MASTER'S THESIS M-1706

GORDON, Robert I.
THE PERCEPTION OF INGROUP AND OUTGROUP OBJECTS AS A FUNCTION OF GROUP IDENTIFICATION.

The University of Oklahoma, M.S., 1966
Social Psychology

University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan

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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

THE PERCEPTION OF INGROUP AND OUTGROUP OBJECTS AS A FUNCTION OF GROUP IDENTIFICATION

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

BY

ROBERT I. GORDON

Norman, Oklahoma

1966

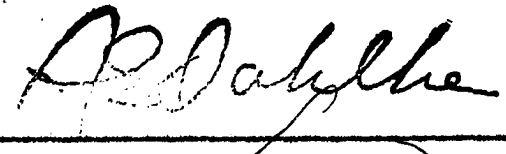
THE PERCEPTION OF INGROUP AND OUTGROUP OBJECTS

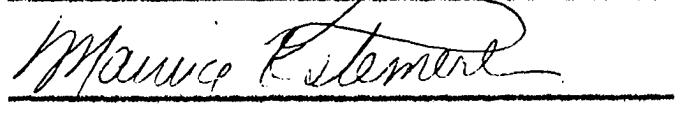
AS A FUNCTION OF GROUP IDENTIFICATION

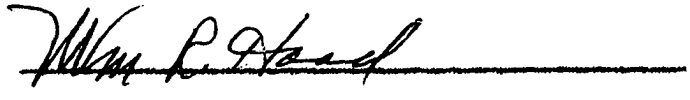
A THESIS

APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

BY







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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to acknowledge his teachers, Dr. William Hood, Dr. Arnold Dahlke and Dr. Maurice Temerlin for their patient guidance and prudent advice. Because of their personal interest, this effort was from its beginning, a learning experience.

Special thanks are offered to my wife and to my parents for the kind of encouragement and support which makes this degree in a larger sense sharable.

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THE PERCEPTION OF INGROUP AND OUTGROUP OBJECTS AS A FUNCTION OF GROUP IDENTIFICATION

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Much of human behavior can be understood in terms of how objects and events appear to people. For how one reacts to an object, event, or situation depends largely on how it is perceived. Lewin (1954) cogently emphasizes this point by giving a hypothetical example of a human subject who was locked in a laboratory room when smoke began to seep under the door. Whether the subject would panic, shout for help and engage in frantic behavior, or whether he would remain calm and generally poised would be a function of the way in which he perceived the situation. Was it a situation of real threat or was it merely an experimental hoax?

Beginning with Gestalt psychology and carrying through the more recent phenomonological trend, there has been a growing realization by many psychologists that behavior is determined by our perceptions. Rogers (1947) suggests, along this vein, that under certain psychological conditions, the individual has the capacity to reorganize

his perceptual field; and once having done so, it is logical to expect a concommitant reorganization or alteration in the behavior of that individual. But not only are perceptions a major determinant of an individual's behavior, they are also crucial to the behavior of a group and to the reciprocities and interaction among several groups. This behavior reciprocity and interaction can be partly understood from a consideration of how members of interacting groups perceive the objects of their ingroups and outgroups.

In the main, perception can be said to be determined by two groups of factors; peripheral factors, which belong to the stimulus world and refer to the qualities and characteristics of particular stimuli, and functional factors which refer to the individual, his motives, needs, personality composition, attitudes, values, and momentary set. The role of functional factors in perception was poignantly illustrated by Bruner and Goodman (1941) who dichotomized a group of children into a "rich" subgroup, coming from a prosperous business and professional community, and into a "poor" subgroup, coming from a settlement house in the slums of Boston. Each subject was given the task of adjusting a circular patch of light until it was equal in size to various coins, ranging in size from a penny to a half dollar. Through this procedure, the investigators were able to demonstrate that "poor" children over-estimated the size of the coins as compared to the "rich" children. Other telling

examples of the role of functional factors in perception have been reported (Ansbacker, 1937; Bruner & Postman, 1948; Levine, Chein & Murphy, 1942; McGinnies, 1949; Shafer & Murphy, 1943; Wispe & Drambarean, 1953).

While these studies lend credence to the commonly held notion that an individual sees what he wants to see, it should be noted that the role of functional factors is limited both by the nature of the stimulus characteristics and by the situational context in which the percept occurs. To concretely illustrate this generalization, Thrasher (1954) varied the degree of stimulus structure of three phosphorescent circles which were to be judged for location by a group of student subjects. It was found that as the degree of stimulus structure decreased, the correspondence between the objective location of the lights and the accuracy of subject judgments as to their location, also decreased. In a word, the more concrete the stimulus or stimulus situation, the less important are the role of functional factors in perception.

Social Perception

Social perception, as distinguished from perception in general, is the perception of socially significant persons, objects, and situations. While social perception is significantly influenced by functional factors, that influence is similarly limited by the degree of stimulus structure (Lunchins, 1950). Illustrating the role of functional

factors in social perception, Scodel and Mussen (1953) focused upon the personality trait of authoritarianism. After having divided subjects into pairs of high and high, high and low, and low and low authoritarian personalities, the experimenters instructed each pair to participate in a twenty minute discussion on the topic radio, television, and the movies. When the discussions were terminated, each subject was asked to fill out a questionnaire as he thought his partner would, which itself was a measure of authoritarianism. Not only did the high authoritarians rate their partners as being high authoritarians, but they also believed that the average student was high on that dimension. Similarly, the low authoritarians judged their partners to be either low or in the middle of the authoritarian dimension. A whole set of experiments point to the salient effect of functional factors on social perception (Allport & Postman, 1958; Bears, 1936; Gordon, 1957; Horowitz & Horowitz, 1937; Leventhal, 1957; Luft, 1957; Pepitone, 1950).

The Effect of Group Factors

In particular, another broad area of studies, both field and laboratory, have addressed themselves to the influence of socio-cultural or group factors on perception. Bartlett (1958), for example, writes of the occasion when the Chief of the Swazi people visited England for the purpose of settling a long standing dispute. When the Chief

and his party returned home, British settlers were most anxious to learn of his memorable impressions of their native land. For all the scenes of beauty and for all the monuments and impressive buildings, the Chief recalled most vividly, his being touched by the sight of an English policeman directing traffic with an upstretched arm. Among the Swazi, an upstretched arm is the warmest greeting that a man can give to a friend and here was that same warm and familiar gesture in a foreign land.

While studying visual perception among the Trobriander natives, Malinowski (1927) found stringent group norms surrounding the perceived resemblances between parents and their offspring. That is, the resemblance of the child to the father was considered to be the only natural resemblance, and it was always recognized by members of the tribe regardless of how construed or how farfetched that resemblance might have been. To tell a Trobriander native that his child favored his wife's appearance would be regarded as the greatest affront.

In a laboratory study, Sherif investigated the effects of group factors on judgments of a relatively unstructured stimulus by adapting the autokinetic illusion to an experimental situation. Subjects were asked to judge the spurious movement of light under the condition of being alone in a room and under the conditions of being accompanied by several other subjects, who were also called upon to make

judgments as to the light movement. Analysis of the data indicated that while many subjects reported that their judgments were not influenced by the judgments of others, a common norm emerged around which the judgments of subjects in small group situations clustered. Many other studies have pointed to the effects of group factors on perception (Junker, 1890; Lin Yo T'ang, 1935; Mead, 1933).

Although group factors appear to be peripheral to the individual, they act peripherally only at the sociocultural or group level of analysis. At the psychological level of analysis, they serve in the capacity of functional factors. For it is not the mere existence of norms, as in the Bartlett or Malinowski studies, nor is it emergence of group norms, as in the Sherif study, but rather the acceptance and internalization of these norms that act functionally on the individual's perception.

Further, it can be shown that the mere categorization of objects as belonging to one specific group or another can differentially affect and influence perceptions of those objects. Having validated photographs of female faces for being ethnically non specific, Razran (1950) showed thirty such photographs to a group of college students. The subjects were then asked to rate each photograph on a five point scale indicating the degree of liking for the face, its beauty, intelligence, character, ambition, and entertainingness. Two months later, the same subjects were again shown

identical photographs but with surnames added, identifying the faces as belonging to various ethnic groups. By labeling faces with surnames, the investigator was able to show that the mere categorization of group objects had a definite and striking effect on the way in which the photographs were perceived.

The Differential Effect of Group Factors

Not only do group factors influence one's perceptions in a general way, they also exert a differential effect on the perception of ingroup and outgroup objects. It is a common day observation that objects belonging to one's own group such as values, beliefs, emotions, actions, possessions, and symbols, are typically overevaluated in one's perceptions as compared to objects belonging to outgroups. Walking home with grimy hands, tattered trousers, and a soiled shirt, a Negro factory worker, for example, might be perceived by a southern white man as a "dirty nigger." That same factory worker, were he white, might very well be perceived as a "hard working, family minded man."

A study by Harvey (1954) lends concreteness to this everyday observation. A college dormitory was divided through ratings of college counselors and sociometric choices into sixteen clearly differentiated cliques. Each subject was asked to write a list of items while listening to recorded music, after which the achievement of each of the cliques was brifly projected on a screen. When members

of an unfriendly outgroup were present, there was a definite tendency to overestimate the performance of fellow group members.

Similarly, Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, and Sherif (1954) in their Robbers Cave Study, manipulated two groups of campers, the Rattlers and the Eagles, so that they were mutually antagonistic. Both groups were then induced to participate in a contest providing a prize for the group which had collected the greatest number of beans that had been thrown out over a demarked field. Collected beans were then placed in sacks and the campers called to a large hall where the numbers of beans each member accumulated was projected on a screen. Unsuspecting to the campers, the same number of beans was projected on the screen for each different boy. There was an overall tendency for both the Rattler and Eagle groups to over-evaluate the number of beans collected by a boy who belonged to their group and depreciated the number collected by a boy if he belonged to the antagonistic group.

Oskamp (1965) recognized that in recent years the United States and the Soviet Union had taken many similar, if not identical actions; they both increased their military budgets, they both made disarmament proposals, and they both signed joint treaties. Growing out of this realization, the experimenter developed two parallel questionnaires dealing with common belligerent and conciliatory actions on the part

of the two governments. In the first instance, a questionnaire attributed the actions to the United States and in the second instance to the Soviet Union. Summarily, it was found that American subjects rated both bellicose and conciliatory actions taken by the United States as being moderately favorable. Contrastingly, in the event that identical actions were taken by the Soviet Union, they were regarded as mildly to moderately unfavorable.

By dividing their subjects into a large number of small groups, each of which participated in group formative and intergroup competitive activities, Blake and Mouton (1962) zeroed in on the differential effect of categorizing objects as belonging to one's ingroup or outgroup. Specifically, each group was given the task of formulating a solution to a common problem with which all the subjects were familiar. They were further told that their solution would be accepted or rejected on a qualitative basis. When judgments were made in private by group members as to the adequacy of their group solution and as to the adequacy of the solutions of the other competing groups, it was consistently found that members of a group rated their own solutions higher than those of the various outgroups.

CHAPTER II

PROBLEM

In spite of the general finding that ingroup objects tend to be over-evaluated as compared to outgroup objects, the theory of reference groups raises some doubts on the grounds that inferences made from these studies are oversimplifications. Sherif (1953) suggests that the group from which an individual derives ego attitudes, defines his status and role relations, and formulates his future goals becomes, for him, a reference group. More specifically, a reference group is not only that group whose norms regulate the behavior of an individual, but whose norms the individual identifies with, internalizes, and calls his own. Therefore, it is probably not enough to know that an individual is a member of a particular group to be justified in predicting that such an individual will over-evaluate ingroup objects and depreciate outgroup objects. For one must know the degree to which an individual's membership group is also his reference group, the extent to which he accepts, identifies and is shaped by the norms of that group. Indeed, it is altogether possible that an individual's membership group

and reference group are not one and the same, for an individual may very well identify to a greater extent with the norms of an outgroup.

This may be illustrated by a hypothetical, though not uncommon example. A young man may find himself a member of a Jewish group by virtue of the fact that he was born Jewish. Still, he may reject Keeping Kosher, observing the Sabbath, going to Yeshiva and other norms deeply couched in and basic to Jewish culture. On the other hand, he may accept Christ, Trinity, Communion and other norms belonging to the Christian outgroup. For such an individual, it is the Christian outgroup that constitutes a reference group, in relation to whose central norms his own behavior patterns are formed and his own perceptions colored.

It is to be sure an extreme happening, when an individual unequivocably accepts all the norms of his outgroup and rejects all the norms of his membership group or vice versa. More commonly, it is a matter of degree. Thus a relation might be sought between the degree to which an individual identifies with his ingroup and the manner in which he perceives group objects. For an individual who accepts and cherishes most norms central to his ethnic group might be expected to show a greater overevaluation of ingroup objects as compared to an individual who accepts only a few of his group's norms.

In the case of Jews, numerous attempts have been

made to construct tests of ingroup identification. Rothman (1961) provides a comprehensive review and critique of these attempts: Chein and Hurwitz (1950) developed a questionnaire geared to draw from Jewish adolescents, their feelings and attitudes concerning several aspects of being Jewish. While it gave much valuable information, the questionnaire was basically qualitative and was limited by technical difficulties. Also limited by technical difficulties was the Jewish projective identification test developed by Radke and Lande (1953).

Lazerwitz (1953) utilized a scale which dealt with behavioral criteria such as religious practices, Jewish organization and philoanthropic activity and friendship patterns. However, the instrument was not able to adequately differentiate the attribute being measured, and the scoring procedure was too cumbersome and involved.

A four item test of identification was employed by Sklare and Ringer (1958) including such items as attendance at temple or synogogue services, membership in Jewish organizations, membership in a synogogue, and whether or not Yiddish was spoken at home. A subject had to qualify on three of the four test items to be considered highly identified, and on only one or none of the items to be classified as being low in identification.

In another study Lehrer (1954) assumed that identification involved the ability to recognize Jewish faces and

the desire to associate with them. Thus, in order to arrive at a measure of Jewish identification, he presented his subjects with a series of eight photographs, four of which were faces of Jews and four of which were faces of Gentiles. Subjects were then asked to select those faces with whom it would please them most to associate. Interestingly enough, the task was for the most part rejected by subjects on the grounds that they could not make such qualitative judgments on the basis of the photographs alone.

Antonovsky (1956) used an open ended interview to classify his adult subjects into categories of identification, taking certain cues from the subjects' conversation. In particular, he was interested in such references to Jews as "we", "the Jews" or "they"; in such questions as "Is Jewishness important for the whole family, only for the children, or for neither? Is there much, some, or little interest in Jewish affairs"? After having made a critical review of these studies, Rothman (1961) concludes that none of the current tests of Jewish identification are adequate from a strict social science point of view.

In traditional psychological literature, Sarup (1966) suggests that identification was a construct inferred from an individual's embracing beliefs, values, and attitudes shared in common with a group, whether or not an individual had a measure of "we" feeling towards the group, a readiness to stand up against criticism of the group from outsiders,

and enjoyed an intensity of pride in his group. A single concept encompassing these various indices of identification, and most in keeping with the theoretical position established by reference group theory, is the degree to which an individual accepts or rejects the central norms of his group. In all other known tests of Jewish Identification, this concept was never utilized.

Measuring the amount of meaning that Jewish traditional norms hold for members of that ingroup was tackled by Falkowitz (1964) and by Swartz (1965). Each investigator chose the traditional Jewish norms of Bris, Heaven, Daily Prayer, Sabbath, Passover, Bar Mitzvah, Yeshiva, Kashrus, Israel, Ten Commandments, God, Judaism, Torah, Confirmation, Chanukah and Rabbi, and measured their meaning and relevance for individual subjects through an adaptation of semantic differential scales developed by Osgood, Suki and Tannenbaum (1957) along the evaluative, activity and potency dimensions.

Both Falkowitz, with adult subjects, and Swartz, with child subjects, were able to demonstrate that as an individual moves from Orthodox to Conservative to Reform Jewery, the evaluative activity and potency dimensions of traditional Jewish norms decrease, although less so for the evaluative dimension. These findings were relevant to the Jewish norms of Heaven, Bris, Daily Prayer, Sabbath, Passover, Bar Mitzvah, Yeshiva and Kashrus. Norms such as these are not only central to the traditional and continuous

religious practices of the Jewish people but would similarly be expected to influence behavior in more secular areas. In time of exigency to the group, it is the man who cherishes most and participates most freely in the referents of these central norms who can be expected to give of himself to the advantage of the group. Although a Jew who does not adhere to these norms may state that he is identified with his group, it is the individual who acts out these norms, at whatever price, who is surely most identified. This notion has broken through the surface of Jewish history repeatedly, during the Spanish Inquisition, and as witnessed by Jewish cultural life in the Soviet Union today.

Statement of Problem

It is generally hypothesized that a relationship exists between the degree to which an individual is identified with his ingroup and the manner in which he will perceive ingroup and outgroup objects. Field and laboratory studies have established that by virtue of their membership in a particular group, individuals overevaluate objects belonging to that group.

The present study raises the question of whether being a member of a particular group, without allusion to the degree of identification that a member holds for his group, is sufficient justification for expecting that ingroup and outgroup objects will be differentially perceived. An application of reference group theory would suggest that

such is not the case; that a highly identified group member, who cherishes the norms of his group and in reference to which his behavioral patterns are established, would perceive ingroup objects more positively than a member who is low in identification. In an instance where an individual's identification is low or negligible, the membership group may not act simultaneously as a reference group.

A critical review of tests of Jewish identification have shown a vital disregard for the relevance of central Jewish norms, which as a potential measure of ingroup identification would be most compatible with reference group theory and its empirical support. Subsequently, it has been proposed that the degree to which an individual is identified with his ingroup is a function of the degree to which he accepts or rejects norms which are central to the group. Moreover, it is proposed that semantic differential scales might be well adapted for discovering the nature of this relationship.

A correlary question may now be raised as to the possibility of sex differences existing in the perception of group objects beyond anticipated differences, due to variations in group identification. For if the group objects chosen for selection are female faces, a male perceiver would surely view them within a strikingly different frame of reference than would a female subject. A male, for example, might view the faces as potential girl friends being influenced by

pre-established dating criteria. On the other hand, a female might perceive the faces as possible friends or as sources of social competition. Whether or not such sex differences would mask or compound the effect of group identification on the perception of female faces is uncertain. Still, it seems prudent in the context of the present study to consider the sexes separately.

Hypotheses

1. When faces are categorized as being Jewish or Christian, Jewish subjects, whether they are highly identified or relatively less identified with their ethnic group, will attribute more desirable characteristics to Jewish faces.

2. Jewish males who are highly identified with their ethnic group will perceive faces categorized as Jewish, as having more desirable characteristics than will males who are relatively less identified.

3. Jewish females who are highly identified with their ethnic group will perceive faces categorized as Jewish, as having more desirable characteristics than will females who are relatively less identified.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Subjects

Two hundred and thirty-four subjects were drawn from six greek houses at the University of Oklahoma. The six houses included three Jewish fraternities, Alpha Epsilon Pi, Sigma Alpha Mu, and Phi Beta Epsilon and three Jewish sororities, Alpha Epsilon Phi, Delta Phi Epsilon and Sigma Delta Tau. The final testing instrument and procedure was applied to only two of the fraternities and two of the sororities. The remaining fraternity and sorority were used for photograph validation.

Photograph Validation Procedure

Forty-one photographs of females were selected from University of Oklahoma yearbooks 1959-1963 by two Jewish psychology graduate students, one male and one female, on the criterion of being ethnically ambiguous. That is, the judges were not able to reach agreement as to whether the faces were Jewish or Christian. Further care was taken by the two judges to select only those photographs in which as little clothing as possible was visable, where the general

pose of all faces was similar, and where all faces were at least slightly smiling. These photographs were then enlarged to a size of two and one half inches by two and one half inches.

Thirty-six subjects, chosen randomly from one fraternity and one sorority of the original six greek houses were shown the 41 photographs. The experimenter met with each subject individually and gave the following instructions:

> I am going to show you photographs of 41 girls and I would like you to sort them into piles. One pile for those girls that you think are Jewish, one pile for those girls you think are Christian, and if you just can't decide, put them in a third pile.

Although a response was to be preferred, the existance of the third pile was alluded to so that the test would not become one of forced choice. The criterion that the photographs be ethnically ambiguous was met by only those photographs that were placed in both the Jewish and Christian pile approximately the same number of times by all subjects. That is, the difference in placement between the Jewish and Christian pile would approximate 0.

Photograph Validation Results

Of the 41 photographs selected by two Jewish graduate students as being ethnically ambiguous and prepared for presentation to the final fraternity and sorority for validation, 12 came quite close to fulfilling the requirements of the criterion. These 12 photographs along with their corresponding percentages of the number of times placed in the

three category piles are shown in Table 1. Table 1 indicates that photographs 1,4,8,15,18,22,29,32 and 33 showed a difference equal to or less than 10 percent in Jew and Christian pile placement, while photographs 6,28 and 37 showed a difference equal to or less than 13 percent in pile placement. Subsequently, it was these 12 photographs that were selected as ethnically ambiguous and chosen for final use in the test booklets (see Appendix C).

TABLE 1

SUMMARY OF PHOTOGRAPHS WHICH MOST CLOSELY APPROXIMATED THE CRITERION OF ETHNIC AMBIGUITY

Photo No.	% Jewish	% I Don't Know	% Christian	% J - C
1	37	24	39	2
4	41	17	42	1
6	37	14	50	13
8	39	14	47	8
15	47	8	45	2
18	37	18	45	8
22	47	16	37	10
29	32	29	39	7
28	32	23	45	13
32	42	11	47	5
33	39	16	45	6
37	34	19	47	13

Measure of Perceptual Change

The 12 ethnically ambiguous photographs were varied under two conditions. In the first, six of the photographs were randomly assigned Jewish female names: Karen Seigel, Barbara Weiss, Bonnie Goldman, Carol Levine, Linda Abraham and Ruthie Kaplan. These names were chosen from Jewish periodicals, Jewish parochial school yearbooks, and Jewish organizational newsletters. The remaining six photographs were randomly assigned Christian female names: Dianne Winters, Mary Ann Jennings, Sheri Rogers, Cathy Boyle, Sandy Thompson, and Cindy Williams. Christian names were selected from history books, college yearbooks, and telephone books. In Condition II, the same 12 photographs were assigned numbers instead of names, i.e. Photo #1, Photo #2, Photo #3, etc. as shown in Appendix C.

Corresponding to each picture under both conditions were three seven-point scales along the dimension of attractiveness, ranging from extremely attractive to extremely unattractive; on the dimension of intelligence, ranging from extremely intelligent to extremely unintelligent; and on the dimension of character, ranging from very strong character to very weak character. For photographs under Condition I, the name under each picture identified its corresponding scales. Similarly for photographs under Condition II, the numbers under each photograph identified its corresponding scales (see Appendix C).

Identification Measure.--In order to measure the degree of identification of the subjects with their Jewish membership group, five Jewish norms were randomly assigned to five semantic differential scales for bi-polar ratings. The five norms were selected for their relevance in Jewish culture and from among those norms employed by Palkowitz (1964) and Swartz (1965) in semantic differential studies. They were Keeping the Sabbath, Keeping Kosher, Yeshiva, Bar Mitzvah, and Daily Prayer. A set of eight bi-polar adjectives; valuable-worthless, deep-shallow, passive-active, sharp-dull, good-bad, beneficial-harmful, moving-motionless, sharp-dull were selected for their relevance along the evaluative and dynamism dimensions of meanings as was demonstrated by Klein, (1966) and were randomized by bipolar order (deep-shallow, shallow-deep) on seven point continuums. They were also randomized for order within scales (see Appendix C).

Attached to the identification measure were the following printed instructions:

> If you feel that a given concept is very closely related to one end of the scale, you should place your check mark at one of the extremes of the scale. If you feel that the concept is quite closely related to one or to the other end of the scale you should place your checkmark close to but not at one of the scale extremes. If the concept seems only slightly related to one side as opposed to the other side (but not really neutral), then you should place your checkmark next to the central scale position reaching in either direction. In general the direction toward which you check, of course, depends upon which of the two ends of the scale seem most characteristic of the concept which you are judging.

> If you consider the concept to be neutral on the scale, both sides of the scale equally associated with the concept, or if the scale is completely irrelevant, unrelated to the concept, then you should place your checkmark in the center of the scale.

Demographic Questionnaire.--A demographic questionnaire was developed which elicited responses as to the subject's mother's and father's present Jewish affiliation, and his own present and future Jewish affiliation. Each of these questions were accompanied by four randomized choices: Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, and None. The choices were randomized because it was felt that the usual listing of affiliation from Orthodox to None implies a value judgment, that one is moving away from something generic to Judaism. Further the subjects were asked for their college classification (see Appendix C).

Control of Awareness.--The problem of subject awareness has been raised by Page (1964) that subjects may frequently aid in the attainment of experimental significance. Page demonstrated this by replicating two Staats and Staats (1957, 1958) verbal conditioning studies. In the present social psychological experiment, it is also thought prudent to control for this frequently missed and subtle variable. Subsequently, at the end of each test booklet, two questions were added to discover whether or not the subjects were consciously aware of what the experimenter was looking for, and whether such awareness might bias experimental findings. The questions were: "What do you believe

the purpose of this experiment to be? What do you believe the experimenter expected to happen?"

Test Booklet Construction.--Two test booklets were constructed. Each of the two booklets began with twelve identical photographs placed on two pages with corresponding and identical attractiveness, intelligence, and character scales placed adjacent to them. However, for Booklet I, photographs with attached Christian and Jewish names and scales identified by names were used. For Booklet II, photographs and scales identified by numbers were used.

The second section of each booklet provided instructions for taking the semantic differential test of identification, and then presented the five norms themselves with their corresponding scales. In the actual construction of the test booklet, the order of norm presentation was randomized. Finally, the last section, identical for Booklets I and II, was made up of a demographic and subject awareness questionnaire. Test Booklets I and II may be found in Appendix C.

Testing Procedure.--The experimenter visited each of the four greek houses within a week's time and divided the subjects within each house into two separate groups of approximately equal number. To one group he passed out Test Booklet I and to the other group he passed out Test Booklet II. He gave both groups the following set of instructions:

> Your test booklet is composed of three parts. In the first part are 12 pictures of girls that you are to

match with the scales adjacent to them. After you have matched them, I want you to rate the photographs for attractiveness, intelligence, and character. For example, you can rate a face as being extremely attractive to extremely unattractive. There would be seven judgmental alternatives in all. Part two of your booklet begins with some instructions about how to rate various concepts. Read them carefully. If, for example, the concept is democracy and if you are looking at the good-bad scale, a mark at the good end or at the bad end would indicate your feeling about the concept. Finally, part three of your booklet is composed of a questionnaire to be filled out. You are to look only at your own test booklet and at no time during the session are you to ask a question out loud. Your name is not asked for and there is no way to identify your test booklet as belonging to you. Work through the booklet rapidly and answer all questions honestly. Also, do not discuss this test with anyone for a period of at least one month. Thank you.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Of the 196 subjects drawn from a sample of two Jewish fraternities and two Jewish sororities, 80 were selected for representation in the final analysis of the date. The selection procedure was as follows: The most highly identified 10 males and 10 females in Condition I, the name condition, were matched with an equal number of their same sex in Condition II, the no name condition. Similarly, the least identified 10 males and 10 females in Condition I were matched with an equal number of their same sex in Condition II. The judgment as to whether a subject was most or least identified was ascertained on the basis of semantic differential scores which were allowed to vary over a range from 1 through 14.

As can be seen in Appendix C, test booklet scales ranged from 1 through 7 during the experiment proper. However, the evaluative scales; beneficial-harmful, good-bad, pleasant-unpleasant and valuable-worthless were viewed separately from the dynamism scales, sharp-dull, active-passive,

deep-shallow and moving-motionless. Because there appeared to be only a slight tendency for subjects to judge norms more highly on the evaluative dimension, individual means for both dimensions were combined as shown in Table 2. Also, displayed in Table 2 are the means and variances for the composite scores, which were homogenious with respect to their matched partners.

TABLE 2

SUMMARY OF MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF COMPOSITE SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCORES FOR THE 80 SUBJECTS USED IN THE ANALYSIS

	Males Condition I		Males Condition II	
	$\bar{X}$	S	$\bar{X}$	S
High Identifiers	4.52	.89	4.62	.47
Low Identifiers	8.50	.74	9.37	1.18

	Females Condition I		Females Condition II	
	$\bar{X}$	S	$\bar{X}$	S
High Identifiers	4.07	.42	3.89	.52
Low Identifiers	8.15	1.78	7.62	1.04

Hypothesis 1 states that when faces are categorized as being Jewish or Christian, Jewish subjects, whether they are highly identified or relatively less identified with their ethnic group will attribute more desirable characteristics to Jewish faces. Table 3 displays the summary

TABLE 3

SUMMARY OF MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF DIFFERENCE SCORES ON ATTRACTIVENESS, INTELLIGENCE AND CHARACTER DIMENSIONS

	High Identifiers				Low Identifiers					
	Males		Females		Males		Females			
	$\bar{X}$	S	$\bar{X}$	S	$\bar{X}$	S	$\bar{X}$	S	t	p
Attractiveness	103.9	3.54	107.7	2.83	105.6	3.24	107.2	3.52	10.96	.05
Intelligence	98.2	4.49	102.2	2.30	100.6	5.08	101.4	1.90	1.04	NS
Character	101.6	2.88	102.9	4.23	104.0	4.11	102.9	4.65	3.92	.05

results for the three t tests on difference scores that were performed in order to evaluate this hypothesis. The hypothesis received partial support. Jewish faces were judged to be significantly more attractive and as having significantly more character than Christian faces. Moreover, they were seen as more intelligent but this result did not reach an acceptable level of significance (p .15).

Hypothesis 2 states that Jewish males who are highly identified with their ethnic group will perceive faces categorized as Jewish as having more desirable characteristics than will males who are relatively less identified. Three, three way analyses of variance were run in order to evaluate this hypothesis along the dimensions of attractiveness, intelligence and character. Specifically, it was expected that the difference for the two experimental conditions, names and no names, would be greater for the highly identified males, as would be tested by the two simple interaction effects of sex and identification for the two experimental conditions.

The three way interaction of sex, identification and names, which was to be further broken down into simple interaction effects, yielded significance at the .05 level for the attractiveness dimension. This may be viewed in Table 4. However, the interaction of sex, identification, and names was not found to be significant along the dimensions of character or intelligence as can be viewed in

TABLE 4

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR ATTRACTIVENESS DIMENSION

Source	MS	df	F	P
S	94.61	1	5.26	.05
I	35.11	1	1.96	NS
N	37.81	1	2.13	NS
S X I	17.12	1	.96	NS
S X N	5.52	1	.31	NS
I X N	10.52	1	.58	NS
S X I X N	82.00	1	4.59	.05
Error	17.87	72		

S = Sex
I = Identification
N = Names

Tables 5 and 6 respectively.

TABLE 5

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR INTELLIGENCE DIMENSION

Source	MS	df	F	P
S	27.61	1	1.57	NS
I	15.31	1	.87	NS
N	.31	1	1.44	NS
S X I	25.32	1	.02	NS
S X N	30.02	1	1.71	NS
I X N	.12	1	.01	NS
S X I X N	4.50	1	2.58	NS
Error	17.54	72		

S = Sex
I = Identification
N = Names

TABLE 6

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR CHARACTER DIMENSION

Source	MS	df	F	P
S	15.13	1	.70	NS
I	.28	1	.01	NS
N	69.92	1	3.26	NS
S X I	.28	1	.01	NS
S X N	11.87	1	.55	NS
I X N	23.32	1	1.09	NS
S X I X N	9.02	1	.42	NS
Error	17.94	72		

S = Sex
I = Identification
N = Names

Analysis of the simple interaction effects of sex and identification for the name and no name conditions along the attractiveness dimension yielded significance at the .01 level as can be seen in Table 7. A graphic presentation of the simple interaction effects can be seen in Figure 1.

TABLE 7

SUMMARY OF SIMPLE INTERACTION EFFECTS OF SEX AND IDENTIFICATION FOR NAMES AND NO NAMES

Source	MS	df	F	P
SS_{SI} for N_1	1272	1	71.18	.01
SS_{SI} for N_2	304	1	17.01	.01
Error	17.87	72		

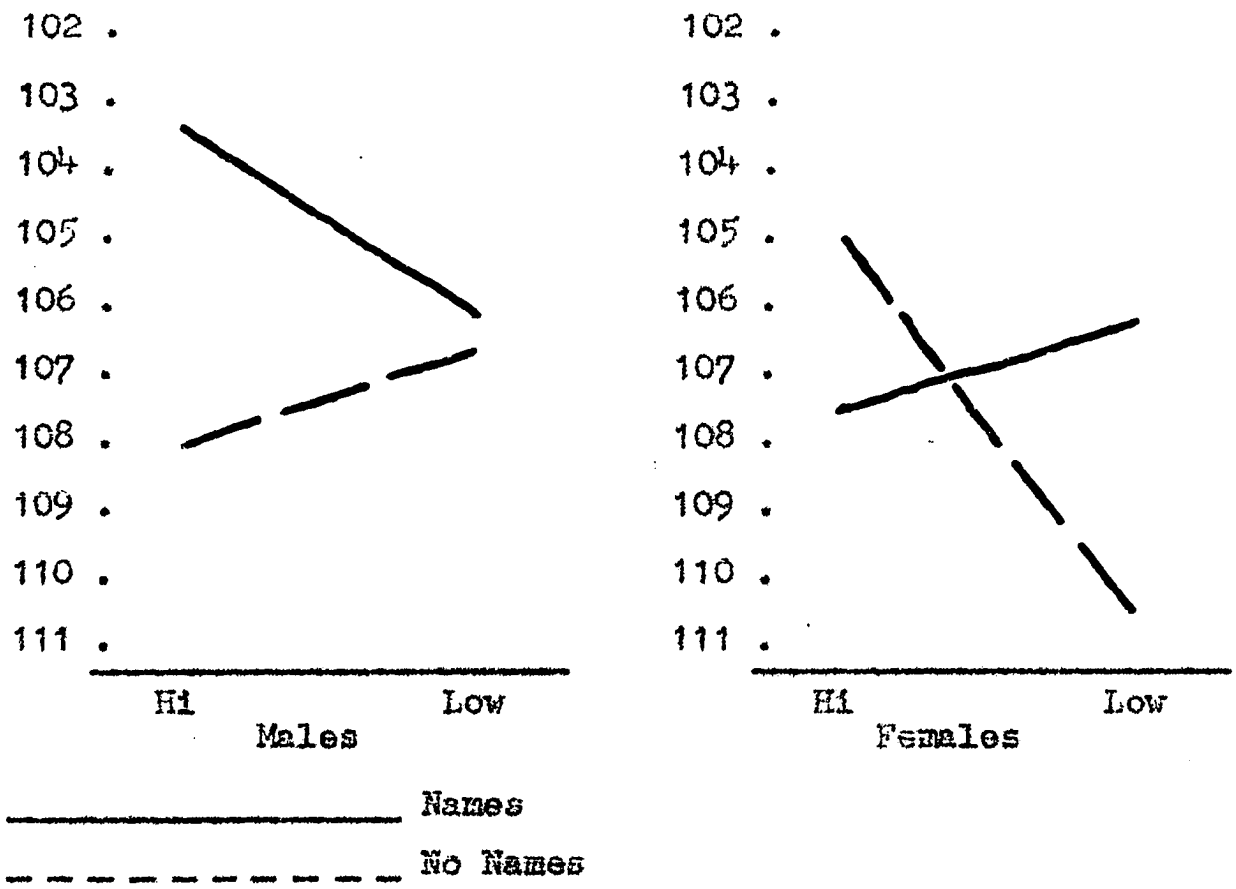

Fig. 1.--Graph of Simple Interaction Effects of Sex and Identification for Names and No Names.

Because the interactions of sex, identification, and names were not found to be significant along the intelligence and character dimensions, no further tests of simple interaction effects were performed. Inspection of Figure 1 indicates that the difference between Condition I and Condition II is greater for highly identified than for less identified males. That is, highly identified males gave higher ratings to faces categorized as Jewish than did less identified males.

Significance for the main effect of sex was found along the attractiveness dimension at the .05 level as can

be seen in Table 4. This would indicate that male and female subjects differed in their perception of female faces over and above any differences anticipated as being related to variations in identification. It must be pointed out however, that this sex difference was not found along the intelligence and character dimensions as is shown in Tables 5 and 6.

Hypothesis 3 states that Jewish females, who are highly identified with their ethnic group, will perceive faces categorized as Jewish as having more desirable characteristics than will males who are relatively less identified. The three, three way analyses of variances, which evaluated Hypothesis 2, are identical in treatment of Hypothesis 3. As in the case of male subjects, it was anticipated that the difference between the two experimental conditions would be greater for the highly identified female than for the relatively less identified female, as would be tested by the two simple interaction effects of sex and identification for the name and no name conditions.

Significance found for the interaction of sex, identification, and names may be viewed in Table 4. For the dimension of attractiveness, significance was realized at the .05 level, but this was not the case for the dimensions of intelligence and character as is shown in Tables 5 and 6 respectively. Analysis of the two simple interaction effects of sex and identification for the name and no name

conditions were found to be significant at the .01 level as is displayed in Table 7 and Figure 1. This significance was found for the attractiveness dimension.

Inspection of Figure 1 indicates a fundamental contradiction of Hypothesis 3. In the case of female subjects, there is a greater difference in ratings between the name and no name conditions for the less identified subjects then for the highly identified subjects. That is, highly identified female subjects depreciated photographs categorized as Jewish as compared to female subjects who were relatively less identified.

Analysis of the demographic questionnaire points to the finding that of the 40 subjects selected as most highly identified, 3 professed to be Orthodox Jews, 27 to be Conservative Jews, 9 to be Reform Jews and 1 to have no Jewish affiliation whatsoever. Of the 40 subjects who were selected as being low in identification, 1 professed to be an Orthodox Jew, 8 to be Conservative Jews, 26 to be Reform Jews, and 5 to have no Jewish affiliation. Collapsing categories, as in Table 8, reveals that norms central to Judaism are, in the main, rated higher along the evaluative and dynamism dimensions of meaning by Orthodox and Conservative Jews than by Reform Jews and those who profess no affiliation whatsoever. A chi square performed on high and low identifiers with their ethnic preferences revealed significance at the .001 level, and generally supports the

semantic differential test findings of Palkowitz (1964) and Swartz (1965).

TABLE 8

HIGH AND LOW IDENTIFIERS WITH THEIR ETHNIC AFFILIATION CHOICES

	Orthodox and Conservative	Reform and None	Total
High Identifiers	30	10	40
Low Identifiers	9	31	40

Chi Square 19.82, p .001

Also noteworthy is the fact that 44 of the 80 subjects used in the analysis reported holding the same affiliation as their parents and expected to have that same affiliation, only seven of the 80 subjects differed from their parents either in terms of present or projected affiliation. Subject responses to the demographic questionnaire may be found in Table 10 of Appendix 8.

Analysis of the control for subject awareness, which could potentially undermine the validity of the present study, resulted in no serious difficulty. Only one subject out of the total sample of 196 actually predicted what the experiment was about and what the experimenter expected to happen. Through extended interview with this subject it was learned that she was a psychology major who was familiar with Razran's (1954) study of ethnic stereotypes. For that

reason she was removed from the final analysis of the data. Other subjects who had taken an introductory course in psychology tried to couch their answers in psychological vocabulary but were obviously naive as to experimental purposes and hypotheses. The vast majority of subjects responded simply that they did not know or couldn't say.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

While the procedure employed to validate photographs comfortably approximated the criterion of ethnic ambiguity, several corollary considerations may be worthy of discussion. Not only were one-half of the subjects male, the other half female, but they represented, in total, widely different religious and social subcultures. The effect of this factor on individual judgment would no doubt be of significance, as the role of past experience in perception has been successfully demonstrated in numerous studies (Allport & Postman, 1958; Horowitz & Horowitz, 1937; Kelman, 1950; Luft, 1957; Perlmutter & Shapiro, 1957; Razran, 1950).

Yet, despite sex and subculture differences, it was learned through post-validation interviews that certain cues of ethnic determination were common to all subjects. Most subjects, for example, reported size of nose, complexion, straightness and color of hair, darkness of eyes and prominence of chin as being primary cues. In the main, there appeared to be a generally held stereotype that the Jewish female had a relatively large nose, dark curly hair, dark

eyes and a less prominent chin. Noteworthy is the impression that each of the 12 photographs chosen as ethnically ambiguous reveal at least one facial cue that contradicts the verbalized stereotype.

The female face in Photo #2 of Appendix C, for example, has a prominent chin and straight hair, but dark eyes and a relatively large nose. Similarly, the female face in Photo #10 has curly hair and a relatively large nose but a relatively prominent chin and light eyes. For this reason, an "I don't know" category was included in the photograph validation procedure for as can be seen in Table 1, many subjects were simply not able or unwilling to make ethnic distinctions on the basis of facial characteristics. This suggests that when a name was added to a photograph, it became an identification anchor; that the photographs really became for subjects, pictures of Jewish and Christian girls.

Beyond its contribution to the formation of the ethnic stereotype, past experience could be expected to exert a cogent influence on the category referents of the stereotype as well as on the rigidity with which the stereotype was held (Hood, 1962). When an individual meets a person who reminds him of a close friend, Secord (1964) suggests that it is commonplace to attribute characteristics of that friend to the stranger. In this regard, one subject told the investigator that a particular face must certainly be Jewish because it resembled a cousin. Others stated that

certain faces were too unpleasant to be Jewish, while still others stated that some faces were too pretty to be Jewish. It would appear that each subject went through a process of comparing and contrasting photograph characteristics with the pattern of characteristics attributable to the stereotype. This best fit notion of categorization is already grounded in experimental work (Kogan and Shelton, 1960; Secord, 1964).

Further, it was observed during the photograph presentation and through post-validation interviews that those Jews who came to college from predominantly Jewish sections of New York City more commonly accepted the Jewish stereotype, and tended to be more aggressive and authoritarian in their judgments. When the investigator asked each of the subjects, "Would you believe me if I told you that all 41 photographs were actually of Jews (Christians), many of them responded in the negative.

On the other hand, those Jewish subjects who came from suburbs and small cities in the Middle and Southwest were seemingly less activated by this stereotype. Observations of this nature lend credence to the commonday observation that there are real or apparent differences in the behavior of Jews from New York and Jews who reside in other parts of the country. Such a statement, like the stereotype itself, is an oversimplification. Still, it is altogether possible that New York Jews residing in a city of dense Jewish population, find ethnic social norms more

compelling, and are placed in a social context where opportunity for interaction with first generation Jews is maximum. For it is often from interaction with first generation American Jews that such stereotypes become crystalized. Perhaps most interesting is the finding that while each of the 12 photographs were placed in the Jew and Christian pile approximately the same number of times, only one of the faces was that of a Jewish girl in actuality.

The semantic differential test of identification was administered to 196 subjects within a Jewish organizational context. An interview with Rabbi Phillip Epstein (May, 1966) of the University of Oklahoma B'nai Brith Hillel Foundation revealed that the number of Jewish students at the University approximated 700 and that over 90 percent of these students affiliated with Jewish greek houses at some time during their college career. For that reason, the six Jewish greek houses were chosen as the most promising source of Jewish subjects. However, the very fact that the experiment was conducted in a Jewish organizational context requires special consideration.

Whether such a large percentage of Jewish students affiliate with greek organizations for prestige purposes, to secure an instant identity, to blunt apprehensions of college matriculation, to more adequately define where they stand in terms of dating possibilities, to respond to parental or peer group pressure, is beyond the scope of this study.

Still, it seems clear that such prevalent membership does not simply imply a devotion to Judaism, its norms and traditions. Subsequently it was believed that a specifiable amount of variation in respect to Jewish identification could be expected, though it was never thought that Jews with very low identification would be found. Such persons often tend to change their names, hide their ethnic background, and would generally have a low probability joining a Jewish fraternity or sorority.

The dichotomization of subjects into high and low identifiers was further complicated by the fact that in all six houses there were norms concerning Judaism or related to Judaism; norms that were well structured and often times compelling. A female subject, for example, who belonged to the sorority purported to maintain the greatest number of Jewish norms, related the following incident. Having recently dated a Christian boy for a period of time, she accepted his fraternity pin and was under obligation to wear it. At about this same time, the sorority began to prepare for its annual rushing functions. The sorority executive board met and decided that it was not in the group's best interest to have the subject meet prospective rushees wearing a Christian fraternity pin and issued an ultimatum to the girl; either she cease to wear the pin or she would be barred from participation in the coming activities.

Even that fraternity, credited as being most

assimilative in interaction with a primarily Christian university setting, had norms surrounding its participation in Jewish life. Not only did rules exist involving neophite member participation in religious services, but each evening meal was begun with the blessing over the bread, and a Hebrew prayer said by all members.

From post-experimental interviews, the investigator found that the question of identification with Judaism was of salient concern to the subjects, though such concern did not lie in the area of Jewish tradition, and religious percepts. The subjects, it appeared, were not ego involved with questions of observing the Sabbath or whether or not there was a Diety. The following questions best represent their immediate and most compelling concerns: "Does interfaith dating lead to interfaith marriage? Can sexual relations with Christian students be enjoyed without reprisals, if interfaith marriage is unthinkable? Why do I feel like a Jew even though I am not religious? How does the Christian outgroup feel about us? How can we gain more prestige in their estimation?"

This would suggest that future adaptation of semantic differential scales, as a test of identification, should not restrict itself to basically religious norms, but ought to include more subtle norms as a Jew might refer in daily social interaction. The possibility of Jewish identification in a more secular sense, that is, Jews without

Judaism was pointed to by Shapiro (1958) at the psychological level of analysis:

> No one has been able to define Jew, and in essence, this defiance of definition is central to the meaning of Jewish consciousness. For to be a Jew is to be in a certain state of consciousness which is inescapable. As everyone knows, a Jew who becomes an atheist remains a Jew. A Jew who becomes a Catholic remains a Jew. Being a Jew is the consciousness of being a Jew and the Jewish identity, with or without religion, with or without history, is a significant fact. The Jew is unique among mankind in that once he accepts his identity, the word Jew retains its eternal shock, a shock that has nothing to do with Christ or the Crucifixion.

The confirmation of Hypothesis 1 along the dimensions of attractiveness and character indicated that not only did categorization by names result in a differential perception of faces, but that the direction of distortion was toward more positive ratings of the Jewish faces. This supports the experimental work of Harvey (1954) who found that achievement scores of individuals belonging to a dormitory clique were overevaluated by fellow clique members, and the field work of Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood and Sherif (1954) who found that after two groups had been made mutually antagonistic and ingroup solidarity was achieved, group members, in the main, overevaluated the number of beans collected by individuals belonging to that group. It must be stressed, however, that there is no evidence to suggest that in the present study Jewish subjects were antagonistic to the Christian outgroup, nor that the converse was true, only that there did exist between the two groups definable sociocultural

distinctions that could be verbalized by individual group members, and which upon occasion found expression through hostilities or tension.

Furthermore, the confirmation of Hypothesis 1 supports the work of Oskamp (1965) who found that American subjects overevaluated foreign policy decisions attributed to the American government and depreciated identical actions when attributed to the government of the Soviet Union. Finally, the results lend credence to the work of Blake and Mouton (1962) who found that when groups were formed and presented with the task of solving a common problem, ingroup solutions were overevaluated by ingroup members and depreciated by members of experimental outgroups. Here it must be pointed out that the groups formed in the Blake and Mouton study were transient and without structure as compared to the historical permanence of the Jewish subculture.

Noteworthy is the finding that while Jewish subjects, as a whole, overevaluated Jewish faces along the attractiveness and character dimension, the effect was much less pronounced for the characteristic of intelligence, which did not attain statistical significance at the .05 level. Most unusual is the fact that this result contradicts a widely held stereotype that Jews are, for the most part, known for their intelligence (Katz and Braly, 1933; Razran, 1950).

By way of explanation, two possibilities are offered. Firstly, it is conceivable that the stereotype is not born

out by subject experience at the University of Oklahoma; that Jews themselves may not believe that they receive a disproportionate number of high marks and academic honors; that the stereotype, if it exists, is a Christian stereotype and not necessarily accepted by Jews. More convincing however, could be the fact that the photographs employed in the present study were photographs of females and that there is a general tendency to degrade the intelligence of the female sex. This may be most compelling for the Jewish male who could be threatened by female abilities.

Hypotheses 2 and 3 queries the nature and applicability of reference group theory. It has been demonstrated in this study and in previous efforts that when an individual belongs to a group, he will overevaluate objects belonging to that group and depreciate objects belonging to outgroups. However, reference group theory suggests that an individual may be a member of one group and yet psychologically aspire to be part of another (Sherif, 1953). Subsequently, it was postulated in the present study that it is not enough to know that an individual belongs to a particular group in order to predict that he will differentially perceive ingroup and outgroup objects; that the degree to which he identifies with that group must also be known.

Hypothesis 2, confirmed along the attractiveness dimension, supports this contention. Male subjects who were highly identified with their ingroup gave higher ratings to

female faces when they were categorized, as compared to male subjects who were less identified. Hypothesis 3, however, yielded contradictory results. Highly identified female subjects gave lower ratings to ingroup faces as compared to female subjects who were relatively less identified. While this result at first seems puzzling, it may also be revealing. Field observations within each sorority suggested that the female subjects were keenly aware of social experience and especially sensitive to the possibilities and anticipation of marriage. Thus, it may be meaningful to ask, "Who presents the greatest source of social competition for the highly identified female?" It is another Jewish female. "Who might feel less competitive toward Jewish females in general?" It is the female who has little identification with her ingroup. Thus, it is suggested that a measure of competitiveness and jealously affected the perceptions of the female sample.

The finding that no difference existed between high and low identifiers along the dimensions of character and intelligence raises the question of what other functional factors may have been effective in influencing subject perception beyond those suggested by the experimental hypotheses? Field observation supports the empirical finding that the Jewish subject was concerned with his being Jewish and further that the stereotyped image of the Jew was very real to him. It was expected that this awareness would influence

his perceptions in social situations where his ethnic background was of consequence. Moreover, when the question of Jewish attractiveness was raised, it was believed and confirmed that highly identified Jews would rate Jewish females higher than Christian females. Highly identified Jewish subjects supported their group by rating Jewish female faces more favorably than less identified subjects against the background of an essentially negative stereotype; that Jewish females are less attractive then their Christian counterparts. But this was not the case for the characteristics of intelligence and character; here the stereotype became somewhat reversed. For the Jew is often portrayed as being intelligent, shrewd and cunning. His character is supposedly better defined because of the strength of the Jewish family unit; that Jewish teenagers commit fewer crimes, that there are fewer alcoholics among them. But in the minds eye of many Jews, has not this notion acted at the core of Jewish persecution; that they were somehow different, an unwelcome distinction. Thus, a highly identified Jew may actually want to down play Jewish characteristics as they serve to alienate and separate him from the larger community. For even if they are objectively favorable, they may be degrading in a larger sense. Perhaps the highly identified Jew is in point of fact overevaluating objects belonging to his ethnic group by proclaiming that he is the same as everyone else and that he wants to be accepted as such.

Conclusions and Direction for Future Research

In the main, Jewish students were found to attribute more desirable characteristics to female faces when categorized as Jewish, as compared to when they were categorized as Christian. This finding supports previous research done in the area of the differential perception of ingroup and outgroup objects. The question as to whether one who is highly identified with his ingroup will perceive group objects differently than a person who is less identified with his ingroup received partial support that was most conclusive for male subjects. A number of factors such as sex, rivalry, and aversion to negative group stereotyping were offered in explanation of this result.

Possibilities for future research appear both myriad and promising. Several suggestions are offered. It might be well in testing Jewish identification to include group norms that are secular as well as religious in nature. This coupled with a consideration of subject participation in Jewish life would provide, in light of the present study, a most useful index of ingroup identification. Further it seems clear that if variations of ingroup identification do effect perception, this phenomenon would not be restricted to an evaluation of ethnic groups. Thus, for example, the question might be raised as to whether an individual who is highly identified with his country would perceive objects or

actions taken by that country differently than those who are less identified.

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APPENDIX A

PERCEPT DATA TABLES

TABLE 9

DIFFERENCE SCORES BETWEEN JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN PHOTOGRAPHS FOR ATTRACTIVENESS, INTELLIGENCE AND CHARACTER

Subject	Attractiveness	Intelligence	Character
1	102	100	97
2	102	97	98
3	107	102	99
4	99	88	101
5	105	101	103
6	107	97	104
7	108	101	103
8	99	94	101
9	102	103	105
10	108	99	105
11	110	101	101
12	114	101	106
13	102	99	106
14	105	97	104
15	113	100	96
16	106	99	103
17	110	103	99
18	100	96	98
19	109	95	96
20	102	106	102
21	101	101	102
22	109	99	107
23	100	93	102
24	104	108	107
25	108	98	102
26	106	98	100
27	106	104	109
28	110	94	100
29	105	105	100
30	107	106	111
31	114	109	112
32	97	97	95
33	108	105	101
34	104	104	103
35	109	102	104
36	111	101	103
37	106	102	109
38	106	103	104
39	105	96	102
40	102	94	94
41	108	102	106
42	108	100	110

TABLE 9--Continued

Subject	Attractiveness	Intelligence	Character
43	107	105	104
44	102	107	99
45	110	102	103
46	109	102	105
47	111	102	104
48	106	99	99
49	105	102	95
50	111	101	104
51	106	103	103
52	111	99	99
53	114	94	103
54	101	100	114
55	104	105	106
56	108	104	109
57	103	100	99
58	102	102	103
59	108	98	108
60	101	98	109
61	111	102	105
62	105	101	112
63	106	104	108
64	107	99	96
65	106	103	102
66	112	100	103
67	105	98	98
68	113	102	103
69	104	102	102
70	103	103	100
71	109	99	108
72	106	107	100
73	108	100	95
74	111	100	109
75	103	96	96
76	112	92	100
77	116	93	95
78	124	114	107
79	111	104	103
80	108	101	105

APPENDIX B

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

TABLE 10

SUBJECT RESPONSES TO DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

(1) = Question 1: What affiliation does your father have?
(2) = Question 2: What affiliation does your mother have?
(3) = Question 3: What affiliation do you expect to have in later life?
(4) = Question 4: What affiliation do you have now?

O = Orthodox; C = Conservative; R = Reform; N = None

Highly Identified Males	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	C	C	C	C
	R	R	R	R
	C	C	C	C
	C	C	C	C
	C	N	C	R
	N	C	R	C
	C	C	C	C
	C	C	C	C
	R	C	R	R
	C	R	C	C
	R	O	R	R
	O	O	O	O
	C	C	C	C
	O	O	O	O
	C	C	N	N
	C	C	C	C
	R	R	R	R
	O	O	C	O
	R	R	C	R
			C	O
				R

Highly Identified Females	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	R	C	C	C
	O	O	C	C
	C	C	C	R
	R	R	R	R
	O	C	C	C
	R	R	R	R
	R	R	C	R
	O	O	C	R
	C	C	C	R
	C	R	C	C
				R
				C

TABLE 10--Continued

Highly Identified Females	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	C C O O R C C C C C	C C O O R C C C C C	C C C O R R C C C C	C C O O R R C C C C
Low Identified Males	**(1)**	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(4)**
	R R O C C R R N C R C R O R R R R N R	R R O C C R R R C R C R O R R R R N N	R R O C C R R N C R R R C C R R R N N	R R O C C R R N C R R R O R R R R N N
Low Identified Females	**(1)**	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(4)**
	O R R R R R	R R R R R N	R R R R R N	R R R R R N

TABLE 10--Continued

Low Identified Females	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	R	R	R	R
	C	C	C	N
	C	C	R	C
	C	C	N	N
	R	R	C	R
	C	C	R	C
	R	R	R	R
	R	R	C	R
	R	R	C	R
	N	R	N	N
	R	R	R	R
	R	C	R	R
	R	R	R	R
	N	R	N	R

APPENDIX C

TEST BOOKLETS

MATCH THE PHOTOGRAPHS ON THE OPPOSITE PAGE WITH THEIR CORRESPONDING NUMBERS BELOW AND _____.

JUDGE FOR ATTRACTIVENESS	EXTREMELY ATTRACTIVE	ATTRACTIVE	SLIGHTLY ATTRACTIVE	AVERAGE	SLIGHTLY UNATTRACTIVE	UNATTRACTIVE	EXTREMELY UNATTRACTIVE
Photo 1							
Photo 2							
Photo 3							
Photo 4							
Photo 5							
Photo 6							

JUDGE FOR INTELLIGENCE	EXTREMELY INTELLIGENT	INTELLIGENT	SLIGHTLY INTELLIGENT	AVERAGE	SLIGHTLY UNINTELLIGENT	UNINTELLIGENT	EXTREMELY UNINTELLIGENT
Photo 1							
Photo 2							
Photo 3							
Photo 4							
Photo 5							
Photo 6							

JUDGE FOR CHARACTER	VERY STRONG CHARACTER	STRONG CHARACTER	SLIGHTLY STRONG CHARACTER	AVERAGE	SLIGHTLY WEAK CHARACTER	WEAK CHARACTER	VERY WEAK CHARACTER
Photo 1							
Photo 2							
Photo 3							
Photo 4							
Photo 5							

MATCH THE PHOTOGRAPHS ON THE OPPOSITE PAGE WITH THEIR CORRESPONDING NUMBERS BELOW AND _____.

JUDGE FOR ATTRACTIVENESS	EXTREMELY ATTRACTIVE	ATTRACTIVE	SLIGHTLY ATTRACTIVE	AVERAGE	SLIGHTLY UNATTRACTIVE	UNATTRACTIVE	EXTREMELY UNATTRACTIVE
Photo 1							
Photo 2							
Photo 3							
Photo 4							
Photo 5							
Photo 6							

JUDGE FOR INTELLIGENCE	EXTREMELY INTELLIGENT	INTELLIGENT	SLIGHTLY INTELLIGENT	AVERAGE	SLIGHTLY UNINTELLIGENT	UNINTELLIGENT	EXTREMELY UNINTELLIGENT
Photo 1							
Photo 2							
Photo 3							
Photo 4							
Photo 5							
Photo 6							

JUDGE FOR CHARACTER	VERY STRONG CHARACTER	STRONG CHARACTER	SLIGHTLY STRONG CHARACTER	AVERAGE	SLIGHTLY WEAK CHARACTER	WEAK CHARACTER	VERY WEAK CHARACTER
Photo 1							
Photo 2							
Photo 3							
Photo 4							
Photo 5							
Photo 6							



PHOTO #1



PHOTO #2



PHOTO #3



PHOTO #4



PHOTO #5



PHOTO #6

MATCH THE PHOTOGRAPHS ON THE OPPOSITE PAGE WITH THEIR CORRESPONDING NUMBERS BELOW AND _____.

JUDGE FOR ATTRACTIVENESS	EXTREMELY ATTRACTIVE	ATTRACTIVE	SLIGHTLY ATTRACTIVE	AVERAGE	SLIGHTLY UNATTRACTIVE	UNATTRACTIVE	EXTREMELY UNATTRACTIVE
Photo 7							
Photo 8							
Photo 9							
Photo 10							
Photo 11							
Photo 12							

JUDGE FOR INTELLIGENCE	EXTREMELY INTELLIGENT	INTELLIGENT	SLIGHTLY INTELLIGENT	AVERAGE	SLIGHTLY UNINTELLIGENT	UNINTELLIGENT	EXTREMELY UNINTELLIGENT
Photo 7							
Photo 8							
Photo 9							
Photo 10							
Photo 11							
Photo 12							

JUDGE FOR CHARACTER	VERY STRONG CHARACTER	STRONG CHARACTER	SLIGHTLY STRONG CHARACTER	AVERAGE	SLIGHTLY WEAK CHARACTER	WEAK CHARACTER	VERY WEAK CHARACTER
Photo 7							
Photo 8							
Photo 9							
Photo 10							
Photo 11							
Photo 12							



PHOTO #7



PHOTO #8



PHOTO #9



PHOTO #10



PHOTO #11



PHOTO #12

INSTRUCTIONS

The purpose of this study is to measure the meanings of certain concepts to various people by having them judge them against a series of descriptive scales. In taking this test, please make your judgments on the basis of what these concepts mean to you. On each page of this booklet you will find a different concept to be judged and beneath it a set of scales. You are to rate the concept on each of these scales in order.

Here is how you are to use these scales:

If you feel that the concept at the top of the page is very closely related to one end of the scale, you should place your check-mark as follows:

FAIR:__X__:____:____:____:____:____:____:UNFAIR

FAIR:____:____:____:____:____:____:__X__:UNFAIR

If you feel that the concept is quite closely related to one or to the other end of the scale (but not extremely), you should place your check-mark as follows:

FAIR:____:__X__:____:____:____:____:____:UNFAIR

or

FAIR:____:____:____:____:____:____:____:UNFAIR

If the concept seems only slightly related to one side as opposed to the other side (but not really neutral), then you should place your check-mark as follows:

FAIR:____:____:__X__:____:____:____:____:UNFAIR

or

FAIR:____:____:____:____:__X__:____:____:UNFAIR

The direction toward which you check, of course, depends upon which of the two ends of the scale seem most characteristic of the concept which you are judging.

If you consider the concept to be neutral on the scale, both sides of the scale equally associated with the concept, or if the scale is completely irrelevant, unrelated to the concept, then you should place your check-mark in the

middle space:

FAIR:____:____:____:_X_:____:____:____:UNFAIR

IMPORTANT:

1) Place your check-mark in the middle of the spaces, not on the boundaries:

THIS						NOT THIS
: X :	:	:	:	:	:	:X :

2) Be sure you check every scale for every concept. DO NOT OMIT ANY!

3) Never put more than one check-mark on a single scale.

Do not try to remember how you checked similar items earlier in the test. Make each item a separate and independent judgment. Work at a fairly high speed throughout this test. Do not worry or puzzle over individual items. It is your first impressions, the immediate "feelings" about the items, that we want. On the other hand, please do not be careless, because we want your true impressions.

YESHIVA

SHARP:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:DULL

BAD:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:GOOD

WORTHLESS:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:VALUABLE

SHALLOW:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:DEEP

PLEASANT:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:UNPLEASANT

PASSIVE:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:ACTIVE

MOVING:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:MOTIONLESS

HARMFUL:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:BENEFICIAL

GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

KEEPING KOSHER

MOVING:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____MOTIONLESS

PASSIVE:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:ACTIVE

PLEASANT:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:UNPLEASANT

SHARP:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:DULL

HARMFUL:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:BENEFICIAL

WORTHLESS:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:VALUABLE

SHALLOW:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:DEEP

GOOD:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:BAD

GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

BAR MITZVAH

BENEFICIAL:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:HARMFUL

DULL:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:SHARP

GOOD:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:BAD

ACTIVE:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:PASSIVE

SHALLOW:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:DEEP

PLEASANT:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:UNPLEASANT

MOTIONLESS:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:MOVING

WORTHLESS:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:VALUABLE

GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

DAILY PRAYER

DEEP:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:SHALLOW

BAD:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:GOOD

WORTHLESS:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:VALUABLE

HARMFUL:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:BENEFICIAL

SHARP:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:DULL

MOTIONLESS:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:MOVING

PLEASANT:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:UNPLEASANT

ACTIVE:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:PASSIVE

GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

KEEPING THE SABBATH

VALUABLE:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:WORTHLESS

SHALLOW:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:DEEP

PASSIVE:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:ACTIVE

SHARP:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:DULL

BAD:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:GOOD

HARMFUL:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:BENEFICIAL

MOVING :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:MOTIONLESS

DULL:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:SHARP

GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

YOUR NAME HAS NOT BEEN ASKED FOR AND YOUR IDENTITY WILL REMAIN UNKNOWN.

WOULD YOU PLEASE PROVIDE THE EXPERIMENTER WITH THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION:

1. Your Classification: _____ _____ _____ _____ _____
   Graduate Senior Junior Sophomore Freshman

2. What Affiliation does your father have:

   _____ _____ _____ _____
   Conservative None Orthodox Reform

3. What affiliation does your mother have:

   _____ _____ _____ _____
   Reform Conservative Orthodox None

4. What affiliation do you expect to have in later life:

   _____ _____ _____ _____
   None Reform Conservative Orthodox

5. What affiliation do you now have:

   _____ _____ _____ _____
   Orthodox Reform Conservative None

WHAT DO YOU BELIEVE THE PURPOSE OF THIS EXPERIMENT TO BE?

WHAT DO YOU BELIEVE THE EXPERIMENTER EXPECTED TO HAPPEN:

MATCH THE PHOTOGRAPHS ON THE OPPOSITE PAGE WITH THEIR CORRESPONDING NAMES BELOW AND _____.

JUDGE FOR ATTRACTIVENESS	EXTREMELY ATTRACTIVE	ATTRACTIVE	SLIGHTLY ATTRACTIVE	AVERAGE	SLIGHTLY UNATTRACTIVE	UNATTRACTIVE	EXTREMELY UNATTRACTIVE
Karen Siegel							
Barbara Weiss							
Mary Ann Jennings							
Bonnie Goldman							
Carol Levine							
Sheri Rogers							

JUDGE FOR INTELLIGENCE	EXTREMELY INTELLIGENT	INTELLIGENT	SLIGHTLY INTELLIGENT	AVERAGE	SLIGHTLY UNINTELLIGENT	UNINTELLIGENT	EXTREMELY UNINTELLIGENT
Karen Seigel							
Barbara Weiss							
Mary Ann Jennings							
Bonnie Goldman							
Carol Levine							
Sheri Rogers							

JUDGE FOR CHARACTER	VERY STRONG CHARACTER	STRONG CHARACTER	SLIGHTLY STRONG CHARACTER	AVERAGE	SLIGHTLY WEAK CHARACTER	WEAK CHARACTER	VERY WEAK CHARACTER
Karen Siegel							
Barbara Weiss							
Mary Ann Jennings							
Bonnie Goldman							
Carol Levine							
Sheri Rogers							



KAREN SIEGAL



BARBARA WEISS



MARY ANN JENNINGS



BONNIE GOLDMAN



CAROL LEVINE



SHERI ROGERS

...TCH THE PHOTOGRAPHS ON THE OPPOSITE PAGE WITH THEIR CORRESPONDING NAMES BELOW AND _____.

JUDGE FOR ATTRACTIVENESS	EXTREMELY ATTRACTIVE	ATTRACTIVE	SLIGHTLY ATTRACTIVE	AVERAGE	SLIGHTLY UNATTRACTIVE	UNATTRACTIVE	EXTREMELY UNATTRACTIVE
Dianne Winters							
Linda Abraham							
Cathy Boyle							
Ruthie Kaplan							
Sandy Thompson							
Cindy Williams							

JUDGE FOR INTELLIGENCE	EXTREMELY INTELLIGENT	INTELLIGENT	SLIGHTLY INTELLIGENT	AVERAGE	SLIGHTLY UNINTELLIGENT	UNINTELLIGENT	EXTREMELY UNINTELLIGENT
Dianne Winters							
Linda Abraham							
Cathy Boyle							
Ruthie Kaplan							
Sandy Thompson							
Cindy Williams							

JUDGE FOR CHARACTER	VERY STRONG CHARACTER	STRONG CHARACTER	SLIGHTLY STRONG CHARACTER	AVERAGE	SLIGHTLY WEAK CHARACTER	WEAK CHARACTER	VERY WEAK CHARACTER
Dianne Winters							
Linda Abraham							
Cathy Boyle							
Ruthie Kaplan							
Sandy Thompson							
Cindy Williams							



DIANNE WINTERS



LINDA ABRAHAM



CATHY BOYLE



RUTHIE KAPLAN



SANDY THOMPSON



CINDY WILLIAMS

INSTRUCTIONS

The purpose of this study is to measure the meanings of certain concepts to various people by having them judge them against a series of descriptive scales. In taking this test, please make your judgments on the basis of what these concepts mean to you. On each page of this booklet you will find a different concept to be judged and beneath it a set of scales. You are to rate the concept on each of these scales in order.

Here is how you are to use these scales:

If you feel that the concept at the top of the page is very closely related to one end of the scale, you should place your check-mark as follows:

FAIR:__X__:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:UNFAIR

FAIR:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:__X__:UNFAIR

If you feel that the concept is quite closely related to one or to the other end of the scale (but not extremely), you should place your check-mark as follows:

FAIR:_____:__X__:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:UNFAIR

or

FAIR:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:UNFAIR

If the concept seems only slightly related to one side as opposed to the other side (but not really neutral), then you should place your check-mark as follows:

FAIR:_____:_____:__X__:_____:_____:_____:_____:UNFAIR

or

FAIR:_____:_____:_____:_____:__X__:_____:_____:UNFAIR

The direction toward which you check, of course, depends upon which of the two ends of the scale seem most characteristic of the concept which you are judging.

If you consider the concept to be neutral on the scale, both sides of the scale equally associated with the concept, or if the scale is completely irrelevant, unrelated to the concept, then you should place your check-mark in the

middle space:

FAIR:_____:_____:_____:__X__:_____:_____:_____:UNFAIR

IMPORTANT:

1) Place your check-mark in the middle of the spaces, not on the boundaries:

THIS						NOT THIS
:__X__:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	_____:	X____:

2) Be sure you check every scale for every concept. DO NOT OMIT ANY!

3) Never put more than one check-mark on a single scale.

Do not try to remember how you checked similar items earlier in the test. Make each item a separate and independent judgment. Work at a fairly high speed throughout this test. Do not worry or puzzle over individual items. It is your first impressions, the immediate "feelings" about the items, that we want. On the other hand, please do not be careless, because we want your true impressions.

KEEPING KOSHER

MOVING:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____MOTIONLESS

PASSIVE:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:ACTIVE

PLEASANT:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:UNPLEASANT

SHARP:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:DULL

HARMFUL:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:BENEFICIAL

WORTHLESS:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:VALUABLE

SHALLOW:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:DEEP

GOOD:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:BAD

GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

DAILY PRAYER

DEEP:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:SHALLOW

BAD:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:GOOD

WORTHLESS:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:VALUABLE

HARMFUL:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:BENEFICIAL

SHARP:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:DULL

MOTIONLESS:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:MOVING

PLEASANT:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:UNPLEASANT

ACTIVE:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:PASSIVE

GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

YESHIVA

SHARP:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:DULL

BAD:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:GOOD

WORTHLESS:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:VALUABLE

SHALLOW:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:DEEP

PLEASANT:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:UNPLEASANT

PASSIVE:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:ACTIVE

MOVING:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:MOTIONLESS

HARMFUL:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:BENEFICIAL

GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

BAR MITZVAH

BENEFICIAL:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:HARMFUL

DULL:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:SHARP

GOOD:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:BAD

ACTIVE:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:PASSIVE

SHALLOW:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:DEEP

PLEASANT:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:UNPLEASANT

MOTIONLESS:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:MOVING

WORTHLESS:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:VALUABLE

GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

KEEPING THE SABBATH

VALUABLE:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:WORTHLESS

SHALLOW:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:DEEP

PASSIVE:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:ACTIVE

SHARP:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:DULL

BAD:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:GOOD

HARMFUL:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:BENEFICIAL

MOVING :_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:MOTIONLESS

DULL:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:_____:SHARP

GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

YOUR NAME HAS NOT BEEN ASKED FOR AND YOUR IDENTITY WILL REMAIN UNKNOWN.

WOULD YOU PLEASE PROVIDE THE EXPERIMENTER WITH THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION:

1. Your Classification: _____ _____ _____ _____ _____
   Graduate Senior Junior Sophomore Freshman

2. What Affiliation does your father have:

   _____ _____ _____ _____
   Conservative None Orthodox Reform

3. What affiliation does your mother have:

   _____ _____ _____ _____
   Reform Conservative Orthodox None

4. What affiliation do you expect to have in later life:

   _____ _____ _____ _____
   None Reform Conservative Orthodox

5. What affiliation do you now have:

   _____ _____ _____ _____
   Orthodox Reform Conservative None

WHAT DO YOU BELIEVE THE PURPOSE OF THIS EXPERIMENT TO BE?