	1.89	1
Below \$2000	60	3.85	4	2.47	4	2.05	3	2.58	4	2.05	4	2.62	4	4.12	4	2.00	4	1.66	4
Total	256	3.22		2.96		2.19		3.05		2.36		3.13		4.93		2.17		1.80	
F ¹		3.79*		7.35**		1.70		4.55**		2.63*		6.19**		5.29**		#		#	

¹ For this table F must reach 3.88 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.65 at the 5% probability level.
(For this table 2.63 is assumed to be just at the five per cent probability level.)

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

* - Significant at or beyond the 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

significant beyond the one per cent probability level and one just at the five per cent probability level. As might be expected, the total Jewish Prejudice score, being based on these questions, also shows a significant difference--again beyond the one per cent probability level. The open-end Jewish question is also significant and approaches the one per cent probability level. There appears to be good evidence, therefore, to support the hypothesis that differences in attitudes toward Jews are related to differences in social status, insofar as income is an index of such status.

Analysis of the rank order on each of these questions indicates that the income groups do not behave consistently on all questions. However, for the questions for which there are statistically significant differences and for the total Jewish Prejudice score, the highest income group is generally the most tolerant, while the lowest income group is consistently the least tolerant. The two middle income groups tend to be much alike, in general, and to lie between the highest and the lowest income groups, insofar as attitudes toward Jews are concerned.

This direction of attitudes does not support the "competition" hypothesis. This is also seen by examining one question that involves the idea of direct competition--the question dealing with the possibility of a Jewish merchant buying the biggest store in town. In terms of a competition theory the higher status groups should be less tolerant. This is not the case.

On the other hand, the "security-deprivation" hypothesis receives some support from the evidence of Table 30. That is, the highest status group evinces a willingness to be less prejudiced toward the Jewish minority, while the lower status group is significantly different in the degree of prejudice shown by it toward the Jewish minority, being consistently more prejudiced.

Attitudes toward Negroes may be determined for income groups by examining Table 31. One question shows a statistically significant difference beyond the one per cent probability level and the total Negro Prejudice score is statistically significant just beyond the five per cent probability level. This is by no means strong proof for support of the hypothesis of differences between income groups, but the fact that the total Negro Prejudice score is significant at the five per cent probability level indicates a tendency for the hypothesis to hold.

The rank order findings are not wholly consistent but there is a tendency for higher status groups, as measured by income, to be less prejudiced than the lowest status group. This tendency holds for the questions for which there are statistically significant differences. On other questions the highest status group is not consistent, but the tendency does remain on all questions for the lowest status group to be at the lower end of a prejudice scale, while the next to the highest group is at the upper end of such a scale.

The trends, therefore, are not as clear-cut, nor are the differences between groups as sharp for the manifestation of

Table 31

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES BY SIZE OF FAMILY INCOME - NON-FARM ONLY

Annual Classification	Total no. of respond- ents	Negroes to Johns- town		Negroes next door		Negroes are lazy		Keep Negroes out of White neighborhoods		Negroes should vote		Negroes with education		Total Negro Pr Score		Whites and Negroes in same restaurant		Orders from a Negro	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	P	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
\$5000 and above	41	3.92	4	5.49	4	2.90	2	1.90	3	3.44	4	3.41	1	4.66	2	1.44	4	1.463	3
\$3000-\$4999	85	3.83	1	4.60	2	3.09	1	2.20	1	3.65	1	3.36	2	4.95	1	1.62	1	1.464	2
\$2000-2999	71	3.86	2	4.24	1	2.80	4	2.08	2	3.54	2	3.17	3	4.56	3	1.55	2	1.59	1
Below \$2000	60	3.89	3	4.80	3	2.82	3	1.90	3	3.48	3	2.82	4	4.28	4	1.47	3	1.45	4
Total	257	3.87		4.69		2.92		2.05		3.54		3.19		4.65		1.54		1.49	
F ¹		#		2.28		1.13		1.55		#		4.00**		2.68*		#		#	

¹ For this table F must reach 3.88 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.65 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

sentiments toward Negroes as toward Jews. But the general tendency is one which offers some support for the hypothesis that differences in status are related to differences in attitudes toward Negroes. The direction of such differences is in accord with both the "competition" and "security-deprivation" hypothesis.

It should be pointed out, however, that in the county selected for this study both Negroes and Mexicans are in the lower income groups. They do not have high social status. There is no possibility, at present, that there can be competition between these minorities and the upper status groups. The question treating of the possibility of Negroes moving to the county seat, however, would appear to pose the threat of competition to lower income groups in general. At least the object of such migration in surrounding areas has been to increase the labor market supply at the lower level. Hence, in terms of a "competition" hypothesis, we might expect the lowest income group to be least tolerant in its response to this question.

But actually the difference between income groups is very slight for this question. It is possible that such a question poses a threat to upper as well as lower status groups in that a migration of Negroes to Johnstown is seen as a threat to closure of the social system. That is, the reaction of upper status groups may be in terms of a desire to maintain the present status quo and keep, as one respondent put it, "our own blooded stock."

Regardless of the content meaning of individual questions, however, the data indicate some tendency for upper status groups, as measured by income, to differ in their attitudes toward Negroes from lower status groups. The most important difference appears to be that between the lowest income group and the other higher income groups.

Attitudes toward Mexicans may be examined in Table 32. There is one difference which is statistically significant beyond the five per cent probability level. The next to the lowest income group appears to be most tolerant; the lowest income group least tolerant. The trends for the higher income groups are not wholly consistent with the hypothesis, but the general conclusion seems to be warranted that there is some tendency for income, as a measure of social status, to differentiate attitudes toward Mexicans. The most important factor again appears to be the attitudes of respondents in the lowest income group.

Table 32 also shows the Total Prejudice score, which applies to attitudes toward all three minorities. The differences are not statistically significant but the tendency remains for the lowest income group to be less tolerant of minorities than the other income groups.

In summary, the findings with respect to the relationship of attitudes toward minorities and differences in income appear to support, though not precisely for all three minority groups, the hypothesis that status differences are related to differences

Table 32

ATTITUDES TOWARD MEXICANS AND ANALYSIS OF THE SCORE BY
SIZE OF FAMILY INCOME - NON-FARM ONLY

Annual Income Classification	Total no. of respondents	Mexicans as citizens and voters		Keep Mexicans out of white neighborhoods		Mexicans coming to Midstate		Mexicans in restaurants with whites		Total Prejudice Score	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
\$5000 and above	41	3.41	2	1.95	4	1.56	3	1.85	3	2.85	3
\$3000-\$4999	85	3.33	3	2.24	2	1.65	2	2.07	1	3.08	2
\$2000-\$2999	71	3.42	1	2.28	1	1.77	1	2.06	2	3.29	1
Below \$2000	60	3.03	4	2.07	3	1.48	4	1.78	4	2.66	4
Total	257	3.18		2.16		1.63		1.96		3.00	
F ¹		3.57*		1.44		2.00		1.86		1.75	

¹For this table F must reach 3.88 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.65 at the 5% probability level.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

in attitudes toward minority groups. The data indicate that this hypothesis receives considerable support from the analysis of attitudes toward Jews. The direction of such differences indicates some support also for the "security-deprivation" hypothesis, for upper income groups tend to be less prejudiced toward Jews than lower income groups, even though the former may be in more direct competition with Jews in their business relationships.

Attitudes toward Negroes and Mexicans are not as clearly differentiated, although the over-all trends tend to support the hypothesis. It may be that in Maple County attitudes toward Jews are more clearly differentiated in many ways than attitudes toward Negroes and Mexicans. The data of this chapter support such a proposition. The data of succeeding chapters will reinforce it.

Education in Relationship to Attitudes toward Minority Groups

Education of respondents has also been considered as a measure of social status. This variable, like income and occupation, is not a simple, direct index of such status. But, in general, in modern industrial America, greater amounts of education are associated with greater amounts of social prestige.

The research findings are not extensive in this area. There has been considerable attention paid to the effect of education on attitudes¹⁴ from the point of view of direct attempts to

¹⁴See summary by Robin Williams, Jr., op. cit., pp. 27-35.

influence attitudes, but little research has been done on the relationship of educational level in an adult population to attitudes toward minorities. This is understandable, since much of the previous research has been done on college populations where differences in educational level are insufficient to test hypotheses such as have been advanced here.

One of the first attempts to test for educational differences in a representative sample is reported by Samelson.¹⁵ This is the National Opinion Research Center survey of May, 1944, of 2523 white respondents, selected as representative of the United States, and queried with respect to attitudes toward the Negro. The general finding was that for practically all questions asked there were differences between people with college, high school, and grammar school education. The over-all conclusion was that education tended to diminish prejudice.

Chein and Laks¹⁶ studied intensively 200 highly educated persons in one New York City precinct. They found more unfavorable responses toward all out-groups by persons with higher education than for the average in the precinct.

The Fortune Survey of 1946¹⁷ suggests that a breakdown on

¹⁵Babette Samelson, "Does Education Diminish Prejudice," J. of Soc. Issues, 1:11-13, 1945.

¹⁶I. Chein and L. Laks, "Attitudes and the Educational Process," J. of Educ. Sociol., 19:365-375, 1946.

¹⁷Fortune, February, 1946, op. cit.

the basis of education, if education were studied independently of wealth, would show that an increase in educational level is associated with a decrease in 'anti-Semitism'. The Fortune Survey of 1947¹⁸ indicates that college graduates are more tolerant than non-college graduates.

On the other hand, the Campbell survey¹⁹ disclosed a trend wherein an increase in 'anti-Semitism' was associated with increasing educational level, the sharpest break being between the high school and college groups. But Bettelheim and Janowitz²⁰ found a tendency for veterans with at least some college education to be more tolerant toward Jews, although not significantly so in terms of statistical tests. The Baltimore study found that education is more highly related to attitudes toward Jews than is any other single background factor. The authors conclude that "in general, the more education an individual has had, the less likelihood there is of his holding 'anti-Semitic' attitudes."²¹

With the exception of the Campbell study the polling data suggest that differences in attitudes toward some minorities, at least, tend to be associated with differences in educational level; the most tolerant being those with the greatest amount of

¹⁸Fortune, October, 1947, op. cit.

¹⁹A. A. Campbell, op. cit.

²⁰Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, op. cit.

²¹The Baltimore Poll, op. cit., p. 41.

formal education. The hypothesis for this analysis is somewhat similar to hypotheses based on the poll data, but is held for somewhat different reasons. That is, education is used herein as an index of social status. In accordance with the hypotheses that are being examined within the general framework of social status analysis, differences in educational level should be associated with differences in attitudes toward Jews, Negroes and Mexicans. The direction of such differences, however, will vary somewhat in accordance with the "competition" hypothesis, on one hand, and the "security-deprivation" hypothesis, on the other. In other words, the hypotheses to be examined are not derived from any assumptions as to the effects of formal education. It is not maintained that prejudice varies directly with the extent of formal education--an hypothesis that is derived from such assumptions about the effects of education.

With this in mind we may now examine the relationship of education to attitudes toward minority groups. The respondents were first grouped into eight categories of educational attainment. For the purposes of social status analysis this is probably a more refined set of categories than is necessary, but it allows some test of the proposition that prejudice varies directly with the extent of formal education.

Attitudes toward Jews are shown in Table 33. It is at once apparent that education is significantly related to differences in attitudes toward this group. There are differences which are statistically significant beyond the one per cent

Table 33

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS BY EXTENT OF FORMAL EDUCATION

Educational Level	Total no. of respondents	Jewish merchant		Jews think they're better		Jews push		Restrict Jews		Guard against Jews		Ship Jews Back		Total Jewish Pr Score		Jews are honest		Jews in my neighborhood	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
More than 4 yrs. ¹ of college	2																		
3-4 yrs. college	22	2.36	1	3.09	3	2.59	1	3.82	1	3.41	1	3.82	1	6.35	1	2.59	1	2.41	1
1-2 yrs. college	27	2.78	3	3.30	1	2.04	5	3.41	2	2.45	3	3.59	2	5.59	2	1.82	6	1.93	2
H.S. graduate	99	2.77	2	3.25	2	2.23	2	3.16	3	2.49	2	3.28	3	5.16	3	2.09	2	1.81	3
9-11th grades	103	3.57	6	2.66	5	2.13	4	2.81	4	2.20	4	2.89	4	4.61	4	2.05	3	1.57	5
8th grade	123	3.37	5	2.75	4	2.17	3	2.65	5	2.02	6	2.74	5	4.37	5	2.03	4	1.70	4
5-7th grades	35	3.97	7	2.38	7	2.03	6	2.40	7	1.86	7	2.29	7	3.71	7	1.91	5	1.54	6
4th grade or less	13	3.31	4	2.54	6	1.92	7	2.62	6	2.15	5	2.58	6	3.77	6	1.54	7	1.46	7
No information ¹	4																		
Total	428	3.24		2.86		2.17		2.90		2.27		2.98		4.74		2.04		1.72	
F ²		3.43**		4.42**		1.17		5.59**		6.43**	6	3.03**		6.55**		2.61**		3.48**	

¹Not included in rank order because the small size of the samples makes comparisons difficult. These samples were included in the analysis of variance, however, in order to use all available data for the first set of analyses.

²For this table F must reach 2.55 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 1.96 at the 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

probability level on all but one question and for the total Jewish Prejudice score as well.

When rank order is examined, it is clear that those respondents who have graduated from high school are more tolerant than those who have not. The rank order findings do not show perfect correlation between extent of education and attitudes, but the general tendency is for greater amounts of education to be associated with greater tolerance toward Jews. This is shown particularly by the total Jewish Prejudice score, although the order for the lower two educational levels is reversed.

These findings definitely support the hypothesis that differences in attitudes toward Jews are associated with differences in educational level. Insofar as education is an index of social status, the hypothesis that differences in social status are associated with differences in attitudes toward Jews is also supported. The direction of such differences supports the "security-deprivation" hypothesis. The "competition" hypothesis, however, is not supported either for attitudes toward Jews, considered as a general phenomenon, or for the specific question regarding the Jewish merchant.

Attitudes toward Negroes are shown by Table 34. Here the results are not as convincing, although there are more statistically significant differences here than for any other variable that has been discussed. Two of the five-point scale questions are significant, one beyond the one per cent probability level; and one of the two three-point scale questions is significant--

Table 34

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES BY EXTENT OF FORMAL EDUCATION

Educational Level	Total no. of respondents	Negroes to Johns-town		Negroes next door		Negroes are lazy		Keep Negroes out of White neighborhoods		Negroes should vote		Negroes with education		Total Negro Pr Score		Whites and Negroes in same restaurant		Orders from a Negro	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
More than 4 yrs. ¹ of college	2																		
3-4 yrs. college	23	2.76	1	3.39	1	3.04	2	2.44	1	3.87	2	3.70	1	5.30	1	2.09	1	1.83	2
1-2 yrs. college	27	3.24	2	4.26	2	3.15	1	2.41	2	3.70	3	3.41	2	5.51	2	1.67	2	1.44	5
H. S. graduate	99	3.53	3	4.57	5	2.95	3	1.90	6	3.46	4	3.36	3	4.64	3	1.47	4	1.45	4
9-11th grades	103	4.06	5	4.27	3	2.75	4	1.97	4	3.45	5	3.14	4	4.44	4	1.37	6	1.37	7
8th grade	123	4.00	4	4.56	4	2.63	5	1.99	3	3.45	5	2.72	5	4.15	5	1.49	3	1.48	3
5-7th grades	35	4.61	7	5.34	7	2.62	6	1.94	5	3.51	7	2.57	6	4.06	6	1.46	5	1.40	6
4th grade or less	13	4.08	6	5.31	6	2.23	7	1.69	7	3.92	1	2.31	7	3.85	7	1.31	7	1.85	1
No information ¹	4																		
Total	429	3.84		4.50		2.78		2.00		3.52		3.05		4.45		1.49		1.46	
F ²		2.16*		#		1.72		2.11*		#		6.24**		3.65**		2.69**		1.44	

¹Not included in rank order because the small size of the samples makes comparisons difficult. These samples were included in the analysis of variance, however, in order to use all available data for the first analyses.

²For this table F must reach 2.55 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 1.96 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

beyond the one per cent probability level. The total Negro Prejudice score is also statistically significant beyond the one per cent probability level.

Again the rank order findings are not entirely consistent, but, in general, high school graduates and above tend to be the most tolerant group. The rank order for the total Negro Prejudice score is exactly consistent with the hypothesis that educational level is directly associated with differences in attitudes toward Negroes.

These findings support the hypothesis that educational level and, hence, social status, is associated with attitudes toward Negroes. The direction of such differences accords with both a "competition" hypothesis and a "security-deprivation" hypothesis.

In view of previous findings in this research it is especially interesting to examine attitudes toward Mexicans as shown by Table 35. The previous findings have revealed few differences at a statistically significant level for attitudes toward this group. In Table 35, however, one of the five-point scale questions is statistically significant beyond the one per cent probability level; so also is one of the three-point scale questions. The other three-point scale question is significant just about at the five per cent probability level. The evidence here supports the hypothesis that educational level is associated with attitudes toward Mexicans.

The rank order findings for Mexicans tend to conform to

Table 35

ATTITUDES TOWARD MEXICANS AND ANALYSIS OF TOTAL PREJUDICE SCORE
BY EXTENT OF FORMAL EDUCATION

Educational Level	Total no. of respondents	Mexicans as citizens and voters		Keep Mexicans out of white neighborhoods		Mexicans coming to Midstate		Mexicans in restaurants with whites		Total Prejudice Score	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
More than 4 yrs. of college ¹	2										
3-4 yrs. college	23	3.78	1	2.74	1	2.17	1	2.43	1	4.55	1
1-2 yrs. college	27	3.48	2	2.56	2	1.89	2	2.19	2	3.19	2
H. S. graduate	99	3.06	5	2.07	4	1.67	3	2.04	3	3.02	3
9-11th grades	103	3.058	6	2.16	3	1.52	5	1.88	6	2.70	6
8th grade	123	3.02	7	2.02	5	1.50	7	1.89	5	2.82	4
5-7th grades	35	3.11	4	1.94	7	1.51	6	1.91	4	2.71	5
4th grade or less	13	3.15	3	2.00	6	1.62	4	1.77	7	2.54	7
No information ¹	4										
Total	429	3.12		2.13		1.61		1.97		2.92	
F ²		1.84		3.04**		3.67**		1.94*		6.76**	

¹Not included in rank order because small size of samples makes comparisons difficult. These samples, however, were included in the analysis of variance, in order to use all available data for the first analyses.

²For this table F must reach 2.55 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 1.96 at the 5% probability level.

* - Significant just at the 5% probability level (Note—it is assumed here that 1.94 is just at the 5% probability level.)

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

those for Jews and Negroes, with high school graduates and above tending to be most tolerant. This supports both the "competition" and "security-deprivation" hypotheses. The Total Prejudice score also supports the findings for all of the minority groups, being significant beyond the one per cent probability level.

In order to verify the broad trends which appear in the foregoing tables, the educational categories were reduced to three: respondents with eighth grade education or less; respondents with some high school education, but not graduates; and respondents who were high school graduates or above.

The results of this analysis for attitudes toward Jews are shown in Table 36. From the size of the F scores on all but two questions, it would appear that the differences brought out by the first analysis have been accentuated when the educational levels are condensed. The results confirm the previous analysis both with respect to difference and direction of difference. Here, however, it is clear that it is the respondent who has graduated from high school that makes the difference. The lower educational levels tend to be more alike in their average responses, although, in terms of rank order, the degree of education appears to be associated with extent of prejudice toward Jews.

Attitudes toward Negroes are shown in Table 37. The results are much the same as for the original analysis, although one question drops in statistical significance while another increases.

Table 36

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS BY EXTENT OF FORMAL EDUCATION

Educational Level	Total no. of respond- ents	Jewish merchant		Jews think they're better		Jews rush		Restrict Jews		Guard against Jews		Ship Jews Back		Total Jewish Pr Score		Jews are honest		Jews in my neigh- borhood	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
H. S. graduate or above	150	2.74	1	3.24	1	2.25	1	3.30	1	2.61	1	3.43	1	5.42	1	2.11	1	1.91	1
9-11th grades	103	3.57	3	2.65	3	2.13	2	2.81	2	2.20	2	2.89	2	4.61	2	2.05	2	1.57	3
8th grade or less	171	3.49	2	2.65 ⁴	2	2.12	3	2.59	3	2.00	3	2.64	3	4.19	3	1.97	3	1.64	2
Total	424	3.25		2.86		2.17		2.90		2.26		2.98		4.73		2.04		1.72	
F ¹		9.36**		14.97**		1.07		17.81**		15.27**		24.01**		19.07**		1.30		6.45**	

¹For this table F must reach 4.66 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 3.02 at the 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

Table 37

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES BY EXTENT OF FORMAL EDUCATION

Educational Level	Total no. of respondents	Negroes to Johns-town		Negroes next door		Negroes are lazy		Keep Negroes out of White neighborhoods		Negroes should vote		Negroes with education		Total Negro Pr Score		Whites and Negroes in same restaurant		Orders from a Negro	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
H. S. graduate and above	151	3.36	1	4.36	2	2.99	1	2.07	1	3.58	1	3.43	1	4.83	1	1.59	1	1.50	1
9-11th grades	103	4.06	2	4.27	1	2.75	2	1.97	2	3.46	3	3.14	2	4.44	2	1.37	3	1.37	3
8th grade or less	171	4.13	3	4.78	3	2.60	3	1.96	3	3.50	2	2.66	3	4.11	3	1.47	2	1.49	2
Total	425	3.84		4.51		2.78		2.00		3.52		3.05		4.45		1.49		1.46	
F ¹		6.12**		1.86		5.46**		#		#		22.05**		11.05**		2.74		#	

¹ For this table F must reach 4.66 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 3.02 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

In general, the size of the F's for all of the questions for which there statistically significant differences indicates that differences are accentuated when the educational levels are condensed. The high school graduates again tend to account for much of the difference.

Attitudes toward Mexicans and the Total Prejudice score for all three minority groups are shown in Table 38. While the differences are not greatly accentuated, the results of Table 35 are confirmed. The respondents with at least a high school education are consistently most tolerant and appear to account for the greater part of the differences between educational levels.

One additional analysis was also made. In Chapter Four it was shown that occupational classification appeared to be related to attitudes toward minority groups. The relationship in this sample of education to the occupation of the male household head is rather high. The corrected coefficient of contingency, based on a Chi Square which is significant beyond the one per cent probability level, is .50 for non-farmers. It may be appropriate, therefore, to analyze educational categories when occupation is held constant.

It should be pointed out, however, that the principal concern of this chapter is with education as an index of social status. It was expected that education and occupation would be related. To what extent one or the other variable has the greater influence in determining attitudes is important if major concern is with isolating specific causal factors. This problem is

TABLE 38

ATTITUDES TOWARD MEXICANS AND ANALYSIS OF TOTAL PREJUDICE
SCORE BY EXTENT OF FORMAL EDUCATION

Educational Level	Total no. of respon- dents	Mexicans as citizens and voters		Keep Mexicans out of white neighborhoods		Mexicans coming to Midstate		Mexicans in restaurants with whites		Total Prejudice Score	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
H. S. graduate or above	151	3.25	1	2.25	1	1.77	1	2.11	1	3.25	1
9-11th grades	103	3.06	2	2.16	2	1.52	2	1.88	3	2.70	3
8th grade or less	171	3.05	3	2.01	3	1.51	3	1.89	2	2.78	2
Total	425	3.12		2.13		1.61		1.97		2.93	
¹ F		1.64		3.29*		6.83**		3.56*		5.28**	

¹For this table F must reach 4.66 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 3.02 at the 5% probability level.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level

not appropriate for this thesis, for here the task has been to determine if there are certain general relationships between variables of social structure, in this case social status variables, and attitudes toward minorities. From this point of view occupation and education are not assumed to be simple and direct causative factors. They are assumed to be functionally related to a whole complex of variables which are of major importance in determining social status.

It is of interest, however, to see to what extent education may still be related to attitudes toward minorities when the occupational variable is held constant. In making such an analysis, it is necessary either to eliminate women from consideration or include them in the occupational categories to which their husbands (or other male household heads) belong. This is due to the fact that the occupational analysis was made only for men, while the educational analysis has been made for the entire sample. In this instance women have been included.²² The three prejudice scores were used to make this test.

²²This was not done solely on logical grounds. It has been found that there are no significant differences in the responses of men and women in this sample. Moreover, insofar as occupation is an index of social status it may be assumed that women in Maple County usually take the status appropriate to the occupational classification of the male household head. In addition, however, an analysis of variance was calculated, though not reported in this thesis, for farm and non-farm occupations wherein women were classified in the category of the male household head. The results were quite similar to those found when men were analyzed alone.

The results are shown in Table 39. For the white collar classification the educational categories appeared to be too small to justify an analysis of variance. For the other two occupational classifications an analysis of variance was calculated.

For both farm and manual labor groups it is apparent that education is still an important variable in differentiating attitudes toward minority groups, even when occupation is held constant. The trends which were found in the separate analysis of education appear to hold within occupational groups. The rank order findings are also quite similar for the white collar group. The principal difference appears to be between high school graduates and those with less formal education, which accords with the previous findings.

In summary, education appears to be an important index of attitudes toward minority groups, even with occupation held constant. The most important factor appears to be the differences contributed by the upper educational level, that is, the high school graduates. The differences between the two lower educational levels (when three categories are used) are not as consistent nor as large, as a rule, as the differences between these levels and the upper educational level. The direction of such differences accords with a "security-deprivation" hypothesis but not a "competition" hypothesis with respect to attitudes toward Jews. Both hypotheses are supported by the data for Negroes and Mexicans.

Table 39

ATTITUDES TOWARD MINORITY GROUPS BY EXTENT OF FORMAL EDUCATION, WITH OCCUPATION OF MALE HOUSEHOLD HEAD HELD CONSTANT

Occupational Classification	Total no. of respond- ents	Total Jewish		Total Negro		Total Prejudice	
		Pr Score Mean	R	Pr Score Mean	R	Score Mean	R
<u>Farmer</u>							
H. S. graduate or above	36	5.33	1	4.61	1	3.25	1
9-11 grades	42	4.29	2	4.31	2	2.57	3
8th grade or less	84	4.14	3	3.96	3	2.73	2
Total	162	4.44		4.20		2.81	
F ¹		6.46**		3.49*		2.74	
<u>Manual Labor</u>							
H. S. Graduate or above	50	5.68	1	4.98	1	3.42	1
9-11 grades	47	4.74	2	4.49	2	2.85	3
8th grade or less	64	4.22	3	4.23	3	2.86	2
Total	161	4.83		4.54		3.03	
F ¹		8.85**		3.83*		3.83*	
<u>White Collar</u>							
H. S. graduate or above	59	5.41	2	4.97	1	3.21	1
9-11 grades	11	6.00	1	4.55	2	2.50	2
8th grade or less	13	4.38	3	4.31	3	2.38	3
Total	83	5.33		4.81		2.99	
F ²							

¹For this table F must reach 4.75 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 3.06 at the 5% probability level.

²Not calculated because of small size of two of the three samples.

* - Statistically significant beyond the 5% probability level.

** - Statistically significant beyond the 1% probability level.

It may well be argued that the differences which have been found are due to the formal educational process itself, wherein the "right" responses are learned and given to the questions which were asked. This is precisely the problem of this thesis. Namely, there are sub-cultural patterns which differ from each other, although they approximate the total culture of which they are a part. It may be expected that formal education plays an important part in determining such sub-cultural differences.

But the high school graduate is more than the product of a formal system of education. The process is associated with achieving or maintaining particular social status positions within the social system. If the high school graduate has learned to temper his responses, it has not been done in a vacuum, nor solely because of formal education. His educational attainment is associated with a host of other variables which influence his responses and, in this sense, "cause" him to temper or modify his expression of attitudes toward minorities.

This is not to deny the possible mediating influence of formal systems of education. It is quite possible that for the individual psychological actor the "meaning" of classroom discussion has become an integral part of his total responses. But for our purposes the more important factor is the extent to which a group of individual actors may be differentiated by education as an index of social status.

Conclusions

In this chapter income and education have been used as indices of social status in order to test for differences in attitudes toward minority groups. Certain general conclusions appear to be warranted by the data.

1. Insofar as income is an index of social status, attitudes toward Jews appear to be differentiated by certain broad income levels, the upper income groups being more tolerant. The direction of such differences supports a "security-deprivation" hypothesis but not a "competition" hypothesis.
2. When income is used as a variable there is some support, but by no means as strong as in (1) above, for the hypothesis that attitudes toward Negroes differ in terms of social status. The direction of such differences is not always clear-cut but, where there are statistically significant differences, higher income groups tend to be more tolerant of Negroes than lower income groups. On all questions the lowest income group tends to be more intolerant than other status groups. This accords with both the "security-deprivation" hypothesis and the "competition" hypothesis.
3. With respect to attitudes toward Mexicans, the lowest income group again tends to be least tolerant and to account for the differences between groups for the one question which is statistically significant. This accords with both the "security-deprivation" hypothesis and the "competition" hypothesis.

4. Differences in education were found to be significantly related to differences in attitudes toward all three minorities and to support the hypothesis that social status, when education is used as an index, is related to attitudes toward minority groups. The direction of the difference supports the "security-deprivation" hypothesis for all minorities which have been analyzed, but the "competition" hypothesis is supported only with respect to attitudes toward Negroes and Mexicans.
5. When occupation is held constant there is evidence to indicate that educational level is still associated with differences in attitudes toward minorities.

CHAPTER SIX

ATTITUDES AS A FUNCTION OF SOCIAL STATUS: SELF-EVALUATION OF SOCIAL CLASS AND A CONSTRUCTED INDEX OF SOCIAL STATUS

Attitudes toward Minorities in Relation to Self-Evaluation of Social Class

One kind of data with respect to the social status of a respondent is derived by simply asking him to what class does he think he belongs. This method of self-evaluation of social class was used by Centers¹ and was adopted with slight modification for this research. Instead of asking the respondent directly in what social class he considered himself to be, he was asked: "If you were asked to use one of these four names for your social class, which would you say you belonged in?" He was then handed a card which listed the following: Middle class, lower class, working class, and upper class.

While Centers believes he has demonstrated "class consciousness" by this method, it is not certain that the concept is valid for a rural population. However, the corrected coefficient of contingency is .51 for occupation and self-evaluation of social class for the non-farm group. The Chi Square, upon which this coefficient is based is significant beyond the one per cent probability level. Hence, we have some evidence that self-evaluation of social class is related at least to occupational classification of non-farmers. It was, therefore, decided to use self-evaluation of social class as an

¹Richard Centers, The Psychology of Social Classes, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1949. See interview schedule in the Appendix of this book.

index of social status, and to test the hypotheses regarding differences in attitudes toward minority groups.

The only other research applicable to this variable is that of Centers.² He found that, with respect to his measure of Negro prejudice, the working class tended to be more prejudiced than the middle class. With respect to his measure of attitudes toward Jews he found no differences between classes.

By far the greater number of Maple County respondents who were able or willing to give their own evaluation of their social class position fall into the working and middle class groups. Only four respondents identified themselves as lower class and for purposes of the following analysis they were included in the working class. Thirteen of the respondents identified themselves as upper class and for this analysis have been included with the middle class. The data to be analyzed, therefore, are based on two rather large segments of the Maple County sample as differentiated by self-evaluation of social class.

Attitudes toward Jews are shown by Table 40. Two of the five-point scale questions are significant, one beyond the one per cent probability level. The total Jewish Prejudice score is significant beyond the five per cent probability level. The evidence is not conclusive but supports the hypothesis that self-evaluation of social class, as a measure of social status

²Richard Centers, ibid., pp. 143-144.

Table 40

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS BY SELF-EVALUATION OF SOCIAL CLASS

Self-Evaluation of Social Class	Total no. of respond- ents	Jewish merchant		Jews think they're better		Jews push		Restrict Jews		Guard against Jews		Ship Jews Back		Total Jewish Pr Score		Jews are honest		Jews in my neigh- borhood	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Middle Class ¹	163	3.29	2	3.00	1	2.13	2	3.15	1	2.39	1	3.11	1	5.01	1	2.09	1	1.79	1
Working Class ²	254	3.20	1	2.80	2	2.21	1	2.75	2	2.20	2	2.89	2	4.60	2	2.02	2	1.68	2
Total	417	3.24		2.88		2.18		2.91		2.27		2.99		4.76		2.04		1.72	
F ³		#		3.23		#		13.29**		3.29		4.69*		4.70*		#		1.52	

¹ Includes 13 respondents who stated they were upper class.

² Included 4 respondents who stated they were lower class.

³ For this table F must reach 6.70 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 3.86 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

differences, is related to attitudes toward Jews. In general the trend is for the middle class to be more tolerant than the working class. This trend supports the "security-deprivation" hypothesis but not the "competition" hypothesis.

Attitudes toward Negroes are shown by Table 41. On all but one question the variance within groups is greater than the variance between groups. For this question, however, the differences are significant beyond the one per cent probability level. The differences on the total Negro Prejudice score are significant beyond the five per cent probability level. In general the middle class tends, although the trend is small for individual questions, to be more tolerant of Negroes than the working class. The findings lend some support for the hypothesis that differences in social status are related to differences in attitudes. The trend supports both the "security-deprivation" and "competition" hypotheses.

Attitudes toward Mexicans are shown in Table 42. There are no statistically significant differences between classes for any of the individual questions. The trend, however, continues. The middle class is more tolerant than the working class.

The differences on the Total Prejudice score are not significant. However, the middle class continues to be somewhat more tolerant of all three groups, as measured by this score, than the working class.

Since both farm and non-farm respondents were included in this analysis a further step was taken. Analyses of variance

Table 41

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES BY SELF-EVALUATION OF SOCIAL CLASS

Self-Evaluation of Social Class	Total no. of respondents	Negroes to Johns-town		Negroes next door		Negroes are lazy		Keep Negroes out of White neighborhoods		Negroes should vote		Negroes with education		Total Negro Pr Score		Whites and Negroes in same restaurant		Orders from a Negro	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Middle Class ¹	164	3.81	1	4.59	2	2.81	1	2.04	1	3.54	1	3.37	1	4.67	1	1.49	2	1.46	1
Working Class ²	254	3.86	2	4.47	1	2.76	2	1.99	2	3.50	2	2.88	2	4.33	2	1.50	1	1.45	2
Total	418	3.84		4.52		2.78		2.01		3.52		3.08		4.46		1.50		1.45	
F ³		#		#		#		#		#		21.52**		5.97*		#		#	

¹Includes 13 respondents who stated they were upper class.

²Includes 4 respondents who stated they were lower class.

³For this table F must reach 6.70 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 3.86 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

Table 42

ATTITUDES TOWARD MEXICANS AND ANALYSIS OF TOTAL PREJUDICE
SCORE BY SELF-EVALUATION OF SOCIAL CLASS

<u>Self-Evaluation of Social Class</u>	<u>Total no. of respondents</u>	Mexicans as citizens and voters		Keep Mexicans out of white neighborhoods		Mexicans coming to Midstate		Mexicans in restaurants with whites		Total Prejudice Score	
		<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>
Middle Class ¹	164	3.13	2	2.20	1	1.68	1	1.98	1	2.99	1
Working Class ²	254	3.14	1	2.09	2	1.57	2	1.97	2	2.88	2
Total	418	3.13		2.13		1.61		1.97		2.93	
F ³		#		1.63		2.17		#		#	

¹Includes 13 respondents who stated they were upper class.

²Includes 4 respondents who stated they were lower class.

³For this table F must reach 6.70 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 3.86 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

were computed for farm and non-farm groups. The three prejudice scores were used as the basis for these analyses. The results are shown in Table 43. In all cases the middle class is more tolerant than the working class. That is, the major trends already discussed hold for both farm and non-farm respondents. The differences are not significant for the non-farm group but the total Negro Prejudice score is significant beyond the one per cent probability level for farmers. The Jewish Prejudice score also approaches the five per cent level of probability for this group. Hence, the statistical differences reported in Tables 40 and 41 may be due to the farm portion of the total sample. But the trends are clearly the same for both farm and non-farm groups.

Examination of Table 43 also shows that, while the differences between middle and working class respondents are in the same direction for both farm and non-farm respondents, the farm respondents continue to indicate more prejudice. Those farmers who say that they belong to the middle class are more prejudiced than non-farmers who say that they belong to the middle class. This is also true of working class respondents. In fact, the mean for middle class farmers for all prejudice scores is practically the same as the mean for working class non-farmers. Can such differences and similarities be explained?

The writer has already indicated that, in his observation, the farming system of Maple County is rapidly becoming mechanized and industrialized. Concomitantly, there appears to be an

TABLE 43

ATTITUDES TOWARD MINORITY GROUPS ANALYZED
BY SELF-EVALUATION OF SOCIAL CLASS
FOR FARM AND NON-FARM RESPONDENTS

	Total no. of respond- ents	Total Jewish Pr Score		Total Negro Pr Score		Total Prejudice Score	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
<u>Non-Farm</u>							
Middle Class	103	5.12	1	4.74	1	3.03	1
Working Class	156	4.79	2	4.53	2	2.94	2
Total	259	4.92		4.61		2.98	
F ¹		1.72		1.24		1.29	
<u>Farm</u>							
Middle Class	61	4.82	1	4.56	1	2.93	1
Working Class	98	4.30	2	4.01	2	2.79	2
Total	159	4.50		4.22		2.85	
F ²		3.49		7.36**		#	

¹F must reach 6.76 to be significant at the 1% level;
3.89 at the 5% level.

²F must reach 6.81 to be significant at the 1% level;
3.91 at the 5% level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance
between groups.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

emerging system of social stratification which is related to stratification in the towns of the county. The point was made, however, that this is an emerging, not an emergent system.

The data of Table 43 do not contradict this hypothesis. Approximately one-third of the farm respondents classify themselves as middle-class, while about two-thirds identify themselves as working class. It is suggested here that the latter identification is proper in the older farm-folk economy wherein the farmer considered himself as a working man. But middle class identification indicates some awareness of the modern, industrialized, money economy which has been extending into the rural middle west with a greater and greater sweep. That is, such farmers reveal in such a classification attitudes appropriate to the statement often made by them that "farming is a business." They are and they are beginning to see themselves as modern entrepreneurs with a fairly large investment in equipment and land. Their identification cannot be wholly that of the "working man."

While the foregoing may not be a complete or wholly adequate explanation, both the statistical computations and community observation support it. To the extent that such an explanation holds we might expect that the trend for middle and working class non-farm respondents to differ would also hold for farm respondents, insofar as changing systems of sentiments are occurring. Moreover, we would still expect middle class farmers to be more prejudiced than middle class

non-farmers, because the former are still closely identified with other farmers who have been demonstrated to be culturally differentiated from non-farmers in their attitudes toward minorities.

In summary, while self-evaluation of social class, when used as an index of social status, does not reveal unequivocal statistical support for the hypothesis that differences in attitudes are associated with differences in social status, the consistency of direction for the middle and working class respondents indicates that such an hypothesis cannot be rejected with confidence. That is, the rank order findings tend to confirm the hypothesis. This is true for the total sample and for farm and non-farm respondents when they are analyzed separately.

Attitudes in Relationship to a Constructed Index of Social Status

In this and the previous two chapters certain assumed components of social status in a system of vertical social mobility were discussed in relationship to attitudes toward minority groups. These components were income, occupation, education, and self-evaluation of social class.

While each of these components may be considered as an index of social status, the inevitable question arises as to what extent these components are interrelated. Moreover, insofar as there are extended interrelationships, to what extent can attitudes toward minority groups be analyzed in

terms of an index of social status which is representative of such complex interrelationships? It is customary, where the sample is of sufficient size to attempt to hold constant one or more interrelated factors while determining the effect of another factor. This kind of analysis was made when the variable of education was analyzed at the same time that the variable of occupation was held constant. Likewise, farm and non-farm respondents have been analyzed separately for certain variables.

Early in the planning for the analyses that have been presented it appeared desirable to develop some kind of status index which treated a number of hypothetically important status variables at the same time. Accordingly, an a priori status index was constructed which took into consideration certain variables that were found to be interrelated in terms of the coefficient of mean square contingency. This contingency was based on Chi Squares which were statistically significant beyond the one per cent probability level. In order to have an index applicable equally well to farm and non-farm respondents the variable of income (as given by the respondent) was not included. On the other hand an index of participation in organizational activity, which was constructed from the interview data, appeared to be sufficiently related to occupation, education, and self-evaluation of social class to make it a useful addition to this status index. Accordingly, the respondents were classified into categories ranging from

"pure" low to "pure" high status classifications, in terms of the kind of occupation, extent of formal education, kind of self-evaluation of social class, and extent of participation in formal organizations of each respondent.³ It is this status index, constructed on a priori grounds before analysis of the data, which will be discussed first.

Attitudes of Farm Respondents in
Relationship to an Index of Status

The basic set of hypotheses that have been advanced with respect to social status and its relationship to attitudes toward minority groups may now be examined in terms of the status index described above. In Chapter Four it was shown that farm and non-farm respondents often differ significantly in their expressed sentiments toward Jews, Negroes, and Mexicans. Accordingly, the analysis of the status index was undertaken separately for each of these groups.

³The "pure" low group was composed of respondents who had not been to high school, were in a manual occupation (or the household head was), estimated their class position as working class, participated very little in organizations. "Pure" high was the opposite extreme: high school graduate, middle class self-evaluation, white collar occupation, considerable participation in organizations. The details of construction are given in Appendix E. Table D shows the interrelationships between status variables. Since occupation was a constant for the farm group there are only four status categories for this group, while there are five status categories for the non-farm group. The original purpose of the index was to separate the two extreme groups, but intermediate groups, particularly those near the two extremes, prove to be of importance in clarifying trends.

Attitudes toward Jews are shown in Table 44. There are two questions for which the differences between status groups are statistically significant. Perhaps more important is the fact that the total Jewish Prejudice score reveals differences which are statistically significant beyond the one per cent probability level. There is some evidence, therefore, that attitudes toward Jews are related to the social status index of farm respondents.

The direction of the relationship is not clear-cut but the general tendency is for high status groups to be more tolerant than low status groups. Such is the direction for the total Jewish Prejudice score also. Such findings support the "security-deprivation" hypothesis but do not support a "competition" hypothesis. It is true, however, that for the one question which has been assumed to indicate some possibility of direction competition (the question concerning the Jewish merchant) the "pure" low group is most tolerant and the "pure" high group least tolerant--all of which accords with a "competition" hypothesis. But the second highest status group ranks next to the "pure" low group in degree of expressed tolerance. Moreover, the variance within each group is greater than the variance between groups, and the difference between means is small. All of these facts indicate that the findings on this question cannot be used with safety to support a "competition" hypothesis; the balance of the data definitely do not.

Attitudes toward Negroes are shown in Table 45. Here

TABLE 44

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS ANALYZED IN TERMS OF
A CONSTRUCTED STATUS INDEX - FARM ONLY

Status Classification	Total no. of respond- ents	Jewish merchant		Jews think they're better		Jews push		Restrict Jews		Guard against Jews		Ship Jews Back		Total Jewish Pr Score		Jews are honest		Jews in my neigh- borhood	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
"Pure" High	19	3.74	4	3.00	1	2.26	2	3.05	1	2.53	1	3.05	2	5.16	1	2.11	1	1.63	2
High (High on two attributes; low on one)	38	3.21	2	2.92	2	2.32	1	3.00	2	2.29	2	3.13	1	5.13	2	2.05	2	1.66	1
Low (Low on two attributes; high on one)	56	3.22	3	2.61	4	2.18	3	2.56	3	2.04	3	5.57	3	4.18	3	1.97	4	1.609	4
"Pure" low	45	3.13	1	2.62	3	2.02	4	2.41	4	2.00	4	2.56	4	4.09	4	1.98	3	1.61	3
Total	158	3.25		2.73		2.18		2.69		2.15		2.76		4.50		2.01		1.62	
F ¹		#		1.30		#		3.53*		2.32		5.97**		4.32**		#		#	

¹ For this table F must reach 3.91 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.67 to be significant at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

Table 45

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES ANALYZED IN TERMS OF
A CONSTRUCTED STATUS INDEX - FARM ONLY

Status Classification	Total no. of respondents	Negroes to Johns- town		Negroes next door		Negroes are lazy		Keep Negroes out of White neighborhoods		Negroes should vote		Negroes with education		Total Negro Pr Score		Whites and Negroes in same restaurant		Orders from a Negro	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
"Pure" High	19	3.69	2	4.11	2	2.69	2	1.79	4	3.58	3	3.37	1	4.53	2	1.47	2	1.69	1
High	38	3.59	1	3.92	1	2.79	1	2.11	1	3.66	1	3.19	2	4.66	1	1.47	2	1.26	4
Low	56	3.81	3	4.59	4	2.61	3	1.91	3	3.32	4	2.84	3	4.11	3	1.36	4	1.38	3
"Pure" Low	45	3.86	4	4.16	3	2.36	4	1.96	2	3.62	2	2.47	4	3.87	4	1.51	1	1.51	2
Total	158	3.76		4.25		2.59		1.96		3.52		2.89		4.22		1.44		1.43	
F ¹		#		#		1.16		#		1.21		4.71**		3.35*		#		1.75	

¹For this table F must reach 3.91 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.67 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

there is only one question for which the differences are statistically significant. The total Negro Prejudice score, however, is significant beyond the five per cent probability level. Hence, there is some evidence for the hypothesis that attitudes toward Negroes are related to the status index of farm respondents.

The direction of differences indicates that the high status groups tend to be more tolerant than the low status groups, although the highest status group is not necessarily the most tolerant. This accords with both the "security-deprivation" hypothesis and the "competition" hypothesis.

Attitudes toward Mexicans are shown in Table 46. On only one of the questions is the difference statistically significant. The rank order findings also are not clearly indicative of direction of attitudes, although there is still some tendency for high status groups to be less prejudiced than low status groups. In general, attitudes toward Mexicans are less clearly differentiated than either attitudes toward Jews or Negroes.

The Total Prejudice score is also shown in Table 46. The variance within groups is greater than the variance between groups, and the rank order does not accord with the previously defined direction of attitudes. The difference between the means is quite small. In general, the Total Prejudice score does not support any of the hypotheses of this chapter.

Table 46

ATTITUDES TOWARD MEXICANS AND TOTAL PREJUDICE SCORE ANALYZED
IN TERMS OF A CONSTRUCTED STATUS INDEX - FARM ONLY

Status Classification	Total no. of respondents	Mexicans as citizens and voters		Keep Mexicans out of white neighborhoods		Mexicans coming to Midstate		Mexicans in restaurants with whites		Total Prejudice Score	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
"Pure" High	19	3.16	3	2.47	1	1.63	2	2.05	1	3.05	1
High	38	2.76	1	2.26	2	1.71	1	1.97	3	2.84	3
Low	56	2.98	2	2.00	3	1.625	3	1.93	4	2.76	4
"Pure" Low	45	3.33	4	1.96	4	1.44	4	2.04	2	2.86	2
Total	158	3.05		2.11		1.59		1.99		2.85	
F ¹		#		3.31*		1.02		#		#	

¹ For this table F must reach 3.91 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.67 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

Tentative conclusions may be drawn that for the farm group there is a tendency for status levels to be associated with differences in attitudes toward minorities. This appears to be fairly strong with respect to attitudes toward Jews, less so for Negroes, less still for Mexicans. The direction of differences supports a "security-deprivation" hypothesis with respect to the development and direction of prejudice. For attitudes toward Negroes, and, to the extent that the findings are applied to attitudes toward Mexicans, there is some support for the "competition" hypothesis. This hypothesis, however, is not supported insofar as attitudes toward Jews are concerned.

Attitudes of Non-Farm Respondents
in Relationship to an Index of Status

Using the same status index the non-farm respondents were analyzed. The results of the analysis with respect to attitudes toward Jews is shown in Table 47. The differences for four questions are statistically significant and the total Jewish Prejudice score is significant beyond the one per cent probability level. This is strong supporting evidence for the hypothesis of differences in attitudes which are associated with differences in social status.

The rank order findings indicate clearly that the low status groups are the most prejudiced of the status groups. The tendencies are not so consistent when the three upper status levels are compared; both the medium and "pure" high

Table 47

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS ANALYZED IN TERMS OF
A CONSTRUCTED STATUS INDEX - NON-FARM ONLY

Status Classification	Total no. of respond- ents	Jewish merchant		Jews think they're better		Jews push		Restrict Jews		Guard against Jews		Ship Jews Back		Total Jewish Pr Score		Jews are honest		Jews in my neigh- borhood	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
"Pure" High	27	2.67	1	3.26	2	2.08	4	3.59	1	2.82	1	3.74	1	5.54	2	2.37	1	1.82	2
High (High on three attributes; low on one)	36	3.11	3	3.28	1	1.89	5	3.44	2	2.50	3	3.22	3	5.14	3	2.06	3	1.81	3
Medium (High on two attributes; low on two)	55	2.80	2	3.24	3	2.46	1	3.20	3	2.69	2	3.55	2	5.66	1	2.13	2	2.09	1
Low (Low on three attributes high on one)	84	3.26	4	2.74	5	2.23	2	2.87	4	2.19	5	2.92	4	4.58	4	1.95	5	1.69	5
"Pure" Low	36	3.81	5	2.81	4	2.17	3	2.72	5	2.11	4	2.78	5	4.45	5	2.00	4	1.70	4
Total	238	3.15		3.00		2.20		3.09		2.38		3.18		5.00		2.06		1.81	
F ¹		2.32		3.06*		2.11		3.35*		4.31**		6.15**		4.22**		1.52		2.00	

¹For this table F must reach 3.41 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.41 at the 5% probability level.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

groups tend to be somewhat more tolerant than the high group. In other words, the conclusion must be that the differences in status groups is due to the differences between the lower end of the status scale and the other three groups.

These findings support a "security-deprivation" hypothesis. Since attitude differences are not as clearly shown at the upper end of the status scale we cannot be clear as to differences which may exist within the higher status groups. It is possible that such differences may have some bearing on the "competition" hypothesis. However, the main difference, which is that between high and low status groups, does not support such an hypothesis.

Attitudes toward Negroes are shown in Table 48. There are differences on one question which are significant beyond the one per cent probability level. Differences on the remaining questions, however, and on the total Negro Prejudice score, are not significant. This does not support strongly the hypothesis that has been advanced.

The rank order analysis in Table 48 indicates that there may be certain differences among status groups but the direction of these differences is not clear. The "pure" high and medium status groups tend to be more tolerant than the other groups. The high group tends to be most intolerant--a tendency shared with the low and "pure" low status groups. However, for the one question in this table for which there are statistically significant differences the rank order findings are directly in

Table 48

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES ANALYZED IN TERMS OF
A CONSTRUCTED STATUS INDEX - NON-FARM ONLY

Status Classification	Total no. of respondents	Negroes to Johns- town		Negroes next door		Negroes are lazy		Keep Negroes out of White neighborhoods		Negroes should vote		Negroes with education		Total Negro Pr Score		Whites and Negroes in same restaurant		Orders from a Negro	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
"Pure" High	28	3.50	2	4.79	3	3.04	2	2.36	1	3.64	1	3.89	1	5.29	1	1.75	1	1.39	5
High	36	4.15	4	4.89	4	2.81	4	1.78	5	3.45	4	3.44	2	4.50	4	1.39	5	1.49	3
Medium	55	3.31	1	4.51	1	2.86	3	2.15	2	3.42	5	3.35	3	4.67	2	1.60	3	1.50	2
Low	84	4.20	5	4.63	2	3.05	1	2.01	4	3.52	3	3.05	4	4.62	3	1.43	4	1.47	4
"Pure" Low	36	4.09	3	5.03	5	2.64	5	2.11	3	3.639	2	2.75	5	4.31	5	1.67	2	1.61	1
Total	239	3.89		4.72		2.90		2.06		3.52		3.23		4.64		1.54		1.49	
F ¹		1.91		#		1.07		1.64		#		6.19**		1.96		1.59		#	

¹ For this table F must reach 3.41 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.41 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

** - Statistically significant beyond the 1% probability level.

support of previous findings. That is, the higher status groups are more tolerant than the lower status groups. This suggests that the differences in attitudes toward Negroes, as distinguished by the type of question and the kind of status index which has been used here, are not distinct but that there is some evidence, in general, that the higher status groups tend to be somewhat less prejudiced than lower status groups.

Attitudes toward Mexicans are shown in Table 49. None of the differences on any of the questions are significant. The rank order for each of the questions is not consistent for all groups but the "pure" high group is always the least prejudiced. The "pure" low group tends consistently to be at the more prejudiced end of the scale. In general, while there is not strong support to be drawn from the data, there is some tendency for high and lower status groups to differ with respect to attitudes toward Mexicans. Insofar as there are such differences, the higher status groups appear to be least prejudiced. This accords with both the "security-deprivation" and "competition" hypotheses.

The Total Prejudice score is also shown in Table 49. Differences between status groups are not statistically significant. The highest ("pure" high) status group is least prejudiced and the next to the lowest (low) status group is most prejudiced in terms of this scale. The other groups do not, however, fit neatly into a supporting pattern for the hypothesis. In general we may conclude that there is some

Table 49

ATTITUDES TOWARD MEXICANS AND TOTAL PREJUDICE SCORE ANALYZED
IN TERMS OF A CONSTRUCTED STATUS INDEX - NON-FARM ONLY

Status Classification	Total no. of respondents	Mexicans as citizens and voters		Keep Mexicans out of white neighborhoods		Mexicans coming to Midstate		Mexicans in restaurants with whites		Total Prejudice Score	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
"Pure" High	28	3.61	1.	2.43	1	1.89	1	2.18	1	3.37	1
High	36	3.20	3	1.97	5	1.67	2	1.94	4	2.86	4
Medium	55	3.04	5	2.27	2	1.64	3	2.00	2	3.28	2
Low	84	3.22	2	2.12	4	1.52	5	1.95	3	2.77	5
"Pure" Low	36	3.14	4	2.14	3	1.56	4	1.94	4	3.00	3
Total	239	3.21		2.17		1.62		1.99		3.00	
F ¹		1.42		1.12		1.58		#		1.19	

¹
For this table F must reach 3.41 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.41 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

slight evidence, when the Total Prejudice score is used as a measure, that higher status groups are more tolerant than lower status groups. But this tendency is not consistent for all status groups differentiated by the status index.

In order to check further into these rather slight tendencies with respect to the attitudes of non-farm respondents toward Negroes and Mexicans, and to compare them with attitudes toward Jews, a further analysis was undertaken. The status categories were reclassified into low, medium, and high groups. This ignores possible differences between the "pure" low and the other low status category; and likewise between the "pure" high and the other high status category. However, it permits a comparison that tests for the general tendencies which have been noted. The three prejudice scores were used as a basis for analysis. The results are shown in Table 50.

Table 50

ATTITUDES OF NON-FARM RESPONDENTS TOWARD MINORITY
GROUPS ANALYZED IN TERMS OF A CONDENSED STATUS INDEX

Status Classification	Total no. of respond- ents	Total Jewish		Total Negro		Total Prejudice	
		Pr Score	R	Pr Score	R	Score	R
High	64	5.31	2	4.84	1	3.08	2
Medium	55	5.66	1	4.67	2	3.28	1
Low	120	4.54	3	4.53	3	2.84	3
Total	239	5.00		4.64		3.00	
F ¹		8.00**		1.96		1.19	

¹For this table F must reach 4.71 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 3.04 at the 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

The differences in attitudes toward Jews appear to be accentuated by condensing the status levels, with the principal difference being that between low status and the other status levels. The differences for the total Negro Prejudice score and the Total Prejudice score are not significant but, once again, the low status group is more prejudiced than the higher status groups. This, it will be recalled, was the conclusion from the analyses which were made of the relationship of attitudes toward Negroes and Mexicans to the various status levels of the status index. Table 50, therefore, supports the tentative conclusions that have been drawn with respect to the differences and direction of attitudes that are associated with the status index.

The Application of a New Status Index
to Attitudes toward Minority Groups

In the following chapter the Participation Index is analyzed. The results do not indicate a clear-cut relationship to attitudes toward minorities. Since this index was included, on a priori grounds, in the status index it may be that the relationship of participation to attitudes, which is not clear, somewhat confuses the results of the analysis of the status index. Accordingly, for the non-farm respondents, a new status index was constructed. This index was developed in much the same manner as has been described in the Appendix for the old status index except that income was substituted for partic-

ipation.⁴ The new status index was then checked against attitudes toward minority groups. The three prejudice scores were used as the basis for analysis. The results are shown in Table 51.

Table 51

ATTITUDES OF NON-FARM RESPONDENTS TOWARD MINORITY GROUPS ANALYZED IN TERMS OF A NEW STATUS INDEX							
Status Classification	Total no. of respondents	Total Jewish Pr Score		Total Negro Pr Score		Total Prejudice Score	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
"Pure" high	33	5.58	1	5.06	2	3.13	2
High (high on three attributes; low on one)	37	5.49	2	4.84	3	3.14	1
Medium (low on two attributes; high on two)	45	5.09	3	5.11	1	3.09	3
Low (low on three attributes; high on one)	73	4.77	4	4.41	4	2.89	4
"Pure" low	33	4.24	5	4.21	5	2.79	5
Total	221	5.00		4.69		2.99	
F ¹		3.01*		3.30*		#	

¹For this table F must reach 3.41 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.41 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

⁴For this analysis an income of less than \$3000 per year was considered low; an income of \$3000 and above, high.

Both the total Jewish Prejudice score and the total Negro Prejudice score reveal differences which are significant beyond the five per cent probability level. The differences on the Total Prejudice score are not significant but the trend is similar to that for the other two scores. In general, this analysis of the new status index conforms to the above analyses and indicates that there are differences in attitudes toward minority groups which are associated with differences in status. The low status groups are consistently more prejudiced than the medium and high status groups. This accords with the "security-deprivation" hypothesis, with respect to all three minority groups, and with the "competition" hypothesis with respect to Negroes.

Conclusions

In this chapter a self-estimate of social class position and a constructed index of social status were used to test for relationships between attitudes toward certain minorities and social status. The conclusions justified by these analyses may be summarized as follows:

1. For both farm and non-farm respondents, attitudes toward Jews, and to a lesser extent, toward Negroes and Mexicans, appear to be related to the indices used in this chapter to measure possible status differences. Upper status groups, measured either by self-estimate of "middle class" or a constructed index of social status, appear to

be more tolerant than lower status groups. The trends are consistent for lower status groups to be less tolerant, but differences among medium and upper status groups are less clear.

2. The direction of such differences supports a "security-deprivation" hypothesis. The "competition" hypothesis may also hold with respect to attitudes toward Negroes and Mexicans, but there is little evidence for its application to attitudes toward Jews.

This chapter concludes the analyses which have been undertaken of certain assumed components of social status. Before analyzing other aspects of social structure in relationship to attitudes the findings with respect to social status should be summarized.

Summary of Findings Related to Social Status Indices

The empirical findings with respect to each of the variables which have been examined as a part of the social status analysis have been stated cautiously. This is proper inasmuch as they are significantly related to each other and any statements about a particular variable must be made with this in mind. However, these variables have been used as indices of social position in a system of social stratification rather than as separate entities in themselves. An attempt was made to hold constant for the status factor by means of a status index which was based on the separate variables. It is

also proper, therefore, to step back, as it were, from the maze of statistical findings and view the total picture that these analyses give.

It would appear, when all allowances are made for the separate empirical findings with respect to individual questions, that the general trends, supported frequently by statistical tests of significance, are in the direction of the hypotheses of this research. Specifically, the status factors support the hypothesis that there are differences in attitudes toward minority groups which are related to differences in position in a system of vertical social mobility. This hypothesis, in turn, supports partially the hypothesis that, within a total pattern of sentiments and beliefs about certain minority groups manifested by people of the rural midwest, there are distinguishably different sub-cultural patterns which are associated with different positions in the social structure.

The support for this hypothesis is graphically presented in Figures 1, 2, and 3. In these, education is used as an index. Attitudes toward the three minority groups, as revealed by the instrument used in this research, are shown in terms of the mean response for high school graduates, respondents with an eighth grade education or less, and the total sample. It should be borne in mind that the questions are not equivalent, since there are different scale points for the various questions. Hence, the mean response for unstructured questions and three-point scale questions can not be compared with each other or

TOLERANCE SCALE

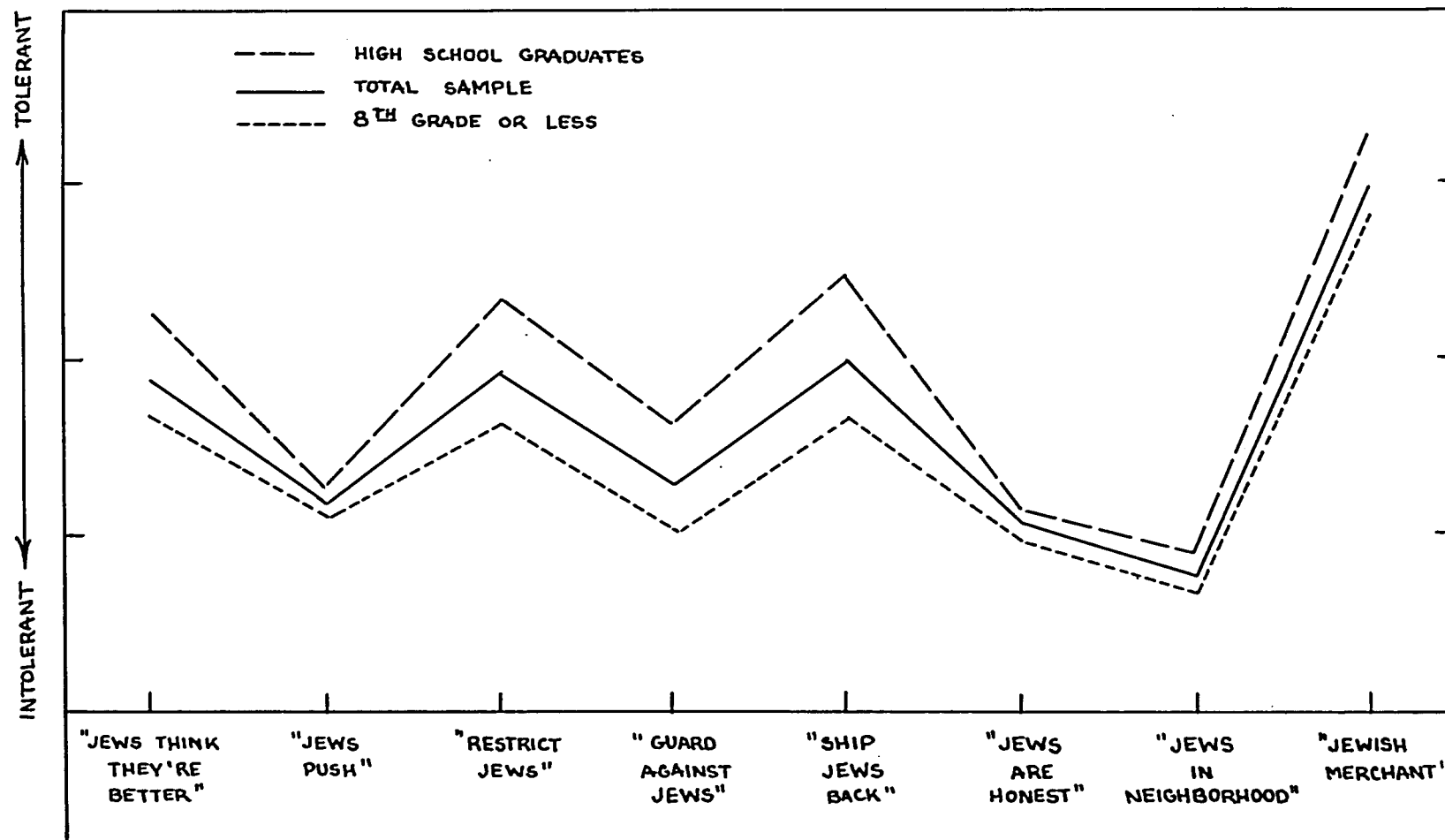


Fig. 1. Patterns of Sentiments toward Jews Manifested by Total Sample and by High and Low Educational Groups in Maple County as Measured by Average Responses to Structured and Unstructured Questions.

TOLERANCE SCALE

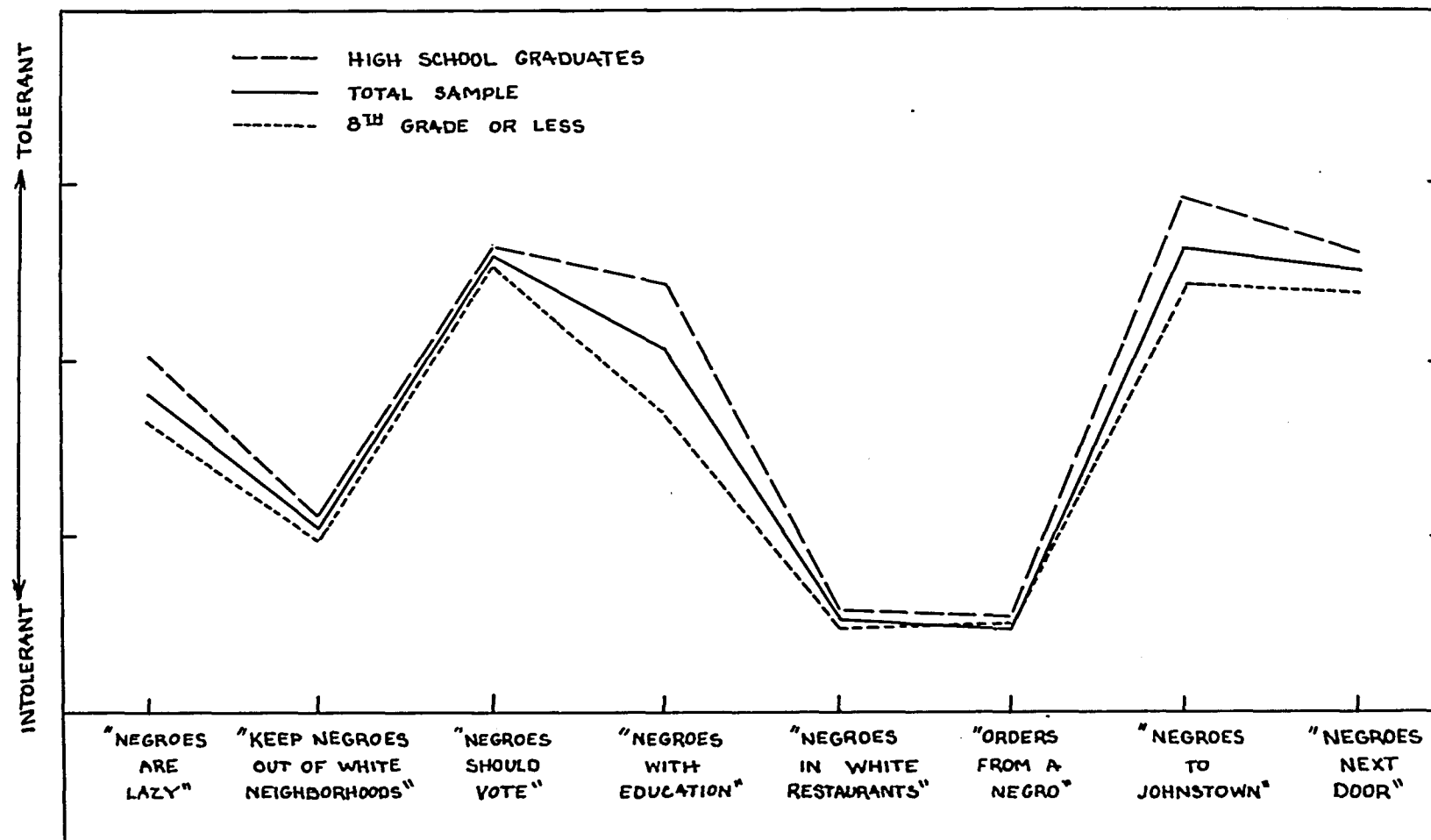


Fig. 2 Patterns of Sentiments toward Negroes Manifested by Total Sample and by High and Low Educational Groups in Maple County, as Measured by Average Responses to Structured and Unstructured Questions

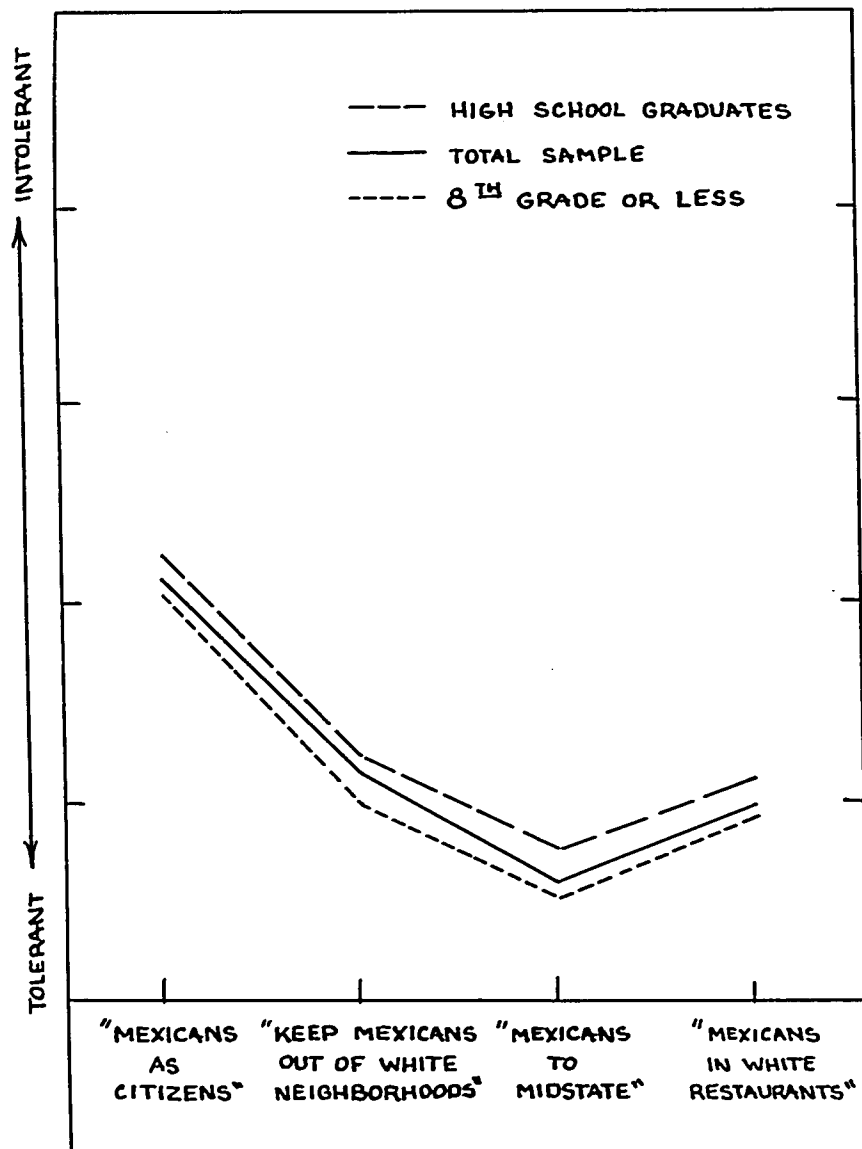


Fig. 3 Patterns of Sentiments toward Mexicans Manifested by Total Sample and by High and Low Educational Groups in Maple County, as Measured by Average Responses to Structured Questions.

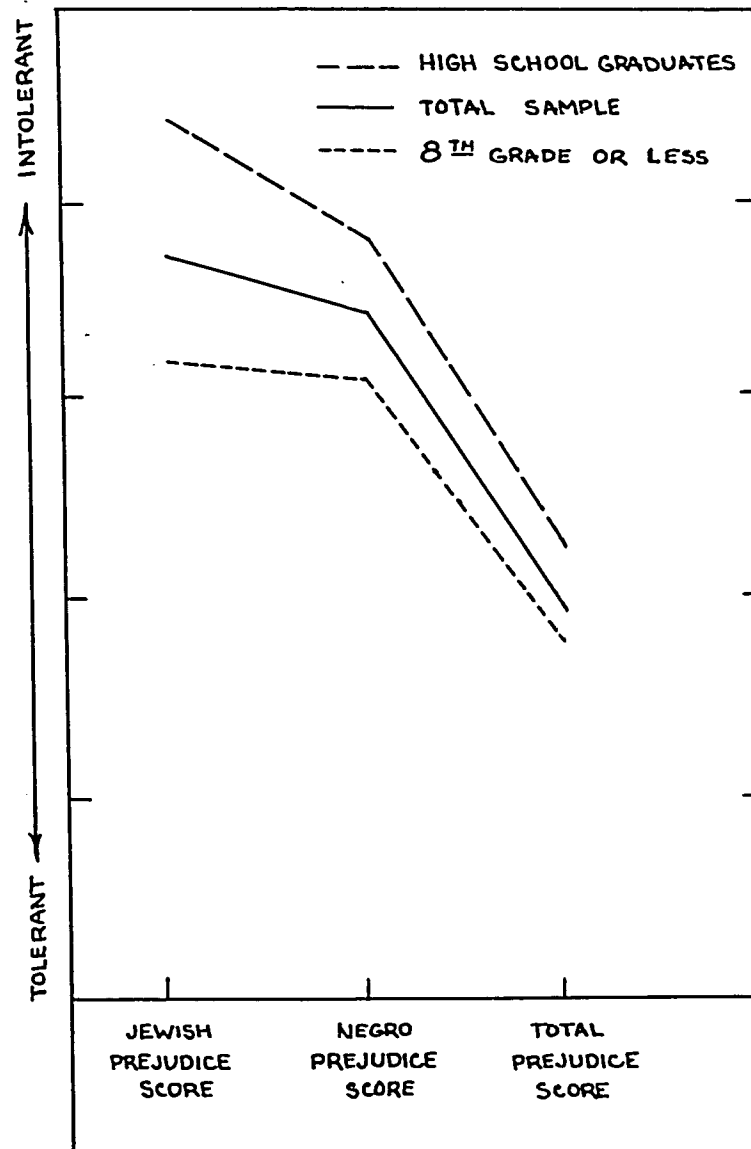


Fig. 4 Patterns of Sentiments toward Minority Groups Manifested by Total Sample and by High and Low Educational Groups in Maple County, as Measured by Three Prejudice Scores.

with the five-point scale questions.

The statistical findings have already been given and interpreted. Education was selected for graphic presentation because, in terms of the general findings, it was one of the clearest indicators of the proposition that there are both total patterns of sentiments and sub-cultural patterns of sentiments which are manifested toward the three minority groups. The purpose of the figures is to show, in graphic fashion, this proposition.

It is clear from inspection that there is a general, pervasive pattern of sentiments toward all three minorities. But, it is also clear that there are important deviate patterns which approximate the general direction of the total pattern but differ from each other. This is most clear for attitudes toward Jews, but is also apparent for attitudes toward the other two minority groups. The figures illustrate the general finding that attitudes toward the three minorities are a function of position in a system of social stratification. They also illustrate the general pattern of sentiments which obtains regardless of position in the system of social stratification.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ATTITUDES AS A FUNCTION OF ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP AND ACTIVITY

I

Kind of Membership

Warner and Lynd, in their classic treatments of Yankee-town and Middletown, respectively, have shown that organizational membership and activity are related to social status. Warner, particularly, has shown that the formal associations and the church membership patterns of a social system operate in different ways; some are inclusive of all members within a social system; others are exclusive and reserve membership for those of like status. Organizations and church membership, in his analysis, become vehicles for upward mobility in the system of social stratification.

In this research both community observation and statistical analysis, by means of the constructed index of social status, indicated that there were differences in organizational membership which followed status lines. It was also indicated, however, that these lines were not clearly drawn and that there were many people in the sample who belonged to no organizations or had little interaction in the few to which they did belong.

Since the previous discussion has already shown that status differences are related to differences in attitudes

toward minority groups, the problem for the present analysis was set as that of determining if organizational membership differences were in themselves of some importance in determining attitude differences. Since the sub-samples were small it was possible in only a few instances to obtain groups which interacted directly in particular organizations. It was only possible to obtain groups which interacted in the same general kind of organizational pattern within Maple County. Thus, it was not possible to compare, for example, the Methodist church membership of Adams with that of Johnstown. It was possible to compare respondents who identified themselves as Methodists with those who identified themselves as members of other churches. This kind of analysis cannot furnish clues to the dynamic aspects of organizational membership. It may, however, reveal broad structural differences with respect to the role of formal associations in a large social system.

The specific hypothesis for the following analyses was that differences in organizational activity are related to differences in attitudes toward Jews, Negroes, and Mexicans. This hypothesis is derived from the general guiding hypothesis of this research. The first variable to be analyzed will be that of religious membership.

Religious Identification and Attitudes toward Minorities

There is only a limited amount of research on the relationship of religious identification and attitudes toward minorities.

Campbell,¹ in the study previously cited, found very little difference between Protestant and Catholic. He did not attempt to differentiate between Protestant denominations. The Baltimore poll likewise failed to find significant differences between Protestants and Catholics with respect to attitudes toward Jews. Protestant denominations were analyzed in this study, but, although there was "a tendency for members of certain Protestant denominations to be more prejudiced than members of others,"² there were not sufficient cases to place confidence in this trend. Allport and Kramer³ state that anti-Negro prejudice is lowest among Jews and persons acknowledging no religious affiliation, higher among Protestants, and highest among Roman Catholics. Bettelheim and Janowitz⁴ found no significant differences in their sample of veterans that were related to religious differences.

In earlier studies, Harlan⁵ found no religious differences between Protestant and Catholic college students in terms of their attitudes toward Jews. Merton⁶ reports that religious groups can be ranked according to the degree of

¹Campbell, op. cit.

²The Baltimore Poll, op. cit., pp. 60-61.

³Allport and Kramer, op. cit.

⁴Bettelheim and Janowitz, op. cit.

⁵Harlan, op. cit.

⁶R. K. Merton, "Fact and Factitiousness in Ethnic Opinionaires," Am. Sociol. Rev., 5:13-28, 1940.

unfavorableness toward Negroes as follows: Catholics, Protestants, Jews, no religious affiliation.

These findings indicate, in general, that differences in religion on a broad level, such as Protestant-Catholic differences, are not likely to be related to differences in attitudes toward minorities. This is also the finding for this project, insofar as Protestant-Catholic differences can be distinguished. It will be recalled that the Polish-Americans were compared to the Old Americans. This is, in some ways, also a comparison of Polish Catholic and Old American Protestant, for there were only twelve Catholics in the total sample who were not also Polish. Hence, the previous comparison also becomes, to a certain extent, a comparison of religious differences.

However, an analysis may be made on a more precise basis, and the present research was concerned not only with Protestant-Catholic differences, but also with the possibility of differences between Protestant denominations, and between denominations and non-church members. Accordingly, each respondent was asked what religion he considered himself and, if Protestant, what denomination. The answer to this question does not indicate whether the respondent was deeply religious or not. Neither do similar denominational identifications indicate that the respondents interacted in a specific religious system. In general, for the sample as a whole, the answer to this question merely indicates that the respondent could be classified as one who identified himself with a particular Protes-

tant church, the Catholic church, or no church.

The hypothesis of significant differences between religious groups may be tested with respect to attitudes toward Jews by examining Table 52. There are no significant differences for any of the separate questions, nor for the total Jewish Prejudice score. The rank order for the denominations for each question does not reveal any consistent trend. There is apparently some tendency for Baptists to be consistently less tolerant and for the rural inter-denominational church members to be more tolerant; but, for the most part, these groups do not seem to deviate greatly from the mean for the total group.

Table 53 shows attitudes toward the Negro by religious membership. This table shows two significant differences; one at the five per cent probability level and one at the one per cent probability level. A comparison of the rank order for each of these questions, however, reveals a great amount of inconsistency of response for many denominations. The Baptists, however, appear to be less tolerant in their responses to these questions (as they are on all of the other Negro questions and on the total Negro Prejudice score). Likewise, Catholics appear less tolerant on both questions. In general, however, the trend is for one denomination to be high on one question and low on the other. In other words, most of these denominations behave as though random samples drawn from a parent population. This holds true for the rank

Table 52

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS BY RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION

Religion	Total no. of respondents	Jewish merchant		Jews think they're better		Jews push		Restrict Jews		Guard against Jews		Ship Jews Back		Total Jewish Pr Score		Jews are honest		Jews in my neighborhood	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Catholic	62	3.11	5	2.78	7	2.19	6	2.94	5	2.42	3	2.77	9	4.73	6	2.05	5	1.77	5
Methodist Episcopal	99	3.29	8	2.87	5	2.14	8	3.04	4	2.29	6	3.08	4	4.84	4	2.06	4	1.63	8
Evangelical U.B.	10	3.90	11	2.80	6	2.30	3	2.60	9	1.90	11	3.20	2	4.80	5	2.00	6	1.60	9
Baptist	40	3.23	6	2.68	8	1.93	11	2.78	8	2.15	7	2.73	10	4.38	10	1.78	11	1.70	6
Presbyterian and Episcopalian	29	3.31	9	3.24	2	2.13	9	3.28	2	2.52	2	3.04	5	5.00	2	2.14	2	1.79	4
Rural Inter- denominational	15	3.07	4	3.33	1	2.40	2	3.33	1	2.53	1	3.40	1	5.27	1	1.93	9	2.00	1
Free or Wesleyan Methodist	17	3.24	7	2.65	9	2.41	1	3.06	3	2.00	10	2.82	8	4.65	7	1.88	10	1.41	11
Holiness and related sects	14	3.00	1	2.57	11	2.14	3	2.86	7	2.07	8	2.93	7	4.57	9	2.00	6	1.86	3
Congregational	17	3.05	2	2.65	9	2.00	10	2.58	10	2.35	5	2.53	11	4.24	11	1.94	8	1.47	10
Adventist ¹	4																		
Other Denominations ²	50	3.48	10	2.96	3	2.24	4	2.90	6	2.40	4	3.20	2	4.94	3	2.22	1	1.98	2
None	71	3.05	3	2.89	4	2.23	5	2.58	11	2.06	9	3.03	6	4.64	8	2.09	3	1.67	7
Total	428	3.24		2.86		2.17		2.90		2.27		2.98		4.74		2.04		1.72	
F ³		#		#		#		1.50		1.09		1.27		#		#		1.21	

¹ Not included in rank order because of small size of sample, but included in analysis of variance.

² This is a loose category which includes a variety of Protestant sects and denominations which are too small to be considered separately and do not fit into any clearly defined category.

³ For this table F must reach 2.29 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 1.81 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than between group variance.

Table 53

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES BY RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION

Religion	Total no. of respondents	Negroes to Johns- town		Negroes next door		Negroes are lazy		Keep Negroes out of White neighborhoods		Negroes should vote		Negroes with education		Total Negro Pr Score		Whites and Negroes in same restaurant		Orders from a Negro	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Catholic	62	4.40	10	5.15	10	2.58	10	2.00	5	3.50	6	2.77	8	4.209	9	1.53	3	1.61	3
Methodist Episcopal	99	3.70	5	4.38	6	2.82	6	1.93	8	3.595	4	3.40	2	4.66	4	1.52	4	1.43	6
Evangelical U.B.	10	3.78	6	3.70	2	3.00	2	2.00	5	3.40	9	2.60	11	4.20	10	1.10	11	1.40	8
Baptist	40	4.16	9	4.80	9	2.60	9	1.90	10	3.38	10	2.75	9	4.18	11	1.35	10	1.23	11
Presbyterian and Rural Inter-	29	4.46	11	4.62	7	2.48	11	1.86	11	3.28	11	3.55	1	4.31	6	1.45	8	1.35	10
denominational	15	3.31	1	3.60	1	2.93	4	2.27	2	3.60	3	3.33	3	4.87	1	1.93	1	1.73	1
Free and Wesleyan Methodist	17	3.56	3	4.31	5	3.24	1	1.94	7	3.76	1	2.94	7	4.71	3	1.471	7	1.65	2
Holiness and related sects	14	4.00	8	3.93	3	2.72	8	2.14	4	3.43	8	2.71	10	4.21	8	1.50	5	1.43	6
Congregational	17	3.63	4	5.47	11	2.88	5	2.29	1	3.71	2	3.00	4	4.76	2	1.41	9	1.47	5
Adventist ¹	4																		
Other denominations	50	3.91	7	4.78	8	2.96	3	2.20	3	3.60	3	2.96	5	4.60	5	1.58	2	1.55	4
None	72	3.38	2	4.06	4	2.75	7	1.92	9	3.47	7	2.958	6	4.306	7	1.472	6	1.39	9
Total	429	3.84	-	4.50	-	2.78	-	2.00	-	3.52	-	3.05	-	4.45	-	1.49	-	1.46	-
F ²		1.46		1.89*		1.32		1.06		#		2.70**		1.02		1.25		1.09	

¹ Not included in rank order because of small size of sample, but included in analysis of variance.

² For this table F must reach 2.29 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 1.81 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than between group variance.

* - Significant beyond 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond 1% probability level.

order findings for the other Negro questions as well. Nor is there a significant difference between denominations on the total Negro Prejudice score.

In general, these findings are negative. The tendency for Catholics to be less tolerant may be related to the fact that 50 out of the 62 Catholics in the sample are Polish-Americans, for the significant differences in Table 53 parallel the findings for two of the three questions on which there are significant differences between Polish and Old Americans. In such a case it is difficult to determine whether the differences are due to the fact of religion or the fact of ethnic origin. There were not enough non-Polish Catholics in the sample to make any statistical comparisons. In any event, from Table 53 it is apparent that the Catholic sample does not reflect a consistent set of attitudes toward Negroes.

The hypothesis of attitude differences as a function of religious differences may be tested for Mexicans by examining Table 54. There are no significant differences for any of the questions on this table. On none of these questions is the variance between groups greater than the variance within groups. The sample of Baptists still appears to rank at the less tolerant end of the scale. There is also a trend, on these questions, for Free Methodists and Wesleyan Methodists to rank at the less tolerant end of the scale. There are no clearly favorable groups. In general, the findings are negative.

The findings are also negative for the Total Prejudice

Table 54

ATTITUDES TOWARD MEXICANS AND ANALYSIS OF TOTAL PREJUDICE SCORE
BY RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION

Religion	Total no. of respondents	Mexicans as citizens and voters		Keep Mexicans out of white neighborhoods		Mexicans coming to Midstate		Mexicans in restaurants with whites		Total Prejudice Score	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Catholic	62	3.00	6	1.97	9	1.65	5	1.97	5	3.08	3
Methodist Episcopal	99	3.14	5	2.25	2	1.68	3	2.09	2	2.95	4
Evangelical U.B	10	2.80	11	1.90	10	1.40	10	2.00	4	2.40	11
Baptist	40	2.98	7	2.08	5	1.50	8	1.88	8	2.43	10
Presbyterian and Episcopalian	29	3.38	1	2.14	4	1.59	6	1.758	11	2.90	6
Rural Interdenominational	15	2.93	8	2.07	6	1.67	4	2.20	1	3.47	1
Free and Wesleyan Methodist	17	2.88	9	2.00	8	1.35	11	1.82	9	2.59	9
Holiness and related sects	14	2.86	10	1.86	11	1.43	9	1.93	6	2.93	5
Congregational	17	3.24	3	2.06	7	1.71	1	1.76	10	2.71	8
Adventist ¹	4										
Other denominations	50	3.16	4	2.28	1	1.56	7	2.04	3	3.22	2
None	72	3.33	2	2.17	3	1.69	2	1.92	7	2.87	7
Total	429	3.12	.	2.13		1.61	.	1.97	2	2.92	
F ²		#		#		#		#		1.04	

¹Not included in rank order because of small size of sample, but included in analysis of variance.

²For this table F must reach 2.29 to be significant at the 1% probability level, 1.81 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than between group variance.

score as shown by Table 54. Once again, however, the Baptists rank at the less tolerant end of the scale.

From the foregoing it is evident that the hypothesis of significant differences in attitudes among groups that differ in terms of religious identification has not been supported by the findings. The significant differences found for two of the Negro questions further confuses the picture, since, in general, the rank order findings differ considerably on these two questions. There is some tendency, although not consistent, for Catholics to be at the more prejudiced end of a rank order scale, especially with respect to attitudes toward Negroes. Baptists appear to be consistently less tolerant toward all three minorities. However, this tendency for Catholics and Baptists may be associated with many factors other than religious differences. Certainly the data of this research do not support any general hypothesis that attitudes toward minority groups vary in terms of differences in religious identification.

Since there were differences between religious groups on the status index which were significant beyond the one per cent probability level⁷ a further step was taken. Using the constructed index of social status the religious denominations were classified into four status groups.⁸ If status is associated

⁷See Table E in Appendix E.

⁸These groups were selected by inspection on the basis of the average score for each group on the status index. Group A had high status (above 3.00 on the status index) and consisted of Presbyterian, Episcopalian, and Methodist Episcopal; Group B had medium high status and consisted of Rural Inter-denominational, Free and Wesleyan Methodist; Group C had medium low status and

with attitudes toward minority groups, and if religious identification is associated with status, such a classification may reveal differences that are masked by the foregoing analysis of denominational differences.

The total Jewish Prejudice score and the total Negro Prejudice score were used to test, by means of the analysis of variance, for significant differences between these four religious groups. As shown in the previous chapter, for the status index there were differences which were significant beyond the one per cent probability level for the Jewish Prejudice score, and beyond the five per cent probability level for the Negro Prejudice score. Hence, we might expect differences to be shown by this analysis. The findings, as shown by Table K in Appendix G, indicate that the two high status groups tend to be more tolerant than the two low status groups. Even so, the differences are not significant.

These results would seem to indicate that even though respondents who identified themselves with different religious denominations may differ in terms of social status, religious identification is a broad social characteristic which cuts across vertical indices of social structure. While there may be other ways in which these religious groups may be classified, on the basis of the foregoing there is little support for the

8(continued) consisted of Congregational and Baptist; Group D had low status and included Catholic, Evangelical United Brethren, Holiness, and Adventist. Those with other or no religious identification were eliminated from this analysis.

hypothesis that differences in religious identification are associated with differences in attitudes toward minorities.

Membership in Other Organizations in
Relationship to Attitudes toward Minorities

In addition to religious identification, there are a number of other kinds of organizational identification open to respondents in this sample. In this project those respondents were asked to indicate the organizations to which they belonged in addition to the church. The organizations that were reported ranged from special interest groups to fraternal associations. Since there could be and frequently was more than one answer to this question, and since membership, therefore, in one organization overlapped with another, it was difficult to compare one organization directly with another. Accordingly, the following procedure was adopted to make comparisons possible.

Each respondent indicated not only his organizational membership but the extent to which he participated in each organization he listed. As a part of the coding procedure the organization in which each respondent was most active was indicated. It was, therefore, possible to separate respondents in terms of their most active organizational membership, and to analyze differences by means of an analysis of variance which included the entire sample. That is, differences in organizational membership could be compared for attitude differences, both with one another and with those respondents (about 38%)

who belonged to no organization.

This procedure resulted in the comparison of the organizations reported herein. It should be pointed out that these organizations cover a variety of social levels and social interests. One organization, the Dorrance Community Club, includes only people who interact in face-to-face meetings.⁹ Other organizations, such as the Grange, Farm Bureau, or Masons, include members from geographically different subordinate units of the larger organizations who may seldom interact in face-to-face situations. The category of Other Organizations includes a variety of neighborhood clubs, bridge groups, book clubs, and special economic interest groups which were not of sufficient size to treat as separate units.

The single criterion met by all of these organizations is that the membership analyzed is the "most active" membership available from the sample selected for this research. The application of this criterion does not mean that each member was an extremely active member of the specified organization, but only that, in terms of a universe of possible organizational memberships, this was the respondent's most active organization. It may be the only organization to which he belonged. Nevertheless, the specified organization does represent the organization in which the respondent is most active.

⁹This club is, in a sense, both an ecological and an organizational unit. Its members are drawn entirely from a rural locality which appeared to have a considerable degree of neighborhood integration.

Attitudes toward Jews are shown in Table 55. On only one question is there a statistically significant difference, and that at the five per cent probability level. Neither are the differences statistically significant for the total Jewish Prejudice score. There is a tendency for the Dorrance Community Club to be less tolerant of Jews than are the other organizations. This is also the trend for the Eagles and Moose, and, to some extent, for the Farm Bureau. On the other hand, there is some tendency for the Service Club members and for the members of veterans' organizations to be somewhat more tolerant. But, on the whole, there is little evidence to support the hypothesis that differences in organizational membership are related to differences in attitudes toward Jews.

Attitudes toward Negroes by organizational membership are shown in Table 56. Two of the questions show differences that are statistically significant at the one per cent probability level. Differences for the total Negro Prejudice score are also significant at the five per cent probability level. There are also two questions wherein the F of 1.77 and 1.74, respectively, approaches the five per cent probability level of 1.81. All of these data indicate that there is some tendency for organizational membership to be associated with attitudes toward Negroes. When rank order is examined there appears to be a tendency for most of the fraternal organizations (Masons, Oddfellows, Eagles, and Moose) to be less tolerant. This, likewise, continues to be true for the Dorrance Community

Table 55

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS BY ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP

Organization	Total no. of respondents	Jewish merchant		Jews think they're better		Jews push		Restrict Jews		Guard against Jews		Ship Jews Back		Total Jewish Pr Score		Jews are honest		Jews in my neighborhood	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Farm Bureau	44	3.36	10	2.73	11	2.25	3	2.70	11	2.25	6	2.86	8	4.66	8	2.02	8	1.77	6
Grange	21	2.90	2	3.33	1	2.238	4	2.67	12	2.19	7	3.29	2	4.86	4	2.38	2	1.81	4
Service Clubs	15	2.93	4	3.27	2	1.87	12	3.53	1	2.87	1	3.53	1	5.40	2	2.07	6	1.87	2
Veteran's Groups	18	3.00	5	3.17	3	2.61	1	3.33	2	2.44	3	3.28	3	5.53	1	2.22	4	1.89	1
Labor Unions	14	2.929	3	3.07	5	2.22	6	3.00	4	2.14	9	2.857	9	4.79	6	2.36	3	1.57	11
Knights of Columbus	17	2.88	1	2.824	9	2.235	5	2.71	10	2.29	5	2.81	11	4.64	9	2.06	7	1.647	9
Dorrance Club	11	3.09	6	2.64	12	2.09	10	2.73	9	2.09	11	2.73	12	4.27	12	2.00	9	1.55	12
Elks	7	3.57	11	3.14	4	2.29	2	2.86	6	2.14	9	2.857	9	4.71	7	2.57	1	1.86	3
Masons, Oddfellows	31	3.94	12	2.90	6	2.13	9	2.84	7	2.45	2	3.23	4	4.84	5	1.87	11	1.645	10
Eagles, Moose	23	3.31	9	2.826	8	1.96	11	2.91	5	2.086	12	2.87	7	4.30	11	1.65	12	1.70	7
Other Organizations	66	3.26	8	2.86	7	2.15	8	3.18	3	2.39	4	2.99	5	4.97	3	2.08	5	1.80	5
No organizational membership	161	3.21	7	2.75	10	2.16	7	2.79	8	2.17	8	2.90	6	4.57	10	1.99	10	1.67	8
Total	428	3.24		2.86		2.17		2.90		2.27		2.98		4.74		2.04		1.72	
F ¹		#		1.01		#		1.56		#		1.03		#		2.05*		#	

¹For this table F must reach 2.29 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 1.81 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than between group variance.

* - Significant beyond 5% probability level.

Table 56

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES BY ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP

Organization	Total no. of respondents	Negroes to Johns- town		Negroes next door		Negroes are lazy		Keep Negroes out of White neighborhoods		Negroes should vote		Negroes with education		Total Negro Pr Score		Whites and Negroes in same restaurant		Orders from a Negro	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Farm Bureau	44	3.82	7	3.64	1	2.52	9	2.05	5	3.50	6	3.068	7	4.30	9	1.50	7	1.477	6
Grange	21	4.29	11	4.10	3	2.86	5	1.86	10	3.52	5	3.48	2	4.62	3	1.57	5	1.38	8
Service Clubs	15	3.38	2	5.33	10	3.33	2	2.13	4	4.13	1	3.80	1	5.53	1	1.73	3	1.73	3
Veteran's Groups	19	2.87	1	3.89	2	3.37	1	2.16	3	3.47	8	3.32	4	4.89	2	1.74	2	1.58	5
Labor Unions	14	3.93	8	4.64	7	2.57	8	2.21	2	3.79	2	3.07	6	4.50	7	1.86	1	1.64	4
Knights of Columbus	17	4.18	9	4.58	5	2.71	7	2.24	1	3.71	3	2.82	11	4.53	6	1.65	4	1.88	1
Dorrance Club	11	3.73	3	5.64	12	2.27	11	1.64	11	3.18	11	2.55	12	3.64	12	1.19	10	1.82	2
Elks	7	4.67	12	5.43	11	3.00	3	1.43	12	3.43	9	3.43	3	4.57	5	1.14	12	1.29	10
Masons, Oddfellows	31	4.24	10	4.74	8	2.26	12	2.00	7	3.48	7	3.06	8	4.19	10	1.42	9	1.26	11
Eagles, Moose	23	3.81	6	4.83	9	2.30	10	1.91	9	3.13	12	2.87	10	3.91	11	1.17	11	1.13	12
Other organizations	66	3.78	4	4.59	6	2.99	4	2.00	7	3.42	10	3.17	5	4.58	4	1.55	6	1.375	9
No organizational membership	161	3.809	5	4.51	4	2.85	6	2.01	6	3.55	4	2.91	9	4.43	8	1.45	8	1.471	7
Total	429	3.84		4.50		2.78		2.00		3.52		3.05		4.45		1.49		1.46	
F ¹		#		7.38**		2.91**		#		1.19		1.77		1.90*		1.52		1.74	

¹For this table F must reach 2.29 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 1.81 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than between group variance.

* - Significant just above the 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

Club. On the other hand, the members of Service Clubs and veterans' organizations continue to indicate a tendency to express greater tolerance.

While the trend that has been indicated with respect to attitudes toward Negroes holds, in general, for both questions that are statistically significant at the one per cent probability level, there is enough inconsistency in rank order for there to be some doubt that the same factors are responsible in both cases for the statistically significant differences. For example, members of the Farm Bureau rank first in tolerance on the unstructured question pertaining to Negroes moving next door, while they rank ninth on the structured question which states that Negroes are lazy and ignorant. The Elks rank eleventh and third respectively, while Service Club members rank tenth and second respectively. These differences are not only extreme but are at the end of the rank order scale where they count most, in both cases, for the statistically significant differences which were found. Hence, it is safest to conclude that, with respect to attitudes toward Negroes, the trend is that which has been indicated but the hypothesis of this chapter is not clearly supported.

Differences in attitudes toward Mexicans are shown by Table 57. Here there are no differences on any of these questions which are significant. In general, there is some tendency again for several of the fraternal organizations to be less tolerant, while the Service Club members again appear

Table 57

ATTITUDES TOWARD MEXICANS AND ANALYSIS OF THE TOTAL PREJUDICE
SCORE BY ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP

Organization	Total no. of respondents	Mexicans as citizens and voters		Keep Mexicans out of white neighborhoods		Mexicans coming to Midstate		Mexicans in restaurants with whites		Total Prejudice Score	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Farm Bureau	44	2.93	10	2.23	3	1.66	4	2.05	6	3.09	5
Grange	21	2.90	11	2.19	5	1.43	10	2.00	7	3.00	6
Service Clubs	15	3.53	1	2.13	7	1.93	1	2.33	2	3.60	1
Veteran's Groups	19	2.95	9	2.21	4	1.63 ¹	6	2.11	3	3.28	3
Labor Unions	14	3.14	6	2.36	1	1.50	9	2.07	5	3.21	4
Knights of Columbus	17	3.23 ⁵	5	1.94	10	1.59	7	2.35	1	3.41	2
Dorrance Club	11	3.45	2	2.09	9	1.73	3	2.09	4	3.00	6
Elks	7	3.29	3	1.57	12	1.29	11	1.71	12	2.57	10
Masons, Oddfellows	31	3.03 ²	7	2.26	2	1.52	8	1.81	10	2.48	11
Eagles, Moose	23	2.83	12	1.78	11	1.22	12	1.78	11	2.13	12
Other Organizations	66	3.03	8	2.17	6	1.74	2	1.83	9	2.92	8
No organizational membership	161	3.24	4	2.12	8	1.63 ⁴	5	1.96	8	2.88	9
Total	429	3.12		2.13		1.61		1.97		2.92	
F ¹		1.01		#		1.64		1.13		1.47	

¹For this table F must reach 2.29 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 1.81 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than between group variance.

to be more tolerant. The trends for this table are slight and, in general, it may be said that the samples of organizations behave as random samples drawn from a parent population. The data do not support the hypothesis that differences in organizational membership are related to differences in attitudes toward Mexicans.

The Total Prejudice score is also shown by Table 57. The differences between organizations are not significant, although the trends that have been discussed appear to hold, except for the Dorrance Community Club. This latter fact appears to be due to the comparatively tolerant attitudes of members of this club toward Mexicans, as shown by the two Mexican questions which are included in the Total Prejudice score.

From the foregoing data, although there are apparent certain tendencies, the hypothesis that has been advanced cannot be accepted with confidence. There is partial support insofar as attitudes toward Negroes are concerned, but there is little support for the hypothesis when it is applied to attitudes toward either Jews or Mexicans.

The differences that appear, however, are provocative, especially when it is remembered that the analysis of organizational membership which has been attempted has several important discrepancies. Thus, the farm organizations have been included, although the previous findings indicate a difference between farm and non-farm groups. The Dorrance Community Club is an organization whose members live in one rural

locality. The members of the Knights of Columbus are Catholic. The category of Other Organizations is composed of many kinds of groups. All of these organizations were used in the analysis to obtain a first approximation to the role of organizational membership itself.

But, since the findings have been limited, some attempt should be made to refine the organizational analysis. Accordingly, a number of organizations were eliminated and certain combinations were made. The farm organizations, Dorrance Community Club, Knights of Columbus, and Other Organizations were omitted. This left a set of primarily male associations. The fraternal organizations were grouped into one category. Although farmers were included, their numbers, proportionately, were quite small. Hence, the analysis becomes one of primarily urban, male associations. For comparative purposes the category of "no organizational membership" was retained. This again includes farmers and their wives, but, as may be seen by a comparison with the original sample data, the mean for this group is quite close to the mean for the total sample.

The three prejudice scores were used as a basis for the new analysis. The results are shown in Table 58. In addition, since the status factor may be of importance, a comparison of the status index for the various organizations is shown in Table 59.

The data are somewhat more informative than the original analysis. Inspection of Table 58 shows that while the differ-

Table 58

ATTITUDES OF SELECTED
ORGANIZATIONS TOWARD MINORITY GROUPS

<u>Organization</u>	<u>Total no. of respond- ents</u>	<u>Total Jewish</u>		<u>Total Negro</u>		<u>Total Prejudice</u>	
		<u>Pr</u>	<u>Score</u>	<u>Pr</u>	<u>Score</u>	<u>Score</u>	
		<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>
Service Clubs	15	5.40	2	5.53	1	3.60	1
Veterans' Organizations	19	5.53	1	4.89	2	3.28	2
Labor Unions	14	4.79	3	4.50	3	3.21	3
Fraternal Organizations ¹	61	4.62	4	4.13	5	2.36	5
No Organizational Membership	161	4.57	5	4.43	4	2.88	4
Total	270	4.71		4.46		2.85	
F ²		1.72		3.49**		3.05*	

¹Masons, Oddfellows, Elks, Eagles, Moose.

²For this analysis F must reach 3.41 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.41 at the 5% probability level.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

Table 59

STATUS OF SELECTED ORGANIZATIONS AS
MEASURED BY A CONSTRUCTED INDEX OF SOCIAL STATUS

<u>Organization</u>	<u>Total no. of respondents</u>	<u>Status Index</u>	
		<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>
Service Clubs	14	4.86	1
Veterans' Organizations	17	3.18	2
Labor Unions	13	2.00	5
Fraternal Organizations	59	3.05	3
No Organizational Membership	143	2.01	4
Total	246	2.50	
F		39.03**	

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level of 3.41.

ences on the Jewish Prejudice score are not significant, those for the Negro Prejudice score and the Total Prejudice score are at the one and five per cent probability levels, respectively. The rank order findings for all three scores are quite consistent.

The Service Clubs and veterans' organizations are clearly most tolerant. Labor unions occupy an intermediate position. The fraternal organizations are clearly most intolerant. The non-organizational members rank just above the fraternal organizations on the two scores for which the differences are statistically significant. They are, however, as might be expected, quite close to the mean for the sample as a whole.

The status differences, as shown by Table 59, are far beyond the one per cent level of significance. But the rank order findings are not wholly in line with those of Table 58. Thus, fraternal organizations rank third in status but fifth on the two prejudice scores for which there are significant differences. Labor unions rank last in status but are above the mean in Table 58, with a consistent rank of three. The Service Clubs and veterans' organizations rank in accordance with the expectations of the status index.

It is possible that the differences may be due primarily to the status factor. That is, the comparatively high tolerance scores of the Service Clubs and veterans' organizations may account for the differences in attitudes as reflected by organizational membership. If so, the findings with respect

to status, as shown in the previous chapters, would indicate that the status factor is of great importance in the explanation of Table 58. However, while the status index for the Service Clubs is high, that for the veterans' organizations and fraternal organizations is very similar. Moreover, the sample of fraternal organizations is nearly twice that of the Service Clubs and veterans' organizations combined. It is possible that other factors of a more dynamic nature may be involved.

If the organizations shown in Table 58 are arranged along a continuum of open and closed groups, the findings fit into a theory of prejudice as a function of the degree of closure of a social system. Thus, the fraternal organizations are comparatively closed groups. Veterans' organizations and Service Clubs tend to be more open in the sense that by meeting certain fairly simple criteria any member of the total social system may belong. In actual practice, of course, this does not always occur. But, insofar as a system of sentiments is concerned, such organizations are much more accessible than many fraternal organizations. On the other hand, labor unions occupy a position somewhat in the middle of the scale. Membership is limited more drastically than is that of Service Clubs and veterans' organizations, but less so than fraternal organizations.

It will be noted that the findings for this selected set of samples follows the degree of closure, as has been assumed above, to a remarkable extent. The more closed the organization,

the greater the degree of prejudice expressed by the membership.

This explanation demands much more careful analysis than the data of this research permit. But, there is evidence that membership in certain organizations is associated with the attitudes expressed toward minority groups. There is some possibility that this may be related to organizational patterns of sentiments quite apart from the status factors which are also related to organizational membership.

One additional analysis was undertaken. The sample of farmers was sufficiently large so that three groups could be separated: active Farm Bureau members; non-active Farm Bureau members; and non-Farm Bureau members. The three prejudice scores were used as the basis for analysis. The results are shown in Table L in Appendix G. There is little evidence that, either in terms of extent of activity or membership alone, there are differences in the attitudes of farmers toward minorities which are related to the organizational criteria used for this analysis.

Conclusions with Respect to
Kind of Organizational Membership

The data so far discussed may be summarized as follows:

1. Church membership does not appear to be related to attitudes toward the three minority groups which were tested. The few trends that were disclosed are insufficient to attribute to the fact of church membership alone.

2. Organizational membership, exclusive of church membership and considered as a broad, inclusive category, appears to have some tendencies toward relationship to attitudes toward Negroes, but not Jews or Mexicans.
3. When organizations are selected for purposes of greater homogeneity of membership and with regard to the predominance of other factors which may be of importance, there is some evidence that attitudes toward minority groups are related to organizational membership. This is particularly true for attitudes toward Negroes. The results for the Total Prejudice score and the rank order findings for the Jewish Prejudice score indicate that this applies also to attitudes toward Jews and Mexicans.
4. Such relationship as exists between organizational membership and attitudes toward minorities is influenced by the status factor. However, there is also a tendency for this relationship to be a function of the degree of closure of groups.

II

EXTENT OF ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY

The second question that may be raised with respect to organizational membership is that of the quality of the participation of members. Does the extent of participation in the program of the church or other organizations differentiate between members of the social system in terms of the manifestation of sentiments toward minority groups? This

question is directed to the examination of the dynamics of the social system and not to the structural aspects alone. The data of this research do not make possible an examination of the possible effects of interaction in specific subsystems of the total social system. There is, however, some data which bear on the factor of interaction as an aspect of the total social structure.

Church Activity in Relationship
to Attitudes toward Minorities

To what extent are attitudes toward minorities related to participation in the program of various churches, regardless of the kind of church? There is little evidence to be found from previous studies. The Allport-Kramer¹⁰ study concludes that religious training in itself does not lessen prejudice but religious training that stresses tolerance and brotherhood does. The implication is that church activity itself makes little difference as far as attitudes toward minorities are concerned.

Another inconclusive but interesting study of the influence of church activity is reported by Boyd.¹¹ His study in Lubbock County, Texas of several hundred individuals, presumably all Protestant, revealed that regular attendants at church tended to be somewhat less liberal than those who

¹⁰Allport and Kramer, op. cit.

¹¹J. E. Boyd, "The Influence of the Church upon Race Attitudes in West Texas," unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Denver, 1938.

did not go at all or were irregular in their attendance. As far as anti-Semitism is concerned the Baltimore study reports that "In general, there is no difference in the attitudes toward Jews held by frequent churchgoers as compared to infrequent churchgoers."¹²

However, an analysis of the relationship of church activity to attitudes was undertaken in this study with the express hypothesis that there would be significant differences in attitudes toward minorities which are related to the extent of church activity. A further hypothesis was held that the more active church members, regardless of church membership, would be more tolerant toward minority groups. This hypothesis is in one sense a derivation of the basic research hypothesis. In addition, community observation, particularly of Johnstown, indicated that ministers remind their congregations, from time to time, of the American Creed and its relationship to Christian practices. While it may be argued that this is only "lip service," it may also be argued that this pronounced cultural characteristic should have some effect on those involved. In other words, the more active church members would be more regularly subjected to such stimuli and, hence, might be expected to manifest more tolerant sentiments than those who were less active and, hence, less subject to such cultural stimuli.

¹²The Baltimore Poll, op. cit., p. 61.

As a first step in this analysis, respondents were classified into a number of categories. This attempt was made in order to see if certain rather precise distinctions in quality of church participation might be related to attitudes toward minority groups. Thus, those with no church activity were classified into those with and those without a church connection. There were also several kinds of "nominally" active participants: those who belonged because they felt obliged to support the church; those who supported the church because they felt it was a good thing but did not attend; those who attended but did not belong; and the more conventional category of those who belonged to church but were not active. There were also three kinds of active members: active but not usually officials; active and usually officials; and ministers (of which there were only two in the sample).

The results of this analysis are shown in Tables M, N, and O in Appendix G. These tables show a number of interesting variations but the results are not consistent nor are they usually statistically significant. However, it appears from these tables that the more active church members tend to be more tolerant. In order to make a more precise test of this hypothesis the categories were regrouped into the original three classifications: no church activity; nominal church activity; active church members.

The hypothesis may be tested first by examining Table 60 which gives the mean, rank order, and F for each of the Jewish

Table 60

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS BY EXTENT OF CHURCH ACTIVITY

Extent of Church Activity	Total no. of respond- ents	Jewish merchant		Jews think they're better		Jews push		Restrict Jews		Guard against Jews		Ship Jews Back		Total Jewish Pr Score		Jews are honest		Jews in my neigh- borhood	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Active	109	2.94	1	2.88	1	2.24	1	3.24	1	2.49	1	3.06	1	5.09	1	2.15	1	1.85	1
Nominal activity	153	3.48	3	2.856	2	2.18	2	2.85	2	2.27	2	2.99	2	4.73	2	2.01	2	1.72	2
No church acitivity	166	3.20	2	2.855	3	2.13	3	2.72	3	2.12	3	2.92	3	4.51	3	1.99	3	1.63	3
Total	428	3.24		2.86		2.17		2.90		2.27		2.98		4.74		2.08		1.72	
F ¹		2.84		#		#		9.17**		4.31*		#		3.22*		1.42		2.40	

¹For this table F must reach 4.66 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 3.02 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

attitude questions and for the total Jewish Prejudice score. On one question there is a statistically significant difference beyond the one per cent probability level; on another question the difference is statistically significant beyond the five per cent probability level. The total Jewish Prejudice score is also significant beyond the five per cent probability level.

Perhaps more important than the number of statistically significant differences is the rank order of the three groups. The active church members are consistently more tolerant than the other two groups. This trend also holds for all three groups and supports the hypothesis that the greater the church activity the less the willingness to manifest sentiments unfavorable to minority groups. In general, the differences appear to be greatest between the active church group and the other two groups, while the differences between those who have no church activity and those who have a nominal amount of church activity appear to be less. Even so, for this table, those with no church activity tend to rank at the more intolerant end of a rank order scale.

This analysis may be continued by examining Table 61 for attitudes toward Negroes. There is one question where the differences between groups is statistically significant beyond the five per cent probability level. The total Negro Prejudice score does not indicate any significant differences. However, the tendency for the active church members to rank at the more tolerant end of a rank order scale continues for all

Table 61

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES BY EXTENT OF CHURCH ACTIVITY

Extent of Church Activity	Total no. of respondents	Negroes to Johns- town		Negroes next door		Negroes are lazy		Keep Negroes out of White neighborhoods		Negroes should vote		Negroes with education		Total Negro Pr Score		Whites and Negroes in same restaurant		Orders from a Negro	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Active	109	3.76	1	4.41	1	2.84	1	2.19	1	3.57	1	3.23	1	4.68	1	1.59	1	1.56	1
Nominal Activity	153	3.89	3	4.44	2	2.75	3	1.99	2	3.52	2	2.99	3	4.39	2	1.50	2	1.44	2
No church activity	167	3.84	2	4.61	3	2.75	2	1.90	3	3.48	3	2.99	2	4.36	3	1.42	3	1.41	3
Total	429	3.84		4.50		2.78		2.00		3.52		3.05		4.45		1.49		1.46	
F ¹		#		#		#		3.82*		#		1.92		1.98		1.63		1.36	

¹ For this table F must reach 4.66 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 3.02 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

questions and for the total Negro Prejudice score. The differences between the sample of the non-active and the sample of the nominally active are, again, not great and, in this table, tend to vary somewhat. Those who are nominally active still tend to be slightly less prejudiced on a majority of questions and on the total Negro Prejudice score. In short, the hypothesis of statistically significant differences is not substantiated by these data, but the trend continues to support the hypothesis. That is, while the differences between each of the groups is small and not statistically significant, these differences continue to be consistent, especially with respect to the active church group. Since the samples are fairly large, this would seem to be a stable finding and not the result of the choice of a small and biased sample.

Attitudes toward Mexicans are shown in Table 62. Here there are no differences on any of the questions that are statistically significant. In general, however, the same trend continues. On one question the active church group ranks least tolerant, but it will be noted that the differences in sample means are quite small for all three groups. On all other questions the active church group continues to rank as least prejudiced toward minority groups. The differences in means for all groups are small, and the hypothesis of statistically significant differences is not substantiated. However, the trend continues to support the hypothesis that the extent of church activity is related to attitudes toward minority

Table 62

ATTITUDES TOWARD MEXICANS AND ANALYSIS OF TOTAL PREJUDICE
SCORE BY EXTENT OF CHURCH ACTIVITY

Extent of Church Activity	Total no. of respondents	Mexicans as citizens and voters		Keep Mexicans out of white neighborhoods		Mexicans coming to Midstate		Mexicans in restaurants with whites		Total Prejudice Score	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Active	109	3.07	3	2.25	1	1.70	1	2.06	1	3.24	1
Nominal activity	153	3.137	2	2.08	3	1.63	2	1.94	2	2.88	2
No church activity	167	3.143	1	2.10	2	1.54	3	1.93	3	2.74	3
Total	429	3.12		2.13		1.61		1.97		2.92	
F ¹		#		1.42		1.65		1.07		3.66*	

¹ For this table F must reach 4.66 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 3.02 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

groups, and that active church members tend to be less intolerant.

Table 62 also shows the Total Prejudice score. The difference between groups is statistically significant at the five per cent probability level and the rank order is exactly in terms of the hypotheses already stated. While the five per cent probability level is not to be taken with the same degree of confidence as the one per cent probability level, the combination of statistically significant differences and a rank order which is in line with the previous findings would seem to provide strong support for the hypotheses of this chapter. If all three prejudice scores are reexamined, it will be seen that two are statistically significant at the five per cent probability level. Moreover, the rank order for all three scores support the hypothesis that differences in church activity are related to differences in attitudes toward minorities. That is, the more active the participation in church activities, the greater the degree of tolerance manifested toward the three minority groups. The rank order findings for the individual items tend, in general, also to support this hypothesis.

However, as has been pointed out, the fact that there appears to be some relationship between a particular variable and attitudes toward minorities does not imply that this is a simple functional relationship. Even though attitudes toward minorities may be a function of the extent of church activity, this function, in turn, is probably composed of several other

interacting elements. No one of them can be denoted the sole underlying causal factor.

It has already been shown that status is an important factor insofar as there are differing systems of sentiments which are manifested toward minority groups. In Table E in Appendix E it appears that the extent of church activity is significantly related to the status index beyond the one per cent level of probability. Are the above findings due primarily to the status factor?

Using the Jewish Prejudice score as a measure, since it was significant for both status and church activity, the extent of church activity was analyzed while status was held constant. Because of the small size of some of the samples, the status index was consolidated into three groups, as was done in Table 50. The results are shown in Table 63. Only for the high status group is the extent of church activity significantly related to the Jewish Prejudice score. For the medium status group the more active church members tend to be most tolerant, but the variance within groups is greater than that between groups. For the low status group the more active church members actually appear to be most prejudiced, although the mean differences are small and the variance within groups is greater than the variance between groups.

The results for the measure used would seem to indicate that only for the high status groups does church activity differentiate between attitudes toward minorities. Because of

Table 63

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS BY EXTENT OF CHURCH
ACTIVITY WITH STATUS INDEX CONSTANT,
AS MEASURED BY JEWISH PREJUDICE SCORE

		Jewish Fr Score	
<u>Status Index</u>	<u>Total no. of respondents</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>
<u>High Status</u>			
Active	42	5.79	1
Nominal Activity	46	5.11	2
No Church Activity	33	4.70	3
Total	121	5.23	
F ¹		4.16*	
<u>Medium Status</u>			
Active	17	6.12	1
Nominal Activity	16	5.44	3
No Church Activity	22	5.45	2
Total	55	5.65	
F		#	
<u>Low Status</u>			
Active	43	4.19	3
Nominal Activity	81	4.51	1
No Church Activity	97	4.31	2
Total	221	4.36	
F		#	

¹For this table F must reach 4.82 to be significant at the
1% probability level; 3.09 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance
between groups.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

the small sample the findings for the medium status group are not informative but there is some tendency for church activity to be associated with attitudes toward minorities, even when status is held constant. But this does not hold for the lower status groups where the sample is large enough to indicate that there is little difference in attitudes which can be related to the extent of church activity.

These findings indicate, however, that church activity may be a factor which is associated with status differences in attitudes toward minorities. Accordingly, the data of Table 64 are presented. Here there are significant differences in status levels even when church activity is held constant. The medium status group is most tolerant and the lower status group least tolerant. However, the sample for the medium status group is small in all cases. Moreover, this category, as explained in the discussion of the construction of the status index, is a mixed category useful in separating relatively "pure" status groups at each end of a hypothetical status scale. The more important finding is consistent with that already presented in the discussion of the status index. Namely, lower status groups tend to be more intolerant than the other, higher status groups.

In summary, church activity appears to be related to some extent to attitudes toward minority groups. However, there is evidence that this relationship is most applicable to upper status groups and of lesser applicability to lower status groups. On the other hand, there is support for the findings with respect

Table 64

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS BY STATUS WITH
EXTENT OF CHURCH ACTIVITY CONSTANT, AS
MEASURED BY THE JEWISH PREJUDICE SCORE

<u>Extent of Church Activity</u>	<u>Total no. of respondents</u>	<u>Total Jewish Pr Score Mean</u>	<u>P</u>
<u>Active</u>			
High Status	42	5.79	2
Medium Status	17	6.12	1
Low Status	43	4.19	3
Total	102	5.17	
F ¹		11.49**	
<u>Nominal Activity</u>			
High Status	46	5.11	2
Medium Status	16	5.44	1
Low Status	81	4.51	3
Total	143	4.80	
F ²		3.29*	
<u>No Church Activity</u>			
High Status	33	4.70	2
Medium Status	22	5.45	1
Low Status	97	4.31	3
Total	152	4.56	
F ³		3.43*	

¹F must reach 4.82 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 3.09 at the 5% probability level.

²F must reach 4.78 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 3.07 at the 5% probability level.

³F must reach 4.75 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 3.06 at the 5% probability level.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

to status differences even when the extent of church activity is held constant.

The Relationship of Participation in Other Organizations to Attitudes toward Minorities

In order to make some comparisons of respondents in terms of the extent of their participation in organizations other than the church a participation index was constructed. (The details of the construction of this index are given in Appendix F.) Observation of the interaction that took place in a number of organizations in the county, particularly **farm** organizations, indicated that there appeared to be an active group of people who took a role of some importance in more than one organization. On the other hand, there appeared to be a larger group of people who took little or no part in organizational activities of any kind.

Just as the question was asked about church activities, so it was also asked about other organizational activities. In the former case, however, there appeared to be some basis for a specific hypothesis regarding the relationship of church activities to the direction of attitudes toward minority groups. In the present case there is no research to serve as a guide, nor did community observation yield any hypotheses as to the direction of attitudes which might be related to the extent of participation in organizations. However, the participation index was found to be related to certain status variables (see Table D in Appendix E). The hypothesis was entertained that

attitudes toward minorities are related to differences in participation. A further hypothesis was held that more active participation in formal organizations is related to more tolerant attitudes toward minorities. This second hypothesis was derived from the findings with respect to status. The first hypothesis, in addition to its empirical derivation, is related to the major research hypothesis.

These hypotheses may be tested with respect to attitudes toward Jews by examining Table 65. There are no significant differences for any of the questions, nor for the total Jewish Prejudice score. There is, however, a consistent tendency for the group with a participation index categorized as "active" to rank at the more tolerant end of a rank order scale. But the "very active" participators, in general, indicate the opposite tendency. While the differences are not significant, the results are provocative.

Attitudes toward Negroes are shown in Table 66. There is one question for which the differences in extent of organizational participation are significantly related, at the five per cent probability level, to differences in attitudes toward minority groups. For this question, the greater the participation the greater the degree of tolerance toward Negroes. The result, however, does not hold for the rank order findings on the other questions. There is a tendency for the "active" group to be less prejudiced, but this tendency is not as consistent as it was in Table 65. The variance within each of the

Table 65

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS ANALYZED BY PARTICIPATION INDEX

Participation in organizations	Total no. of respondents	Jewish merchant		Jews think they're better		Jews push		Restrict Jews		Guard against Jews		Ship Jews Back		Total Jewish Pr Score		Jews are honest		Jews in my neigh- borhood	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Very active	45	3.56	4	2.87	3	2.16	3	2.84	3	2.24	2	3.02	2	4.688	3	2.02	2	1.51	4
Active	94	3.14	1	3.04	1	2.20	1	3.15	1	2.50	1	3.20	1	5.12	1	2.23	1	1.81	1
Nominal activity	129	3.23	3	2.88	2	2.19	2	2.87	2	2.22	3	2.899	4	4.689	2	1.95	4	1.79	2
None	160	3.21	2	2.74	4	2.15	4	2.79	4	2.17	4	2.90	3	4.56	4	1.99	3	1.67	3
Total	428	3.24		2.86		2.17		2.90		2.27		2.98		4.74		2.04		1.72	
F ¹		#		1.48		#		2.21		2.26		1.89		1.81		2.61		1.82	

¹For this table F must reach 3.83 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.62 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

Table 66

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES ANALYZED BY PARTICIPATION INDEX

Participation in Organizations	Total no. of respondents	Negroes to Johns- town		Negroes next door		Negroes are lazy		Keep Negroes out of White neighborhoods		Negroes should vote		Negroes with education		Total Negro Pr Score		Whites and Negroes in same restaurant		Orders from a Negro	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Very active	45	4.21	4	4.82	4	2.84	1	1.91	4	3.40	4	3.31	1	4.56	1	1.62	1	1.37	
Active	95	3.68	1	4.52	2	2.715	4	2.06	1	3.45	3	3.24	2	4.49	2	1.49	3	1.48	
Nominal activity	129	3.89	3	4.33	1	2.72	3	2.007	2	3.57	1	3.00	3	4.41	4	1.50	2	1.465	
None	160	3.82	2	4.54	3	2.837	2	2.006	3	3.55	2	2.91	4	4.43	3	1.44	4	1.47	
Total	429	3.84		4.50		2.78		2.00		3.52		3.05		4.45		1.49		1.46	
F ¹		#		#		#		#		#		2.78*		#		#		#	

¹For this table F must reach 3.83 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.62 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

groups is greater, in all cases, except for the one question already mentioned, than the variance between groups. This holds true for the total Negro Prejudice score as well as for the individual questions.

Attitudes toward Mexicans are set out in Table 67. There is a difference which is statistically significant at the five per cent probability level for one question. On all other questions the variance within groups is greater than the variance between groups. There is a tendency for the "very active" group to be least tolerant of Mexicans. The rank order on the question which is statistically significant indicates that the greater the participation in organizations the less the degree of tolerance toward Mexicans. This is the reverse of what was shown for the one question which was statistically significant for Negroes.

The Total Prejudice score is also shown in Table 67. There is no statistically significant difference between groups. The "active" group ranks as most tolerant, while the "very active" group ranks last.

From the foregoing it is clear that the hypothesis that there are differences in attitudes toward minority groups which are significantly related to differences in extent of participation has not been supported by the data of this research. While there is a tendency for the "active" participators to be less prejudiced, this is not a consistent trend except with respect to attitudes toward Jews. There is likewise a tendency,

Table 67

ATTITUDES TOWARD MEXICANS AND ANALYSIS OF TOTAL PREJUDICE SCORE BY PARTICIPATION INDEX

Participation in organizations	Total no. of respondents	Mexicans as citizens and voters		Keep Mexicans out of white neighborhoods		Mexicans coming to Midstate		Mexicans in restaurants with whites		Total Prejudice Score	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Very active	45	2.67	4	2.09	4	1.60	3	1.89	4	2.72	4
Active	95	3.13	3	2.18	1	1.68	1	1.99	2	3.10	1
Nominal activity	129	3.14	2	2.116	3	1.54	4	2.00	1	2.91	2
None	160	3.24	1	2.118	2	1.64	2	1.95	3	2.87	3
Total	429	3.12		2.13		1.61		1.97		2.92	
F ¹		3.49*		#		#		#		#	

¹ For this table F must reach 3.83 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.62 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

although again not a consistent trend, for the "very active" participators to be more prejudiced toward minority groups. In this respect they are similar to those who do not participate in formal organizations. None of these trends is supported consistently enough to be stated with confidence. Essentially the findings are negative.

Participation in Terms of
Farm and Non-Farm Respondents

As a further step the sample was divided into farm and non-farm respondents. The results for the farm group are entirely negative and are shown in Tables P, Q, and R in Appendix G. There are no statistically significant differences on any questions, the difference between means is usually quite small, and the variance within groups is frequently greater than that between groups. There are no trends which appear to be clear-cut and consistent.

For the non-farm group there are a few positive findings. Table 68 shows attitudes of non-farmers toward Jews by extent of participation in organizations. Two questions show statistically significant differences beyond the five per cent probability level. The total Jewish Prejudice score, however, shows no significant differences. The trend is for the "very active" group to be most prejudiced and for the "active" group to be least prejudiced. However, for the two questions for which there are significant differences the trend for the "very active" group is not consistent. The trend is consistent for

Table 68

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS BY PARTICIPATION - NON-FARM ONLY

Participation in organization	Total no. of respond- ents	Jewish merchant		Jews think they're better		Jews push		Restrict Jews		Guard against Jews		Ship Jews Back		Total Jewish Pr Score		Jews are honest		Jews in my neigh- borhood	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Very active	26	3.46	4	2.92	3	1.96	4	2.81	4	2.31	3	3.039	3	4.54	4	2.08	2	1.50	4
Active	59	2.86	1	3.10	1	2.20	2	3.32	1	2.58	1	3.32	1	5.22	1	2.32	1	1.93	1
Nominal activity	73	3.40	3	3.07	2	2.30	1	3.16	2	2.42	2	3.11	2	5.15	2	1.95	4	1.92	2
None	105	3.20	2	2.81	4	2.13	3	2.86	3	2.19	4	3.038	4	4.68	3	2.00	3	1.69	3
Total	263	3.21		2.96		2.18		3.04		2.35		3.12		4.92		2.06		1.79	
F ¹		1.13		1.17		#		2.76*		1.71		#		1.73		2.81*		2.53	

¹For this table F must reach 3.91 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.67 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

the "active" participators. The data, however, yield little that may be accepted with confidence in support of the hypothesis.

Table 69 shows the attitudes of non-farmers toward Negroes by extent of participation. One question is statistically significant beyond the five per cent probability level. The total Negro Prejudice score shows no significant differences, and the variance within groups for this score is greater than the variance between groups. There appear to be few consistent trends. For the question for which there are statistically significant differences the "very active" participators rank as most tolerant, but this trend does not hold for a number of other questions. In general, for most questions the differences between means is small and the variance within groups is greater than the variance between groups. There is little evidence to support the hypotheses that have been advanced.

Attitudes toward Mexicans are shown in Table 70. One question shows differences which are statistically significant beyond the one per cent probability level. But on all other questions the variance within groups is greater than the variance between groups. There is a tendency for the "active" participators to be most tolerant and for the "very active" participators to be least tolerant. Once again, however, it cannot be stated that the data support the hypothesis. Nor are opposite conclusions fully warranted.

While the findings are generally negative and, therefore,

Table 69

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES BY PARTICIPATION INDEX - NON-FARM ONLY

Participation in organization	Total no. of respond- ents	Negroes to Johns- town		Negroes next door		Negroes are lazy		Keep Negroes out of White neighborhoods		Negroes should vote		Negroes with education		Total Negro Pr Score		Whites and Negroes in same restaurant		Orders from a Negro	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Very active	26	4.08	4	5.15	4	2.85	3	1.81	4	3.23	4	3.58	1	4.538	4	1.65	1	1.24	4
Active	60	3.76	1	4.68	2	2.82	4	2.17	1	3.50	3	3.33	2	4.68	1	1.57	3	1.60	1
Nominal activity	73	3.78	2	4.42	1	2.88	2	2.08	2	3.62	1	3.16	3	4.64	2	1.58	2	1.49	2
None	105	3.93	3	4.73	3	2.97	1	1.98	3	3.55	2	2.98	4	4.54	3	1.45	4	1.48	3
Total	264	3.87		4.68		2.90		2.03		3.53		3.17		4.60		1.53		1.49	
F ¹		#		#		#		1.04		#		2.82*		#		#		1.26	

¹ For this table F must reach 3.91 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.67 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

Table 70

ATTITUDES TOWARD MEXICANS AND ANALYSIS OF TOTAL PREJUDICE
SCORE BY PARTICIPATION INDEX - NON-FARM ONLY

Participation in organizations	Total no. of respondents	Mexicans as citizens and voters		Keep Mexicans out of white neighborhoods		Mexicans coming to Midstate		Mexicans in restaurants with whites		Total Prejudice Score	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Very active	26	2.50	4	1.88	4	1.54	4	1.81	4	2.60	4
Active	60	3.28	2	2.22	1	1.73	1	2.02	1	3.32	1
Nominal activity	73	3.37	1	2.19	2	1.56	3	1.97	3	2.96	2
None	105	3.18	3	2.14	3	1.64	2	1.98	2	2.91	3
Total	264	3.19		2.15		1.63		1.97		2.99	
F ¹		4.85**		#		#		#		2.35	

¹For this table F must reach 3.91 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.67 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

not in support of the hypotheses that were tested in these analyses, certain discrepancies and the lack of trends may possibly be explained.

Inasmuch as the Participation Index was included in the status index and there is, therefore, a significant relationship between the two, it would seem that the extent of participation should follow somewhat more closely the findings with respect to status than has actually been the case. But in view of the tentative conclusions with respect to differences between certain organizations, as shown in Table 58, other, possibly more dynamic, factors may be involved. The lack of positive findings would seem to indicate this possibility. In other words, it may not be the extent of formal organizational participation which is important. Perhaps, more important is the extent of participation in a particular kind of organization.¹³

Unfortunately the small size of samples, when broken down into units suitable for the complex analysis suggested above, do not permit an adequate test. This hypothesis, like that suggested by the differences between open and closed organizations, must be left for more adequate testing in other research. The explanation that has been offered, however, is compatible with the tentative conclusions suggested with respect to organizational membership. It must also be specified that

¹³For example, nearly half the sample of members of fraternal organizations is composed of either active or very active participants.

the lack of findings with respect to the Participation Index may be, in part at least, a function of the index itself. That is, it may not be adequate to differentiate between real interactional patterns in a dynamic social system.

Conclusions with Respect to the Relationship of
Attitudes to Extent of Participation in Organizations

When the findings of this research into the possible relationship between the extent of participation in organizational programs is summarized there are few positive conclusions that may be stated with confidence.

1. Church activity appears to be related to some degree to attitudes toward all three minorities. The active church members are consistently more tolerant than the non-active. This, however, may be due to status differences. Only for the high status group does the conclusion appear to be warranted when the status index is held constant.
2. The status index continues to differentiate between groups regardless of the extent of church activity.
3. Participation in formal organizations other than the church does not appear to be related to differences in attitudes toward minority groups. This is clearly true for farmers. There are differences for non-farm groups, but these differences are not great, nor are they consistent.
4. The lack of findings with respect to participation in non-church organizations may be due to the lack of sensitivity of the index which was used. It is also possible that the

dynamic factor of participation in particular organizations may account for the lack of clear-cut findings. That is, in terms of the dynamics of particular organizational patterns we cannot predict, on the basis of the research, the direction of attitudes for specific organizations.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Summary and Conclusions

This thesis has lead through a long, involved and sometimes tedious discussion of empirical data and statistical manipulations. This mass of analysis has, from time to time, obscured the major problem of this research. Moreover, in most cases the content meaning of specific attitude items was ignored. It is probable that a treatment of the same data in terms of the content of the questions used to measure sentiments toward minority groups would prove fruitful. Such an analysis, however, is beyond the immediate scope of this thesis. Here attention has been directed to the possibility of a total cultural pattern of which attitudes toward minority groups are a part. The major hypothesis has been that within such a total cultural pattern there are distinguishably different sub-cultural patterns which are related to the social structure of the sample. Hence, consideration has been directed to the number and limits of statistical differences between groups of respondents and the general trends, without reference to the significance of the content of the questions for which such differences occurred.

The single, most striking result has been that obtained from the analysis of variables which have been assumed to be important indicators of social status in a system of vertical social mobility. When such variables were analyzed the findings

made a consistent pattern. It is true that for some of the status variables the findings were more explicit and definite, in terms of statistical evidence, than for other status variables. But the direction of the evidence remains, on the whole, the same. As evidence is added, in chapter after chapter, it becomes impressive. For it must be remembered that these status variables were assumed to be only rough indices of actual social status in a dynamic system of social mobility. Hence, it was not expected that the hypothesis would be wholly and overwhelmingly supported by any one variable. The important result, however, is that the analysis of all of these variables, when one is compared with another, supports the major hypothesis of this research: namely, that within a total pattern of sentiments and beliefs about certain minority groups manifested by people of the rural midwest, there are distinguishably different sub-cultural patterns which are associated with different positions in the social structure.

A further finding, which supports the hypothesis of sub-cultural differences within a general cultural pattern of beliefs and sentiments manifested toward Jews, Negroes, and Mexicans, is that of the sharp differences between farm and non-farm respondents in the sample. This, for reasons that have been discussed, is not treated as a status difference.

The differences between farm and non-farm respondents accord with observation of the social processes occurring not only in Maple County but throughout the rural midwest. Within

an emerging system of industrialization of the farm economy there appears to remain, at the present time, a considerable farm identification with traditions and sentiments associated with the older and disappearing farm-folk economy. Such identification is shown by the resulting differences in attitudes toward minority groups. Insofar as farmers still consider themselves members of an in-group, we might expect and predict that their attitudes toward any minority would be less tolerant than that of non-farmers. The latter may share less of an in-group identification and, hence, may have a somewhat more rational rather than traditional orientation in attitude and action with reference to minority groups.

On the other hand, analysis of both the social status index and the respondent's self-evaluation of social class indicates that there is some tendency for the status variables to operate within the farming system. For all groups within the system, however, the level of prejudice tends to be greater than for equivalent groups of non-farmers. These findings support the statement that an emerging system of social stratification, with concomitant changes in systems of sentiments held by sub-groups within the system, is apparent in the farm economy. But it is also true, at the present time, that this emerging system is still differentiated from the non-farming system in many ways, including beliefs and sentiments manifested toward minority groups.

The two findings just described in the above paragraphs

represent the major conclusions and support the major hypothesis of this thesis. Analysis of other variables of social structure yielded generally negative results. There were differences on specific questions but in comparison to the status variables and the farm and non-farm analysis the results are not impressive.¹

The status variables and the farm and non-farm parts of the sample are necessarily static attributes which in actuality operate within a dynamic social system. Hence, the analysis that has been made does not reveal the dynamic factors that may be operating in relationship to the patterns of beliefs and sentiments which have been shown. Some attempt was made to do so through the analysis of organizational membership, church activity, and residence. While such analyses sometimes revealed certain differences, the direction of such differences, where they occurred do not fit into a consistent framework of explanation. On the other hand, to offer purely empirical explanations for discrete empirical findings or to "let the facts speak for themselves" is to walk into the trap described by A. N. Whitehead as "the fallacy of misplaced concreteness." Hence, these findings, where they occurred, were

¹Tables S, T, and U in Appendix H give a summary of the statistically significant differences in response to the attitude items and the various prejudice scores in terms of the major analyses which have been presented in this thesis. The first page of each table gives the results from the analysis of the status variables and the farm and non-farm groups. The second page shows the results from the analysis of all other variables. The differences are clear.

treated conservatively.

Both in terms of theory and the implications of some of the data of this thesis it would seem probable that the kind and extent of participation in sub-systems within a total social system are of great importance to the development, maintenance, and change of sub-cultural patterns of sentiments within the total cultural pattern. This thesis offers little in support of this hypothesis and, in fact, the proof lies somewhat beyond the scope of the immediate research problem. Some of the findings, however, with respect to church activity, membership in certain organizations, and residence have important implications for future research into the dynamics of sentiment formation and manifestation within a social system. There is some evidence, though not great, that something other than the status or farm and non-farm differences is involved.²

But the lack of sufficient data for the dynamic analysis

²For example, Johnstown residents tend to be more prejudiced than residents of other areas. They are not greatly different, however from residents of rural areas. The difference is between residents of Brownsville and Adams. On a status index, however, Johnstown residents rank higher than residents of other areas. Again, for the high status group active church membership appears to be related to a greater degree of tolerance than that manifested by less active church members. This finding does not hold for the low status group, and only partially for the medium status group. But it is suggestive that it should hold for the high status group. Likewise, the Polish-Americans tend to have lower status than the Older Americans but are remarkably like them with respect to attitudes toward Jews. On the other hand, they tend to be somewhat less tolerant of Negroes. The difference does not appear to be one which is wholly associated with status, else it would appear for both Jews and Negroes.

of the relationship of social structure to attitudes toward minorities does not mitigate the findings which have emerged. Moreover, there is some evidence to support dynamic concepts of the formation and operation of the mechanism of prejudice. The so-called "security-deprivation" and "competition" hypotheses have been examined at the same time that the hypothesis of cultural differentiation in terms of social status was tested. These hypotheses have been most frequently applied to the development and organization of prejudice within the individual. But they may also be used, as here, to apply to the component parts of a social system.

The direction of prejudice on the status variables supports the "security-deprivation" hypothesis, although only in terms of the instrument. While the instrument has been shown to be capable of differentiating between sentiment patterns, it should not be inferred that it may be used without question to test other dynamic hypotheses with respect to the operation of prejudice within action systems. This problem is related to the content of the attitude items as well as to the larger question of the difference between what people say and what people do. The former is an indication of underlying patterns of sentiments. The latter is also related to sentiment patterns but at a different reality level.

Nevertheless, insofar as the items used in the research instrument may uncover tendencies to action, the evidence of this research supports the "security-deprivation" hypothesis.

That is, higher status groups tend to be more tolerant than lower, and presumably, deprived status groups. Again the evidence was not necessarily conclusive for a particular status variable but increased as status variable after status variable was compared. This was particularly true for attitudes toward Jews.

On the other hand, and again in view of the limitations of the measuring instrument, the "competition" hypothesis did not apply to attitudes toward Jews. It may be true that Jews are not regarded as competitors by upper status groups in this sample. It is true that there are few Jewish residents of the sample area. However, insofar as the questions about Jews constitute a test of the "competition" hypothesis there is little support for it from the evidence of this research. With respect to Negroes and Mexicans the results of the analysis support the "competition" hypothesis as well as the "security-deprivation" hypothesis, since prediction, in terms of either hypothesis, is the same.

Still another conclusion appears to be warranted from an overall consideration of the data. The phenomena of prejudice or ethnic hostility has been variously treated as a unitary phenomenon and also as a series of discrete phenomena. Ethnic hostility as a function of severe personal adjustment problems is frequently treated as a pervasive psychological disorder by psychologists. On the other hand, among both psychologists and sociologists it is sometimes argued that prejudice is specific

to groups and to the operating situational factors. There is, of course, the probability that research in both directions is not inconsistent but awaits a more comprehensive theoretical treatment of social systems, sentiment patterns, and the relationship of individual and social action systems.

The findings of this research indicate that there is a broad and pervasive cultural pattern of sentiments which is manifested toward Jews, Negroes, and Mexicans. Within this cultural pattern, however, there are sub-cultural patterns which are similar to the total pattern but which, frequently, differ in degree of intensity of sentiments from each other. This has been demonstrated to a considerable extent with respect to attitudes toward Jews. Even here, when the attitude items are examined separately, there appear to be differences in the extent to which there are sharp sub-cultural differences. The most striking example is that of the question which states that "In most everything they do Jews try to push ahead of everybody else." At no point in this analysis has this question revealed significant differences among groups. From that point of view it has proved of little use. But it does show the broad, pervasive nature of one kind of attitude manifested toward Jews.

On the other hand, differences between groups with respect to attitudes toward Negroes have been less distinct than that of attitudes toward Jews. That is, there appears to be a more pervasive pattern of sentiments which operate with respect to Negroes than that for Jews. The same thing holds true to a

greater degree for attitudes toward Mexicans. For this group, which is visible to an even lesser extent than Negroes and Jews in Maple County, there are still fewer differences in sub-cultural sentiment patterns.

These findings may be a function of the instrument. That is, the questions about Jews may be more effective differentiating devices than questions about the other minorities. However, for the educational variable, at least, this does not prove to be the case. There are many differences on nearly all questions when this variable was analyzed. Hence, we cannot assume that the differences are caused solely by the inequalities of the measuring device.

The principal conclusion that the data appear to warrant is that attitudes toward all three minorities are, in terms of the total cultural pattern, unfavorable. This unfavorable pattern is most clear with respect to attitudes toward Mexicans and, to a somewhat lesser degree, with respect to attitudes toward Negroes. For these minorities, particularly Mexicans, there are less frequent deviations from the general pervasive pattern of sentiments which operates within the total culture of this rural midwestern area. For Jews, there is greater deviation and differentiation into sub-cultural patterns which operate within the framework of the total cultural pattern, although this pattern cannot be called a highly favorable one at most points.

The general conclusions of this research, which follow from

the analysis of the separate empirical findings for the many variables which have been studied, may now be summarized.

I. The major hypothesis that, within a total cultural pattern of sentiments manifested toward certain minority groups there are significantly different sub-cultural patterns which are associated with different positions in the social structure, must be modified for this sample of midwestern rural respondents in the following manner:

- A. Those variables of social structure that cut across the system of vertical social mobility, such as age, sex, and organizational membership, do not appear to be significantly related to differences in attitudes toward minorities.
- B. Those variables of social structure which are related to the system of vertical social mobility, such as education, occupation, and a constructed index of social status, appear to be significantly related to the attitudes which rural people manifest toward the minority groups tested in this research. That is, there are significantly different sub-cultural patterns of sentiments which are related to broadly different strata of a system of higher and lower social statuses.
- C. In a rural area sub-cultural differences between farm and non-farm groups are indicated by differences in the patterns of sentiments which are manifested toward

the minority groups tested in this research.

D. The major hypothesis of this research, therefore, has been supported with respect to two clear-cut structural characteristics, but has not been supported with respect to a variety of other structural characteristics.

II. There is a little evidence, which may be stated only as a tentative implication, that the manifestation of sentiments toward minority groups is a function of the dynamic interaction that takes place within sub-systems of the total social system. The findings with respect to church activity, organizational membership, and residence may support this implication but are not sufficiently explored in this thesis to state conclusively.

III. There is some evidence, although it must be carefully interpreted in the light of the operations of this research, that lower status groups, which are assumed to be less "secure" and, perhaps, more "deprived", are, because of deprivation in terms of the goods available to the social system as a whole, more prejudiced toward minority groups than are higher status groups. For lower status groups this may also be due to competition for less available goods within the system. For higher status groups, however, the extent of hypothetical competition for the goods of the social system does not appear to be related to attitudes toward minorities.

IV. On the basis of data for the three minority groups used in this study (Jews, Negroes, and Mexicans) the conclusion appears to be justified that there is a broad pervasive pattern of sentiments which is manifested toward all minority groups. This pattern is generally unfavorable. Moreover, the differences in it that have been shown to have structural relationship to the social system are not as great for some groups as for others. Specifically, the pattern of sentiments toward Jews is more greatly differentiated into significantly different sub-cultural patterns than is the pattern of sentiments toward Negroes. Most similar to the total unfavorable pattern of sentiments toward minorities is that of Mexicans. Attitudes toward this group are least subject to differentiation into sub-cultural patterns by the methods used in this research.

The Implications of This Research

There are two kinds of implications which stem from this research. One is that pertaining to further research. The other is that which pertains to action programs for those interested in increasing favorable relationships among all groups.

The first set of implications has been indicated at several points throughout the discussion of this thesis. There is, as in most research, the need to test the conclusions resulting from this study by others of a similar nature. In the social

sciences the problem of defining the vast areas of research which are available has been so important that we frequently ignore the possibility that our research design may sometimes be inadequate and inaccurate. Only by carefully duplicated experiments and observation is it possible to check and more significantly interpret both supporting and contradictory findings of previous research. The conclusions that have been arrived at here are primarily for the purpose of furnishing significant guideposts to be checked, and perhaps substantially altered, as we utilize more precise devices to measure the outcomes of our investigations.

In addition to this general affirmation of the scientific method, however, there are a number of other implications. This research has pointed to the fact that there are differences in attitudes toward minorities which are related to social position in a system of vertical social mobility. The sample has been limited to a rural midwestern area. What similarities and differences in the findings for other regions and for urban localities can be shown? The theory of social class, which in terms of present research is primarily a descriptive theory of cultural strata, would imply that there are systems of sentiments which are associated with various strata of a vertically mobile society. The present research has indicated that there appears to be some application of this principle to the sentiments which are manifested toward certain traditional minorities. But other research is necessary to

determine if this is a phenomenon of something which is inadequately described as the American culture, or if the systems of sentiments, including those manifested toward minorities, are related in different ways and in different directions to the social strata of particular systems of interaction within the American society.

From the writer's point of view the most important implication is that of the dynamics of sentiment formation, manifestation, maintenance, and change. Research into this area should throw considerable light both upon the relationship of status to the manifestation of sentiments toward minorities in other social systems, and the way that interaction in particular sub-systems of a total social system modify the manifestation of sentiments by social actors in a highly mobile society.

The implications for people anxious to modify attitudes toward minorities and to improve the relationships existing between all people in this country must be stated cautiously. Nothing would be easier than to examine the data on education and conclude that what is needed most is a program of education. Certainly, the extent of formal education is clearly associated with the extent of tolerance manifested toward minorities. But it must be remembered that education was selected as an index of social status and the findings must be interpreted in terms of a system of higher and lower social statuses.

This is not to say that education itself is of no importance.

There is certainly some reason to suspect that in addition to the status factor the educational factor per se has something to do with the expression of prejudice. But there is no evidence that the schools in the midwest have concentrated to any extent on programs of tolerance. Where they have, the effects of such programs have still to be correctly assessed. The findings with respect to college programs, as was pointed out earlier, do not indicate a clear-cut relationship between content and result.

The important implications for program planning seem to be less promising. Insofar as an adequate sample of the midwest was obtained, persons interested in action programs should be aware of the general climate of opinion which prevails. There is little comfort to be taken in the overall pattern of sentiments which is expressed toward minority groups. The midwest is not a towering bulwark of democracy ready to express all the implications of the American creed. This is all the more reason that the opinions which may represent this vast important area should not be overlooked. The implication is that programs are needed in the corn belt as much, and perhaps more, than in the cities.

What kinds of programs are needed is a question which cannot be answered here. There is an implication, however, that broad overall programs are not the answer. If there are relationships between the manifestation of sentiments toward minorities and position in the social structure, it is implicit that the pro-

blem of changing these sentiments must be attacked in different ways. If there are cultural differences between upper and lower status people, of which the manifestation of sentiments toward minorities is only one aspect, then it is axiomatic that programs aimed at these groups must differ in terms of the cultural characteristics of these groups. The same principle holds for farm and non-farm groups.

On the other hand this research has shown that there are certain structural aspects which do not appear to be important for programs in the midwest. Age, sex, and ethnic differences are, in general, not important. But organizational membership, despite the limited findings of this research, may be.

Finally, it seems clear that the implications of the present study for research are many. They are much less extensive for action programs. Programs designed for the midwest should be developed with an awareness of the sentiments which now prevail there. Moreover, such programs should take into account the differences in the social structure and the probable differential levels of receptivity which operate in the social systems for which the programs are designed.

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APPENDIX A

SELECTION OF THE SAMPLE REGION

The selection of the community area to be studied was determined to a large extent by the general characteristics which, on a priori grounds, were conceived of as most desirable for the general purposes of this research. The first two limitations placed on the selection were that the community be midwestern and rural. Following the Department of Agriculture's classification of agricultural regions, the rural midwest was defined as the cornbelt area. The counties in the cornbelt are further classified as grain, livestock, and mixed grain and livestock. On the assumption that a county in which there was a variety of market contacts would more nearly approximate a typical pattern in the rural midwest than one in which there was a concentration on one type of farm-market relationship, the selection was limited to the mixed grain and livestock counties.

To insure that the area was typically rural, all counties that were within a fifty mile radius of cities of one million or more, forty mile radius of cities of 400,000 but less than one million, thirty mile radius of cities of 150,000 but less than 400,000, and a twenty mile radius of cities of 100,000 but less than 150,000 were eliminated. For the same reason it was assumed that a community that was too far from a major center of population was hardly typical of the rural midwest. All counties that were more than a one day trip - defined as 125 miles - to a major city were, therefore, eliminated.

The limitations of the budget and time made it necessary

to select a community of manageable size not too distant from the research headquarters. For this reason the cornbelt counties in Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, Minnesota, and western Iowa were eliminated.

A typical county was also envisaged as one wherein the county seat was the center of activities for a considerable portion of the county. Related to this was the elimination of those counties in which there were cities of such size that they made up a major portion of the total population of the county, and, hence, tended to dominate the county-community. Likewise, counties which contained cities as large or larger than the county seat were eliminated.

Since the primary interest was in what may be called a rural county seat community, it was necessary to select a community which was neither exclusively farm nor extensively non-farm. To prevent this those counties which were in either the first or last quartile with regard to the per cent of employed workers engaged in agriculture were not considered typical. In the same way those counties that were in the first or fourth quartile with regard to the index of rural level of living, as computed by the Department of Agriculture, were considered too far from the norm to be typical of cornbelt, rural, county seat communities.

There were twenty-seven counties in the midwest which met the criteria already indicated. This list was further reduced by selecting the thirteen counties nearest the median in pop-

ulation, proportion of workers engaged in agriculture, and index of rural level of living. These were carefully studied with regard to national origins, size and type of traditional minorities, and nature of the trade center community areas. Six counties in widely separated geographic areas were most typical of cornbelt counties in respect to these factors. From this group the county most accessible to the research center was selected as the scene of study. This county, which for purposes of anonymity is called Maple County, MidState, is located within a trapezoid whose four corners are Chicago, Detroit, Columbus, and Indianapolis.

APPENDIX B

THE SCHEDULE AND RELIABILITY DATA

The following interview schedule is that which was constructed for the total research project, of which this thesis has been only one part. It includes all of the items used for the interview and, therefore, many which do not properly fall within the sphere of the research problem reported here.

In order to obtain an approximation of the reliability of the attitude items used in this research, a sample population of 167 college students taking courses in Social Science and Social Psychology at Michigan State College was selected for a test-retest experiment. The conditions of the experiment did not wholly approximate the research situation because responses were made by groups of students in regular college classes to attitude questions presented in the form of a paper and pencil opinion schedule. The college population itself, drawn from many areas of Michigan and from many kinds of social settings, does not approximate the sample population discussed in this research. The only claim that may be made is that, insofar as the questions are reliable, they should produce somewhat equivalent retest responses to those that might be obtained if it had been possible to use a population and method equivalent to that of the research.

The questions were presented at the beginning and end of a two week interval. All classes received uniform instructions. No discussion in class was permitted until after the second administration of the questions.

Table A shows the percentage of students who made no

TABLE A

TEST RE-TEST PERFORMANCE OF COLLEGE STUDENTS
ON STRUCTURED ATTITUDE QUESTIONS

<u>Jewish Items</u>	<u>Total Number</u>	<u>Unchanged No. Per Cent</u>	<u>Per Cent of Maximum Disagreement</u>	<u>Net Dif- ference in Means</u>
The trouble with most Jews is that they think they're better than other people.	161	114 70.81	8.70	.07
In must everything they do, Jews try to push ahead of everybody else.	160	97 60.63	13.13	.16
We should see to it that not too many Jews become doctors, lawyers, or teachers.	161	114 70.81	8.23	.14
Americans must be on guard against the Jews getting too much power.	161	105 65.22	11.18	.11
We would all be better off if we shipped the Jews back to Palestine.	159	104 65.41	11.64	.09
The Jewish people are just as honest, and warm and friendly as other people.	165	125 75.76	14.55	.04
It is all right with me if more Jewish people move in- to my neighborhood.	164	109 66.46	21.95	.07
<u>Negro Items</u>				
Generally speaking, Negroes are lazy and ignorant.	164	110 67.07	9.76	.01
It is a good idea to keep Negroes out of white neighborhoods.	164	114 69.51	8.99	.08
Negroes should be encouraged to vote in all elections that whites vote in.	165	115 69.70	11.67	.05

TABLE A (CONTINUED)

TEST RE-TEST PERFORMANCE OF COLLEGE STUDENTS
ON STRUCTURED ATTITUDE QUESTIONS

<u>Negro Items (Continued)</u>	<u>Total Number</u>	<u>Unchanged No. Per Cent</u>	<u>Per Cent of Maximum Disagreement</u>	<u>Net Dif- ference in Means</u>
The trouble with Negroes with higher education is that they think they know too much.	164	120 73.17	7.93	.10
The white and Negro people would get along better if they both ate in the same restaurants.	166	113 68.07	17.77	.14
It would make no difference to me if I took a job where I had to take orders from a Negro.	163	107 65.64	23.93	.10
<u>Mexican Items</u>				
Mexicans should be permitted to become citizens and vote the same as anybody else.	159	100 62.89	12.58	.07
It is a good idea to keep Mexicans from moving into white neighborhoods.	157	96 61.15	13.85	.06
If more Mexicans want to come to MidState, they should be allowed to enter.	163	112 68.71	16.26	.09
Mexicans should be allowed to eat in the same restaurants with white people.	154	102 66.23	21.75	.01

change in their responses when the test was administered a second time, the actual difference in sample means for the population as a whole, and the per cent of maximum disagreement¹ which occurred during the experiment.

While this table can give only an approximation to the reliability of the questions, the evidence of the percentage of unchanged responses would seem to indicate that they are of fairly high reliability. This percentage varies from sixty to seventy-five per cent for the various questions and indicates considerable stability in individual cases.

¹Maximum disagreement was arbitrarily based on the assumption that any respondent could change as much as four or two scale steps (depending on the scale used for a particular item) during the experiment. Thus, the base for any five-point scale item was four times the number of students who responded to both administrations of the item. This figure was then divided by the sum of the actual discrepancies (that is, the number of scale points the respondents moved away from perfect agreement) to obtain the per cent of maximum disagreement. The three-point scale items necessarily have larger percentages of maximum disagreement than the five-point scale items, even when the percentage of unchanged responses remains the same, because the smaller scale reduces the amount of possible disagreement, and, hence, increases the percentage of maximum disagreement. The method used to obtain the maximum disagreement score is not wholly accurate. It would be more accurate to base maximum disagreement on the actual frequency distribution of each of the questions. If this were done it would either lower or raise the amount of maximum disagreement. However, as used, the maximum disagreement calculation gives some rough indication of reliability by showing some indication of the changes taking place in the individual responses to the various items. A Personian r could not be used to obtain the more usual reliability coefficients because the distributions for these college students were extremely skewed and, hence, an r based on the assumption of a normal population did not appear to be justifiable.

For the purposes of this research, however, the most important indicator of reliability is that of the small differences in pre- and post-test means. These range from .01 to .16 for the various questions and would seem to indicate that the manifestation of sentiments by means of this instrument is of considerable reliability for groups. That is, if the sample of students is an adequate indicator, the results of the Maple County study would be much the same if it were practically possible to retest the respondents in the original sample at an approximately similar point in time.

The results obtained by use of the maximum disagreement score are also suggestive but are of lesser importance than the other findings because of the limitations of the method.

ICHIGAN
STATE
COLLEGE
5/5/49

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

SOCIAL
RESEARCH
SERVICE
M.G.Comm.

1-3. Schedule Number _____

DON'T ASK QUESTIONS 1 and 2 but RECORD.

4. Is respondent male or female?

Male _____ 1
Female _____ 2

5. Where does respondent live?

(Give township, locality, section, and road or street number.)

Township _____ or Town _____

Locality No. _____

Section and Road _____

or

Street and number _____

BEGIN HERE

(Interviewer: Put your name in the space below.) _____

6. I am _____ from the Social Research Service of Michigan State College and I would like to have some time to talk to you about our community. We are making a survey of selected neighborhoods in ~~Maple~~ ^{Maple} County to gain an understanding of the organization of a typical rural midwestern community and to learn what you people think about certain groups. Such knowledge is important for us to understand places like this.

In the first group of questions we want to know something about the towns you go to. (If in town: About where you go down town.)

First I would like to know:

7. Where (do) you do most of your trading?

(ASK RESIDENTS of towns: Do you do most of your trading here?)

Johnstown _____ 1
Brownsdale _____ 2
Adams _____ 3
Edgerton _____ 4
Other, indicate _____ 5

8. On the average about how often do you go to this town?

(ASK TOWN RESIDENTS: On the.....do you go down town?)

Daily or more than once a day _____ 1
Once a week or more but less than daily _____ 2
Once a month or more but less than weekly _____ 3
Less than once a month _____ 4

9. Where do you nearly always go when you go there? _____

10. IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT LIVE IN TOWN ASK: Who from there comes to see you?
How often?

Name

Frequency _____

11. On the average about how often do you go to Johnstown?
If resident of Johnstown ASK: On the ... you do down town?

Daily or more than once a day _____ 1

Once a week or more but less than daily _____ 2

Once a month or more but less than weekly _____ 3

Less than once a month _____ 4

Never, practically _____ 5

12. Where do you nearly always go when you go there? _____

13. IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT LIVE IN Johnstown ASK:
Who from there comes to see you? How often?

Name

Frequency _____

14. How many times in the last year have you gone to Detroit, Chicago, Fort Wayne,
 , or any other large city like that?

1 - 2 _____ 1

3 - 4 _____ 2

5 - 6 _____ 3

7 - 8 _____ 4

9 - 10 _____ 5

11 - 15 _____ 6

16 - 20 _____ 7

More than 20 _____ 8

None _____ 0

15. Are you married?

Yes _____ 1

No _____ 2

16. Do you have children? How many? (Circle correct number.)

One _____ 1
Two _____ 2
Three _____ 3
Four _____ 4
Five _____ 5
Six _____ 6
Seven or more _____ 7
None _____ 0

If yes to 16 ask:

Do any go to school: If yes, where do they go?

What is (are) the name(s) of the child(ren) in school?

What grade is each in?

Name of School	Name of Child	Grade

17. How long have you lived here? (your present residence)

Less than 2 years _____ 1
2 to 4 years _____ 2
5 - 9 years _____ 3
10 14 years _____ 4
15 years to life _____ 5

18. (If less than 15 years) How many times have you moved since 1935?

Once _____ 1
Twice _____ 2
Three times _____ 3
Four times _____ 4
Five " _____ 5
Six " _____ 6
Seven or more _____ 7
None _____ 0

19. Where did you grow up (for the most part)?

How large a place was it?

Name of place _____
State _____
Size _____

19 _____

20. Where did your wife (or husband) grow up?

Name of place _____
State _____
Size _____

20 _____

21. Were either of your parents born in a foreign country?

Yes, both _____ 1
Yes, Father _____ 2
Yes, Mother _____ 3
Neither _____ 4

22-23. What do you (or your husband) do for a living? Do you (or husband) have any other means of making a living? Do you (or wife) work away from home? If yes, what do(es) you (she) do?

	1st Occupation	2nd Occupation	
Man			22 _____
Woman			23 _____

24-25. (IF NEITHER FARMER OR FARM LABORER) Where do you (and/or your husband) work?
 1. Husband - Employer _____ Place _____
 2. Wife - Employer _____ Place _____

24a. (IF A FARM LABORER) Is the person you work for a relative of yours?
 Father _____ 1
 Other relative _____ 2
 No relation _____ 3
 No response _____ 0

26. (IF NOT A FARMER) How many times in the last 15 years have you (or has your husband) changed type of work? (Get data for man only)
 Once _____ 1
 Twice _____ 2
 Three times _____ 3
 Four " _____ 4
 Five " _____ 5
 Six " _____ 6
 Seven or more _____ 7
 None _____ 0

26a. (IF FARMER ask Questions 26a-31. IF NOT A FARMER go on to Question 32) Have you (or has your husband) done any other type of work in the last 15 years? If yes, how many other types of work have you (or has he) done?
 No _____ 0
 One _____ 1
 Two _____ 2
 Three _____ 3
 Four _____ 4
 Five or more _____ 5

27. How many acres do you (your husband) farm? _____ 27 _____

28. Do you rent or own?
 Own all _____ 1
 Rent all _____ 2
 Both _____ 3
 No response _____ 0

29. IF OWN, Is your farm clear or are you buying it?
 Clear _____ 1
 Buying _____ 2
 No response _____ 0

Do you (or your husband) and your family do all your own farm work?

If NO, How much full time and part-time help do you have? Yes _____ 1
 One hand in busy season _____ 2
 Several in busy season _____ 3
 One hand full time _____ 4
 One hand full time and extra help in busy season _____ 5
 Two full time men _____ 6
 More than two full time men _____ 7

If you were to compare your farm operations to those of other farmers in this County would you consider yours to be larger than average, average, or smaller than average?

Larger than average _____ 1
 Average _____ 2
 Smaller than average _____ 3
 No opinion _____ 4
 No response _____ 0

NOW I WOULD like to ask you a few questions about the organizations around here. First about the church.

2-33. Would you mind telling me what religion you (and your husband or wife) consider yourself? If protestant, what denomination? 32-Man 33-Woman

1. Catholic	_____	_____	1
2. Methodist Episcopal	_____	_____	2
3. Evangelical United Brethren	_____	_____	3
4. Baptist	_____	_____	4
5. Presbyterian, Episcopal	_____	_____	5
6. Rural Inter-Denominational	_____	_____	6
7. Free Methodist or Wesleyan	_____	_____	7
8. Holiness and related Sects (such as Church of Christ, Assembly of God, Mission Tabernacle, Church of God)	_____	_____	8
9. Congregational	_____	_____	9
x. Adventist	_____	_____	x
y. Other, name _____	_____	_____	y
0. None	_____	_____	0

34-35. What church were you (or spouse) brought up in?

	<u>34-Man</u>	<u>35-Woman</u>	
1. Catholic	_____	_____	1
2. Methodist Episcopal	_____	_____	2
3. Evangelical or United Brethren	_____	_____	3
4. Baptist	_____	_____	4
5. Presbyterian, Episcopal	_____	_____	5
6. Anabaptist (Amish, Mennonite, Church of the Brethren, ie., Dunkard)	_____	_____	6
7. Free Methodist or Wesleyan	_____	_____	7
8. Holiness and related Sects (such as Church of Christ, Assembly of God, Mission Tabernacle, Church of God)	_____	_____	8
9. Congregational or Christian	_____	_____	9
x. Adventist	_____	_____	x
y. Other, name _____	_____	_____	y
0. None	_____	_____	0

36-37. (If either spouse, or both, has any religious connections as indicated in 32) WHAT PART DO YOU TAKE IN CHURCH? 36-Man 37-Woman

- | | | | |
|---|-------|-------|---|
| 1. Belong because he feels obliged to support | _____ | _____ | 1 |
| 2. Supports church, but does not attend | _____ | _____ | 2 |
| 3. Belong and attend occasionally but not active | _____ | _____ | 3 |
| 4. Attend regularly, but not a member | _____ | _____ | 4 |
| 5. Active member, attend regularly, but <u>not</u> one who has official duties in church. | _____ | _____ | 5 |
| 6. Active member, attends regularly, and usually has some official position in church. | _____ | _____ | 6 |
| 7. Minister | _____ | _____ | 7 |
| 8. None (as in 32) | _____ | _____ | 0 |

38-39. (If either spouse has a church contact ASK) About how often have you gone to church in the last 6 months? (Multiple attendance on a Sunday same as single attendance). 38-Man 39-Woman

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------|-------|---|
| 1. Every Sunday or more than 80% | _____ | _____ | 1 |
| 2. More than half but less than 80% | _____ | _____ | 2 |
| 3. Less than half but more than 20% | _____ | _____ | 3 |
| 4. Once or twice - less than 20% | _____ | _____ | 4 |
| 0. None | _____ | _____ | 0 |

40-41. (If religious identification is given) Where do you people go to church?

- | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|----------|
| <u>40-Man</u> | <u>41-Woman</u> | |
| 1. Don't go | 1. Don't go | 40 _____ |
| 2. _____ | 2. _____ | 41 _____ |

NOW I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW ABOUT SOME OF THE WELL KNOWN PEOPLE
IN ~~MAPLE~~ COUNTY.

42. Who would you say are the important people in this county? (Full Name)	43. Why is he (each) important?	44. How many times have you talked with him in the last year?
1. _____	_____	42 _____
2. _____	_____	43 _____
3. _____	_____	44 _____
4. _____	_____	

45. Who are the important people in this locality (neighborhood). (Full name) Any others?	46. Why do folks think this person is important?
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____
4. _____	_____

47-52. Ask these questions for both husband and wife if respondent is married. Repeat 48-52 for each organization. When asking 47 probe to get them by asking "Any farm organizations? Any Lodges? Any Service Clubs? Local clubs?" For 48-50 probe with "Are you active or not?", "Do you hold office?"

47. BESIDES THE CHURCH, WHAT ORGANIZATIONS DO YOU BELONG TO? (Your husband or wife)	48-50 WHAT PART DO YOU TAKE IN THIS?			51. WHAT PROPORTION OF THE MEETINGS HAVE YOU ATTENDED IN LAST YEAR?	52. WHERE DOES THIS MEET? (Place)
	Belong but not very active	Active member but not one who holds office regularly	Quite active and generally have some official position		
<u>Men's Organizations</u>					
1. Farm Bureau					
2. Grange					
3. Rural Youth					
4. Mason					
5. Oddfellows					
6. Elks					
7. Lion's Club					
8. Rotary					
9. Kiwanis					
10. Chamber of Commerce					
11. P.T.A.					
12. Community Club					
13. American Legion					
14. Labor Union					
15. Men's Church group					
16. Other (name)					
53. <u>Women's Organizations</u>		54-56		57	58
1. Farm Bureau Women					
2. Grange					
3. Rural Youth					
4. Eastern Star					
5. Rebeccas					
6. Home Extension Club					
7. P.T.A.					
8. Community Club					
9. W.C.T.U.					
10. Labor Union					
11. Child Study Club					
12. Legion Auxiliary					
13. Ladies' Aid or Missionary Society					
14. Bridge or other similar Club					
15. Sewing or other similar club					
16. Other (name)					

59. Supposing you had the time are there any other organizations in the county that you would like to join if you were invited?
1. No 59 _____
2. If Yes, which one? _____
60. If for some reason you could be in only one organization, which of the ones you belong to now would you least want to give up? (If church is given, ASK any other) 60 _____
61. What kinds of people are there around here that you would not want in this organization?
1. Would want them all in 61 _____
2. _____
62. Why wouldn't you want them in? 62 _____
63. Of all the organizations in the county which ones do you think are most important, that is, have the most influence in the community? 63 _____
- 64-65. What organizations are there in the county that you would not join even if you had the time?
1. _____ 64 _____
2. _____ 65 _____
- 66-67. Why wouldn't you join it?
1st organization _____ 66 _____
2nd organization _____ 67 _____

Some of the important relationships between people are the very informal ones which we often do not think much about. In order to learn something about these, I would like to have you tell me some of the people you know and associate with. What you say will not be passed on to any of your friends.

People often stop in at their friends' homes, or call them on the telephone. Who around here do you (and your husband or wife) often drop in to see or call on the telephone? (Get full names.)

Man's Response

Woman's Response

- | | |
|----------|----------|
| 1. _____ | 1. _____ |
| 2. _____ | 2. _____ |
| 3. _____ | 3. _____ |
| 4. _____ | 4. _____ |

If you were having some folks in to Sunday dinner, who would you be most likely to invite outside your immediate family.

1. _____
2. _____

If there was an important question to be decided about the schools, who would be able to give the best advice about the question?

1. _____

2. _____

If a few people got together to consider who should be your Party's candidate for township supervisor, who would be most likely to be there?

1. _____

2. _____

58. By the way, what Party do you consider yourself to be a member of?

Republican	_____	1
Democratic	_____	2
Other	_____	3
Independent	_____	4
No Response	_____	0

If there was discussion about some church problem, who around here could give the best advice about it?

1. _____

2. _____

69. What kinds of people are there that this country (the U.S.) would really be better off without?

69 _____

70. Are there any kinds of people living around here that folks would just as soon not have around?

70 _____

71. What do you think should be done about such people?

71 _____

72. What kinds of people are there in the U. S. that are likely to take advantage of people like you in a business deal?

72 _____

73. Have you had any dealings with people like that? If yes, What kind?

73 _____

74. DON'T ASK OF RECENT SOUTHERN MIGRANTS.

In recent years a good many people from Kentucky and other states in the South have come to ~~Missouri~~ to live. In general, how do you feel about these people coming to ~~Missouri~~?

74 _____

75. Some people are bringing some displaced persons from Europe into the county to help with the farm work. Have you heard about it?

IF YES, Can you recall how you first heard about it?

No _____ 1
Neighbors or _____
friends _____ 2
Newspaper _____ 3
Meeting _____ 4
Church _____ 5

(Indicate) Other _____ 6

76. If 2-3- or 4 above, get name of source.

Who?

76 _____

What paper?

What meeting?

77. What do you think should be done about some displaced persons coming to ~~Missouri~~ County?

77 _____

78. Sometime ago it was reported that Some Negro families were interested in moving to ~~Missouri~~. Did you hear anything about this?

IF YES, Can you recall how you first hear about it?

No _____ 1
Neighbors or _____
friends _____ 2
Newspaper _____ 3
Meeting _____ 4
Church _____ 5

(Indicate) Other _____ 6

79. If 2-3- or 4 above, get name of source.

Who?

79 _____

What Paper?

What Meeting?

80. What do you think should have been done about this?

80 _____

81. If a Negro family was planning to move onto the farm or (if in town) into a home next door, do you think anything should be done about it or not?

No

81 _____

Don't know

If Yes, What do you think should be done?

2. If a Jewish person was trying to buy the biggest store in town do you think anything should be done about it or not?
1. No.
 2. Don't know.
 3. If Yes, What do you think should be done?

82 _____

Who around here would have good judgment about Jews, Negroes, foreigners, and such people?

1. _____
2. _____

- 83-84. 83. What organizations are there in the county that do not take in people because of their race, religion, or foreign background?

1. None
2. Don't know

84. What groups are excluded?

3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

The following question is to be repeated for each group. After asking "Have you?" for each group, ASK "What type?" and then question 89-92.

- 85-88. Have you had any type of actual contact with Jews, (Negroes), Mexicans), (Labor Union members)? IF YES, what type of contact? (Dealt with them, worked with them, lived next to, etc.)

	85	86	87	88
	Jews	Negroes	Mexicans	Labor Union members
1. Business dealings				
2. Employed them				
3. Worked for them				
4. Worked with on job				
5. Lived next to them				
6. In same organization				
7. Close friends				
8. Played with when a child				
9. Assoc. in Military Service				
x. Married into family				
y. Other (_____)				
0. No contact				

For each group with which respondent has had any contact, ASK:

- 89-92. Were your experiences with Jews, (Negroes), (Mexicans), (Labor Union members)

1. Pleasant
 2. No different than with other people
 3. Unpleasant
- (Check in correct place.)

89	90	91	92

Questions 93-113 follow.

Instructions: Hand card with statements on to Respondent. Indicate which person, if both husband and wife are present. Put a circle around 1, 2, 4, and 5 to indicate the degree of agreement or disagreement with the statement. Say: "Here is a list of statements that people have different opinions about. I would like for you to tell me what you think about each one."

Read the statement with the respondent. "First"....

1. If it wasn't for foreign-born agitators we wouldn't have so much labor trouble.

Strongly Agree	_____1
Agree	_____2
Can't decide	_____3
Disagree	_____4
Strongly Disagree	_____5
No Response	_____0

2. Refugees should be kept out of the country because they take jobs away from Americans.

Strongly Agree	_____1
Agree	_____2
Can't decide	_____3
Disagree	_____4
Strongly Disagree	_____5
No Response	_____0

3. The trouble with most Jews is that they think they are better than other people.

Strongly Agree	_____1
Agree	_____2
Can't decide	_____3
Disagree	_____4
Strongly Disagree	_____5
No Response	_____0

4. Generally speaking, Negroes are lazy and ignorant.

Strongly Agree	_____1
Agree	_____2
Can't decide	_____3
Disagree	_____4
Strongly Disagree	_____5
No Response	_____0

5. In most everything they do, Jews try to push ahead of everybody else.

Strongly Agree	_____1
Agree	_____2
Can't decide	_____3
Disagree	_____4
Strongly Disagree	_____5
No Response	_____0

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

Strongly Agree _____ 1
 Agree _____ 2
 Can't decide _____ 3
 Disagree _____ 4
 Strongly Disagree _____ 5
 No Response _____ 0

7. Most labor unions have too much power.

Strongly Agree _____ 1
 Agree _____ 2
 Can't decide _____ 3
 Disagree _____ 4
 Strongly Disagree _____ 5
 No Response _____ 0

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

Strongly Agree _____ 1
 Agree _____ 2
 Can't decide _____ 3
 Disagree _____ 4
 Strongly Disagree _____ 5
 No Response _____ 0

9. It is a good idea to keep Negroes out of white neighborhoods.

Strongly Agree _____ 1
 Agree _____ 2
 Can't decide _____ 3
 Disagree _____ 4
 Strongly Disagree _____ 5
 No Response _____ 0

10. The Communist Party should be outlawed in this country.

Strongly Agree _____ 1
 Agree _____ 2
 Can't decide _____ 3
 Disagree _____ 4
 Strongly Disagree _____ 5
 No Response _____ 0

11. Americans must be on guard against the Jews getting too much power.

Strongly Agree _____ 1
 Agree _____ 2
 Can't decide _____ 3
 Disagree _____ 4
 Strongly Disagree _____ 5
 No Response _____ 0



12. Mexicans should be permitted to become citizens and vote the same as anybody else.

Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Can't decide	3
Disagree	4
Strongly Disagree	5
No Response	0

13. Most labor unions are Communist controlled.

Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Can't decide	3
Disagree	4
Strongly Disagree	5
No Response	0

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

Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Can't decide	3
Disagree	4
Strongly Disagree	5
No Response	0

15. Negroes should be encouraged to vote in all elections that whites vote in.

Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Can't decide	3
Disagree	4
Strongly Disagree	5
No Response	0

16. It is a good idea to keep Mexicans from moving into white neighborhoods.

Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Can't decide	3
Disagree	4
Strongly Disagree	5
No Response	0

17. The trouble with Negroes who have higher education is that they think they know too much.

Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Can't decide	3
Disagree	4
Strongly Disagree	5
No Response	0

18. Most criminals are Italians or other foreigners.

Strongly agree _____ 1
 Agree _____ 2
 Can't decide _____ 3
 Disagree _____ 4
 Strongly disagree _____ 5
 No Response _____ 0

19. You should never judge a man by his race or religion.

Strongly Agree _____ 1
 Agree _____ 2
 Can't decide _____ 3
 Disagree _____ 4
 Strongly Disagree _____ 5
 No response _____ 0

20. There are two kinds of people, the weak and the strong.

Strongly agree _____ 1
 Agree _____ 2
 Can't decide _____ 3
 Disagree _____ 4
 Strongly Disagree _____ 5
 No response _____ 0

21. (Ask of non-Catholics) American must be on guard against the power of the Catholic Church?

Strongly agree _____ 1
 Agree _____ 2
 Can't decide _____ 3
 Disagree _____ 4
 Strongly disagree _____ 5
 No response _____ 0

USE CARD

Here are some more questions on which people have different opinions. You may disagree with some of these statements and you may agree with others.

If you disagree with the statement, I will mark "I Disagree".

If you are not sure or cannot quite agree with the statement, I will mark "I cannot quite agree".

If you agree completely with the statement, I will mark "I agree completely".

Questions 114-119. follow:

1. If more mexicans want to come to MidState, they should be allowed to enter.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. "It would make no difference to me if I took a job where I had to take orders from a Negro".

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

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

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

Now I would like to ask you a few more questions. (Ask for the card which the respondent has.)

120. Have you heard that the United States recently approved a \$100 million loan to the New Jewish State of Israel? (Pause) If Yes, where did you hear about it?

Haven't heard about it _____ 1
Newspapers _____ 2
Radio _____ 3
Neighbors - friends _____ 4
Other (Indicate) _____ 5

121. Do you think this was the right thing to do or the wrong thing to do?

Right thing _____ 1
Wrong thing _____ 2
Don't know _____ 3

122. Do you think it would be a good thing or a bad thing if all employers hired people without regard for their religion, nationality, or race?

Good thing 1
Bad thing 2
Don't know 3

123. What would you think about the State Legislature in Michigan passing a law which would require employers to hire people without regard for their religion, nationality, or race?

Good thing 1
Bad thing 2
Don't know 3

124. How strongly do you feel that something should be done to wipe out discrimination and prejudice against minority groups? Would you say, very strongly, fairly strongly, not so strongly, or not strongly at all?

Very strongly 1
Fairly strongly 2
Not so strongly 3
Not at all 4

NOW A FEW FINAL QUESTIONS TO GET SOME INFORMATION WE NEED ABOUT YOU.

125. What newspapers do you read rather regularly?

Johnstown 1
Brownsville 2
Adams 3
Other local 4
Larger city newspaper 5

Name of large city paper.

126. What magazines do you read more or less regularly?

126

127. (Hand card to respondent.) If you were asked to use one of these four names for your social class, which would you say you belonged in?

Middle class 1
Lower class 2
Working class 3
Upper class 4
No opinion 5

128. What was the name of the last school you attended?

About what grade did you complete there? (Encircle)

128 _____

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

In all studies of this sort we usually want to know about what income the people have so this can be used as a basis for comparison.

USE CARD.

129. In which of these brackets would you say your (family) yearly income falls?
(If farmer, add: "That is, after your farm business expenses are paid,")
(If husband and wife have separate incomes, indicate both; if single, indicate under man or woman.)

	<u>If Family</u> Check here	<u>If single man</u> Check here	<u>If single woman</u> Check here	
A. Over \$10,000	_____	_____	_____	1
B. \$5,000 - \$9,999	_____	_____	_____	2
C. \$3,000 - \$4,999	_____	_____	_____	3
D. \$2,000 - \$2,999	_____	_____	_____	4
E. \$1,000 - \$1,999	_____	_____	_____	5
F. Under \$1,000	_____	_____	_____	6

130. Did you (or your husband) happen to be in military service during either World War?

No _____ 1
World War I _____ 2
World War II _____ 3

131-132. About how old are you (and your husband or wife)?

Man _____

131 _____

Woman _____

132 _____

133. What do you and your family rather frequently do for recreation?

Dancing _____ 1
Card playing _____ 2
Movies _____ 3
Shopping _____ 4
Athletic activities _____ 5
Church Social
activities _____ 6
Visiting friends _____ 7
Reading _____ 8
Listen to radio _____ 9
Go to tavern _____ x
Other _____ y
Indicate _____
No response _____ 0

APPENDIX C

A TEST OF THE ASSUMPTION OF HOMOGENEITY OF VARIANCE

One major assumption for the analysis of variance is that the variance within groups is homogeneous. From a strict statistical approach the test of this assumption should be made before applying the F test of the analysis of variance. This was not done in this research because the presentation of the data included comparison of performance on a number of separate questions, as well as performance as measured by three separate kinds of total prejudice score; and because the discussion concentrated on trends and the ranking of sub-groups as well as utilized the findings of the F test for each of the variables presented. In other words, the analysis of variance, while considered the basic statistical tool, was supplemented by other analyses, and what was considered "proof" of any hypothesis depended on these supplemental analyses of trends and rankings as well as the analysis of variance.

However, it is still necessary to determine if the assumption of homogeneity of variance appears to be justified, even though the assumption may not be tested for all the analyses of variance which were computed in this thesis. Accordingly, it was determined to sample widely enough to provide a basis for the acceptance or rejection of the assumption of homogeneity. The three prejudice scores were selected as the basis for sampling each of the independent variables. These variables were tested in random order and with the exception of the first variable, only one prejudice score was tested.

The basis for selecting the score to be tested was that of inspection of the distributions. The variances were inspected for the three prejudice scores and that score was selected which appeared to offer the greatest amount of variance. In other words, the sample was loaded in the direction of heterogeneity of variance. This was done for the reason that the sample was limited and if, when the most variable groups were considered, there were still few significant differences, we might consider that the assumption of homogeneity of variance would hold for other items as well.

The test for homogeneity of variance that was used is that of Bartlett's. The formula which was used is given by Snedecor.¹ The results are shown in Table B. It should be pointed out that the Chi Squares shown in this table are uncorrected. Hence, they appear slightly larger than they actually are. However, none of the tests were significant at either the one or five per cent levels of probability. Hence it was not considered necessary to apply the correction formula to these Chi Squares.

Insofar as the results of this table are applicable to the total number of analyses of variance computed in this research, we may accept the assumption of homogeneity of variance. At the five per cent level of probability, for the twenty-two Chi Squares which were computed, we might expect that by chance one would be significant. However, this was not the case.

¹ Snedecor, op. cit., pp. 249-252.

TABLE B

TEST OF HOMOGENEITY OF VARIANCE

<u>Variable Tested</u>	<u>Chi Square for Jewish Prejudice Score</u>	<u>Chi Square for Negro Prejudice Score</u>	<u>Chi Square for Total Prejudice Score</u>	<u>Degrees of Freedom</u>	<u>Chi Square at 5 Per Cent Probability Level</u>
Most Active Organization	14.648	11.914	12.098	11	19.675
Religious Identification			6.844	11	19.675
Activity in Church			16.292	9	16.919
Age	4.478			9	16.919
Sex	0.800			1	3.841
Polish and Old-Americans		2.109		1	3.841
Town and Country Residence		5.409		3	7.815
Farm and Non-Farm		3.474		1	3.841
Participation Index - Farm		5.889		3	7.815
Participation Index - Non-Farm		2.689		3	7.815
Participation Index - Total			5.969	9	16.919
Education	8.959			8	15.507
Status Index - Non-Farm		1.552		5	11.070
Status Index - Farm			1.011	4	9.488
Status - Rural		3.880		4	9.488
Status - Town	1.928			4	9.488
Occupation			9.465	8	15.507
Income	4.303			6	12.592
Social Class Estimate		3.199		5	11.070

Although it is still possible that on a few of the items which were tested by analysis of variance the assumption of homogeneity is not justified, the results of this analysis indicate that we may have confidence in the applicability of the technique of analysis which has been used in this research.

APPENDIX D

THE ORIGINAL DISTRIBUTIONS
OF THE THREE PREJUDICE SCORES

The manner in which the three prejudice scores were constructed has been presented in Chapter Two. Since this method depends upon the assumption that the results of analysis of the prejudice scales is closely approximate to the results that might have been obtained if the raw data were used exclusively, the original distributions are presented herein in Table C. Inspection of these distributions indicates that this assumption has some justification. There are differences but they do not appear to be of sufficient size to unduly bias the results obtained from analysis of the prejudice scores.

In order to test further the assumption that was made when the prejudice scales were constructed, the means of the three prejudice scores were calculated from the raw data. Means were then calculated from the three prejudice scales, using the method of an assumed mean and correcting for grouped data. This calculation serves to approximate the results obtained by calculating a mean directly from the raw data. The differences between the two sets of means ranged from .05 to .07. This small difference would seem to indicate that, for the way the prejudice scales were used in this thesis, there is little difference between the results that might have been obtained if raw scores had been used and the results that were obtained when the data were grouped to form the prejudice scales.

TABLE C

THE ORIGINAL DISTRIBUTIONS OF THE
THREE PREJUDICE SCORES UPON WHICH
THE PREJUDICE SCALES ARE BASED

Jewish Prejudice Score			Negro Prejudice Score			Total Prejudice Score		
<u>Score</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>Score</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>Score</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
5	12	2.79	4	1	0.23	6	39	9.22
6	11	2.56	5	7	1.63	7	47	11.11
7	9	2.09	6	6	1.40	8	66	15.60
8	14	3.26	7	17	3.96	9	43	10.17
9	30	6.98	8	35	8.16	10	50	11.82
10	41	9.54	9	37	8.62	11	41	9.69
11	33	7.67	10	62	14.46	12	36	8.51
12	48	11.16	11	63	14.69	13	24	5.67
13	37	8.60	12	65	15.16	14	30	7.09
14	43	10.00	13	41	9.55	15	21	4.97
15	32	7.44	14	39	9.09	16	13	3.07
16	32	7.44	15	22	5.13	17	7	1.66
17	26	6.05	16	24	5.59	18	6	1.42
18	39	9.07	17	7	1.63			
19	5	1.16	18	1	0.23	423	100.00	
20	10	2.33	19	0	0.00			
21	4	0.93	20	2	0.47			
22	2	0.47						
23	1	0.23	429	100.00				
24	1	0.23						
25	0	0.00						
430	100.00							

APPENDIX E

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG VARIABLES AND THE METHOD USED
FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN INDEX OF SOCIAL STATUS

While a number of variables may be associated with social status, certain variables such as education, income, and occupation have been found to be consistently associated with social class or social status in one form or another. It is not necessary to document again the Warner studies, Middletown or the common observations set forth in many monographs of the type of Plainville, in order to accept this point. Nor does the writer wish to engage in a discussion of what social class really is or is not. For this study the assumption is made that valuation by the members of a social system of their fellow members is related to occupational position, educational level, and income. This is not, of course, a one-to-one relationship. Precisely what the relationship may be is beyond the scope of the present inquiry.

In making some of the preliminary analyses it was determined that certain of these status variables were significantly related to each other. In addition to education, income, and occupation, the self-evaluation of social class which each respondent was asked to make, and the Participation Index (see Appendix F for details of construction) were also found to be significantly related to each other and to the other variables. This was true of the non-farm portion of the sample, but much less so for farmers. The relationships shown by the corrected coefficient of contingency are given for both farm and non-farm groups in Table D.

Table D

COEFFICIENT OF CONTINGENCY SHOWING THE
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CERTAIN OF
THE STATUS VARIABLES

<u>Non-Farm</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Participation Index</u>	<u>Income</u>	<u>Self-Evaluation of Social Class</u>
Occupation	.50**	.42**	.48**	.51**
Education		.33**	.46**	.50**
Participation Index			.48**	.40**
Income				.36**
<u>Farm</u>				
Education		.45**	.29	.18
Participation Index			.41**	.28
Income				.24

**Indicates that the Chi Square is significant beyond the
one per cent level of probability.

This table indicates that, while the relationships are not necessarily high, they are not chance relationships insofar as the non-farm portion of the total sample is concerned. The lack of significant relationships between status variables for the farm sample (except for the relationship of participation to education and income) is consistent with previous observation of the county wherein it was determined that the common status indices used for urban populations in the United States do not so readily nor so easily apply to rural, especially

farm populations.

As a part of this thesis it was intended to make a full examination of the relationship of each status variable to attitudes toward minority groups. However, it was also felt that some attempt should also be made to determine if a composite index, comprising some of the status variables, was related or unrelated in the same way that the separate indices of status were related or unrelated to attitudes toward minority groups. Accordingly, a status index was devised in the following way.

Occupation, education, self-evaluation of social class, and the index of participation in organizations were used as a base. Income was not used because of the doubt that was held as to its meaningfulness for the farm portion of the sample. That is, the method of asking the respondent to state the family income appeared to be less valid for farmers because of confusion that appeared to exist with respect to the concept of net income. Although the status variables did not appear to be interrelated for the farm group to the extent that they were for the non-farm group, it was felt that the status index should be constructed in such a way that it might be used for both groups. In this way it would be possible to compare the results obtained from the analysis of the relationship of the status index for each group to attitudes toward minorities. Accordingly, the income factor was not used.

The status index for the non-farm group is as follows:

Weight Classification

- 1 Pure low (manual occupation; working or lower class estimate of social class; low participation - index of 2 or less; and low educational level - 0-8th grade education)
- 2 Low (low on three variables; high on one variable)
- 3 Medium (low on two variables; high on two variables)
- 4 High (high on three variables; low on one variable)
- 5 Pure high (white collar occupation; middle or upper class estimate of social class; high participation - index of 3 or above; and high educational level - high school graduate or above)

The education variable was not used consistently throughout the index because of the factor of size of sample. While the "pure" high and low groups are as stated, in the mixed categories a high educational level was considered to be that wherein the respondent had at least some high school education.

The status index for the farm group is substantially the same as for the non-farm group except that the variable of occupation was a constant and, therefore, was not involved. The educational level of the "pure" low group is the same as for the non-farm group. For the "pure" high group, however, because of the size of the sample, an educational attainment which included some high school attendance was considered as being a high educational level. For the other categories the educational level was the same as for the non-farm sample. The index was given the same numerical weight in each case. However, since there were only three variables for the farm

sample, there were no respondents in this sample which received a weight of three.

This index is subject to many criticisms, but it does make possible an analysis of groups within the total sample which differ strikingly in terms of the status variables. It makes it possible to hold constant a number of factors at the same time and test for the relationship of such factors, when they are considered as a unit, to attitudes toward minority groups.

In addition to the relationship between certain social status variables, which is shown in Table D, an analysis of variance was computed for a number of other indicators of position in the social structure in order to obtain some measure of the relationship between these indices and the social status index. The results are shown in Table E.

TABLE E

THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIAL STATUS
(AS MEASURED BY A CONSTRUCTED STATUS INDEX)
TO CERTAIN OTHER INDICES OF POSITION IN THE
SOCIAL STRUCTURE AS SHOWN BY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

<u>Variables</u>	<u>Total Number</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Rank</u>
<u>Age</u>			
Under 20	3	2.68	--
20-29	58	2.66	4
30-39	82	2.72	3
40-49	73	2.89	1
50-59	89	2.85	2
60-69	55	2.36	5
70-79	28	2.14	6
80 and over	6	1.33	7
Not asked	1	--	
No response	2	--	
Total	397	2.66	
F		2.46** = 2.46 - Significant at 1% level	
<u>Residence</u>			
Open Country	238	2.46	4
Johnstown	97	3.01	1
Brownsville	37	2.95	2
Adams	25	2.80	3
Total	397	2.66	
F		5.25** > 3.88 - Significant at 1% level	
<u>Ethnic Origin</u>			
Old Americans	352	2.74	
Polish Americans	45	2.02	
Total	397	2.66	
F		11.83** > 6.76 - Significant at 1% level	

TABLE E (CONTINUED)

THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIAL STATUS
(AS MEASURED BY A CONSTRUCTED STATUS INDEX)
TO CERTAIN OTHER INDICES OF POSITION IN THE
SOCIAL STRUCTURE AS SHOWN BY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

<u>Variables</u>	<u>Total Number</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Rank</u>
<u>Family Income (Non-Farm)</u>			
Over \$10,000	11	4.45	1
\$5000-\$9999	28	3.75	2
\$3000-\$4999	85	2.70	3
\$2000-\$2999	67	2.37	4
\$1000-\$1999	32	2.34	5
Under \$1000	11	2.00	6
Don't Know	5	--	
Total	239	2.73	
F		11.28**	> 2.90 - Significant at 1% level
<u>Religion</u>			
Catholic	55	2.18	9
Methodist Episcopal	94	3.12	2
Evangelical United Brethern	9	2.11	10
Baptist	38	2.45	7
Presbyterian and Episcopa- lian	26	3.85	1
Rural Inter-denominational	15	2.60	4
Free Methodist and Wesleyan	16	2.56	5
Holiness and related sects	13	1.92	11
Congregational	15	2.47	6
Adventist	3	2.00	--
Other	47	2.85	3
None	66	2.27	8
Total	397	2.66	
F		5.61**	> 2.34 - Significant at 1% level

TABLE E (CONTINUED)

THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIAL STATUS
(AS MEASURED BY A CONSTRUCTED STATUS INDEX)
TO CERTAIN OTHER INDICES OF POSITION IN THE
SOCIAL STRUCTURE AS SHOWN BY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

<u>Variables</u>	<u>Total Number</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Rank</u>
<u>Organizational Membership</u>			
Farm Bureau	44	2.57	8
Grange	19	3.21	4
Masons, Oddfellows	31	3.42	2
Elks	7	3.14	6
Eagles, Moose	21	2.48	9
Service Clubs	14	4.86	1
Veteran's Organizations	17	3.18	5
Knights of Columbus	16	2.38	10
Labor Unions	13	2.00	12
Dorrance Community Club	10	2.80	7
Other	62	3.24	3
None	143	2.01	11
Total	397	2.66	
F		13.23**	> 2.50 - Significant at 1% level
<u>Extent of Church Activity</u>			
No church activity	152	2.45	3
Nominal activity	143	2.66	2
Active	102	2.99	1
Total	397	2.66	
F		5.52**	> 4.71 - Significant at 1% level

APPENDIX F

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PARTICIPATION INDEX

The Participation Index referred to in Chapter Seven was determined by assigning numerical weights to the extent of participation determined by assigning numerical weights to the extent of participation. The interviewer not only indicated the organizations to which the respondent belonged but also the extent of his participation in each. The respondent was scored as follows: A score of 1 for each organization to which he belonged but did not take a very active part; a score of 2 for each organization to which he belonged, took an active part, but in which he did not usually hold office; a score of 3 for each organization in which he was active and usually held some official position. These scores were summed and the total was used as an index of participation in formal organizations.

The distribution of the participation index was skewed in the direction of little or no participation. That is, the greatest number of respondents had a score of 0, or no participation, and decreased in regular order, as shown below:

<u>Participation Index</u>	<u>Number of Respondents</u>
0	160
1-2	129
3-4	67
5-6	23
7-8	23
9-10	9
11-12	5
13-14	4
15-16	2
17 and above	<u>2</u>
	429

In performing the analysis of variance for these data, they were regrouped and categorized as follows:

- 0 - None (no participation in organizations)
- 1-2 - Nominal activity (little participation in organizations)
- 3-6 - Active (considerable participation in organizations)
- 7 and above - Very Active (great activity in organizations)

APPENDIX G

TABLES SHOWING ANALYSES OF VARIANCE DISCUSSED
BUT NOT INCLUDED IN MAIN BODY OF THESIS

TABLE F

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS AND NEGROES
BY FARM AND RURAL MANUAL LABOR GROUPS (MEN ONLY)

	<u>Total Number</u>	<u>Total Jewish Pr Score</u>		<u>Total Negro Pr Score</u>		<u>Total Prejudice Score</u>	
		<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>
Pure Farm (No second occupation)	81	4.36	3	4.27	3	2.90	3
Farm Second occupation Manual	16	4.25	4	4.25	4	2.38	4
Manual (Rural - No second occupa- tion)	21	4.57	2	4.57	2	2.95	2
Manual (Rural) Second occupation Farming	<u>30</u>	5.03	1	4.70	1	3.40	1
Total	148	4.51		4.40		2.95	
F ¹		1.14		1.02		2.02	

¹ For this table F must reach 3.91 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.67 at the 5% probability level.

Table G

ATTITUDES TOWARD MEXICANS AND ANALYSIS OF TOTAL PREJUDICE SCORE
BY OCCUPATIONS - MEN ONLY

Occupational Classification	Total no. of respon- dents	Mexicans as citizens and voters		Keep Mexicans out of white neighborhoods		Mexicans coming to Midstate		Mexicans in restaurants with whites		Total Prejudice Score	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Professional	11	3.12	4	2.64	1	2.00	1	2.09	2	3.55	1
Proprietor	28	3.04	6	1.96	6	1.61	4	1.86	6	2.85	5
Clerical	25	3.32	1	2.32	2	1.72	2	2.16	1	3.00	3
Skilled	48	3.23	2	2.10	5	1.48	6	1.96	5	2.96	4
Semi-skilled	47	2.94	7	2.148	4	1.51	5	1.98	4	3.09	2
Unskilled	14	3.22	3	1.93	7	1.36	7	1.69	7	2.31	7
Farmer	107	3.05	5	2.149	3	1.62	3	2.00	3	2.81	6
Farm Labor ¹	1										
Not determined ¹	2										
Total	283	3.12		2.15		1.58		1.97		2.89	
F ²		1.16		1.51		1.20		#		1.09	

¹These groups are not included in the rank order analysis, although they are included in the analysis of variance, because the small size of the samples makes comparison difficult.

² For this table F must reach 2.60 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 1.98 at the 5% probability level.

Table H

ATTITUDES TOWARD MEXICANS AND ANALYSIS OF TOTAL PREJUDICE
SCORE BY OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES - MEN ONLY

Occupational Class	Total no. of respon- dents	Mexicans as citizens and voters		Keep Mexicans out of white neighborhoods		Mexicans coming to Midstate		Mexicans in restaurants with whites		Total Prejudice Score	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
White Collar	64	3.28	1	2.22	1	1.72	1	2.02	1	3.03	1
Manual	112	3.09	2	2.12	3	1.47	3	1.91	3	2.89	2
Farm	107	3.05	3	2.15	2	1.62	2	2.00	2	2.81	3
Total	283	3.12		2.15		1.58		1.97		2.89	
F ¹		1.03		#		2.87		#		#	

¹For this table F must reach 4.71 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 3.04 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

Table I

ATTITUDES TOWARD MEXICANS AND ANALYSIS OF TOTAL PREJUDICE
SCORE BY FARM AND NON-FARM OCCUPATIONS - MEN ONLY

<u>Occupational Classification</u>	<u>Total no. of respondents</u>	Mexicans as citizens and voters		Keep Mexicans out of white neighborhoods		Mexicans coming to Midstate		Mexicans in restaurants with whites		Total Prejudice Score	
		<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>
Non-Farm	173	3.17	1	2.14	2	1.57	2	1.97	2	2.97	1
Farm	107	3.05	2	2.15	1	1.62	1	2.00	1	2.81	2
Total	280	3.12		2.15		1.59		1.98		2.91	
F ¹		#		#		#		#		#	

¹F for this table F must reach 6.70 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 3.86 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

Table J

**ATTITUDES TOWARD MEXICANS AND ANALYSIS OF TOTAL PREJUDICE SCORE
BY OCCUPATION - NON-FARM MEN ONLY**

<u>Occupational Classification</u>	<u>Total no. of respondents</u>	Mexicans as citizens and voters		Keep Mexicans out of white neighborhoods		Mexicans coming to Midstate		Mexicans in restaurants with whites		Total Prejudice Score	
		<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>
Professional	11	3.12	4	2.64	1	2.00	1	2.09	2	3.55	1
Proprietor	28	3.04	5	1.96	6	1.61	3	1.86	5	2.85	5
Clerical	25	3.32	1	2.32	2	1.72	2	2.16	1	3.00	3
Skilled	48	3.23	2	2.10	4	1.48	5	1.96	4	2.96	4
Semi-skilled	47	2.94	6	2.15	3	1.51	4	1.98	3	3.09	2
Unskilled	15	3.13	3	2.07	5	1.33	6	1.64	6	2.21	6
Total	174	3.16		2.16		1.56		1.96		2.96	
F ¹		1.36		#		1.46		#		#	

¹ For this table F must reach 2.92 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.16 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

** - Significant beyond the 1% probability level.

TABLE K

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS AND NEGROES
BY CHURCH IDENTIFICATION OF RESPONDENTS
GROUPED BY STATUS OF CHURCH

<u>Churches Grouped by Status</u>	<u>Total Number</u>	<u>Jewish Pr Score</u>		<u>Negro Pr Score</u>	
		<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>
Group A	128	4.88	2	4.50	2
Group B	32	4.94	1	4.78	1
Group C	57	4.33	4	4.35	3
Group D	90	4.69	3	4.24	4
Total	307	4.73		4.46	
F ¹		1.24		1.69	

¹ For this table F must reach 3.88 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.65 to be significant at the 5% probability level.

Group A - Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Methodist Episcopal
Group B - Rural Interdenominational, Free and Wesleyan Methodist
Group C - Congregational and Baptist
Group D - Catholic, Evangelical United Brethren, Holiness and Adventist

(Group A has highest status, Group D has lowest status)

TABLE I

ATTITUDES TOWARD MINORITIES ANALYZED
IN RELATIONSHIP TO MEMBERSHIP IN FARM BUREAU

	<u>Total Number</u>	<u>Total Jewish Pr Score</u>		<u>Total Negro Pr Score</u>		<u>Total Prejudice Score</u>	
		<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>R</u>
Farm Bureau - Active Members	38	4.61	2	4.13	3	3.77	1
Farm Bureau - Not Active	32	4.88	1	4.34	1	2.74	2
Non-Farm Bureau Members	95	4.24	3	4.15	2	2.71	3
Total	165	4.45		4.18		2.80	
F ¹		1.59		#		1.04	

¹For this table F must exceed 4.75 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 3.06 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

Table M

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS BY EXTENT OF CHURCH ACTIVITY

Extent of Church Activity	Total no. of respond- ents	Jewish merchant		Jews think they're better		Jews push		Restrict Jews		Guard against Jews		Ship Jews Back		Total Jewish Pr Score		Jews are honest		Jews in my neigh- borhood	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Active member but not an official	74	3.00	2	2.92	2	2.23	2	3.24	1	2.49	2	2.99	4	5.14	2	2.067	4	1.81	3
Active and usually an official	33	2.82	1	2.79	6	2.18	4	3.21	2	2.42	3	3.21	2	5.06	3	2.27	1	1.88	2
Minister ¹	2																		
Belongs because he feels obliged to support church ¹	4																		
Supports but does not attend church	27	3.33	5	3.30	1	2.41	1	3.04	3	2.52	1	3.26	1	5.15	1	2.22	2	1.92	1
Belongs but not an active member	93	3.37	6	2.86	4	2.12	5	2.86	4	2.27	4	2.97	5	4.78	4	1.99	6	1.70	4
Attends but not a member	23	3.83	7	2.57	7	2.09	6	2.78	6	2.13	6	2.83	7	4.35	7	2.00	5	1.65	5
No church connection	70	3.14	3	2.87	3	2.22	3	2.54	7	2.03	7	3.02	3	4.56	5	2.07	3	1.65	5
Church connection but does not attend	96	3.24	4	2.84	5	2.06	7	2.84	5	2.19	5	2.84	6	4.47	6	1.94	7	1.62	7
No response, etc. ¹	6																		
Total	428	3.24		2.86		2.17		2.90		2.27		2.98		4.74		2.04		1.72	
F ²		1.06		1.13		1.76		2.38*		1.71		#		1.19		1.44		1.40	

¹ Not included in rank order because of small number of sample, but included in analysis of variance.

² For this table F must reach 2.46 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 1.90 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than between group variance.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

Table N

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES BY EXTENT OF CHURCH ACTIVITY

Extent of Church Activity	Total no. of respond- ents	Negroes to Johns- town		Negroes next door		Negroes are lazy		Keep Negroes out of White neighborhoods		Negroes should vote		Negroes with education		Total Negro Pr Score		Whites and Negroes in same restaurant		Orders from a Negro	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Active member but not an official	74	4.01	6	4.89	5	2.76	4	2.07	2	3.50	4	3.12	3	4.49	2	1.58	2	1.54	7
Active and usually an official	33	3.21	1	3.52	1	2.97	1	2.39	1	3.67	1	3.39	1	4.97	1	1.55	3	1.54	5
Minister ¹	2																		
Belongs because he feels obliged to support church ¹	4																		
Supports but does not attend church	27	3.62	3	4.70	4	2.56	7	1.89	6	3.63	2	3.33	2	4.48	3	1.63	1	1.37	1
Belongs but not an active member	93	3.87	4	4.20	3	2.75	5	2.02	3	3.53	3	3.03	2	4.41	4	1.52	4	1.44	1
Attends but not a member	23	4.00	5	5.27	7	2.96	2	1.91	5	3.48	6	2.70	7	4.35	6	1.39	6	1.43	5
No church connection	71	3.42	2	4.10	2	2.82	3	1.96	4	3.45	7	2.94	6	4.34	7	1.49	5	1.46	
Church connection but does not attend	96	4.16	7	4.99	6	2.71	6	1.85	7	3.50	4	3.03	1	4.38	5	1.37	7	1.38	
No response, etc. ¹	6																		
Total	429	3.84		4.50		2.78		2.00		3.52		3.05		4.45		1.49		1.46	
F ²		1.32		2.39*		1.26		2.03*		#		1.86		1.57		1.28		#	

¹ Not included in rank order because of small number in sample, but included in analysis of variance.

² For this table F must reach 2.46 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 1.90 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than between group variance.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

Table 0

**ATTITUDES TOWARD MEXICANS AND ANALYSIS OF TOTAL PREJUDICE
SCORE BY EXTENT OF CHURCH ACTIVITY**

Extent of Church Activity	Total no. of respon- dents	Mexicans as citizens and voters		Keep Mexicans out of white neighborhoods		Mexicans coming to Midstate		Mexicans in restaurants with whites		Total Prejudice Score	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Active member but not an official	74	3.03	6	2.08	4	1.64	4	1.96	3	3.10	3
Active and usually an official	33	3.09	3	2.55	1	1.79	1	2.24	1	3.39	1
Minister ¹	2										
Belongs because he feels obliged to support church ¹	4										
Supports but does not attend church	27	3.41	1	2.07	5	1.74	2	2.07	2	3.19	2
Belongs but is not an active member	93	3.08	4	2.05	6	1.57	6	1.89	7	2.83	5
Attends but is not a member	23	3.04	5	2.13	3	1.61	5	1.91	6	2.78	6
No church connection	71	3.38	2	2.18	2	1.65	3	1.929	4	2.90	4
Church connection but does not attend	96	2.97	7	2.03	7	1.47	7	1.926	5	2.62	7
No response, etc. ¹	6										
Total	429	3.12		2.13		1.61		1.97		2.92	
F ²		1.74		1.76		1.46		1.07		1.98*	

¹Not included in rank order because of small number in sample, but included in analysis of variance.

²For this table F must reach 2.46 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 1.90 at the 5% probability level.

* - Significant beyond the 5% probability level.

Table P

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS BY PARTICIPATION INDEX - FARM ONLY

Participation in organizations	Total no. of respondents	Jewish merchant		Jews think they're better		Jews push		Restrict Jews		Guard against Jews		Ship Jews Back		Total Jewish Pr Score		Jews are honest		Jews in my neigh- borhood	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Very active	19	3.68	4	2.79	2	2.42	2	2.89	1	2.16	2	3.00	1	4.89	1	1.95	4	1.53	4
Active	35	3.60	3	2.94	1	2.20	3	2.86	2	2.37	1	3.00	1	4.94	2	2.09	1	1.60	3
Nominal Activity	56	3.00	1	2.63	3	2.53	1	2.47	4	1.96	4	2.63	4	4.09	4	1.97	3	1.625	2
None	55	3.24	2	2.62	4	2.18	4	2.65	3	2.13	3	2.64	3	4.35	3	1.98	2	1.629	1
Total	165	3.28		2.71		2.16		2.66		2.13		2.75		4.45		1.99		1.61	
F ¹		1.12		#		#		1.43		1.62		1.68		2.27		#		#	

¹ For this table F must reach 3.91 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.67 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

Table Q

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES BY PARTICIPATION INDEX - FARM ONLY

Participation in organizations	Total no. of respond- ents	Negroes to Johns- town		Negroes next door		Negroes are lazy		Keep Negroes out of White neighborhoods		Negroes should vote		Negroes with education		Total Negro Pr Score		Whites and Negroes in same restaurant		Orders from a Negro	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Very active	19	4.19	4	4.37	4	2.84	1	2.05	2	3.63	1	2.95	2	4.58	1	1.58	1	1.56	1
Active	35	3.52	1	4.23	3	2.54	3	1.83	4	3.37	4	3.09	1	4.18	3	1.37	4	1.29	4
Nominal activity	56	4.04	3	4.21	2	2.52	4	1.91	3	3.50	3	2.79	3	4.11	4	1.39	3	1.43	3
None	55	3.59	2	4.16	1	2.58	2	2.06	1	3.55	2	2.78	4	4.20	2	1.44	2	1.45	2
Total	165	3.79		4.22		2.58		1.96		3.50		2.87		4.21		1.42		1.43	
F ¹		#		#		#		#		#		#		#		#		#	

¹ For this table F must reach 3.91 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.67 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

Table R

ATTITUDES TOWARD MEXICANS AND ANALYSIS OF TOTAL PREJUDICE
SCORE BY PARTICIPATION INDEX - FARM ONLY

Participation in Organizations	Total no. of respon- dents	Mexicans as citizens and voters		Keep Mexicans out of white neighborhoods		Mexicans coming to Midstate		Mexicans in restaurants with whites		Total Prejudice Score	
		Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R	Mean	R
Very active	19	2.89	2	2.37	1	1.68	1	2.00	2	2.89	1
Active	35	2.86	3	2.11	2	1.60	3	1.94	3	2.71	4
Nominal activity	56	2.84	4	2.02	4	1.50	4	2.04	1	2.84	2
None	55	3.35	1	2.07	3	1.64	2	1.89	4	2.80	3
Total	165	3.01		2.10		1.59		1.96		2.80	
F ¹		2.64		1.13		#		#		#	

¹ For this table F must reach 3.91 to be significant at the 1% probability level; 2.67 at the 5% probability level.

- Within group variance is greater than the variance between groups.

APPENDIX H

SUMMARY TABLES SHOWING THE RESULTS OF THE ANALYSIS
OF VARIANCE FOR THE THREE MINORITY GROUPS BY
THE MAJOR VARIABLES PRESENTED IN THE THESIS

Table S

SUMMARY OF RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDES TO
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES, AS MEASURED BY

<u>Independent Variable</u>	Jewish merchant			Jews think they're better			Jews push			Restrict Jews		
	<u>R</u> ¹	<u>P</u> ²	<u>D</u> ³	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>
Occupation (inc. farmers)	No			Yes	.05	Prof. Prop.	No			Yes	.01	P
Occupation (farm, white collar, and manual)	Yes	.01	White Collar	Yes	.01	White Collar	No			Yes	.01	W
Occupation (non-farm only)	No			Yes	.05	Prof. Prop.	No			No		
Occupation (farm vs. non-farm)	No			Yes	.05	N-F	No			Yes	.01	N
Occupation (farm vs. part-time farm)	--			--			--			--		
Income (non-farm only)	Yes	.05	Higher	Yes	.01	Higher	No			Yes	.01	H
Education (8 categories)	Yes	.01	Higher	Yes	.05	Higher	No			Yes	.01	H
Education (3 categories)	Yes	.01	H. S. Grad.	Yes	.01	H. S. Grad.	No			Yes	.01	H.
Education - with occupation held constant: Farm	--			--			--			--		
Manual	--			--			--			--		
Self-estimate of social class	No			No			No			Yes	.01	M
Self-estimate of s.c. (farm)	--			--			--			--		
Self-estimate of s.c. (non-farm)	--			--			--			--		
Social status index (farm)	No			No			No			Yes.	.05	Hi
Social status index (non-farm)	No			Yes	.05	Higher	No			Yes	.05	Hi
Revised social status index (non-farm)	--			--			--			--		

Key: ¹Relationship indicated - y
²Probability that relations
³Direction of relationship

S

DES TOWARD JEWS TO CERTAIN D BY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

ict		Guard against Jews			Ship Jews back			Total Jewish Prejudice Score			Jews are honest			Jews in my neighborhood		
<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>
.01 Prof.	Prof.	Yes	.01 Prof.	Prof.	Yes	.01 Prof.	Prof.	Yes	.01 Prof.	Prof.	No			No		
	Prop.			Prop.			Prop.			Prop.						
.01 White	White	Yes	.01 White	White	Yes	.01 White	White	Yes	.01 White	White	No			No		
	Collar			Collar			Collar			Collar						
		Yes	.01 Prof.	Prof.	Yes	.05 Prof.	Prof.	Yes	.05 Prof.	Prof.	No			No		
				Prop.			Prop.			Prop.						
.01 N-F	N-F	Yes	.05 N-F	N-F	Yes	.01 N-F	N-F	Yes	.01 N-F	N-F	Yes	.05 N-F	N-F	Yes	.05 N-F	N-F
		--			--			No			--			--		
.01 Higher	Higher	No			Yes	.01 Higher	Higher	Yes	.01 Higher	Higher	No			No		
.01 Higher	Higher	Yes	.01 Higher	Higher	Yes	.01 Higher	Higher	Yes	.01 Higher	Higher	Yes	.01 Higher	Higher	Yes	.01 Higher	Higher
.01 H. S.	H. S.	Yes	.01 H. S.	H. S.	Yes	.01 H. S.	H. S.	Yes	.01 H. S.	H. S.	No			Yes	.01 H. S.	H. S.
	Grad.			Grad.			Grad.			Grad.						Grad.
		--			--			Yes	.01 H. S.	Grad.	--			--		
		--			--			Yes	.01 H. S.	Grad.	--			--		
.01 Middle	Middle	No			Yes	.05 Middle	Middle	Yes	.05 Middle	Middle	No			No		
		--			--			No			--			--		
		--			--			No			--			--		
.05 Higher	Higher	No			Yes	.01 Higher	Higher	Yes	.01 Higher	Higher	No			No		
.05 Higher	Higher	Yes	.01 Higher	Higher	Yes	.01 Higher	Higher	Yes	.01 Higher	Higher	No			No		
		--			--			Yes	.05 Higher		--			--		

ed - yes or no

ationship is due to chance

ationship with more tolerant group indicated

Table S

SUMMARY OF RELATIONSHIP OF A
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES, AS ME

<u>Independent Variable</u>	Jewish merchant			Jews think they're better			Jews push			Restrict Jews	
	<u>R</u> ¹	<u>P</u> ²	<u>D</u> ³	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>
Sex	No			No			No			No	
Age	No			No			No			No	
Age (over vs. under 50)	No			No			--			No	
Ethnic	No			No			No			No	
Residence ⁴	No			Yes	.05	B, A	No			Yes	.05
Religious Identification	No			No			No			No	
Religious Identification (by status index)	--			--			--			--	
Organizations other than the church	No			No			No			No	
Farm Bureau vs. non-Farm Bureau members (farmers only)	--			--			--			--	
Participation Index	No			No			No			No	
Participation Index (farm)	No			No			No			No	
Participation Index (non-farm)	No			No			No			Yes	.05
Church activity	No			No			No			Yes	.01

Key:¹Relationship indicated - y
²Probability that relations
³Direction of relationship
⁴Four groups: B - Brownsvi

Table S (Continued)

OP OF ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS TO CERTAIN
AS MEASURED BY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

District vs	Guard against Jews			Ship Jews back			Total Jewish Prejudice Score			Jews are honest			Jews in my neighborhood		
	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>
	No			No			No			No			No		
	No			No			No			No			No		
	No			Yes	.05	Younger	No			--			--		
	No			No			No			No			No		
.05 B, A	Yes	.05	B, A	No			Yes	.05	B, A	No			No		
	No			No			No			No			No		
	--			--			No			--			--		
	No			No			No			Yes	.05	Grange Elks Unions	No		
	--			--			No			--			--		
	No			No			No			No			No		
	No			No			No			No			No		
.05 Active	No			No			No			Yes	.05	Active	No		
.01 Active	Yes	.05	Active	No			Yes	.05	Active	No			No		

ed - yes or no

lationship is due to chance

onship with more tolerant group indicated

ownsville; A - Adams; J - Johnstown; R - Rural Localities (treated as one group)

Table T

SUMMARY OF RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDES
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES, AS MEASURED

<u>Independent Variable</u>	Negroes to Johnstown ³			Negroes next door			Negroes are lazy			Keep Negro white neig		
	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>
Occupation (inc. farmers)	No			No			No			No		
Occupation (farm, white collar, and manual)	No			No			No			No		
Occupation (non-farm only)	No			No			No			No		
Occupation (farm vs. non-farm)	No			Yes .05 Farm			No			No		
Occupation (farm vs. part-time farm)	--			--			--			--		
Income (non-farm only)	No			No			No			No		
Education (8 categories)	Yes .05 Higher			No			No			Yes .05 Hi		
Education (3 categories)	Yes .01 H. S. Grad.			No			Yes .01 H. S. Grad.			No		
Education - with occupation held constant: Farm	--			--			--			--		
Manual	--			--			--			--		
Self-estimate of social class	No			No			No			No		
Self-estimate of s.c. (farm)	--			--			--			--		
Self-estimate of s.c. (non-farm)	--			--			--			--		
Social status index (farm)	No			No			No			No		
Social status index (non-farm)	No			No			No			No		
Revised social status index (non-farm)	--			--			--			--		

Key: ¹Relationship indicated -
²Probability that relation
³Direction of relationshi

Table T

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES TO CERTAIN
MEASURED BY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

Keep Negroes out of white neighborhoods			Negroes should vote			Negroes with education			Total Negro Prejudice Score			Whites and Negroes in same restaurant			Orders for a Negro	
	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>
			Yes	.01	Prof. Semi- skilled Prop.	Yes	.05	Prof. Prop. Semi- skilled	Yes	.05	Prof. Prop. Semi- skilled	No			No	
			No			Yes	.01	White Collar	Yes	.01	White Collar	No			No	
			Yes	.01	Prof. Semi- skilled Prop.	No			No			No			No	
			No			Yes	.05	N-F	Yes	.05	N-F	No			No	
			--			--			No			--			--	
			No			Yes	.01	Higher	Yes	.05	Higher	No			No	
s .05 Higher			No			Yes	.01	Higher	Yes	.01	Higher	Yes	.01	Higher	No	
			No			Yes	.01	H. S. Grad.	Yes	.01	H. S. Grad.	No			No	
			--			--			Yes	.05	H. S. Grad.	--			--	
			--			--			Yes	.05	H. S. Grad.	--			--	
			No			Yes	.01	Middle	Yes	.05	Middle	No			No	
			--			--			Yes	.01	Middle	--			--	
			--			--			No			--			--	
			No			Yes	.01	Higher	Yes	.05	Higher	No			No	
			No			Yes	.01	Higher	No			No			No	
			--			--			Yes	.05	Higher	--			--	

indicated - yes or no

t relationship is due to chance

relationship with more tolerant group indicated

TABLE T (Con

SUMMARY OF RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDES T
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES, AS MEASURED B

<u>Independent Variable</u>	Negroes to Johnstown			Negroes next door			Negroes are lazy			Keep Negr white nei	
	<u>R</u> ¹	<u>P</u> ²	<u>D</u> ³	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>
Sex	No			No			No			No	
Age	No			No			No			No	
Age (over vs. under 50)	--			--			--			--	
Ethnic	Yes	.05	Old Amer.	Yes	.05	Old Amer.	No			No	
Residence ⁴	No			Yes	.01	R, A	No			No	
Religious Identification	No			Yes	.05	Rural Evan.U.B. Holiness	No			No	
Religious Identification (by status index)	--			--			--			--	
Organizations other than church	No			Yes	.01	F.B. Veterans Grange	Yes	.01	Service Veterans Elks	No	
Farm Bureau vs. non-Farm Bureau members (farmers only)	--			--			--			--	
Church activity	No			No			No			Yes	.05 A
Participation Index	No			No			No			No	
Participation Index (farm)	No			No			No			No	
Participation Index (non-farm)	No			No			No			No	

Key ¹Relationship indicated - ye
²Probability that relationsh
³Direction of relationship w
⁴Four groups: A - Adams; B

T (Continued)

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES TO CERTAIN
MEASURED BY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

Keep Negroes out of white neighborhoods		Negroes should vote			Negroes with education			Total Negro Prejudice Score			Whites and Negroes in same restaurant			Orders for a Negro	
<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>
		No			No			No			No			No	
		No			No			No			No			No	
		--			--			No			--			--	
		No			Yes	.05	Old Amer.	No			No			No	
		No			No			No			No			No	
		No			Yes	.01	Episc. Method. Rural	No			No			No	
		--			--			No			--			--	
		No			No			Yes	.05	Service Veterans Grange	No			No	
		--			--			No			--			--	
.05	Active	No			No			No			No			No	
		No			Yes	.05	Active	No			No			No	
		No			No			No			No			No	
		No			Yes	.05	Active	No			No			No	

ed - yes or no

relationship is due to chance

relationship with more tolerant group indicated

ms; B - Brownsville; J - Johnstown; R - Rural Localities (treated as one group)

TABLE U

RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDES TOWARD MEXICANS AND
SCORE FOR CERTAIN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES, AS :

<u>Independent Variable</u>	Mexicans as citizens			Keep Mexicans out of white neighborhoods		
	<u>R</u> ¹	<u>P</u> ²	<u>D</u> ³	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>
Occupation (inc. farm)	No			No		
Occupation (farm, white collar, and manual)	No			No		
Occupation (farm vs. non-farm)	No			No		
Occupation (farm vs. part-time farm)	--			--		
Income (non-farm only)	Yes	.05	Higher	No		
Education (8 categories)	No			Yes	.01	Higher
Education (3 categories)	No			Yes	.05	H. S. Grad.
Education - with occupation held constant: Farm	--			--		
Manual	--			--		
Self-estimate of social class	No			No		
Self-estimate of s.c. - farm	--			--		
Self-estimate of s.c. - non-farm	--			--		
Social Status Index - farm	No			Yes	.05	Higher
Social Status Index - non-farm	No			No		
Revised Social Status Index - non-farm	--			--		

Key: ¹Relationship indicated - ;
²Probability that relation
³Direction of relationship

ANS AND ANALYSIS OF TOTAL PREJUDICE
S, AS MEASURED BY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

f	Mexicans to MidState			Mexicans in restaurants with whites			Total Prejudice Score		
	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>
	No			No			No		
	No			No			No		
	No			No			No		
	--			--			No		
	No			No			No		
	Yes	.01	Higher	Yes	.05	Higher	Yes	.01	Higher
Grad.	Yes	.01	H. S. Grad.	Yes	.05	H. S. Grad.	Yes	.01	H. S. Grad.
	--			--			No		
	--			--			Yes	.05	H. S. Grad.
	No			No			No		
	--			--			No		
	--			--			No		
	No			No			No		
	No			No			No		
	--			--			No		

ted - yes or no

lationship is due to chance

onship with more tolerant group indicated

TABLE U (Continued)

RELATIONSHIP OF ATTITUDES TOWARD MEXICANS AND /
SCORE FOR CERTAIN INDEPENDENT VARIABLES, AS MEASURED

<u>Independent Variables</u>	Mexicans as citizens			Keep Mexicans out of white neighborhoods		
	<u>R</u> ¹	<u>P</u> ²	<u>D</u> ³	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>
Sex	No			No		
Age	No			No		
Ethnic	No			No		
Residence ⁴	No			Yes	.05	R, A
Religious Identification	No			No		
Organizations other than the church	No			No		
Farm Bureau vs. non-Farm Bureau members (farmers only)	--			--		
Church activity	No			No		
Participation Index	Yes	.05	Non- participators	No		
Participation Index (farm)	No			No		
Participation Index (non-farm)	Yes	.01	Nominal and Active	No		

Key: ¹ Relationship indicated - y
² Probability that relations
³ Direction of relationship
⁴ Four groups: A - Adams; B

Continued)

AND ANALYSIS OF TOTAL PREJUDICE
IS MEASURED BY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

Mexicans to MidState			Mexicans in restaurants with whites			Total Prejudice Score		
<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>P</u>	<u>D</u>
No			No			No		
No			No			No		
No			No			No		
No			Yes	.01	B, A	Yes	.01	B, A
No			No			No		
No			No			No		
--			--			No		
No			No			Yes	.05	Active
No			No			No		
No			No			No		
No			No			No		

d - yes or no
tationship is due to chance

ship with more tolerant group indicated

ns; B - Brownsville; J - Johnstown; R - Rural Localities (treated as one group)