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# REFERENCE IDENTIFICATION OF YOUTH OF DIFFERING ETHNICITY

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REFERENCE IDENTIFICATION OF YOUTH OF DIFFERING ETHNICITY

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# PREFACE

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# REFERENCE IDENTIFICATION OF YOUTH OF DIFFERING ETHNICITY

## CHAPTER I

## THE PROBLEM

The central problem of this dissertation is an investigation of the relationship between the degree of social distance toward an ethnic group by members of the dominant culture and other ethnic groups in the contact situation and the degree of identification and ego-involvement of members of that ethnic group with their own people. These concepts were made operational by means of social judgment indices.

Evidence accumulated in anthropology, sociology and psychology indicates that the acculturation and assimilation of ethnic groups is dependent not only on the characteristics of the recipient group, but also on the attitudes toward and evaluations of that group by the donor group, and on the type of contact situation in which they both function (Broom, Siegel, Vogt, & Watson, 1954; Spicer, (ed.) 1961). An important factor in the contact situation that has only infrequently been studied is the presence of other ethnic groups in the situation.

In the United States, two or more immigrant groups have usually been in contact with one another as well as with the dominant culture. Rhode Island, with approximately one third of its 859,488 population classified as being of foreign stock (1960 Federal Census) provides a microcosm for the study of acculturation and assimilation in America. Table 1 lists the number of foreign stock from each nation represented by 5,000 or more people. The research to be reported in this dissertation included the study of third generation college students of Italian, French-Canadian, Irish, Portuguese, Polish, Jewish, old American or "Yankee" and "mixed" extraction. These groups were selected on the basis of their availability in the undergraduate population at Rhode Island College.

Within the state of Rhode Island, there are still clearly demarcated ethnic communities. For example, it is common knowledge that the Federal Hill area of Providence is Italian and that the Fox Point section is Portuguese or that Woonsocket is a largely French-Canadian city and that South County is a Yankee stronghold. At the same time, in a state this size, the ethnic groups vie for political power and make alliances across ethnic lines; they work in the same factories and businesses, and send their children to the same state colleges. In addition, new suburban neighborhoods emerge made up of second and third generation members and of the intermarrieds.

TABLE I

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF THE FOREIGN STOCK, NUMBERING 5,000 OR MORE IN THE RHODE ISLAND POPULATION: 1960*

| Area and Country of Origin | Total Foreign Stock |
|---|---|
| THE STATE | |
| All Countries . . . | 339,719 |
| Italy | 78,758 |
| Canada | 78,219 |
| England | 33,812 |
| Ireland | 28,681 |
| Portugal | 23,312 |
| Poland | 15,966 |
| Scotland | 9,825 |
| Germany | 7,915 |
| Azores | 5,843 |

*Adapted from U. S., Bureau of the Census, Eighteenth Census of the United States: 1960, Vol. I, Characteristics of the Population, Rhode Island, 41, p. 121.

The case of European immigrants to the United States has been viewed as a model of rapid acculturation and assimilation.

> The immigrant groups of the United States in the numerically preponderant cases were nearly all originally Western peoples, motivated toward assimilation, and were peoples who came to a milieu which may be among the most notable in history for its rapidity of ethnic absorption. Assimilation, on the whole, is taken as a positive value by both donor and receptor in these cases (Broom, et al., 1954, p. 989).

Consistent with the melting pot myth of American culture is the general assumption that by the third generation the descendants of the European immigrants have been fully assimilated. According to Gordon (1961) the motif of the American pattern has been behavioral assimilation (or acculturation) without integration in the primary structures and relationships of the dominant culture. Glazer and Moynihan (1963) point out that in New York City ethnic groups are still strong political, economic, and social groups, although there is assimilation proceeding within racial and religious containers.

The complexity of reference identification in an acculturation context has recently been pointed out by the anthropologists Berreman (1964) and Parker (1964) in studies of the acculturation of the Aleuts and the Eskimos. As the subordinate group has increased contact with the dominant group,

the subordinate group comes to positively value many of the norms of the dominant group, but because the dominant group maintains social distance from them, the subordinate group members express alienation from the valued group and remain loyal to their own ethnic group.

Since each ethnic group in America faces a somewhat different reception from "Old Americans" and other ethnic groups present in the contact situation, it is reasonable to expect differing evaluations of their own ethnic groups. Their different experiences may lead to differing ranges of acceptable and objectionable statements about their ethnic groups and different modes of classifying these statements. Being exposed to repeated contact with members of their own ethnic group as well as to the evaluations of their group by individuals of differing ethnicity, a "reference scale" for judgments about one's own group forms.

Scale formation, the basis of judgments of a well graded stimulus series, has a long history in psychology under the label of psychophysics. Sherif (1935), in a now classic study, demonstrated formation of a reference scale in relation to a stimulus which did not provide a well graded series. Judgments of illusory movement of a stationary light in an an otherwise completely dark room (autokinetic phenomenon) became

stabilized around a central value within a characteristic range of values. When the individual has only been in the autokinetic situation alone, an idiosyncratic reference scale is formed; but when he makes his judgments in a group situation a common reference scale is stabilized. Similarly, Sherif, Sherif, and Nebergall (1965) point out that individuals form reference scales in relation to social stimuli which do not exist along a well-ordered dimension. The reference scale formed in relation to the individual's own ethnic group is an instance of the latter type of scale.

Female college students were selected as subjects for the dissertation research on the basis of a preliminary questionnaire administered in diverse college classrooms during the regular class period. Subjects were included in the study whose parents were born in the United States and whose grandparents were born in either Italy, Poland, Portugal, French Canada or Ireland. In addition, subjects were selected who stated they were Jewish and that their grandparents were born in a European country. Also included was a group of students whose grandparents were born in the United States, who were Protestant and who had Anglo-Saxon last names. An additional group of subjects was included who stated that two grandparents were born in one country and the other two grandparents were

born in another country.

Each S was asked to sort 60 statements pertaining to her ethnic group (the same statements were used for all ethnic groups) into any number of piles she felt necessary so that each pile represented a different stand (favorable, unfavorable, etc.) on the issue of the social position of that group. Next, the Ss labeled the piles according to whether the statements placed in a category were acceptable or objectionable to them.

> Usually in evaluations or appraisals related to the individual's attitude on an issue, certain items represent acceptable positions while others are objectionable. Together the acceptable and objectionable positions form the individual's reference scale for judging specific statements, objects, and events on the issue. It is also possible, as we have noted, that there are positions on which the individual is reluctant to commit himself (Sherif, et al., 1965).

Ss were then presented with a reference identification question on which they were asked to check the group they felt they belonged in: American, hyphenated American or ethnic group. This was followed by a social distance scale standardized by Triandis and Triandis (1960) on which they indicated their degree of social distance toward each of the other ethnic groups in the study.

The second and third chapters of this dissertation deal with the background of the research which serves as a basis for the specific hypotheses that were tested in the study.

# CHAPTER II

## BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH: ACCULTURATION AND ASSIMILATION

Research relevant to the present study includes field work and theory from anthropology, sociology and psychology which has sought to describe the processes of acculturation and assimilation.

### The Nature of Acculturation and Assimilation

The intensive study of acculturation in anthropology did not really take place until the 1930's. At that time, anthropologists began to recognize that culture was constantly changing and that much of the change could be attributed to contact with peoples holding different values and customs. In 1936, a sub-committee of the Social Science Research Council, composed of Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton and Melville Herskovits, prepared an "Outline for the Study of Acculturation" which defined the term and the field of study. The following definition of acculturation was proposed:

> Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups (Herskovits, 1938, p. 310).

In addition to the definition itself, a note was appended which clarified the relationship of acculturation to other similar processes. Acculturation was to be considered one aspect of culture change, and assimilation to be considered a final phase of acculturation. The definition of acculturation thus excludes the process of socialization by which the individual gains the skills and modes of thought of his own culture. The methodology of studies of acculturation requires documenting the time the contact took place, the circumstances bringing it about, the nature of the relations of the two groups (whether hostile or friendly), the role of the individuals concerned and those aspects of the culture which were accepted and which were rejected.

Acculturation studies differ from diffusion studies in that the former place emphasis on "... ongoing, rather than historical situations of intergroup contact, on patterns of culture traits rather than single items and typically, on pairs of interacting societies rather than longer chains of connected cultures" (Katz, Hamilton, & Levin, 1966, p. 154). The distinction between diffusion and acculturation on the basis of historical rather than ongoing processes is debatable as anthropologists frequently attempt to reconstruct an historical case of culture contact.

Again in 1953, the Social Science Research Council sponsored a seminar to review the research that had been conducted during the 15 year interim and to make a thorough theoretical analysis of the process of acculturation. Four of the five participants, the sociologist Leonard Broom and the anthropologists Bernard Siegel, Evon Vogt and James Watson, subsequently wrote a paper entitled "Acculturation: an exploratory formulation" in which they delineated four principal facets of the acculturation process.

> (1) the characterization of the properties of two or more autonomous cultural systems which come into contact; (2) the study of the nature of the contact situation; (3) the analysis of conjunctive relations established between the cultural systems upon contact; and (4) the study of the cultural processes which flow from the conjunction of the systems (Broom, et al., 1954, p. 975).

The properties of the cultural systems which have relevance for acculturation are the boundary-maintaining mechanisms, the degree of flexibility of the internal structure and the functioning of the adjustment mechanisms in the system. The United States can be considered a relatively open system where migrants from diverse cultures have been admitted since its inception. In contrast, closed cultural systems such as that of the Southwestern Pueblos will admit few outsiders and

impose strong sanctions on those who do not adhere to the main values of the culture. Boundary maintaining mechanisms may also include the relative restriction of the knowledge of the customs and values of the culture to in-group members, ritual initiation, the cultivation of ethnocentrism, territorial isolationism and legal barriers. Many of these mechanisms may not come into use, however, until after contact with an alien culture.

The sizes of the contacting populations and their other demographic characteristics are also important variables in determining the nature of the acculturation. At one extreme is the process of transculturization which occurs when one individual becomes detached from his cultural group and enters into the society of another, accepting the values, customs and ideas of the second group. This process occurred occasionally in the case of Negro or white Americans on the frontier who became Indian transculturites (Hallowell, 1963). The determinant of which culture will be dominant and which subordinate in the contact situation is not, however, usually a question of size of population. The more technologically advanced culture, even when it is in the distinct minority, is usually able to exert control in the contact situation.

Linton (1940) made the distinction between directed and nondirected culture contact situations. In directed culture

contact, there is effective control including sanctions by members of one society over another. The superordinate society also usually has an interest in changing the conduct of the members of the subordinate culture in anywhere from a single aspect of behavior to the whole range of cultural behavior. Thus the members of one society are subject to controlling influences from their own culture and another.

Contacts which occur without control of one society by another fall into the non-directed category. There is interaction between the members of the cultures in contact, but one does not have a superordinate position over the other. The type of contact situation is crucial in setting the pattern of transfer from one culture to another. In the non-directed type, innovations derived from the other culture are integrated into the culture in terms of its own values and principles. Whereas in the directed type, the society is interested in bringing about changes in the other and regularly brings to bear definite sanctions on the members of the other society (Spicer, 1961).

The "incorporative model" was according to Vogt (in Spicer, 1961), the characteristic Navaho response through several phases of contact up to the present. "By incorporation is meant the transfer of elements from one culture system and their

integration into another system in such a way that they conform to the meaningful and functional relations with the latter" (Spicer, 1961, p. 530). This type of acculturation usually operates under conditions of non-directed contact where the members of the culture have relative freedom in selecting and incorporating new cultural elements. The process of incorporative integration is also illustrated by the Yaquis during their Autonomous Period when they borrowed Mexican means of warfare which they adapted to their own folk culture, and the Kwakiutl during the Pre-Potlatch and early Potlatch periods during which they incorporated items of material culture and money payments from the furtraders making the Potlatch a complex institution, but one which served established Kwakiutl values.

Assimilative or replacive integration is at the opposite pole from incorporative integration. It usually occurs under conditions of directed contact. In the case of assimilative integration, acceptance and replacement are in terms of the dominant cultural system.

> Yaquis in the relocation phase in Arizona have certainly been undergoing assimilation. The assimilation has in fact proceeded so far that the Yaquis tend increasingly to adjust the core of the old folk culture--the religious observances and beliefs--to

> the dominant culture, rather than the reverse (Ibid, p. 532).

Another form of adjustment to contact is cultural fusion. It occurs when a third sociocultural system develops from parent systems. Apparently, in order for an autonomous third system to be produced, the disappearance of the parent systems, at least from that territory, is necessary. For example, Mexican culture is a fusion of Spanish and Indian primarily, both of which no longer have a separate form in Mexico (Broom, et al., 1954).

Still another possibility exists when two cultures come into contact, and that is pluralism. The viewpoint of pluralism is that each side is entitled to maintain its own culture. Pluralism in its more clearcut form can be seen in Canada and Switzerland. Each group agrees to tolerate and preserve the differences that separate them. Although each group agrees to retain its culture, tolerance of each other's value systems is necessary in order to establish and maintain superordinate national unity, when pluralism exists within a unified political territory.

Smith (1960) has developed a theory of pluralism which rests on his definitions of and distinctions made between culture and society. According to Smith, interdependent

institutions which comprise a common system of institutions are the core of a culture. "Each institution involves set forms of activity, grouping, rules, ideas and values. The total system of institutions thus embraces three interdependent systems of action, idea and value, and of social relations" (Smith, 1960, p. 767). Examples of institutions are kinship, government, educational, religious and economic systems. Each of these systems contains subsystems; thus under the kinship system would be included marriage, family, levirate, and extended kinship forms. Subsystems form institutions and interdependent institutions form a common system comprising what in Malinowski's terms could be considered a cultural whole.

Societies in Smith's framework are "... territorially distinct units having their own governmental institutions" (p. 766). Within any given society there may be a single uniform culture characterized by a similarity of action patterns, ideational systems, and social structure. A plural society, on the other hand, is one containing culturally distinct groups which practice differing institutional systems although living adjacent to one another under a common government. Intermediate between the culturally homogeneous society

and the plural society are societies which are socially and culturally heterogeneous. "A society the members of which share a common system of basic or 'compulsory' institutions but practice differing 'alternative' and 'exclusive' institutions is neither fully homogeneous nor fully plural" (Ibid., p. 767).

In terms of Smith's model of pluralism, the United States is not a plural society but rather one which is culturally heterogeneous, even though in some regions such as in the deep South it contains some communities which evince Negro-white pluralism. Rhode Island constitutes a heterogeneous community because for the most part, the ethnic groups are set apart by visible differences (Negroes) or primarily by surname and symbols of group unity (nationality and religious groups) rather than by basic institutional differences.

Morris (1967) criticizes Smith's conceptualization of a plural society as being based on a definition of institutions which is a mixture of both cultural and structural criteria. In addition, since Smith included "kinship, religion, property and economy, recreation and certain sodalities" as institutions which are part of the core culture, Morris says there was very little left outside of the cultural core. Morris further criticizes Smith for not clearly stating when variations

within the institutional core of a society are sufficient to make a society plural as opposed to heterogeneous.

Formal models of groups, particularly the jural form which describes rules of recruitment into groups and the rights and duties of membership of groups, are unable, according to Morris, to adequately handle social change. In order to better handle structural alteration, he emphasizes process and analyzes groups in terms of transactions or relationships of incorporation, which are relationships of sharing in a joint interest with some members of the society, and in relationships of transaction, which are relationships of superiority and inferiority, with all other members of the society. Relationships between members of the same social stratum are relations of incorporation, whereas relations between members of different social strata are relationships of transaction based on inequality.

Groups that are culturally and linguistically different may not be elements in the same stratification system, but may be related in a kind of "federal" plural society such as is found in Switzerland. In other societies, however, where racial and cultural diversity exists, the groups are part of the same social stratification system. Where racial and cultural differences are only of secondary importance in the

ordering of relationships within the society, it would not be considered a plural society.

Brown (1965) and other social psychologists and sociologists point out that Negroes in America have a separate and parallel social stratification system. For Caucasians, however, the United States, including Rhode Island, would not be considered a plural society in Morris' model, because members of all ethnic groups are part of the same general social stratification system. Factors such as education, income, and occupation have greater relative weight in determining an individual's status level in Rhode Island than does his ethnic group affiliation. It does, however, appear to be true in Rhode Island that individuals who are members of certain ethnic groups may find barriers to social mobility. For example, Dr. Raymond Houghton, professor of education at Rhode Island College and unsuccessful candidate for Congress in Rhode Island in 1966, remarked that the Yankees and Jews own the big businesses and factories in Rhode Island. In the course of his campaigning he visited many factories and he said that in Yankee or Jewish owned firms he never saw a member of another ethnic group in a position above that of foreman. He, and other individuals have remarked that the two biggest banks in Rhode Island, both Yankee owned, will not promote someone of

another ethnic group to be a bank officer. Dr. Houghton says that ethnic considerations in promotions are also found in the school systems in Rhode Island. He says that the Irish have the power in controlling many of the Rhode Island school systems and, for example, in the Central Falls-Pawtucket area one principal's job is reserved for someone who is Polish and another couple of principals' offices are reserved for French-Canadians. On the basis of these observations, it would appear that opportunities are not equal in Rhode Island for members of the different white ethnic groups.

## An Interactionist Theory of Acculturation and Assimilation

An interactionist theory takes into account the physical, sociocultural and psychological factors operating upon and within an immigrant group. Such a theory can account for the great diversity of facts found when one reviews the empirical literature, such as the more rapid assimilation of some immigrant groups as compared with others into the same host society. Various factors in the new situation have differing relative weights for each group; for example, some groups face greater discrimination than others. Some immigrant groups are intially more divergent from the dominant culture in language and cultural norms than are others, thereby lengthening the acculturation

process.

Taft (1953, 1957) developed a social psychological model of acculturation and assimilation. The emphasis in his theory is on changes in attitudes, frames of reference, beliefs, role expectations, reference groups and ego involvement. His focus is on the individual in the process of assimilation, whether it be assimilation due to immigration or social mobility, religious conversions, imprisonment, internment and rehabilitation, army induction, starting at a new school, beginning a new job or joining a new social or residential group.

To this process of assimilation, Taft applies the concept of an interactionist frame of reference. In this context, he conceives of assimilation as "... the process by means of which persons originally possessing heterogeneous frames of reference converge towards common frames of reference as a result of social interaction (Taft, 1953, p. 49)." This definition is based on Sherif's experimental paradigm of norm formation, the autokinetic study, and Newcomb's theory that the most distinctive characteristic of a group is the shared norms which he called "shared-frame-of-reference." Extending this concept a little further, just as individual members share norms prescribing different roles, a converging of norms through interaction may prescribe different role behavior for different individuals in various sub-groups of the society.

Taft states that there have traditionally been two views of assimilation, monistic and pluralistic. Monistic assimilation involves a complete identification of the minority group with the standards and values of the dominant group. Despite lip service to the melting pot myth, the monistic assumption underlies the assimilation process in the United States. Highest status is accorded to the white, Protestant Anglo-Saxon elements of the population who have maintained cultural domination since colonial times. Although other immigrant groups have contributed greatly to the progress and development of America, they have not changed the basic cultural patterns or primary institutions of American society.

According to Gordon (1967) the ideal type of the melting pot model is a cultural blend in which large scale intermarriage has taken place and the immigrant stock has entered the cliques, clubs and primary groups of the society and influenced to some extent the social structures of the larger culture. Identification assimilation would also have taken place in the melting pot . . .

> ... in the form of all groups merging their previous sense of peoplehood into a new and larger ethnic identity which, in some fashion, honors its multiple origins at the same time that it constitutes

> an entity distinct from them all. Prejudice and discrimination must be absent since there are not even any identifiably separate groups to be their target, and 'civic assimilation' will have taken place since separate cultural values are assumed to have merged and power conflict between groups would be neither necessary nor possible (Gordon, 1967, p. 109).

Gordon concludes that America is not a melting pot; the cultures of the diverse ethnic groups have not melted down into one. Catholics and Jews have their own subsociety. Negroes, Orientals, Mexican-Americans and some Puerto Ricans are excluded by discrimination from participating in either the white Catholic or white Portestant communities. Gordon argues that even descendents of ethnic groups such as the Scotch-Irish, German Protestants, Swedes and Norwegians, who have been absorbed into the white Anglo-Saxon, Protestant sector of society, have not altered the structures of white Protestant society through this process of intermarriage. Culturally, assimilation has meant loss of the immigrant group's identity and transformations of their cultural heritage into Anglo-Saxon patterns. Those groups that have not been assimilated form their own subsocieties.

> The results of these processes, structurally speaking, is that American society has come to be composed of a number of

> 'pots', or subsocieties, three of which are the religious containers marked Protestant, Catholic, and Jew, which are in the process of melting down the white nationality background communities contained within them; others are racial groups which are not allowed to melt structurally; and still others are substantial remnants of the nationality background communities manned by those members who are either of the first generation or who, while native born, choose to remain within the ethnic closure (Ibid, p. 111-112).

The American scene is thus one of monism in the case of those ethnic groups who have been fully assimilated. It is the contention of this paper, however, that America is not a plural society with regard to those ethnic groups which are not fully assimilated. Ethnic communities such as those formed by the French-Canadians, Portuguese, Italians and Polish in Rhode Island could instead be considered subcultures. Gordon, in an earlier (1947) paper, defined subculture as

> ... a concept used here to refer to a sub-division of a national culture, composed of a combination of factorable social situations such as class status, ethnic background, regional and rural or urban residence, and religious affiliation, but forming in their combination a functioning unity which has an integrated impact on the participating individual (Gordon, 1947, p. 40).

Cases of monism or of sub-cultures do not negate the interactionist approach to assimilation. In the case of monism, the greater weight in the situation is on the side of the dominant group with not only their expectation that the other group will be rapidly assimilated but with the sharing of this expectation on the part of the subordinate group.

Glazer and Moynihan, (1963) in their book "Beyond the Melting Pot," agree in substance with what Gordon is saying, that not all ethnic groups have been assimilated and that religion serves to bind groups within the denomination. They have concentrated on tracing the role of four ethnic groups, the Negroes, the Puerto Ricans, the Irish and the Italians, in the economy, the politics and the culture of New York City. Glazer and Moynihan are not primarily concerned with a theory of assimilation, but do point out that although the immigrants lost their language and altered their culture by the second generation, the hope of the "melting pot" was not realized and identifiable ethnic groups remained. While still tangible entities, however, the ethnic groups have been transformed. "The ethnic group in American society became not a survival from the age of mass immigration but a new social form" (Glazer & Moynihan, 1963, p. 16). The ethnic groups in New

York City are interest groups. Jews are small shopkeepers, professionals, better-paid skilled workers in the garment industries. Negroes and Puerto Ricans are unorganized and unskilled workers, or are on welfare. Politically they will exert pressure to help those groups which are largely composed of members of their ethnic group.

The history and culture that an immigrant group brings with them, how their culture and skills "fit in" with the social and economic situation in the new country and the barriers or aids to acculturation that they meet are all determinants of the rate and nature of the assimilation process for a particular group. The importance of initial cultural differences among ethnic groups can be illustrated in comparing social mobility of Jews and Italians. The much higher mobility rate of Jews as compared to Italians is striking. When adolescent Jewish and Italian boys in New Haven were asked what kind of occupational aspirations their parents had for them, high goals were imputed to both Jewish and Italian parents. The Italian boys indicated, however, that their parents would be satisfied with a lower level of achievement, whereas Jewish boys felt their parents would be greatly disappointed if their

high aspirations were not met. Several social scientists have observed that the values emphasized in Eastern European Jewish communities, such as a responsibility for one's own fate and a reverence for learning, are favorable to upward mobility in the United States. In contrast, Italian peasants valued property more than education and physical prowess to a greater extent than intellectual accomplishment (Shibutani & Kwam, 1965).

In summary, whenever groups of people interact over a period of time, there will be a modification of the norms of the groups. Where one ethnic group has greater power and prestige, there will be a convergence of the norms of the subordinate group to the norms of the dominant group. This is by and large the situation in the United States where ethnic groups are assimilated to the white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant norms. Sometimes barriers arise which allow acculturation but not assimilation. Sometimes both groups share a set of norms which protects the right of each group to maintain its differences. Barriers to communication and pluralistic agreements may greatly slow down the process of assimilation, but in an advanced technological society men cannot live isolated from one another and insulated from the repercussions of another's actions. Social forces move towards assimilation.

## Social Psychological Studies of Assimilation of Immigrants

The classic social psychological study of the changes in family structure and in individual attitudes and values brought about by immigration to America is Thomas & Znaniecki's "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America." The Polish peasant family is typically an extended family including blood and law-relatives usually to the fourth degree. Marriage in such a familial situation is not just a personal relationship be tween individuals. Family solidarity is manifest in both assistance to and control over any member by any other member who is representing the family. "It is totally different from territorial, religious, economic or national solidarity, though evidently these are additional bonds promoting familial solidarity and we shall see presently that any dissolution of them certainly exerts a dissolving influence upon the family" (Thomas & Znaniecki, 1958, p. 89). The control exerted by members of the family upon each other do not depend on their personal characteristics, but rather on the kind and degree of familial relationship.

The relation of husband and wife and that of parents and children is controlled by both united families. The marriage

norm between husband and wife is that of respect rather than love. The parents are backed up in their authority over the children by the family group.

Property is viewed as belonging to the family rather than the person. The father is the manager of the family inheritance. As the children grow older, if they earn money they are expected to turn it over to their parents as part of the duty of maintaining and increasing the family fortune. The family thus has a very central place in peasant life, and is practically the only organized group to which the peasant belongs.

Thomas and Znaniecki analyzed personal letters sent between Polish immigrants in America and members of their families in Poland. From this material, they were able to study the transition of the Polish family structure to a modern American form. It was a transition from a family centered to an individual centered system.

> We find there, first, a system of familial economic organization with a thoroughly social and qualitative character of economic social values, succeeded by an individualistic system with a quantification of the values. This succession as such does not determine any social fact; we obtain the formula of facts only if we find the attitude that constructs the second system out of the first. Now, this attitude is the tendency to economic advance, and thus our empirical facts are subsumed to the formula: familial system--tendency

> to advance--individualistic system (Ibid., p. 56).

For Thomas and Znaniecki, who were continuing the interactionist view which was evident in the preceding work of James, Baldwin, and Cooley, the fundamental data of social theory are attitudes and values. The attitudes of the individual are those conscious processes which determine the individual's social activity. An attitude is the inward representation of the social value. Activity is the link between them. Cultural attitudes are shared by members of a given social group. Attitudes are not isolated but are embodied in the situation.

> The situation is the set of values and attitudes with which the individual or the group has to deal in a process of activity and with regard to which this activity is planned and its results appreciated . . . the situation involves three kinds of data: (1) The objective conditions under which the individual or society has to act, that is, the totality of values--economic, social, religious, intellectual, etc.--which at the given moment affect directly or indirectly the conscious status of the individual or group. (2) The pre-existing attitudes of the individual or group which at the moment have an actual influence on his behavior. (3) The definition of the situation, that is the more or less clear conception of the conditions and consciousness of the attitudes (Ibid., p. 68).

Probably the most important contribution of the Polish peasant in Europe and America is the evidence in support of the hypothesis that human behavior cannot be explained exclusively in either individual or social terms but rather as a product of a process of interaction between the two.

Carpenter & Katz (1929) conducted a study of the degree of cultural assimilation of American born Poles over 18 years of age in Buffalo, during 1927-28. Approximately 10 percent of the sample were third generation Poles and 16 percent were of the partial native parentage (one parent born in Poland and the other parent born here). This study was preceded by one conducted during the summer of 1926 of Polish born immigrants in Buffalo. The data for both studies were obtained by means of lengthy questionnaires which were filled out by interviewers who were social workers and students of Polish extraction. The sample in the 1927-28 study consisted of 186 American Poles, all residents of the city of Buffalo. The researchers say they are unable to state how representative their sample is of American Poles in that city.

The findings with regard to the Polish born immigrants and their children revealed a cultural dualism. That is, the Poles acquire knowledge of American culture without a

concomitant loss of Polish culture elements. They celebrate both the Fourth of July and the traditional Polish Christmas Eve Wylija. Progress in the economic sphere was found to be more rapid than in the more intimate areas of health and hygiene. Although their standard of living would have warranted the attendance of a physician at childbirth and confinement in a hospital, most gave birth at home. Attitudes relating to old world cultural practices were found to change more slowly than the behavior in question. Although many of the Poles still favored unquestioned obedience to parental authority and the right of that authority to decide matters such as the choice of a mate or vocation, in practice the parents were no longer making such decisions for the children.

This "cultural lag" found in the area of attitudes was also revealed in American born Poles. Many of them favored preservation of the Polish language, maintenance of Polish community life and retention of Polish culture, but in practice many of them spoke English in their homes, shopped downtown rather than in neighborhood stores for clothing and read English papers rather than the Polish daily newspaper.

The cultural duality faced by second generation Polish-Americans is not unique to their ethnic group, but rather a

typical problem faced by all American born children of immigrants, except perhaps the English. Irving Child (1943), who spent a few years studying the Italian-American community in New Haven, was particularly concerned with the conflict situation in which the second generation find themselves.

> Certain general consequences grow quite simply out of the fact that the individual is socialized in a community which is characterized by conflicting cultural norms. His actions and his attitudes are molded both by the Italian group and by the American community at large. By the latter he is pushed into conformity with American culture; the former cooperates to some extent in this process, but also trains him to conform with Italian culture (Child, 1943, p. 49).

Child has concluded that there are three types of reactions to this culture conflict: (1) the rebel reaction; (2) the in-group reaction; and (3) the apathetic reaction. The rebel attempts to identify completely with the American community. While the rebel loses rewards that might be gained through affiliation with the Italian group, such as acceptance as a perfect equal in status in social functions in the Italian community, he gains other rewards. It is probably easier for the more fully acculturated Italian-American to obtain more desirable jobs in American society. The in-group reaction took the form of staying close to the Italian

community and rejecting Americans and American patterns of behavior. The apathetic solution is characterized by calling himself Italian-American when asked his nationality or by switching labels (Italian or American) to suit the expediency of the situation. This practice keeps him from gaining complete acceptance by either group. It is an attempt to deny the conflict situation and to withdraw from any situation in which ethnic status is likely to be an issue. Child himself points out that these reactions are not pure types. But what is important is that second generation Italian-Americans are in a marginal position which they try to cope with in the above ways. Identifying with one group or the other influences such various aspects of one's world as area of residence, choice of friends, political attitudes, relations with fellow employees and employer and even choice of spouse and religious affiliation and practices.

Many second generation American Jew, believing himself, unlike his immigrant parents, to be fully acculturated in American ways, aspired to membership in the social cliques, clubs and institutions of white Protestant America.

> But, alas, Brooks Brothers suit notwithstanding, the doors of the fraternity house, the city men's club, and the country club were slammed in the face of

> the immigrant's offspring. And so the rebuffed one returned to the homelier but dependable comfort of the communal institutions of his ancestral group. (Gordon, 1961, p. 273).

The Jew concentrated on building up the social institutions and organizations for his own ethnic group.

Glazer and Moynihan (1963) note that exclusion of Jews from the clubs, neighborhoods, and high prestige schools was greatest during the 1920's and 1930's with a relaxation of this sytematic discrimination occurring after 1945. In New York City of the 1960's only certain social and golf clubs and high society remain closed to the Jew. Jews are still, however, not integrated into the Christian community. The 1957 special census on religion reveals that only 3½ percent of Jews were married to non-Jews (Glazer & Moynihan, 1963). "The disapproval of intermarriage is remarkably strong, even among the native-born. At least through the third generation Jews tend to accept the notion that intermarriage is probably not good" (Ibid., p. 164). Jews in the New York metropolitan area cluster together in residential areas, largely out of their own desires. According to Gordon, (1961) the motif of the American pattern has been behavioral assimilation (or acculturation) without integration in the primary structures and

relationships.

Although the dilemma of the second generation has been stressed for all ethnic groups in America, it varies with the degree of hostility or acceptance that the members of a particular group meet. The extent of identification with one's own ethnic group is influenced by prejudice and discrimination toward the group.

> Their effects are ambivalent: when they are strong, there are pressures to escape the group, tendencies toward self-hatred, and intra-group conflict. Yet there are also pressures toward group identity and solidarity, pride and loyalty to the group, emphasis on its past greatness and its present achievements, the development of organizations to oppose discrimination (Yinger, 1961, pp. 253-254).

Yinger hypothesizes that a "strong" ethnic group may find it more difficult to maintain its separate identity under conditions of declining prejudice and discrimination. As an example of the first case, Yinger points to the Jews. He says that identification with Judaism will be less likely when there is little prejudice and discrimination. "Other reference groups gain in importance when the overwhelming needs for protection and fulfillment rest less heavily on the ethnic community" (Ibid., p. 254). As an example of the

latter case, Yinger points to the Negroes in America who have been a weak group in terms of economic, political and educational power, and predicts an increase in pride, solidarity and readiness of identification on the part of Negroes as conditions become more favorable for them.

One of the very few social psychological studies that have been conducted with subjects beyond the second generation was carried out by Fong (1965) whose subjects were 336 college students of Chinese ancestry. The sample consisted of 57 first generation (China born), 121 second generation, 133 third generation, 22 fourth generation and 3 fifth generation. Data was collected by means of three questionnaires: Personal Data Form; Assimilation-Orientation Inventory; and the Stick Figures Test. The Personal Data Form contained questions with regard to age, sex, generation, citizenship status, place of residence and ethnic composition of one's social groups. The Assimilation-Orientation Inventory consisted of 105 true-false items classified into four types of items: cultural interests; social interests; nationalistic sentiments; and social prejudice. The following are items from each of the groups of items:

C.I. The best thing for the Chinese in the United States to do is to associate more with Americans, adopt the American culture and identify themselves as Americans.

S.I. In general, a Chinese would have more fun with Chinese than he would have with Caucasians.

It is better that Chinese date only Chinese.

N.S. I always think of myself as an American first and as a Chinese second.

S.P. Many Caucasians are not prejudiced (Fong, 1965, p. 268).

The Stick Figures Test consists of a series of 43 simple line drawings of human figures in a wide range of expressive states. For each figure the S is instructed to choose the one of five adjectives presented which best describes the emotion or attitude being expressed. The test was developed by Hardyck to measure "the degree to which members of a ... social group share similar perceptions, cognitive organizations, and affective tendencies, under conditions where there is not stipulated or imagined social demand or pressure to conform to a given pattern or outlook" (Ibid., p. 269). The degree to which an individual has internalized the modal American norms or are removed from them can be measured by the test.

The results of Fong's study show that assimilation orientation and internalization increase with progressive removal from the ethnic culture as measured by the sociological indexes of generation level, parent's citizenship status, area of residence, and ethnicity of one's intimate friends. Those born in Hong Kong were treated as a separate subgroup because of the high degree of westernization of Hong Kong. They were found to be highly internalized (according to the Stick Figures Test), but least assimilation-oriented on the Inventory.

Assimilation is a process which includes changes in a variety of psycho-social as well as sociological variables. Fong's study is one of the few which systematically explores the relationship between changes in attitudes and perceptions and socio-cultural transformations.

> The study shows that the social and cultural orientations and sentiments of the Chinese shift gradually from the ethnic subculture to the larger American community. As the American society becomes a positive reference group, its norms and values begin to guide, as well as modify, the perspectives and behavior of the Chinese .... In arriving at this common mode of perception, it seems evident that they may also have incorporated yet broader cognitive and emotive patterns of the prevailing American climate (Ibid., p. 271).

The paucity of social psychological studies of assimilation in America can perhaps be attributed to the assumption

prevalent in this country that assimilation of European immigrants is complete by the third generation. The truth of this assumption has yet to be demonstrated. Some interesting recent research on the assimilation process has, however, been conducted in America with American Indians and in countries with heavy continuing immigration such as Israel and Australia.

## American Indians and Immigrants to Other Nations in Transition

Although the case of the American Indian or of the immigrant to another nation in transition have elements in the situation quite different from that of the European immigrant to America, also reviewing this body of research can aid in revealing some of the basic principles in acculturation and assimilation.

The role of the primary group in culture change has in recent years been a focus of attention in studies of North American Indians. Bruner (1956) put forth the thesis that the differential degrees of acculturation among the Mandan-Hidatasa Indians of the village of Lone Hill in the Missouri River Valley is related to the orientation of the nuclear family. He found the interaction of two factors, the presence

or absence of a white model through intermarriage and the direction in which the family was consciously trying to socialize the child, to be a basis for the differences in degree of acculturation among the Mandan-Hidatsa.

The primary group may, therefore, be a force for more rapid acculturation and assimilation or have an anti-assimilatory effect. When an immigrant group faces considerable prejudice and discrimination in the new country and cherishes hopes of returning to their homeland, the primary group, although concerned with preserving the past culture, may have the positive effect of preventing personal breakdown and maladjustment. Horobin (1957) studied the process of adjustment and assimilation of a group of Estonian displaced persons in Leiscester, England. The Estonians went to England after World War II from the German D. P. camps. They differed from "economic" immigrants in that they failed to return to their homeland not because they were dissatisfied with opportunities there, but because they were antipathetic toward the political regime which they felt had been imposed upon their country.

The D. P.s faced a number of difficulties in England such as social and job discrimination. Despite middle-class

backgrounds in Estonia, they could not become more than factory workers in England. In addition, they had a bitterness at having lost their homeland. In spite of all this, they had relative success in adjusting. The two most important factors in the Estonian immigrants' adjustment were nostalgia toward the homeland and the existence of ethnic communities and primary groups. Both of these variables may appear dysfunctional from the point of view of assimilation, but are functional as far as adjustment is concerned. Nostalgia serves as a sort of compensation for the frustration the Estonian faces.

> First, it has the effect of providing a fund of shared experience upon which the D. P. could draw while the process of reorientation is beginning. It provides a set of values upon which his life can be based when he is confronted by alien ones. Perhaps more important still, it provides a sense of purpose to return (Horobin, 1957, p. 249).

The primary group too is concerned with the past but serves an even more important function of finding group solutions to the shared problems encountered in the present. The D. P.'s need for status is at least partly satisfied in his position in the primary group. One of the most basic values of the group is preservation of the Estonian culture;

therefore the individual who emerges as leader of the group embodies this ideal of nationalism.

When there are few social barriers to assimilation, such as in the new nation of Israel which opens its doors to Jews from all over the world, the immigrant is freer than in most other countries in his selection of reference groups and is not limited to the primary group as his source of status and recognition. Eisenstadt (1954) investigated choice of reference group of 187 new immigrants to Israel who were participating in courses for community leaders and professionals at Hebrew University. He concludes that most reference groups are selected in terms of the importance of the group for status-conferral within the larger social structure.

Eisenstadt identified three dimensions of status aspirations: a) aspects related to economic goals; b) aspects related to social participation; and c) aspects related to cultural evaluation with a general pattern of life. People who put emphasis on the first type are characterized by Eisenstadt as having a "ritual status image" in which case an individual's social acceptability and goodness are dependent on his attainment of goals such as money, dwelling and high prestige job. There is a close correlation between the

second and third types of status image, which Eisendstadt calls "open status images." Immigrants of this type are more interested in relations within their main social groups (family, neighborhood, work, etc.) and less concerned about external symbols of success.

When the immigrant group speaks the same language (although perhaps with a different accent and different slang words) and shares the same basic cultural heritage and is of the same ethnic stock, assimilation is an even more rapid process, which may be completed within the lifetime of the individual himself. Richardson (1957) studied the differences in acceptance of Australian norms by British immigrants who had been resident in Australia for: a) from one to eleven weeks; b) for exactly seven months; and c) for exactly twelve months. A comparable group of Australians were also included in the sample. The subjects in each category consisted of male, white, married, skilled manual workers between the ages of 35 and 39. The British immigrants were, for the most part, living in a commonwealth Hostel in Western Australia.

Data was collected by means of four self administered questionnaires: an Opinion Survey; a Word list; an Attitude

to Australia Scale; and a General Information Sheet. In addition, Ss were interviewed about the degree to which their expectations about Australia had been fulfilled. On the Opinion Survey a significant difference was found between the new arrivals and the immigrants who had been in Australia twelve months, the latter group converging toward the Australian norms to a greater extent. With regard to the Word List, which included Australian words or phrases such as bonzer, cockie, sider, etc., there was no significant difference among British groups in active vocabulary, frequency of usage of these terms, however, the twelve month group had a significantly larger passive vocabulary, recognition of terms, than did the newly arrived immigrants. On the "Attitude to Australia Scale" the newly arrived immigrants had a much more favorable attitude toward the country than did the immigrants who had been in Australia seven and twelve months. Similarly, when asked about the degree to which their expectations of Australia had been fulfilled, the newly arrived immigrants felt that they were being met to a significantly greater degree than did immigrants who had been there longer.

Richardson suggests three stages in the assimilation process: 1) isolation; 2) accommodation; and 3) identification.

The first stage, isolation, is characterized by the individual who tries to maintain the traditional way of life of his homeland and who avoids contact with the resident population. During the next stage, accommodation, the individual makes a conscious, deliberate attempt to conform in his behavior to the dress, food, and social formalities widely accepted in the new country. This is usually a superficial conformity not involving a change in any deep-seated attitudes. In the last stage, identification, "... the individual tends to 'throw in his lot' with his new country and to use 'our' and 'we' with reference to Australia rather than his homeland" (Richardson, 1957, pp. 159-160). Richardson's own data suggests, however, that this may not take place along a smooth linear curve plotted in time. There may be, after a period of time in the new country, some increased dissatisfaction before going on to progressive assimilation.

Not to be overlooked in acculturation and assimilation is the individual, including his own personality characteristics and his socio-cultural roles such as sex role and occupational role. Role may effect the degree of contact with the new culture. Also, the degree of similarity between the

role in the old and the new cultures or the necessity for changing roles, as is frequently the case with occupation, affect the rate of acculturation.

The anthropologists Caudill (1949) and Spindler and Spindler (1958) went beyond the use of descriptive techniques to include personality data obtained from adaptations of projective techniques such as the Rorshach and TAT. Caudill studied the psychological characteristics of the highly acculturated Ojibwa Indians of Lac du Elambeau Reservation in Northern Wisconsin for the purpose of comparing this data with Hallowell's previous observations of the Indians of Berens River who have a similar aboriginal background, but are less acculturated.

The children's TAT was administered to 88 Ojibwa boys and girls between the ages of 6 and 16. The question of primary concern to Caudill was whether there was a basic continuity of personality under conditions of acculturation even though outward patterns of behavior may have changed. He found that the highly acculturated Flambeau Ojibwa show similarities in personality patterns to the aboriginal Ojibwa (whose characteristics were pieced together by Hallowell from reports of explorers in the 17th and 18th centuries) and

the present-day, relatively unacculturated Canadian Ojibwa, (on whom Hallowell obtained Rorshach data). Characteristic of both the aboriginal and unacculturated Canadian Ojibwa

> ... were a detailed, practical, noncreative approach to problems, a high degree of generalized anxiety, an emphasis on restraint and control, an emotional indifference to things, a lack of warm interpersonal relations, a wariness and suspiciousness, and a great deal of aggression and hostility covertly expressed in sorcery (Caudill, 1949, p. 425).

The social structure of the Flambeau, however, has apparently broken down, permitting the overt expression of aggression in physical violence rather than in sorcery as in the past. An interesting additional finding was that the comparison of the Rorshachs of the acculturated Canadian Ojibwa and the TATs of the Flambeau children show a sex difference in adjustment to acculturation favoring the females. This difference has roots in the traditional Ojibwa culture in which the women had less heavy responsibilities and were less anxious.

Spindler and Spindler, (1958) made one of the first systematic attempts to analyze sex differences in acculturation, in their study of the Menomini Indians of Wisconsin. Rorshach tests were administered to 68 males and 61 females, all over

21 years of age. In addition, a schedule of 23 sociocultural indices were obtained for each subject and used for placing subjects on an acculturative continum. A model psychogram for Menomini males and for Menomini females was established using the data from the Rorshach tests. The modal picture for the Menomini male is one of "disturbance, tension and diffuse anxiety, and decrease in emotional controls" which is not present in the psychogram of the females.

Sociocultural factors which contribute to an explanation of the differing reactions of males and females to acculturation are: 1) the differing mobility patterns for males and females, and 2) the relationship between traditional and contemporary role expectations for males and females. With regard to the first factor, women may change groups readily among native-oriented, Peyote and Transitional categories, but the class barriers between the lower status and the elite is relatively impermeable. The males, however, can move from lower status to elite status through occupational and economic success. With regard to the second factor, Menomini culture was traditionally male oriented with rigidly defined "instrumental" roles such as hunting, warfare and ceremony. Women's roles were more flexible. In her "expressive" role as wife and mother, there is greater continuity with Western culture so that the woman does not

face as much conflict in culture change. Although acculturating Menomini males continue to take instrumental roles of community leadership and provide a living for their families, the content of these roles has drastically changed.

> He must learn to be punctual in his arrivals and departures, and run his daily and weekly cycle by the clock and calendar. He has to learn that the accumulation of property and money is the way to 'get ahead' and he has to learn that getting ahead in this fashion is the most important thing a man can do. There are no precedents for these and many other expectations in traditional patterns of instrumental roles for males in Menomini culture (Spindler & Spindler, 1958, p. 230).

In addition to learning new patterns and goals which are in conflict with his traditions, the Menomini male faces the prejudice of Indians towards whites in his daily life. Women, on the other hand, continue to perform their habitual roles. Spindler and Spindler thus attribute the anxiety, tension and breakdown of emotional controls found in the acculturating Menomini malesto the role conflict.

The literature reviewed in this section has served to point out certain cross cultural principles which are basic factors in the acculturation process. Of importance in acculturation in varying circumstances is the primary group

which serves as an anchorage for the individual and which may either facilitate or impede acculturation. When the primary group has had greater contact with the dominant culture through intermarriage and favorable acceptance, it serves to facilitate acculturation. Where the primary group, because of discrimination toward the ethnic group or other factors such as a desire to return to the homeland, seeks to preserve the ethnic identity and culture it serves to impede acculturation. Even in the latter case, however, it may be functional for the individual in preventing him from having to face the conflicts encountered in rapid acculturation, particularly if the new culture is quite different from the old.

Another generalization that can be derived is that acculturation increases with progressive removal in time and generation from the ethnic culture. The longer the immigrant group is in the new culture or the more distant the generation from the immigrant one, the greater the degree of acculturation and the greater the likelihood of assimilation occurring.

On the basis of limited data, it appears that there may be continuity in personality characteristics in acculturation,

although with changes in social structure the form of expression of certain impulses and emotions may change. The role the individual plays such as sex role and occupational role and the extent of change in the role in acculturation mediate the rate of acculturation and the degree of disturbance experienced by the individual.

# CHAPTER III

## BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH: SOCIAL JUDGMENT

The roots of the attitude measurement instruments used in the dissertation research go back to the pioneering efforts of Bogardus (1924-25, 1928) and Thurstone (1928) and Thurstone and Chave (1929). Bogardus' original approach to the study of social distance has recently been refined by Triandis and Triandis (1960, 1962) and new sets of items standardized in American and other cultures. The Own Categories Procedure (Sherif and Hovland, 1953; Sherif and Hovland, 1961; Sherif, Sherif, and Nebergall, 1965) is a method developed out of the questioning of the assumptions of Thurstone's procedures and based on principles derived from psychophysics. It is a technique for the study of social attitudes which yields a number of quantitative measures of the individual's attitude and his degree of involvement in the issue while at the same time being somewhat "disguised" or "indirect". This procedure was used in the present study as an indicator of S's attitudes toward his own ethnic group and of his degree of ethnic identification.

## Social Distance

The sociologist Bogardus (1924-25a) began his study of social distance by asking undergraduate and graduate students to classify ethnic groups into three lists, those groups toward which they have a friendly feeling; those groups toward which a feeling of neutrality was experienced; and those toward which they had a feeling of antipathy or dislike. In a subsequent study Bogardus (1924-25b) developed a scale to measure social distance which consisted of 39 ethnic groups on the left hand side of the page and 7 degrees of social distance across the top of the page, which are listed below in order of increasing social distance:

(1) would admit to close kinship by marriage;
(2) would admit to my club as personal chums;
(3) would admit to my street as neighbors;
(4) would admit to employment in my occupation;
(5) would admit to citizenship in my country;
(6) would admit as a visitor only to my country;
(7) would exclude from my country;

The scale proved to be cumulative in the sense that those groups which were admitted to a large range of group contacts were admitted to the most intimate contacts. So for example, if someone said that they would not admit Japanese to citizenship in their country, they would also not admit Japanese to more intimate contacts such as to employment in their occupation or to

their club as personal chums. If, however, someone were willing to admit Japanese to close kinship by marriage, he would also admit Japanese to all of the other degrees of intimacy.

Bogardus (1928), on the basis of social distance responses from 1725 persons in various regions of the country , found that American white subjects show little social distance toward Canadians, Englishmen and Northern Europeans, and greater social distance toward Eastern and Southern European,s and the most social distance toward racially different groups such as Orientals and Negroes. Although Bogardus found some regional differences toward specific groups, such as a somewhat friendlier attitude toward the Negro on the Pacific Coast than in the South, he concludes that "...similarity rather than difference in racial attitude prevails (p. 161)."

Bogardus (1947) conducted a follow-up study using a stratified sample of the United States population similar to the one he had in his earlier study and found a high correlation in the ranking of the ethnic groups in 1926 and 1946. Substantial shifts in rank that were found tended to reflect the feelings brought about by World War II, i.e., the drop in rank of Germans, Italians and Japanese in the latter study. But overall, the most noteworthy aspect of

the comparison of the social distance data between 1926 and 1946 was the high degree of correspondence between the two lists of rank order of ethnic groups.

Studies (Guilford, 1931; Zeligs and Hendrickson, 1933-34; Meltzer, 1939) with college and university students and school children in different parts of the country reveal a ranking of ethnic groups similar to that as measured by Bogardus. Although in Zeligs' and Hendrickson's study of 200 sixth grade children, correlations between the attitudes of Jewish and non-Jewish children and boys and girls were high, they report differences showing the Jewish group giving more social distance responses than the non-Jewish and girls as decidedly more distant than the boys. Guilford also reported ancestry of Ss to have a significant effect on their evaluations of groups.

In a more recent study of social distance, Triandis and Triandis (1960), using undergraduate students as Ss, corroborate the significance of national background of Ss as related to their prejudice.

> National background is a particularly important background variable; yet it has not been sufficiently explained in studies of prejudice. The interaction between religion and national background

> also accounts for a good deal of the variance and nearly reaches the .05 level of significance. Most of the variance is accounted by national background, religion and social class, in that order (p. 114).

Triandis and Triandis found that Ss with Old American, Northern or Northwestern European ethnic backgrounds show more social distance than Ss with Southern or Eastern European ancestry. With regard to religious background, Catholics showed more prejudice than Jews, with Protestants in between. O'Reilly and O'Reilly (1954) make the point that church membership alone is not an adequate criterion when investigating prejudice. They found Catholic college students who scored high on a religion scale to be less favorable toward Negroes and Jews and to favor the segregation of Negroes in their parishes, whereas those who scored low on the religion scale were less prejudiced and against segregation.

Lower class Ss were found by Triandis and Triandis to show greater social distance than lower middle class Ss, who in turn show greater social distance than upper middle class Ss. This is consistent with findings by Westie and Westie (1957) who found an inverse relationship between social class and prejudice toward the Negro.

With regard to characteristics of stimulus persons which

are determinants of social distance, Triandis and Triandis (1960) conclude that

> ...race is by far the most important factor determining social distance. Furthermore, social class is a much more significant determinant of social distance than is religion or nationality. Social class is relatively more important for groups that show little social distance and have low F scores than for groups showing a great deal of social distance ($p < .05$). The absolute amount of variance due to social class is about equal in all our groups. That is, the groups showing greater social distance do so because they discriminate much more on the basis of race than do other groups (p. 115).

So, whereas nationality is a primary background factor of Ss related to their prejudice, it is a much less important stimulus determinant of social distance.

In addition to demographic characteristics, Triandis and Triandis noted that some Ss, regardless of ethnic or social background showed more distance than others. They found that Ss who scored high on the California F scale tended to show more social distance than Ss who scored low.

On the basis of the above study, Triandis and Triandis (1962) formulated the hypotheses that different cultures have different social distance norms and that within a culture, more insecure and anxious persons will show greater

social distance toward people unlike themselves. Social distance scales were standardized by the Thurstone successive intervals technique in both Greek and American cultures and presented to a sample of 100 Greek and 100 University of Illinois students. Sixteen stimulus persons were generated by combinations of the characteristics of race, religion, occupation and nationality. In both cultures, the most preferred and least preferred stimulus persons were respectively: "French, Bank Manager, White, Same Religion"; and "Portuguese, Miner, Negro, Different Religion." Differences also were evident in determinants of social distance scores in the two cultures. The Greeks gave the following weights: race 24; occupation 5; religion 56; and nationality 0. In comparison, the American weights were: race 86; occupation 3; religion 8; and nationality ½. In a subsequent cross cultural study with German high school students and Japanese university students, Triandis, Davis and Takezawa (1965) found German Ss to give the following weights: race 6 occupation 70; religion 12; and nationality 2. Japanese Ss provided the weights: race 38; occupation 50; religion 0 and nationality 3. It is apparent that in different cultures the

relative weights of stimulus characteristics vary, the Americans giving much greater weight to race, the Greeks to religion, the Germans to occupational status and the Japanese to occupation and race.

Personality variables, particularly "acquiescent" and "extreme" response styles were found to be positively related to prejudice in the Triandis and Triandis (1962) study for both Greek and American Ss. The cultural background of Ss, (whether Greek or American) did, however, control almost twice as much of the variance as did response style. In the Triandis, Davis and Takezawa (1965) study it was found that American Ss who showed high social distance tended to be low on independence of judgment and tolerance for ambiguity. German Ss high in social distance also revealed low tolerance for ambiguity. The attitudes of high social distance Ss on a variety of political and social issues indicated greater conformity to existing social institutions as compared to low social distance Ss.

To summarize, social distance toward ethnic groups was one of the first areas investigated by attitude scales. The rankings of ethnic groups by people in different parts of the country, of different ages and of different socioeconomic

levels have been very similar over a long period of time. By and large, norms of social distance are established throughout the country. Some differences in ratings of groups do, however, occur as a result of background characteristics of Ss, particularly national and religious background; and some variance in levels of social distance can also be attributed to personality characteristics of Ss. Recent studies investigating the contribution of various stimulus characteristics to social distance, reveal race and social class to be the most important determinants for American college students. Cross cultural studies show differing relative weights given to race, occupation, religion and social class in different cultures.

## Theoretical Background of the Own Categories Procedures

Thurstone (1928) made one of the first attempts to develop a method of attitude scale construction which would be applicable to the formation of scales on a wide variety of issues. In proposing the method of equal appearing intervals, part of his reasoning stemmed from research in psychophysics where methods have been developed to scale judgments of

individuals in relation to physical properties, such as weight. Thurstone started by first selecting 100 to 150 statements which covered as far as possible all gradations in attitude on the issue. These initial statements were then edited so as to select statements which were brief, clear and relevant to the variable being measured, and so stated that the subject could accept, reject or express neutrality about the statement. The 80 to 100 statements selected on this basis were then mimeographed on separate cards, one statement per card. Two or three hundred judges were then instructed to arrange the statements in 11 piles, ranging from those statements which are the most affirmative on the issue in pile 1, through a neutral middle pile to pile 11 in which judges were to place the most strongly negative statements on the issue.

A scale value for each statement was then calculated on the basis of how that statement was classified by the judges, the scale value being the point below which and above which one-half of the judges classify it. The criterion of ambiguity was then applied to the statements, eliminating those statements which were classified over too wide a range of the scale. Before the final selection of statements, the

criterion of irrelevance was also applied. The list of statements was again submitted to a few hundred readers who indicated those statements with which they agreed and those with which they disagreed. If the statement is relevant to the attitude being tapped, those who indorse the statement should attain an overall scale value in the vicinity of the scale value of that statement. The statements which were able to survive the criteria of ambiguity and irrelevance are those which comprise the actual attitude scale used to measure subjects' attitudes.

A basic underlying assumption of the method of equal appearing intervals is that the scale values of the statements are independent of the attitudes of the judges who sort the statements. "If the scale is to be regarded as valid, the scale values of the statements should not be affected by the opinions of the people who help to construct it (Thurstone and Chave, 1929, p. 92)." Hinckley (1932) made an early test of this assumption by having pro-Negro, anti-Negro and Negro judges sort 114 statements on the issue of the social position of Negroes. He reported high positive correlations in the scale values derived from sortings by his two groups of white judges and his

Negro judges. Hinckley, however, eliminated Ss who placed more than 30 of the 114 statements in the same category. This proclivity for placing a large number of statements in extreme categories was particularly characteristic of the Negro Ss.

> One tendency which revealed itself in the sortings of some subjects was the bunching of statements in one or more piles to the apparent detriment of the other piles. This phenomenon of bunching at the extremes was noticed in the case of certain white subjects, but was especially noticeable in the Negro subjects. Since the 114 statements are distributed with fair uniformity over the entire scale, marked bunching is a sign of careless sorting . . . . On the assumption that this bunching was due to poor discrimination and carelessness, every case having 30 or more statements in any one pile was automatically eliminated from consideration and the results were not recorded (Hinckley, 1932, p. 288).

In all probability, high involvement rather than carelessness led to reduced discrimination on the part of some judges.

On the basis of theoretical and experimental principles derived from work in perception and judgment, Sherif and Hovland (1953) postulated that the placement of statements will be affected by the attitudes of the judges and that these attitudes will be revealed even more clearly when the Ss are free to use whatever number of categories they feel is

necessary in distinguishing the various positions on the issue. Specifically, Sherif and Hovland hypothesized:

> (a) that Ss with strong personal involvement in an extreme position will tend to establish a scale with a smaller number of categories than Ss not so strongly involved in the issue; and
> (b) that Ss with strong personal involvement in the issue will tend to be very discriminating ('choosy') in accepting items at their own end of the scale, and correspondingly tend to lump statements together at the end of the scale which they reject (p. 136).

Efforts were made to choose Ss of known and varied positions on the issue of the social position of Negroes. Negro students among the first of their race to attend a previously all white university, Negro undergraduates at a segregated university, a small group of pro-Negro white Ss, a few anti-Negro white students and unselected white students were the research Ss. They sorted the 114 statements originally prepared by Hinckley in the previously cited study. The statements represented a range from very pro-Negro to very anti-Negro with a large number of intermediate items which Hinckley found to have high variability of placement.

The results showed a significant tendency for Negro Ss who are highly involved on the issue to use a smaller number of categories than white Ss who are less involved.

Some of the Ss served under an "imposed" category condition in which they had to sort the statements into 11 categories as in Thurstone's method, in addition to sorting the items according to the Own Categories Procedure. Ss who had used a small number of categories under the unrestricted conditions were found to ignore the intermediate categories and place a disproportionate number of statements in the extreme category farthest from their own position.

A combined index of the tendency to constrict or extend the number of categories and to concentrate or not concentrate the items in the extreme position was found by Sherif and Hovland to differentiate between their subject groups in relation to their degree of involvement in the issue of the social position of Negroes. A progression of scale scores was found with the average score for the Negro students at the recently integrated university over 12 times as large as that for the anti-Negro white students. The more extreme the individual's position and the more intense his involvement, the greater the likelihood of a raised threshold of acceptance and a lowered threshold of rejection.

## Psychophysical and Psychosocial Scales of Judgment

Development of the Own Categories Procedure progressed hand in hand with the investigation and understanding of principles derived from psychophysical and psychosocial scales of judgment. The distinction between psychophysical and psychosocial scales is that the former are psychological scales formed in relation to physical stimuli (weight, wavelength, cycles per second, etc.) which are measurable in standard units, whereas the latter are psychological scales developed in relation to social stimuli (social issues, people, cultural practices, etc.) for which the standards for judgment differ in different cultures, subcultures and groups (Sherif & Hovland, 1961).

## The Effect of Anchors on Psychophysical Scales

Anchors may be either implicit or explicit. When the method of single stimuli (also called the method of absolute judgment) is used, S is simply asked to make a judgment of the stimulus without comparing it with a standard. The anchors are implicit. Judgments in this case depend upon a particular range of stimulus frequencies with greater weight

given to the end stimuli (Volkmann, 1951; Reese, Reese, Volkman & Corbin, 1953; Eriksen & Hake, 1957; Parducci, Calfee, Marshall & Davidson, 1960).

> If he is given frequencies from 600-700 cycles, he will call even 400 cycles 'low.' If he has been given 300-400 cycles, he will call even 400 cycles 'high' (Volkman, 1951, p. 279).
>
> ...it is primarily the end stimuli that control the oscillations of the absolute scale. The center of the stimulus range has no special functional significance whatever (Ibid., p. 283).

Volkmann found that discrimination becomes much finer with explicit end anchoring, presenting auxiliary stimuli equal to the top and bottom stimuli and telling S that these are to represent the top and bottom of his scale. Using the method of constant stimuli, which involves introducing an explicit anchor at every trial also greatly increases accuracy and decreases variability of judgments. This increased accuracy, however, is only in that segment of the series which is near the anchor (Fernberger, 1931; Long, 1937; Reese et al., 1953).

The introduction of an anchor has been reported to affect the judgment of the stimuli in a series not only in relation to accuracy and variability of judgment, but also in terms

of shifting judgment of stimuli either away from the anchor value (contrast effect) or toward the anchor value (assimilation effect). Contrast effects have been clearly demonstrated in a number of studies in which anchoring stimuli have been presented at varying distances beyond the range of values of the stimulus series.

Rogers (1941) introduced anchors at increasing distances above the stimulus series, shifting judgment toward the lower values. In an experiment by Postman and Miller (1945) anchors were introduced above the series but no specific instructions were given to regard the anchor as the top category of the scale. Judgments of the series stimuli were shifted away from the anchor, the anchoring effect being greatest for the stimulus closest to the anchor. Heintz (1950) also reported shifts away from remote anchors without finding any effect on the extent of judgmental shifts in relation to the frequency with which the anchor is presented.

The effectiveness of anchors has been found to diminish as the anchor differs qualitatively from the stimulus series. Brown (1953) asked Ss repeatedly to pick up and move out of the way a tray on which the stimulus weights were loaded without observing any effect on the judgments of the series weights.

Similarly, Parducci (1954) had half of his Ss lift an anchor the same color as the series weights and half lift an anchor of a different color. In the latter case, the Ss showed a smaller shift in judgment. Apparently then, for an auxiliary stimulus to function as an anchor it has to be perceived by S as being relevant to the stimulus series.

The interrelationship of assimilation and contrast effects is illustrated in studies in which the position of the anchor is varied both within and outside of the stimulus series. Rogers, Volkmann, Reese, and Kaufman (as reported by Bieri, Atkins, Briar, Leaman, Miller and Tripodi, 1966) found anchoring effects in an experiment in which Ss were asked to adjust inclination of a series of lines ranging from -10 to +100 degrees with respect to the vertical. Errors of estimation decreased between +5 and +40 degrees, but errors increased below +5 and above +40. Despite the general decrease in error, there was a tendency for judgments of inclination between +7 and +30 degrees to be overestimated and those from +30 to +55 to be underestimated (assimilation toward the anchor). Values below +7 degrees were underestimated, judged away from or in contrast to the anchor.

The most systematic study of judgments of a stimulus series with no anchor, and anchors outside of the series was conducted by Sherif, Taub and Hovland (1958). In their experiment with weights, they used the no anchor condition as the baseline against which to assess the effects of anchors placed both within and outside of the stimulus series. Anchor values which either correspond to the end value of the simulus series or are slightly above or below the series produce the shifts in judgments toward the anchor (assimilation). Anchors which are more distant displace judgments away from the anchor (contrast).

Helson and Nash (1960) found contrast effects following introduction of either a very light or a very heavy stimulus, even though Ss were instructed to judge each of the series weights by itself and not in comparison with the anchor weight. Shifts in judgments were greater for stimuli near the anchor; and the farther away the series from the anchor, the greater the overall shifts in judgment.

Series range as well as anchor position was varied in an experiment by Harvey and Campbell (1963). In addition, pre-anchor practice with the series was varied. Half of the Ss were instructed to make their judgments of weight in ounces

and the other half in five categories. All of the experimental conditions, narrow and wide ranges of the standard weights, weaker and stronger scales represented by variation in pre-anchor practice and lighter and heavier anchors, were duplicated with each language instruction in a 2x2x2 factorial design.

All four of the independent variables had a significant effect on judgments. Contrast effects were observed with the introduction of anchoring stimuli, the displacement being greater for the narrow series, the more distant anchor and for series stimuli closest to the anchor position. Shifts in judgment were much less when Ss responded in ounces rather than category numbers. The authors suggested that this could be due to unlimited availability of new categories in this case.

Categories available for judgment were systematically varied by White (1960) following the introduction of a much lighter anchor. Contrast effects, displacement of judgments away from the anchor, were found in every condition with the remote anchor. The displacement was greatest where additional categories were made available at the end of the scale farthest from the anchor. Only when there were fewer

categories than stimuli to be judged, was there a constriction of the judgment scale.

A replication of the portions of the Sherif et al. (1958) study for which assimilation effects were reported was conducted by Parducci and Marshal (1962) who also introduced certain methodological changes. Order of conditions were systematically varied; the method of constant stimuli as well as the method of absolute judgment was used; in one condition the anchors were unlabeled; and in another condition an additional category was added to the scale of judgment. Assimilation effects were found in all of the various conditions in accord with Sherif et al. Parducci and Marshall, however, interpret their findings in terms of adaptation level theory rather than the assimilation contrast theory of Sherif et al.

> ... in each of the present cases, the assimilation is consistent with the contrast principles described by the theory of adaptation level. Whenever a category of judgment is anchored to a specific stimulus, either by E or S, the anchored category is applied to the PSE for the anchoring stimulus in accordance with the adaptation-level analysis for comparative judgment. The remaining judgments are largely determined by the physical ratios of each of the various stimulus values to this PSE (Parducci and Marshall, 1962, pp. 435-6).

According to adaptation level theory, the PSE or the adaptation level AL, is the neutral point of the psychological scale which corresponds to a weighted logarithmic mean of the stimulus series being judged, the contextual stimuli (out of series background stimuli) and residual stimuli (residues of previously experienced stimuli) (Helson, 1959). Adaptation level theory focuses on the relationship between the stimulus to be judged and the AL whereas assimilation-contrast theory developed by Sherif and Hovland (1961) concentrates on the distance between the stimuli to be judged and the anchor.

In Helson's (1964) conceptualization, assimilation and contrast are not separate phenomena but rather complementary processes on a single continuum divided by a neutral zone. In experiments on discrimination of white and black lines on backgrounds of varying intensities, Helson found assimilation effects for backgrounds which were very light and very dark and contrast effects for middle gray backgrounds. Helson explains this as follows:

> Small differences in excitation in neighboring areas (either in the retina or the brain) summate to produce assimilation while larger differences result in inhibition of the weaker impulses to produce contrast. It follows at once there are intermediate differences in excitation which given rise neither to summation

> (assimilation) nor inhibition (contrast) (p. 32-33).

Contrast is perceived when adaptation level is a value between adjacent areas; assimilation is perceived when the AL is above or below the contiguous areas. Helson (1964) postulates similar processes for assimilation and contrast in social judgment, that they are complementary with a neutral zone in between.

To summarize the effect of anchors on psychophysical scales, it is apparent that when there is no explicit anchor, greater weight is given to the end stimuli in judgments of a series. There is the highest variability and least accuracy of judgments in the middle range of the series, which is the segment farthest from the end stimuli. Similarly, when explicit anchors are introduced, accuracy increases and variability of judgments decreases in the segment of the series closest to the anchor. Experiments conducted under the theoretical umbrellas of both Sherif and Hovland's social judgment theory and Helson's adaptation level theory report assimilation (shifts in judgment of stimuli toward the anchor value) when there are small differences between the stimuli and the anchor, and contrast effects (shift in judgment away from the anchor value) when there are large differences between the stimuli and the anchor.

## The Effect of Internal Anchors on Scale Formation

### Psychophysical Scales

Sherif and Hovland's (1961) aim was primarily an understanding of social judgment, which was further elaborated by Sherif, Sherif and Nebergall (1965). For this reason, prominent place is given to the understanding of internal anchors in the formation of psychological scales.

The first recognition of the effect of an internal anchor or reference scale on psychophysical judgments was made by Wever and Zener (1928) who, using the method of absolute stimuli with weights, found the effect of the first series of judgments on the second to be quite evident for the first 20 or 25 judgments. Judgments of "heavy" predominated demonstrating a contrast effect in relation to the first series.

Tresselt (1947) divided her Ss into two groups, one of which practiced with weights which were much heavier than the stimulus series and the other with weights which were much lighter than the stimulus series. She found that although the scales rapidly conform to the stimulus range, there was a definite effect of the varying amounts of practice on

initial judgments of the experimental series.

In a subsequent experiemnt Tresselt (1948) had professional weight-lifters and watchmakers make absolute judgments of laboratory weights. Although both groups showed a shift in their scale values corresponding to the experimental range of stimuli, the mean medium judgment of the weight- lifters was significantly different from that of the watchmakers throughout the experiment. The watchmakers established a scale similar to the students after a few trials indicating a differential rate of the formation of a new scale depending on the nature and magnitude of the previous experience.

Shifts in a scale of judgments of auditory frequency were found by Johnson (1949) as a result of experience with different series. He found an inverse relationship between the number of practice trials and the speed of the shift to the level of the second series.

Verbal instructions to Ss have also been found to be effective in producing internal anchors (Volkmann, 1936; Parducci, 1954; Margaro, 1966). Volkmann's Ss judged a series of visual inclinations and then were instructed to think of an inclination greater than any in the series, keeping that inclination in mind while making their next set of

judgments. These latter judgments were shifted as if in response to an actual anchor.

In the experiment conducted by Parducci, one group of Ss was given prior verbal description of the stimulus distribution before making their judgments. This group of Ss showed less shift in judgment during subsequent presentations of the stimuli than a control group.

Recently, Margaro compared judgments of the size of 12 circles made by three experimental groups, an anchor, an image and a control group. The findings show that the anchor and image groups differ from the control groups but not from each other. The results of this and the two preceding studies thus seem to indicate that an imaginary anchor can serve in exactly the same way as a real anchor.

That personality factors may also affect psychophysical judgments was demonstrated by White and Alter (1965). The study compared the judgments of Ss high in dogmatism and authoritarianism (D-F) and those low in D-F during a training session and a session with a remote anchor. Although the two groups of Ss did not differ in the number of range of judgment categories used in the training session, high D-F Ss showed less contrast effect under the anchoring condition than did

the low D-F Ss. The researchers attribute this to greater resistance to change in response to the anchor by high D-F Ss.

## Affective and Social Judgment Scales

Similar effects of internal anchors have been reported for affective and social judgments. Hunt and Volkmann (1937) instructed Ss to judge the pleasantness-unpleasantness of a series of colored papers on a seven point scale. In the second part of the experiment, they were asked to think of the "most pleasant color you can" and further to "let its pleasantness define the step seven on your scale." The results showed a shift in judgment toward the lower end of the scale, away from the "most pleaant" anchor.

An experiment by Hunt (1941) included affective judgments of colors, ivory carvings, and modern paintings as well as intelligence ratings of children's faces and judgments of the degree of violation of crimes. Verbal anchors were introduced both above and below the extreme categories of judgment. Contrast effects (shifts away from the internal anchor) were found when differences between the anchor and series stimuli were large. Shifts toward the internal anchor (assimilation effects) were found for some stimuli in the series which

appeared in some way to resemble the anchor.

Hyman's (1942) study which is widely known for its introduction of the term reference group was, however, primarily a judgmental study of "subjective status," how the individual judges his own position relative to that of other persons. According to Hyman, the reference group serves as an end anchor.

> For example, a person whose top end of the economic scale is anchored by a $100,000 a year man has a given status. When the new end-anchor of Henry Ford is presented, the scale is extended and the subject has a lower status (p. 25).

A more remote anchor was added, therefore producing a contrast effect.

McGarvey (1941) had Ss judge the social prestige of various occupations and the desirability of forms of behavior. The effect of verbal anchors was to extend the absolute scale in the direction of the anchoring value with a concomitant widening of the categories of response. For example, if a S is told that category 6 which was previously defined by the category "machinest" was to be instead defined by "doctor," S was no longer able to use the higher categories, thus the categories at the lower end became wider in order to include

more occupations. Ratings of desirability of social behavior followed similar patterns.

Judgments of occupational prestige were found by Perloe (1960) to be contrasted away from the Ss own status position. As compared with a national survey sample, Yale students (high status individuals) displaced judgments of middle and low rank occupations away from their own position, which the researchers assumed to function as an internal anchor.

Judgment is always, however, dependent not only on the internal anchor alone, but on the interaction of the internal anchor with the stimuli to be judged, and other external anchors. An experiment illustrating these interrelationships was conducted by Marks (1943). Marks had Negro college students rate the skin color of fellow Negro students and also rate them on personal traits such as energy, charm (or attractiveness) and intelligence. Three experimenters independently measured the skin color of the judges and the Ss. In the Negro community at the time of Marks' study, the skin color considered most desirable was lighter than average but not at the extremely light end of the scale. The Ss judged attractive tended to be those with the most preferred skin color. Also there was a tendency to rate the skin color of a given S

closer to the preferred color by those who rated that S attractive than by those who did not consider her attractive. The color of the judge himself served as an anchor in the ratings of skin color, there being a tendency to rate those Ss as "light" who were lighter than the rater, and those Ss as "dark" who were darker than the rater. In judging their own color, the raters displaced their judgments in the direction of the preferred light brown. However, their objective color served as a limiting factor on the extent of the displacement. Thus, the attractiveness of S, the objective color of S and the color of the rater all interacted in determining the judge's rating of S's skin color.

In a similar study of judgments of height, Hinckley and Rethingshafer (1951) found that the height of the man making the judgments and the extreme heights in the stimulus series both served as anchors. Also, the judgment of the average height of all men is in part determined by the height of the man making the judgment.

## Own Attitude as an Anchor

According to Sherif and Hovland (1961) and Sherif, Sherif and Nebergall (1965) attitudinal reactions involve a judgment

process. This judgment process has at least two characteristics in addition to those found in psychophysical judgments:

> 1. When the individual has a definite attude about a class of objects, he brings to any specific situation involving it a set of categories already established; these categories are evaluative in nature.
>
> 2. A second feature of social judgments is their variability from individual to individual (Sherif, Sherif and Nebergall, 1965, p. 9).

When an individual faces the task of judging a set of statements on a social issue, he brings to it a reference scale previously formed in the context of his own groups. His position on the psychosocial scale reflects the norms of his culture and reference groups at a particular time, The bounds of what is acceptable and unacceptable within a group on an issue is determined by the values and concerns of the group and also by the positions taken by other groups on the issue.

In the judgment of social stimuli, one's own attitude serves as an internal anchor. Just as the distance between the series stimuli and the anchor in a psychophysical experiment affects the judgments, there are characteristic modes of evaluation of statements depending on the distance between the S's attitude and the statement or communication. Statements

most susceptible to displacement are those which are ambiguous. Sherif and Hovland (1961) state the relationship between attitudinal anchors and a communication as follows:

> When the position in communication is susceptible to alternative interpretations, displacements of the position advocated will vary as a function of its distance from the subject's stand. The greater the discrepancy between the subject's own stand and the position advocated, the greater the displacement away from the subject's position ('contrast effect'). When only a small discrepancy in positions exists, there will be a tendency for displacement toward his own stand ('assimilation effect') (Sherif and Hovland, 1961, p. 149).

This hypothesis was tested in a study by Hovland, Harvey and Sherif (1957) who studied attitudes toward prohibition of liquor in a dry state (Oklahoma) at a time shortly after a referendum had narrowly upheld prohibition laws. An effort was made to select Ss who were ego-involved on the issue as well as a number of Ss who held more moderate positions and were less concerned about the issue. At the first session data was secured on the S's initial stand on the prohibition issue, including the range of positions he accepted (latitude of acceptance), the range of positions he rejected (latitude of rejection), and those positions which he considered neither acceptable nor objectionable (latitude of noncommitment). At

the second session, 1-3 weeks later, a wet (repeal) communication was delivered to extreme dry (prohibition) Ss and unselected Ss; a dry communication was delivered to extreme wet and unselected Ss; and a moderate communication was delivered to wet, dry and unselected Ss.

After the communication was presented, Ss again filled out the same questionnaire to ascertain any changes in attitude. Ss also evaluated the communication through ratings on like-dislike, reasonable-unreasonable, biased-unbiased and propaganda-fact dimensions. The Ss who heard the moderate communication also checked on a scale the position they thought the communication was advocating.

The results of primary interest, the relationship between the recipient's stand and his placement of the communication, indicated that Ss whose own position was the same as that of the communication judged its position accurately, while those whose own position was close to that of the communication assimilated it to their own position and those whose own position was further away exaggerated the distance of the communication (contrast effect). It was also found that when there is a small distance between the S's own stand and the position

of the communication, the communication is judged as being fair and factual. As the distance between S's position and that of the communication increases, the communication is judged unfavorably and is perceived as propagandistic and unfair.

With regard to attitude change, most frequently Ss whose own position was divergent from that advocated in the communication remained unchanged in their attitudes. Change was greater for those who held more moderate positions close to the position presented in the communication.

Following the 1959 referendum which finally repealed prohibition in Oklahoma, Jackman and C. Sherif with the collaboration of LaFave (1963) conducted a study of judgments of the truth or falsity and of the source of statements of "facts" supporting wet, dry and moderately dry positions. The statements were presented to 89 active members of dry groups; 66 advocates of repeal and 150 unselected college students in their classrooms.

Analysis of the judgments revealed that a large majority of wet statements (74.5%) were rated false by dry Ss and a large majority of dry statements (72%) were rated false by wet Ss. Not all statements which represented their own side

were rated true, however, only 58.9% of dry Ss rated dry statements true and 52% of wet Ss rated wet statements true. But many of the same side statements rated false were actually attributed to the opposing side, about half of the dry statements rated false by drys and 67% of the wet statements rated false by wets. There was also a tendency to attribute opposition statements rated true to one's own side.

An extensive study of political attitudes was conducted in the Southwest during the month preceding the 1956 presidential election and in the Northwest as well as the Southwest during the month prior to the 1960 presidential election (Sherif & Hovland, 1961; Sherif et al., 1965). The Ss in 1956 and 1960 were undergraduate and graduate university students, including Young Republicans and Young Democrats. The purpose of the research was to test the social judgment-involvement theory of attitude and attitude change which is derived from findings from psychophysical and social judgment studies. Unlike other methods of attitude measurement which yield a single score, an attitude scale was developed which would permit assessment of the range of positions on the issue which the S evaluates positively or negatively or on which he is noncommital. On the basis of pre-test trials

with Ss with known political stands which ranged from extreme pro-Republican through neutral to extreme pro-Democratic partisianship, the following nine statements were developed to measure political attitudes:

> A. The election of the Republican presidential and vice-presidential candidates in November is absolutely essential from all angles in the country's interests.
>
> B. On the whole the interests of the country will be served best by the election of the Republican candidates for president and vice-president in the coming election.
>
> C. It seems that the country's interests would be better served if the presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Republican party are elected this November.
>
> D. Although it is hard to decide, it is probable that the country's interests may be better served if the Republican presidential and vice-presidential candidates are elected in November.
>
> E. From the point of view of the country's interests, it is hard to decide whether it is preferable to vote for presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Republican party or the Democratic party in November.
>
> F. Although it is hard to decide, it is probable that the country's interests may be better served if the Democratic presidential and vice-presidential candidates are elected in November.
>
> G. It seems that the country's interests would be better served if the presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Democratic party are elected this November.
>
> H. On the whole the interests of the country will be served best if the presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Democratic party are elected this November.

> I. The election of the Democratic presidential and vice-presidential candidates in November is absolutely essential from all angles in the country's interests (Sherif et al., 1965, p. 28).

Each S was asked to indicate the statement which came closest to his own position, also other acceptable statements (latitude of acceptance). He was also instructed to select the statement which was most objectionable plus other objectionable statements (latitude of rejection). Since the S was not required to respond to every statement, those left unmarked provided a measure for the latitude of noncommitment.

Data from both the 1956 and 1960 elections, from the Northwest and the Southwest, from Republicans and Democrats reveal similar relationships among latitudes of acceptance, rejection and noncommitment. In general, Ss accept the same number of positions regardless of their own most acceptable position. The relationship between latitude of rejection and own stand, however, is curvilinear: the more extreme one's own stand, the greater the number of positions rejected. The relationship between extremity of position and latitude of noncommitment is inversely curvilinear: the more extreme the stand taken the narrower the latitude of noncommitment. The latitudes of acceptance and rejection are similar for moderates

who differ from those holding more extreme stands in their larger latitude of noncommitment.

Two other studies of controversial issues, (Elbing, 1962; Whittaker, 1963) measured attitudes via nine positions ranging from favorable through neutral to unfavorable. Elbing assessed the attitudes of business administration students at the University of Washington on the right-to-work issue. His findings were similar to those of the election study. The more extreme the position taken, whether pro-union or pro-management, the larger the latitude of rejection in relation to the latitude of acceptance. For more moderate Ss (DEF positions) the size of the latitudes of acceptance and rejection did not differ. Since a number of Ss were not involved in the right-to-work issue, there was a greater frequency of noncommitment to a position than on the election issue.

Whittaker compared evaluations of nine positions on the farm policy of the federal government of Ss active in farmers' groups with unselected college students and unselected farmers. The findings are similar to those of the election and right-to-work studies. Those Ss upholding extreme stands on the farm policy issue rejected twice as many positions as they

accepted. The Ss active in the farmers' groups generally rejected more positions than the more moderate unselected Ss. Those Ss taking moderate stands had latitudes of acceptance and rejection of similar size. The latitude of noncommitment, on the average, was larger than on the election issue, indicating less involvement for most Ss.

The 1960 election study conducted by Sherif et al. involved a second session, about two weeks after Ss had evaluated the nine position statements, during which each S was presented with one of five communications: extremely Republican, moderately Republican; fence-straddling; moderately Democratic; or extremely Democratic communication. After the tape recorded communication was played, each S marked the position of the communication on a 9 cm. scale labeled at one end "Extremely Republican" and at the other end "Extremely Democratic."

The results show that Ss, regardless of their own most acceptable position, rate the extreme Democratic or extreme Republican communications accurately, placing them at the appropriate end of the continuum. The placement of moderate Republican and moderate Democratic communications did not vary

with S's most acceptable position per se, but did vary when range of acceptable positions was taken into account. Both Republicans and Democrats who were highly involved (who rejected more than five positions) displaced the communication away from their own stand. Moderate Republicans and Democrats judged the communication as closer to their own stand, the extent of the assimilation increased as the range of assimilation increased.

The general trend for placement of the fence-straddling speech was assimilation to S's own position, the tendency being greater for those with stands most discrepant from the communication. Among those selecting an extreme position as most acceptable, however, those whose range of acceptance extended closer to the communication assimilated it more markedly.

## Variables Affecting Categorization of Items

Variations in the series, the nature of the items, the position of own stand on the scale, the degree of ego involvement and cultural background of Ss are major factors affecting categorization of statements. Changes in evaluation of statements with change of series range have been reported in a

number of studies (Fehrer, 1952; Upshaw, 1962; Sherif, 1963). Fehrer compared ratings of statements in three scales constructed from items in Thurstone's scale measuring attitudes toward war. The C scale (control) contained items over the entire range from very pacificstic to very militaristic. The second scale (M scale) contained a preponderance of militaristic items and the third scale (P scale) a preponderance of pacifistic items.

The median scale values of certain of the items common to all three scale showed a shift in value with context. Items which were rated significantly more pacifistic when in the M scale, were rated significantly more militaristic when in the P scale, as compared with the C scale. Analysis of which items were subject to shift, revealed that they were ambiguous items, the moderately pacifistic items on Scale M and the moderately militaristic items on Scale P. The ratings of the very militaristic, very pacifistic and neutral items were the same on Scale P and Scale M as on Scale C.

Upshaw (1962) conducted a replication of the Hinckley (1932) and Sherif and Hovland (1952) studies on attitude toward Negroes with the addition of manipulation of series range. Three sets of items were used: one containing the 114

statements employed in the two previous studies; the second containing the same set of statements but with the 28 most favorable items removed; and the third set containing the same set of statements but with the 28 most unfavorable items removed. On the basis of their scores on the Murphy-Likert Scale of Attitude toward the Negro, Ss were classified as anti-Negro, neutral or pro-Negro. The effects due to judges' attitude, item range and interaction of both were highly significant.

Upshaw concluded that the Sherif and Hovland assimilation-contrast model and perceptual vigilance theory could account for the main effect due to judges' attitude; that adaptation-level theory could account for the main effect due to series range and that only the variable series model could sufficiently explain all of the results. According to the latter model, when the item series is truncated so that the own attitude of the judge is outside the series, he would subjectively lengthen the range to this own position, own attitude serving as an anchor. This would lead to finer discriminations of judges whose own attitude is within the series and more lumping together of items of judges with attitudes outside of the series range.

In another study of the effect of series range and context, stereotypes were assessed by Diab (1963a, 1963b) who varied the number and kind of national groups presented to Arab students. In both studies, Ss were first asked to characterize 13 different national groups which were selected to represent all possible degrees of social acceptance-rejection prevalent in the culture. In the first study, he then asked another sample of Ss to characterize seven different national groups, five of which were also included in the first condition. For example, stereotypes of Americans were more favorable in the second condition when Russians were also included in the list; whereas, French were more unfavorably rated by the second group, possibly because of a contrast with the Algerians. In the second study, the second group of Ss were asked to characterize only the five national groups falling at the low end of that culture's social distance scale. On the whole, under this condition the stereotypes became much more favorable except for groups toward which extreme negative attitudes prevailed, such as the Jews and Turks.

Thus, ratings of statements may be more favorable when only the unfavorable end of the continuum is presented for

judgment, or more unfavorable when only the favorable end of the continuum is presented for judgment. Presenting the entire range of possible items for judgment, however, does not necessarily lead to more accurate judgments in the sense that accuracy refers to the correspondence between S's response on an attitude scale and S's response in a real life situation in which he is dealing with the object of the attitude. An attitude scale would therefore be most accurate which would present for judgment the same items which would correspond to those present in S's life situation or psychological field at the time of his behavioral response to the object.

## Items Subject to Displacement

A number of studies corroborate the finding that it is the more ambiguous, intermediate items which are systematically displaced according to the subject's attitude (Zimbardo, 1960; La Fave & Sherif, 1962 as reported in Sherif et al., 1965; Reich, 1963). La Fave and Sherif replicated the Sherif and Hovland 1953 study using different statements. On the basis of pretests, five statements were selected from each of five classifications ranging from Very Integrationist to Very Segregationist. Subjects were 95 Negro university students,

144 unselected white undergraduate students and 78 students who were members of a Greek letter southern fraternity. The findings supported those of the Sherif and Hovland study. Negroes used the fewest categories in sorting statements on the desegregation issue, unselected white students used the largest number of categories and southern fraternity members (who were not homogeneously anti Negro) were intermediate in the number of categories used in sorting the statements. Crucial to this section is the finding that it was the intermediate items which had a high variability of placement.

> These results can be explained simply, as follows: the extreme items were placed very similarly by respondents with differing attitudes and differing involvement in the issue. The items with intermediate scale values were shifted in opposite direction by respondents whose attitudes differed. The prosegregation subjects accumulated them into categories at the extreme favorable to desegregation. The pro-integration subjects accumulated them in categories at the extreme unfavorable to desegregation (Sherif et al., 1965, p. 115).

Thus, intermediate items were contrasted away from own position of highly involved subjects.

Zimbardo approached the relative variability of placement of differing types of statements by having Yale introductory psychology students who were majoring in the sciences or

the humanities place statements on an 11-point scale representing the favorable-unfavorable continuum. Before the experiment, experts in linguistics and English classified the statements as well structured, "double barelled" or indeterminate. Only the statements classified as indeterminate were subject to systematic displacement according to students' own attitude on the issue. Science majors judged the indeterminate statements as being favorable toward science and humanities majors tended to judge them as being unfavorable to science. Thus, both groups of Ss assimilated the statements to their own position. Zimbardo suggests that the reason the findings are contrary to those of Hovland, Harvey and Sherif (1957) on the prohibition issue is that his Ss represented a narrower range of attitudes and were not highly involved in the issue.

## The Effect of Own Attitude on the Rating of Statements

There is substantial evidence indicating that judgments of verbal statements are influenced by raters' attitudes which serve as internal anchors. A number of studies which illustrate this point have already been reviewed in this

chapter. Further studies have attempted to manipulate order of items, type of judgment, range of statements, referent of items and judges' attitude.

In his study of the effect of variations in judges' attitudes on rating of statements, Segall (1959) also manipulated order of occurrence of statements to be judged and type of judgment. On the basis of a multitopic questionnaire administered several weeks prior to the experiment, introductory psychology students who could be classified as pro, moderate and anti-fraternity were selected as Ss. One group of Ss judged the pro items first, while another matched group judged the anti items first. The two types of judgment which were studied were: absolute judgment in which each statement was rated separately and placed in one of seven categories (essentially the Thurstone technique); relative judgment in which S's own position was four on the seven point scale and all items were to be judged in relation to this category. The findings revealed that judge's attitude proved to have a significant effect on judgment of neutral items in the relative judgment task while under this condition ratings were not related to item order. Conversely, in the absolute judgment condition, own attitude was not a significant determinant but

context in which neutral items were judged had a significant effect. Thus, S's own attitude is more likely to serve as an anchor under conditions in which his attitude is made more salient for him, particularly when that attitude is perhaps not too ego-involving.

Manis (1960) divided 70 undergraduate psychology students into five groups on the basis of their responses on a rating scale: pro-fraternity; moderately pro; neutral; moderately anti; and anti-fraternity. Ss were presented with four pro-fraternity, four anti-fraternity, and four relatively neutral messages. For each passage, Ss were asked to predict the writer's rating of college fraternities, as defined by responses on six evaluative rating scales. The results show a curvilinear relationship between extremity of S's own position and his tendendy to regard the communicators as holding extreme views. Both pro and anti Ss attributed more extreme positions to the communicators than did neutral Ss. An assimilation effect was found for pro Ss for both pro and neutral messages and for anti Ss for both anti and neutral messages.

Manis notes that the results are in accordance with the Hovland, Harvey and Sherif (1957) theory which would account

for the findings by saying that the assimilated statements were within the S's latitude of acceptance. The anti Ss displaced the pro statements away from their own anti stands (contrast effect) and similarly the pro Ss displaced the anti statements away from their own stands. The neutral Ss tended to shift both pro and neutral communicators toward the midpoint of the scale (assimilation effect). The moderately pro and moderately anti Ss had response patterns very similar to that of neutral Ss. An apparently contradictory finding to the Sherif and Hovland theory, however, was that neutral Ss used a relatively constricted scale of judgment as compared with the more extreme supposedly more committed Ss.

Two more recent studies have attempted to explore further the Sherif and Hovland (1953) research on the social position of Negroes (Zavalloni & Cook, 1965; Sellitz, Erdrich and Cook, 1965). The Zavalloni and Cook study was a replication of the one by Hovland and Sherif (1952) usuing the same statements that had been used by them and by Hinckley (1932). Ss were selected from five criterion groups, spaced along the attitude continuum, whose attitudes were inferred on the basis of their membership in certain organizations and participation in activities which indicated a particular attitude

concerning race relations. The central hypothesis of the Hovland and Sherif study, that raters' attitudes influence scale values assigned to items, was confirmed by Zavalloni and Cook. With respect to some of Hovland and Sherif's lesser hypotheses, however, their findings show some divergences. Ratings by Ss from all of the five criterion groups were influenced by attitudes, not only those of Ss with extreme attitudes and high involvement as Hovland and Sherif had hypothesized. While both neutral and unfavorable items were found to be influenced by raters' attitudes, extreme judges made fine discriminations at their own end of the scale and lumped together only the unfavorable items at the other end of the scale.

Sellitz, Erdrich and Cook followed the same procedures as in the Hovland and Sherif and the Zavalloni and Cook studies, but developed a new set of statements which were more evenly distributed on the continuum from favorable to unfavorable than the previous set which had a disproportionate number of unfavorable statements. The Ss, selected from five criterion groups spanning the attitude range from favorable to unfavorable on the issue of race relations, were from three geographic regions, the northeast, midwest and border south. Significant

differences in mean ratings of statements were found among the five groups of Ss. Also within the three geographical regions, when Ss were divided into quintiles on the basis of a self-report inventory, the two extreme quintiles differed significantly from the middle quintile and from each other in mean ratings. Thus, it is possible to distinguish favorable, unfavorable and middle of the road Ss through their ratings of statements on an issue.

Since Ss with known own attitudes reveal consistent differences in judging items by the method of equal-appearing intervals, Webb and Chueh (1965) hypothesized differences in scale values for items on the social position of Negroes judged by Southern white and Negro Ss according to own attitudes and under a role-taking condition where they assume the opposite role of Negro or white, whichever the case may be. While role-taking instructions produced a change in scale values for both Negro and white Ss, judgments of white Ss showed less change than those of Negro Ss. Explanations offered by the authors for this difference in the effect of role playing are: 1) that there were fewer white Ss (50) as compared to Negro Ss (67) and perhaps the data for the white Ss was not as reliable;

2) the attitude position of the white Ss was less extreme than that of Negro Ss and therefore did not produce item displacements as large as for Negro Ss; 3) white Ss indicated greater difficulty in taking the role of their alters than did Negro Ss; and 4) there were also race differences in the specific person or class Negro and white Ss assumed in the role-taking situation. With regard to placement of items, Webb and Chueh found what they called a "bidirectional" displacement which they note can only be explained by the assimilation-contrast model which predicts assimilation of items near own stand and contrast of objectionable items away from own position.

A recent study by Rambo and Main (1969) employed six groups of Ss who had been equated for attitudes towards Jews, Negroes and Irish. They were presented with a set of 40 statements, originally constructed by Hinckley (1932) and rescaled by Upshaw (1962), to be judged according to equal-appearing interval procedures. The same statements were judged by all groups except that each group of Ss evaluated the statements with one minority group as a referent, either Irish, Jews or Negroes. Two levels of instructions were employed, one which was similar to that used by Hovland and Sherif (1952) in which Ss were asked to assign statements to categories reflecting

the relative social position of the group; and the other instructions were identical to the first with the exception that twice Ss were asked to simply judge the social position represented by the statement regardless of their endorsement of it.

> The present investigation represents an attempt to assess the applicability of adaptation-level theory to social judgment situations in which the content of the statements and the own-attitude of the judges are held constant while residual variables are systematically manipulated. . . . Although the content of the statement is assumed to be undisturbed by a change in group referents, the scale location of the distribution of social attitudes surrounding each minority group would not be identical. Since it is these attitudes that determine the value of the residual component, substitution of group referents represents a manipulation of the residual variable (Rambo & Main, 1969, p. 98).

On the basis of the ordering of the three minority groups on social distance scales previously administered to college populations, adaptation level would predict that mean judgments assigned to the Negro statements would be highest with the average judgments assigned to Jewish statements next and the lowest mean judgments for the statements that refer to the Irish. The principal hypothesis was supported by the research, an inverse relationship being obtained between the social status of the minority group referent and the average

scale position of the judgments. Significant differences were also observed with instructional set, lower mean judgments being associated with the condition that placed added emphasis on objective judgment.

The mean scale position of the negative statements referring to Negroes was significantly higher than the mean scale position assigned to the statements for Jews or Irish. The scale positions assigned to the neutral statements were significantly higher than those referring to the Jew which were significantly higher than the neutral items when applied to the Irish. The average scale position of positive items that referred to the Irish was significantly lower than the mean scale position of positive statements associated with either the Negroes or the Jews. Although the results were interpreted in terms of adaptation-level theory, they are also consistent with assimilation-contrast theory.

## Ego Involvement as Measured by the Own Categories Procedure

Research using the Own Categories Procedure has consistently found that Ss highly involved in some stand on a social

issue use fewer categories in sorting statements about that issue than Ss who are less involved. As stated in previous sections of this chapter, on the issue of the social position of Negroes, Sherif and Hovland (1953) found that highly involved Negro Ss used significantly fewer categories than less involved unselected white Ss. Similarly, on the desegregation issue, the results of La Fave and Sherif (as reported in Sherif et al., 1965) support the findings of Sherif and Hovland that Negro Ss use fewer categories than average white Ss with anti-Negro white Ss using an intermediate number of categories. In both studies, Negro Ss placed fewer items in categories acceptable to them than in objectionable categories.

Vaughan (as reported in Sherif et al., 1965) tested the Own Categories Procedure with Ss who were highly ego-involved in their opposition to "Latins" (persons of Mexican origin or descent) as well as with Ss of lesser degrees of involvement on the issue of the social position of Latins. She used the following four groups of Ss: 1) overtly anti-Latin residents of South Texas; 2) South Texas residents who were not overtly anti-Latin; 3) unselected undergraduates in South Texas; 4) college students at a North Texas College who had little contact with Latins. Ss were instructed to sort the 60

statements under an imposed 11 categories condition.

The results of Vaughan's study show that under the imposed 11 categories condition, extremely anti-Latin Ss neglected the intermediate categories and placed a disproportionate number of statements in the favorable categories at the opposite end of the continuum from their own position. The uninvolved North Texas students, on the other hand, distributed the statements rather evenly into the 11 categories.

A group of unselected North Texas undergraduates and a group of South Texas college students were asked to sort the statements using the Own Categories Procedure. They were asked to disregard the truth of the statements and simply sort in terms of the favorableness or unfavorableness of the statements. Vaughan found that over 85% of the highly involved South Texas students used three or fewer categories while nearly 92% of the uninvolved North Texas students used four or more categories. The highly involved South Texas students placed a significantly greater number of items in the category extremely favorable to Latins, the category farthest from their own anti-Latin position. The uninvolved students distributed their statements more evenly in their categories.

On the issue of the reapportionment of the Oklahoma State Legislature, Reich (1963) compared the categorization of statements by highly involved Ss who were members of the League of Women Voters with less involved school teachers who were matched by age and education. The results of Reich's research corroborate the above findings:

> ...the judgments of subjects ego-involved on this issue are characterized by the use of few categories and a broader latitude of rejection and a narrower lattitude of acceptance than the judgments of non-ego-involved subjects. Further differences show that ego-involved subjects use less judgment time, have a smaller number of noncommitted responses on statements, and manifest a differential displacement of the ambiguous statements away from their own position (Reich, 1963, p. 42).

Although the highly involved League of Women Voters members who supported reapportionment were more informed on the issue than the less involved teachers, they discriminated among items less acutely than the less informed teachers. High involvement on an issue thus predisposes an individual to view statements on the issue as being "for us" or "against us" with more being placed in the objectionable category.

The preceding studies compared categorizations of the same statements by Ss whose activities or area of residence indicated known but varying degrees of ego-involvement.

In other studies (Sherif, 1961; Glixman, 1965; Koslin, Waring and Pargament, 1965) the same Ss sorted stimulus materials of varying degrees of involvement for them. Glixman had junior, senior and non-psychology graduate students categorize statements from three meaning domains ordered from peripheral to personally relevant as follows: objects; war; and self. A higher mean number of categories was used for objects than for war or self. Although there was no significant difference betwen the mean number of categories used for war and self, the most unequal distribution of items was found for the domain of greatest import to the individual (self).

> ...it has been demonstrated here that as a meaning domain increases in personal relevance within individuals, there is a decrease in number of categories used and an increase in differential concentration of items across categories (Glixman, 1965, p. 375).

Using a ranking of the amount of time they spent talking about a topic as a measure of involvement on an issue, Koslin, Waring and Pargament (1967) had Peace Corps volunteers sort statements on five issues. The results showed that latitudes of rejection increased and latitudes of acceptance decreased from the least involving issue (housing in India) to the most

involving issue (segregation in the United States). On the latter issue the latitude of rejection was significantly greater than the latitude of acceptance. A repetition of the same task with items added to both extremes showed a higher degree of consistency in placement of the items on the more involving issue.

The findings for number of categories used and displacement of items are similar whether Ss with differing known positions on an issue indicate differing involvement or whether the same Ss sort statements on issues of differing degrees of involvement for them. The investigators all found that highly involved Ss use fewer categories in sorting the statements and displace a disproportionate number of statements into categories at the opposite end of the attitude continuum from their own position.

In an attempt to separate the effects of extremity of own position from those due to high involvement, Ward (1965) manipulated the salience of the issue for his Ss. The Ss were white students at the University of North Carolina. Forty of the Ss were part of a group which had been picketing segregated local movie theaters. Although the other twenty Ss had not been pickets, they were known to possess equally

favorable pro Negro attitudes. There were three involvement conditions, each with twenty Ss matched for sex and graduate-undergraduate status as follows: pickets whose membership in the picketing group had been made salient; pickets whose membership in the picketing group had not been referred to; and non-pickets who had equally favorable attitudes toward Negroes.

The results of the experiment indicate that involvement has a significant effect on the absolute judgment of attitude statements.

> Thus, subjects in the pickets-salient condition judged the items to be least favorable, judgments of the pickets-nonsalient subjects were intermediate, and the judgments of the nonpickets subjects were the most favorable (Ward, 1965, p. 207).

Significant differences in judgment were found only on the Negro scale, lending further support to the influence of high involvement. No assimilation effects were found in the present study, however, all items being displaced away from the S's own position, even those items which were close to their own position. Thus, involvement on an issue as separate from extremity of position appears to be an important variable in effecting displacement of items being judged.

Effect of Cultural Background on Judgment

Fishman and Lorge (1954) investigated the relationship between culture group affiliation of judges and their ranking of items in the Thurstone equal intervals procedure for attitude scale construction. There were 27 Ss, all in their late twenties or early thirties, three from each of the following culture groups: Egyptian; Javanese; Filipino; white Protestant American; Jewish-Orthodox American; Jewish-Conservative American; Rewish Reformed American; and Jewish Secularist American. The items sorted by Ss were 117 statements of human faults. Culture group affiliation of judges was found to have a substantial effect on item rankings and thereby on Thurstone scale values.

A study by C. Sherif (1961) used the own categories procedure to demonstrate differences in evaluative and nonevaluative categorization by American Indian and Caucasian American high school students. A questionnaire was administered to Indian and white high school students to determine estimates of the latitudes of acceptance prevailing in each population with regard to the social material to be categorized. Using the Own Categories Procedure, each S sorted four sets of items:

a series of numerals; the same numerals preceded by dollar signs and designated as price tags on clothing; descriptions of interpersonal behavior; and names of national or ethnic groups. Two series were constructed for each set of items: a long series, and a short series with about half as many items. For the social material, one set of items corresponded to the range of acceptability in one cultural group and the other set to the range of acceptability in the other group.

The experiment showed that the number of categories used was a function of the individual's relative involvement with the stimulus items. Both groups of Ss used a larger mean number of categories in sorting the neutral series of numerals, whether the short or the long series. For the long series approximately the same number of categories were used, the width of the categories were simply increased. The fewest mean number of categories were used for sorting the ethnic group names, which were personally most involving to them as measured by paired-comparison judgments made by the Ss just before the experiment. An intermediate number of categories was used for the clothing prices and the behavior description, (a larger number of categories being used for the price tags than the behavior descriptions). Although there was a

significant positive intraclass correlation (.38) for the number of categories used by individual Ss for the four materials sorted, it was low enough so most of the variance could be ascribed to the personal relevance of the stimulus items presented for judgment.

With regard to cultural differences, the Indian and Caucasian students used about the same number of categories in sorting the numerals and distributed the items about equally into the categories. But when these same series of numerals had dollar signs affixed and Ss were told they represented clothing prices, the distributions of items into categories by the two cultural groups were significantly different. The short series fell within the acceptable range for white Ss, but even in the short series some of the prices were beyond the acceptable range for Indian Ss who put a large number of items in their last category which they labeled prohibitive. Similarly, when sorting the long series, the Indian Ss placed a much larger number of items in the last objectionable category than did the white Ss who were accustomed to paying higher prices for clothing.

Prior to the experiment, judgments of 45 different descriptions of behavior were obtained from the Ss on an 11 cm.

linear scale ranging from "completely acceptable" (0) to "completely unacceptable" (11). When these behavior descriptions were sorted by the own categories procedure, the proportion of whites accepting items with scale values from 0 to 5 were similar for the short series (0 -6 cm.) and the long series (0 -11 cm.). Comparable results were obtained for Indian Ss, with greater but not significant differences due to series context.

In the phase of the experiment evaluating group names, an 11 cm. scale was again used, to obtain ratings of 16 groups. Nine of the 16 groups were included in the short series of 25 groups and all 16 were included in the long series of 50 groups. There was a significant tendency for non-Indian Ss to reject groups with scale value 5 more frequently in the short series than the long series. The rank-order correlation between scale values of groups for Indian and non-Indian Ss was not significant indicating a different rank order of ethnic groups for Indians and non-Indians. For Indian Ss all of the scale values were between 0 and 5, and there was no significant difference in sorting the long and short series.

Thus, this study by C. Sherif demonstrates the feasibility of using the Own Categories Procedure in cross cultural research. The findings indicate that the latitude of acceptance as formed in the context of the individual's cultural group serves as an anchor when categorizing relevant evaluative material.

To summarize the research reviewed in this chapter relevant to the Own Categories Procedure, the following generalizations have been formulated:

1. The placement of statements using the method of equal appearing intervals, will be affected by the attitudes of the judges.
2. Attitudes will be revealed more clearly when Ss are free to use whatever number of categories they feel is necessary in distinguishing the various positions on the issue.
3. When the method of single stimuli is used in psychophysical experiments, judgments give greater weight to the end stimuli.
4. The introduction of an anchor at every trial (method of constant stimuli) greatly increases accuracy and decreases variability of judgments.

5. Depending on the position of the anchor within or outside of the stimulus series, systematic shifts in judgment of stimuli either away from the anchor value (contrast effect) or toward the anchor value (assimilation effect) occur.
6. Internal anchors or reference scales previously formed by S function analogously to anchors presented repeatedly during judgment of series stimuli.
7. Anchoring effects on psychophysical, affective and psychosocial scales may be produced by conceptual means, for example, an imaginary stimulus.
8. Personality factors may also influence psychophysical and psychosocial judgments.
9. Judgment is dependent not on the internal anchor alone, but on the interactions with other internal factors and with external factors such as the experimental instructions and the range of the stimulus series.
10. In the judgment of social stimuli, one's own attitude serves as an internal anchor.
11. It is the more ambiguous, intermediate items which are systematically displaced according to S's

attitude.

12. The latitude of acceptance functions as an anchor in judments of relevant social stimuli, statements close to one's own position being assimilated to it and judged as fair and unbiased and the distance of those further away exaggerated (contrast effect) and judged as false and propagandistic.
13. The relationship between extremity of position and latitude of rejection is curvilinear; the more extreme one's own stand, the greater the number of positions judged objectionable.
14. The relationship between extremity of position and latitude of noncommitment is inversely curvilinear; the more extreme the stand taken the narrower the latitude of noncommitment.
15. When the individual is permitted to use his own categories in making judgments, Ss highly involved in some stand on a social issue use fewer categories in sorting statements about that issue than Ss who are less involved.
16. Systematic differences in the categorization and judgment of social stimuli have been found for Ss of differing cultural backgrounds.

# CHAPTER IV

## HYPOTHESES, SUBJECTS AND PROCEDURE

The research was designed to be a test of the interactionist theory of acculturation and assimilation developed in Chapter II. The review of the literature led to the conclusion that it is only through a comparison of several ethnic groups in the same contact situation that factors associated with differences in rate of acculturation, social distance given and received and ethnic identification can be adequately investigated. Third generation female college students of differing ethnic backgrounds were selected as subjects so as to control for factors in rate of acculturation that were found to be important in previous research, such as generation in the adopted country, age, sex and occupational role. In this way, differences found among ethnic groups can be attributed to membership in that group rather than to individual differences.

Also of interest in the dissertation research, is the further development of the Own Categories Procedure as a means of attitude measurement in general, and more specifically as a measure of reference identification. The systematic variations in categorization of statements referring to own ethnic

group provides an indirect measure of ethnic involvement. The body of research reviewed in Chapter III is a sufficient basis for confidence in ascribing differences in number of categories used and direction and patterns of shifts in judgment of items to the person's own attitude which serves as an anchor in evaluating statements on the social position of his own ethnic group.

## Hypotheses

The underlying assumption of the hypotheses to be tested is that third generation American college students who are from different ethnic groups have different sociocultural backgrounds in which reference scales for appraising their own and other ethnic groups have been formed. Comparable instructions and procedures have been employed for all samples which have been designed to permit each S to use his own categories and evaluative scales in responding to the instruments.

The research tested the following hypotheses:

1. Subjects who are members of ethnic groups toward which other groups show greater social distance will use fewer categories in sorting statements about their ethnic group than will Ss from ethnic groups toward which there is less social distance.

2. The members of those groups which are the recipients of greater social distance will display greater social distance toward other groups.

3. Subjects who use fewer categories in sorting statements about their own ethnic group will display greater social distance toward other groups.

4. Subjects whose fathers are in lower level occupations will use fewer categories in sorting statements referring to their ethnic group than will Ss whose fathers are in higher level occupations.

5. Subjects who label themselves "American" will use a greater number of categories in sorting the statements about their ethnic group than will Ss who label themselves with the ethnic label or as hyphenated Americans (for example, Italian-American).

6. Subjects who are members of ethnic groups who use fewer categories in sorting statements referring to their own ethnic group will have a greater latitude of rejection and latitude of acceptance relative to their latitude of noncommitment.

7. Subjects whose paternal grandparents immigrated from a different country than the one from which their maternal grandparents came will use fewer categories in sorting statements referring to the maternal ethnic group than they will use in sorting paternal ethnic group.

## Subjects

Ss were female undergraduate students at Rhode Island College, a coeducational, state supported institution to which most of the students commute from their homes in Rhode Island or nearby Massachusetts. Data on the female freshmen students (approximately 700) in the fall of 1967 (1965 and 1966 data was not available) indicates that three quarters (75%) of the students were Roman Catholic, 20% Protestant and only 3% Jewish. This

is over twice as many Catholics as compared with the national norms for colleges and universities (34%) and only one third as many Protestants as the national norms (56%). Only .6% were Negro as compared with the national norms of 6%. Father's occupation had the following distribution: engineers, 6%; teachers, 2.2%; businessmen, 26%; skilled workers, 16%; semi-skilled workers, 10%; and unskilled workers, 4%. The Rhode Island College students have a smaller percentage of fathers who are businessmen and a larger percentage of fathers who are skilled and unskilled workers as compared with the national college norms.

One hundred and twenty female undergraduate students participated as subjects, fifteen in each of seven ethnic groups and fifteen of mixed ethnic background. They were selected on the basis of a questionnaire administered in their classes which asked where they, their parents and grandparents were born as well as items about cultural practices, parental occupation, religion and college class (see Appendix A). Subjects were selected who reported that both parents were born in the United States and all four grandparents were born in one of the following countries: Poland, Italy, Ireland, Canada and Portugal or the Azores. The subjects of all of these ethnic groups were

Catholic. In addition, subjects who reported they were Jewish and whose four grandparents were born in a European country were selected for the Jewish sample. The Yankee subjects were selected from those students who stated on the questionnaire that both parents and all four grandparents were born in New England, that they were Protestant, and who had Anglo-Saxon last names. The mixed Ss had two grandparents who were born in one of the above named countries and two who were born in one of the other of those countries.

Due to the difficulty of obtaining a sufficient number of Ss in some of the ethnic groups, the following Ss were included who reported one parent as well as all four grandparents born in the foreign country, and only one parent born in the United States: six French-Canadian; five Jewish; four Irish; three Portuguese; and two Mixed Ss. Also included were the following Ss who reported three of their four grandparents born in the foreign country and the fourth one born in the United States: five French-Canadian; two Jewish; two Irish; and one Portuguese.S. In addition, one Italian and one Jewish S had two grandparents born in Europe and two born in the United States, but of the same ethnic background. One Portuguese S had both parents who were born in Portugal. Two Yankee Ss had

one grandparent each who was born in England and the other three grandparents born in the United States.

It was necessary to eliminate some of the Ss who were tested. One Portuguese S and one Italian S were eliminated because they did not follow directions correctly in filling out the social distance scale. One Jewish S was eliminated because she did not label her piles in the Own Categories procedure. One Polish S was eliminated because she was a 27 year old graduate student. She was tested in the summer because the researcher was afraid she might not be able to get enough undergraduate Polish students, but in the fall was able to get more Polish Ss. One Jewish S was eliminated because after the testing she said she was married.

## Instruments and Procedure

As a preliminary step in the research, a pre-test was conducted to select statements for the Own Categories card sort. Twenty-four pre-test Ss, all female undergraduate students at Rhode Island College, were selected from the questionnaires described in the previous section (see Appendix A). They were Ss who did not meet the stated qualifications for Ss. They included individuals of English, Armenian, Swedish and Finnish backgrounds and students with backgrounds mixed with

more than two ethnic groups. The pre-test Ss sorted 93 statements selected from attitude scales dealing with intergroup relations, from the mass media and from items constructed by the researcher (see Appendix B). Each statement was printed on a separate card.

The pre-test Ss were tested in two groups in a classroom situation during college free periods. Each S was given a card naming the ethnic group in relation to which she was to sort the statements. It was the ethnic group most predominant in her background. The following instructions were read aloud by the researcher to the pre-test Ss:

> You are to sort the cards into the number of piles that may seem necessary to you so that the stand expressed on the issue of the social position of the ethnic group named on your card will be different from the other pile or piles. You may sort into any number of piles which in your judgment is necessary sothat each pile of cards represents a different stand on the issue. Put statements into the same pile which belong together in terms of their relative stand on the issue, that is, favorable, unfavorable, etc. This should determine how many piles you have when you finish sorting.

After Ss finished sorting the cards into piles they were then read these further instructions:

> Write the number 1 on the top of the pile of cards most unfavorable regarding the social position of the ethnic group on the

> card given you, number 2 on the next pile, and so on. The last pile numbered will be of statements most favorable to the social position of that ethnic group.

When they finished doing this, the Ss were then instructed:

> Pick up the pile of cards which comes closest to your view on the issue, and write on top "most acceptable." If there are other piles containing statements also acceptable to you, write "acceptable" on each. Now pick up the pile of cards which is most objectionable from your point of view, and write "most objectionable" on the top. If there are other piles containing statements that are objectionable to you, indicate them by writing "objectionable" on top of each.

These instructions are very similar to those used in other studies of the Own Categories technique) Sherif, et al., 1965, p. 110).

Tabulations of the pre-test data were in terms of the frequency with which each statement was placed in each of the following categories: most acceptable, acceptable, neutral, objectionable and most objectionable. From the 93 statements which were used in the pre-test, 20 were selected which had only been placed in the most acceptable, acceptable and non-commitment categories; 20 statements were selected which had only been placed in the most objectionable, objectionable and non-commitment categories; and 20 statements were selected which had been placed in all 5 categories. These 60 statements then comprised

the items sorted by the 120 research subjects (see Appendix C).

Ss selected from the questionnaires administered in classrooms were contacted by the researcher by telephone and asked to participate in the study in the following manner:

> Hello, this is Mrs. Rollins in the psychology department at Rhode Island College. I'm conducting a research project involving some paper and pencil tasks. It only takes about half an hour to forty minutes. Would you be willing to participate as a subject?

If the student said "Yes," she was then asked to choose which of the college free periods or what other time that week would be most convenient for her and was told where the testing would take place. A high degree of cooperation was attained with fewer than ten per cent of the students contacted refusing to participate. The most common reason for declining to be a subject was that the student was practice teaching during that semester and was seldom on campus.

Most of the Ss were tested in the psychology laboratory at Rhode Island College. Off of the main room of the laboratory are 9 doors to closet size experimental rooms. Each S was tested in a separate experimental room which did not permit her to observe any other S while she was being tested. Ss not tested in the laboratory were tested individually in the researcher's office.

When they entered the research situation, Ss were told that from this point on in the study they would just be IBM numbers and that they would in no way be individually identified in the study; only group results would be reported. They were also told that if they returned in a few months after the research was completed and the data analyzed, the researcher would be willing to discuss the results with them.

The first instrument administered was the Own Categories card sort. Each of the sixty statements was printed on a separate IBM card. The same instructions that had been read to the pre-test Ss for the card sort were read to the research Ss (see pages 125-126). Ss of mixed ethnic background sorted two identical sets of statements, one set in relation to mother's ethnic group and the other in relation to father's ethnic group. Half of the mixed Ss sorted the statements referring to mother's group first and half sorted the statements about father's group first.

The next instrument administered was a reference identification question on which Ss were asked to label themselves in terms of their ethnicity (i.e., American, Irish-American, American-Irish, Irish), (see Appendix D). The order in which the four labels appeared on the questionnaire was systematically

varied.

The third instrument administered consisted of 7 rating scales (one for each ethnic group: Irish, Polish, Italian, French-Canadian, Jewish, Yankee and Portuguese) on each of which S was asked to evaluate the ethnic group by circling one of the 9 positions.

> Please circle the number under the appropriate position on each line which comes closest to representing your position.

(Ethnic Group)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I think highly of those in Rhode Island without qualification | I generally respect those living in Rhode Island | I am ambivalent; partly respect and partly feel they are inferior | I generally feel those in Rhode Island are inferior | I strongly feel those in Rhode Island are inferior |
| 1 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 7 8 9 |

Ss were then asked to complete a social distance scale, standardized by Triandis and Triandix (1960) (see Appendix E) which was introduced as follows:

> It is natural for people to "feel closer" to their relatives and friends than to strangers. On the following pages you are to indicate how close you feel to the people described.
>
> You are asked to give your first reactions in every case. The more you "stop to think"

> the less valuable will be your results.
>
> Please put a check mark (✓) beside each statement which indicates your feeling toward the person described.
>
> Put a check mark in each box if you accept the statement for the category of persons described. Leave a box unmarked if you do not agree with the statement for persons in that group.

The degrees of social distance ranged from "I would marry this person" to "I would exclude this person from my country" for a total of 15 items. Only the first 11 items through the statement "I would rent property from this person" were scored, however, as those Ss who indicated any social distance beyond this point did so only on statement (12) "I would give asylum to this person, if he were a refugee, but I would not grant him citizenship" and by their questions to E indicated confusion as to the meaning of the item.

After the testing E engaged in informal conversation with many of the Ss, asking about their parents' attitudes toward marriage outside of the ethnic group, the extent to which they follow cultural practices and the meaning these practices have for them.

The screening questionnaires were administered in December of 1966 and the spring, summer and fall of 1968. The pre-test

was conducted during April of 1968 and the testing during spring, summer and fall of 1968.

# CHAPTER V

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The data of primary interest consisted of the number of categories used in the card sort in relation to the social distance ranking of each ethnic group. Other relationships investigated among ethnic groups were between: social distance given and received; given social distance and number of categories used; and reference identification and number of categories used. Analysis of number of categories used by socioeconomic level was performed across ethnic groups. Finally, the number of categories by "Mixed" Ss when sorting statements for maternal ethnic group and for paternal ethnic group was compared.

### Number of Categories Used by Ethnic Group In Relation to Social Distance Rank of That Group

The number of categories used by each S when sorting statements about his own ethnic group was counted and the mean number of categories used for each ethnic group was calculated. Table 2 presents the mean number of categories used by ethnic group and the standard deviation around that mean.

TABLE 2

Means and Standard Deviations of
Number of Categories Used by Ethnic Group

| Ethnic Group | Number of Categories Used | |
|---|---|---|
| | Mean | Standard Deviation |
| Irish | 5.73 | 2.91 |
| Italian | 5.07 | 2.17 |
| Polish | 4.67 | 2.36 |
| Jewish | 4.27 | 2.45 |
| Yankee | 4.20 | 1.36 |
| French-Canadian | 3.87 | 2.24 |
| Portuguese | 3.47 | .93 |

It is apparent that variability is related to the mean number of categories used. Generally, the variability was greater for those groups using a greater mean number of categories. A large part of the variability in the Jewish sample was due to one S who used 12 categories in sorting the statements. No other Jewish S used more than 6 categories.

An analysis of variance was performed to test the significance of the difference in number of categories used by ethnic group. The results, which are presented in Table 3, show the obtained F of 2.08 which is not significant ($p > .05$).

TABLE 3

Analysis of Variance of Differences in Number of Categories Used by Ethnic Group

| Source of Variation | SS | df | MS | F | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Between ethnic groups | 52.724 | 6 | 8.787 | 2.083 | ns |
| Within groups | 413.333 | 98 | 4.218 | | |
| Total | 466.057 | 104 | | | |

The significance of the difference between the mean number of categories used in sorting the statements by the Irish Ss, who used the largest mean number of categories, and by the Portuguese Ss, who used the fewest mean number of categories, was calculated in order to determine what would have been found if only Irish and Portuguese Ss had been selected for the study. Table 4 presents a t test of these differences which resulted in a t of 2.23 which is significant at the .05 level. This finding is interpreted as indicating a higher degree of ethnic identification and involvement on the part of the Portuguese Ss as compared with the Irish Ss.

TABLE 4

Mean Number of Categories Used by Irish and Portuguese Ss

| Ethnic Group | Mean Number of Categories |
|---|---|
| Irish | 5.73 |
| Portuguese | 3.47 |
| | t=2.23 |
| | p < .05 |

The number of social distance responses received by each ethnic group tabulated by number of Ss showing each degree of social distance toward that group appears in Table 5 (see Social Distance Scale, Appendix E). Ss indicating one social

TABLE 5

Number of Social Distance Responses Received by Ethnic Group*

| Ethnic Group | Number of SD Responses Received | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| Irish | 83 | 8 | 8 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Italian | 81 | 6 | 8 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Polish | 78 | 6 | 10 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| French-Canadian | 78 | 6 | 10 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Yankee | 69 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Portuguese | 52 | 14 | 13 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| Jewish | 45 | 27 | 16 | 3 | 7 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

*excluding mixed Ss Total N = 105

distance response toward an ethnic group would not marry a person of that group. Ss showing five social distance responses toward a group would not marry, accept as an intimate friend, accept as a roommate, or date persons of that group, while accepting them in more distant relationships such as a neighbor, speaking acquaintance, etc. The scale in this study, however, was not found to be completely cumulative because Ss often would accept persons of certain groups at steps 2, 3 and 4 (friend, kin by marriage, roommate) and not accept them at step 5 (date). Similarly, Ss would often accept persons of some groups at steps 6-10 (in my club, as neighbor, husband's friend, in same apartment house) and not accept them at step 11 (rent property from).

A Chi Square test for k independent samples was used to compare the number and degree of social distance responses received by ethnic group. In the analysis, a comparison was made of the number of Ss showing zero social distance, one to three degrees of distance, and four to ten degrees of distance toward each ethnic group. The differences in social distance responses received by ethnic group are highly significant ($x^2 = 68.044$ $p < .001$).

The Irish and Italians received the fewest social distance responses and the Portuguese and Jews received the largest number. Although fewer Ss showed no social distance toward the Jews (45) than showed no social distance toward the Portuguese (52), there was greater depth in the social distance toward the Portuguese as evidenced by the fact that 26 Ss showed social distance of three or more degrees toward the Portuguese as compared to 17 Ss who showed three or more degrees of social distance towards the Jews.

A Social Distance Index, which is simply the sum total of social distance responses received by each ethnic group from all Ss (excluding mixed Ss), was computed for each group. A Pearson product moment correlation coefficient was employed to determine the relationship between the Social Distance Index of each ethnic group and the mean number of categories used by members of that group when sorting statements referring to the social position of their group. The results of the statistical analysis appear in Table 6. A correlation coefficient of -.77 was obtained. A t test was then computed to test the hypothesis that the true correlation is zero. The obtained t of 4.263 is highly significant, i.e., at the .005 level (one-tailed test). This relationship is graphically

TABLE 6

Relation Between Mean Number of Categories Used and Total Number of Social Distance Responses Received by Ethnic Group

| Ethnic Group | Mean Number of Categories | Received Social Distance Index |
|---|---|---|
| Irish | 5.73 | 50 |
| Italian | 5.07 | 52 |
| Polish | 4.67 | 79 |
| Jewish | 4.27 | 137 |
| Yankee | 4.20 | 97 |
| French-Canadian | 3.87 | 74 |
| Portuguese | 3.47 | 177 |

r= -.772 d.f.=6
t=4.263 $p < .005$

presented in Figure 1. Hypothesis I, which stated that those ethnic groups toward which there is greater social distance will use fewer categories in sorting statements about their own ethnic group, thus, was supported by the data.

The only ethnic group which does not, generally speaking, fit the pattern are the French-Canadians who use fewer categories in sorting statements about their own group, but who also are the recipients of relatively little social distance. In talking to French-Canadian students at Rhode Island College,

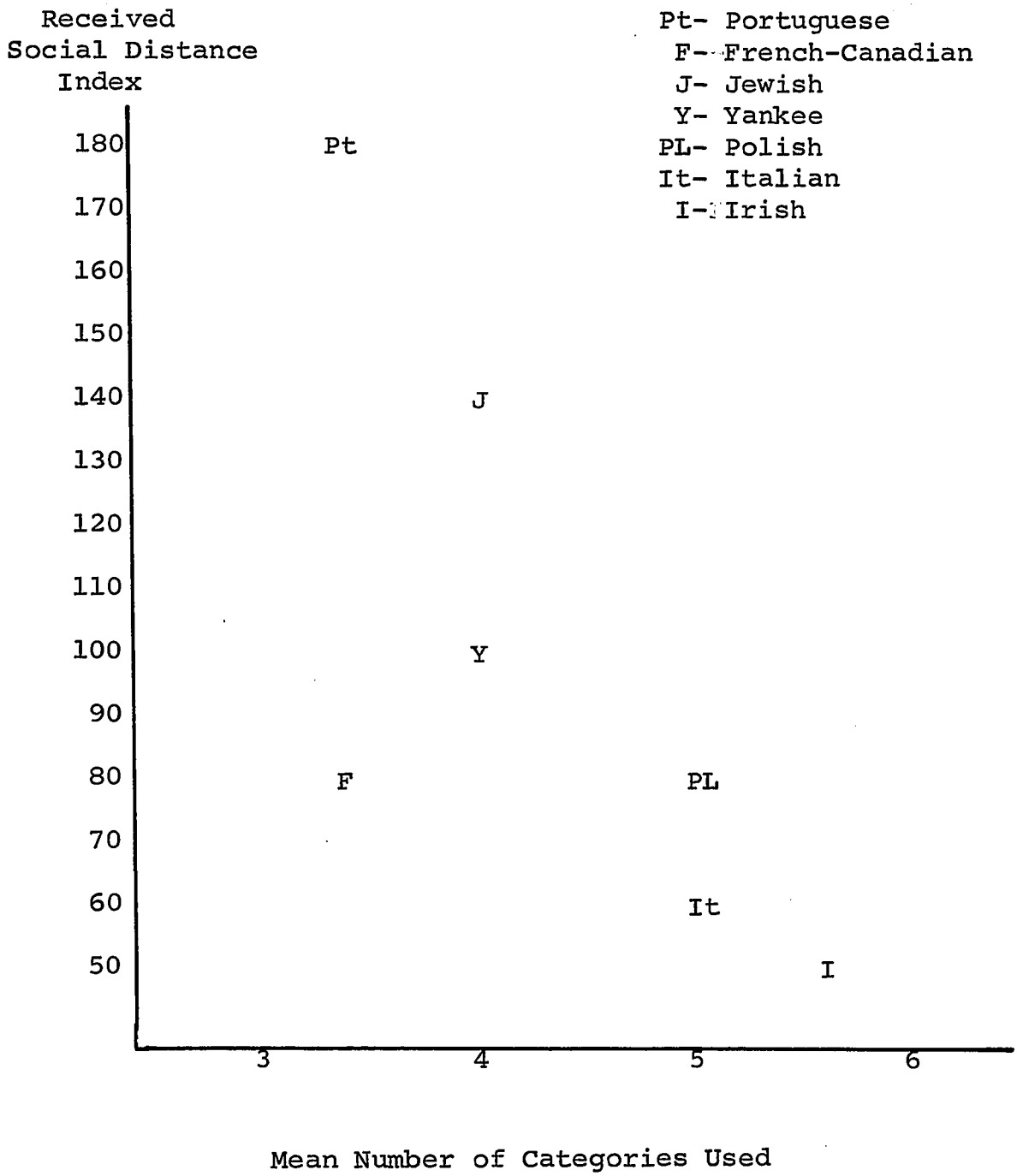



FIG. 1. Received Social Distance Index by Mean Number of Categories Used by Ethnic Group

it becomes clear that an important factor in their high degree of ethnic identification is the geographical proximity to the Province of Quebec which makes possible relatively frequent visits with their French-Canadian kin. Many of these students said they visited Canada with their families every two or three years.

## Relation Between Social Distance Given and Received

Table 7 presents the number of social distance responses given by each ethnic group. The differences among ethnic groups in social distance displayed toward other groups is highly

TABLE 7

Social Distance Responses Given by Ethnic Group

| Ethnic Group | Total Number of Social Distance Responses Given | |
|---|---|---|
| | 0 | 1 or more |
| Mixed | 83 | 22 |
| Irish | 81 | 24 |
| French-Canadian | 80 | 25 |
| Portuguese | 79 | 26 |
| Polish | 76 | 29 |
| Yankee | 76 | 29 |
| Italian | 66 | 39 |
| Jewish | 29 | 76 |
| | $X^2$ =97.263 | d.f. =7 |
| | $p < .001$ | |

significant ($X^2$ =97.263, $p < .001$). Although the Mixed Ss show the least social distance toward other groups, there is very little difference in social distance displayed by the Mixed, Irish, French-Canadian, Polish, Portuguese and Yankee Ss, with the Italians exhibiting somewhat more social distance toward other groups. The Jews, however, display two and a half times as much social distance as the average of the other groups. The Jews, as already reported, are also recipients of a high degree of social distance. But the Portuguese, who are also the targets of a high degree of prejudice, display relatively little distance toward other groups.

A Pearson product moment correlation coefficient of .207 was obtained when the total number of social distance responses received by ethnic group was correlated with the total number of social distance responses given by each group. The resulting t value of .483 is not significant at the .05 level. Therefore on the basis of these results which are given in Table 8, it is evident that hypothesis II was not supported; no relationship was found between the social distance received by an ethnic group from other groups included in the research and the social distance that group displays toward the other ethnic groups.

TABLE 8

Relation Between Social Distance Received by an Ethnic Group And Social Distance Given by That Group

| Ethnic Group | Received Social Distance Index | Given Social Distance Index |
|---|---|---|
| Irish | 50 | 47 |
| Italian | 52 | 117 |
| French-Canadian | 74 | 74 |
| Polish | 79 | 102 |
| Yankee | 97 | 69 |
| Jewish | 137 | 195 |
| Portuguese | 177 | 61 |
| | r = .207 | d.f. = 6 |
| | t = .483 | $p > .05$ |

The values for the Given Social Distance Index of each group appear to be different from the number of social distance responses given as reported in Table 7 because the Index takes into account the depth of social distance displayed by the members of each ethnic group. The difference between the Irish and French-Canadians, for example, is much larger when looking at the Index values because French-Canadian Ss gave eight social distance responses beyond three degrees of contact, whereas Irish only had one response beyond three degrees. Similarly, although the same number of Polish and Yankee Ss

showed no social distance toward any of the ethnic groups, Polish Ss gave 16 responses at three or more degrees of distance whereas Yankees only gave 7 responses at three or more degrees of distance.

Given Social Distance in Relation to Number of Categories Used

The relationship between the Given Social Distance Index and the mean number of categories used by an ethnic group is shown in Table 9. Hypothesis 3 stated that there would be an inverse relationship between these two variables. Analysis of the data by a Pearson product moment correlation coefficient yielded an r of -0.054 which is not significantly greater than zero ($t = .12$, $p > .05$). The degree of prejudice exhibited by

TABLE 9

Relation Between Mean Number of Categories Used by an Ethnic Group and Social Distance Toward Other Groups

| Ethnic Group | Mean number of Categories Used | Given Social Distance Index |
|---|---|---|
| Irish | 5.73 | 47 |
| Italian | 5.07 | 117 |
| Polish | 4.67 | 102 |
| Jewish | 4.27 | 195 |
| Yankee | 4.20 | 69 |
| French-Canadian | 3.87 | 74 |
| Portuguese | 3.47 | 61 |
| | $r = -.054$ | d.f. = 6 |
| $t = .12$ | $p > .05$ | |

members of an ethnic group toward other groups included in this research is not related to either the number of categories used in sorting statements about one's own group or social distance directed toward their group by these other ethnic groups.

Number of Categories Used by Socioeconomic Level

As an approximate index of socioeconomic level, Ss were also classified by father's occupation as reported by S on the screening questionnaire. A five level classification was used: 1) professional and managerial; 2) small businessmen, school teachers; 3) clerical and sales, craftsmen, foremen; 4) semi-skilled workers, truck drivers; 5) laborers, unskilled workers. A Chi Square test for k independent samples was performed to test hypothesis 4 which stated that Ss whose fathers are in lower level occupations will use fewer categories in sorting statements about their ethnic group than Ss whose fathers are in higher level occupations.

It is evident from Table 10 that the difference in number of categories used by father's occupational level is not significant, a very low value of Chi Square having been obtained ($X^2 = .683$, $p > .05$). The implication of these results is that

TABLE 10

Number of Categories Used by Father's Occupation*

| Occupation | Number of Categories Used | |
|---|---|---|
| Level | 4 or more | 5 or more |
| 1 & 2 | 20 | 10 |
| 3 | 23 | 11 |
| 4 & 5 | 20 | 14 |

$X^2 = .683$ d.f. = 2

$p > .05$

*7 Ss were omitted from the table because father was retired, deceased or his occupation was not reported. Mixed Ss were not included in the analysis.

differences in number of categories sorted by ethnic group are related to ethnicity rather than socioeconomic level.

## Reference Group Identification

As a measure of the Ss reference group identification, she was asked what group she belonged in, (for example, American, Polish, Polish-American, American-Polish). It was hypothesized that those Ss who had a high degree of ethnic identification (as evidenced by being members of ethnic groups whose members used

fewer categories in sorting statements about their own group) would label themselves as members of the ethnic group or as hyphenated Americans rather than as American (Hypothesis 5).

TABLE 11

Reference Identification and Mean Number of Categories Used by Ethnic Group

| Ethnic Group | Mean number of Categories Used | Percentage of Ss in each group Selecting Hyphenated American or Ethnic Label |
|---|---|---|
| Irish | 5.73 | 80% |
| Italian | 5.07 | 86.7% |
| Polish | 4.67 | 93.3% |
| Jewish | 4.27 | 100% |
| Yankee | 4.20 | 20% |
| French-Canadian | 3.87 | 60% |
| Portuguese | 3.47 | 80% |

A statistical analysis was not performed on the data in Table 11 because by observation it was apparent that most of the variance was due to the Yankee and French-Canadian Ss whose response alternatives were not exactly comparable to those for the other ethnic groups. For the Yankees and French-Canadians the choice of answers was respectively: Yankee,

American, English, and WASP; and French-Canadian, Franco-American, Canadian and American. Since all of the Yankee Ss were at least fourth generation and all of them were of Anglo-Saxon background, it is not at all surprising that 12 out of 15 identified themselves as Americans. What is more unexpected, however, is that the large majority of Ss who are third generation of Irish, Polish, Italian, Jewish and Portuguese background, do not say they are American but prefer to consider themselves hyphenated Americans or that some Ss select the ethnic label.

Latitudes of Acceptance, Rejection, and Noncommitment

In addition to the number of categories used as a measure of the individual's attitude and involvement in the issue, the Own Categories Procedure also yields information about assimilation-contrast effects. After sorting the statements about the social position of their ethnic group into the number of categories they felt necessary to represent different positions, Ss were asked to indicate which categories were acceptable to them and objectionable to them.

An analysis of variance was performed to test the significance of the difference of the number of statements placed in the Most Objectionable category by ethnic group. The

resulting F of .741 is not significant ($p > .05$). Similarly, nonsignificant values of F were obtained in tests of the difference among ethnic groups in the number of statements placed in the Most Acceptable category ($F = 1.16$, $p > .05$) and statements about which they were noncommital ($F = 1.44$, $p > .05$).

To compare the number of statements placed in the Most Objectionable, Most Acceptable and Non Commitment categories by Irish Ss and Portuguese Ss (Irish Ss used significantly fewer categories tan Portuguese Ss in sorting the statements ) t tests were carried out. A test of the significance of the difference between the number of statements placed in the Most Objectionable category by Irish Ss and by Portuguese Ss yielded a t of 2.51 which is significant at the .05 level. Thus Irish Ss had a narrower Most Objectionable category (mean =-15.73) than Portuguese Ss (mean = 20.80). The difference in number of statements categorized as Most Acceptable by Irish and by Portuguese Ss was also significant ($t = 3.52$, $p < .01$). The Irish Ss placed fewer statements (mean = 15.00) in the Most Acceptable category than did Portuguese Ss (mean = 21.47). On the other hand, Irish Ss had a significantly larger latitude of noncommitment than the Portuguese Ss ($t = 3.96$, $p < .01$).

Irish Ss placed approximately three times as many statements in the noncommitment category as did Portuguese Ss. These results, combined with the results on the number of categories used in sorting the statements (Irish Ss used a larger mean number of categories than Portuguese Ss) would indicate that Irish Ss are less involved on the issue of the social position of their ethnic group than are Portuguese Ss.

Hypothesis 6 stated that Ss whose paternal grandparents immigrated from a different country than the one from which their maternal grandparents came will use fewer categories in sorting statements referring to the maternal ethnic group than they will use in sorting statements referring to the paternal ethnic group. A t test for related measures comparing number of categories used in sorting statements about maternal and paternal ethnic groups resulted in a t of .516 which is not significant (.05 level). As a matter of fact, 11 of the 15 Ss used the same number of categories in sorting statements relative to each ethnic group. All of the 4 Ss who did not use the same number of categories used a larger number of categories in sorting statements about their maternal ethnic group. The mean number of categories used to sort the statements related to the maternal group was 4.27 and the mean number of

categories used for the paternal group was 3.87. These means fall in an intermediate range in comparison with those of the seven ethnic groups included in the research.

Of all the groups tested, the "Mixed" Ss included the largest number of Ss who indicated no social distance toward the ethnic groups on the scale. As can be see in Table 8, however, the differences in this regard between the "Mixed" Ss and all of the other groups except the Italians and the Jews was slight.

## Discussion

The present research has theoretical implications for the further development of an interactionist approach in the study of intergroup relations. It sheds light upon the degree of ethnic involvement in relation to social distance given and received from members of other ethnic groups present in the contact situation. In a world made small by technological development, our most compelling problem has become the understanding and resolution of conflict among peoples of various racial, national and religious groups.

In comparing the evaluative categories members of several ethnic groups use in relation to their own group, and social distances among these groups, the present study is the first to use standardized instruments across several ethnic groups sharing a geographic and social environment. This procedure made possible the investigation of generalizations about acculturation and assimilation that cannot be tested by focusing upon only one or two ethnic groups in a given contact situation.

An attempt was made to prevent contamination of the research with the possible effects of factors such as educational level, socioeconomic level, sex differences, and

regional differences. The subjects were female, students at an accredited state college and residents of that state or of one of the two adjacent states, and the children of parents born in New England. It is, however, possible that since different ethnic groups have differing rates of social mobility, that as college students some of the subjects are more representative of the third generation of their ethnic group than are subjects of other ethnic groups.

The hypotheses of the present research provide indications for further investigation. Thus, it is expected that the first hypothesis which predicted that subjects who are members of ethnic groups toward which there is greater social distance will show greater involvement in the issue of the social position of their ethnic group, would be substantiated not only with ethnic groups in Rhode Island but with ethnic groups in other parts of the country and of the world as well. Another interesting test of the hypothesis would be to experimentally manipulate social distance among laboratory groups whose members were all of homogeneous background and then test the degree of group involvement.

What will be expected to show variability with different ethnic groups, however, is the basis for the degree of social

distance given and received. It is interesting, for example, that although both the Jews and the Portuguese were the recipients of a high degree of social distance, the Portuguese showed relatively little social distance toward other groups, while the Jews exhibited a greater degree of social distance toward other groups than did members of any of the other groups in the study. A number of explanations could possibly account for these results. It has been pointed out by sociologists that acculturation and assimilation in America is proceeding within religious containers (Kennedy, 1952; Gordon, 1967), so that there is considerable intermarriage among ethnic groups sharing the same religion and much less intermarriage across religious lines. Since all of the other groups on the social distance scale were Catholics except the Yankees and Jews, the Portuguese were for the most part making judgments of other European groups of the same religious background.

An extensive survey of Jews in Providence, Rhode Island was recently conducted by Goldstein and Goldscheider (1968). They found that "Of the 5,140 married couples represented in the sample, 232 or 4.5 per cent were intermarriages, 4.4 per cent involving a Jewish male whose wife was not born Jewish and only 0.1 per cent representing a Jewish female whose

husband was born non-Jewish " (p. 155). The authors point out that these figures for Jewish intermarriage are below those for most communities in the United States. They also note that their survey may have underestimated the intermarriage rate because only Jewish family units and no non-Jewish family units were included. Goldstein and Goldscheider's data is consistent with the findings of the present research in which most of the Jewish subjects indicated they would only marry a Jew and many that they would also only date a Jew. Most of the Jewish Ss who were engaged in conversation with the researcher after testing, reported strong parental and rabinical pressure against interfaith dating and marriage. Two of the students said that a few years ago the parents and rabbis were worried because too many of the young Jewish people were dating Christians. A meeting was called at the Temple in Pawtucket, Rhode Island to consider ways to prevent this. A proposal to utilize a computer for matching Jewish young people was seriously considered but not acted upon.

The social history of the Jews has been quite different from that of the Portuguese. Forced to live in ghettoes in Europe, they developed strong patterns of endogamy in the face of contact with hostile groups. The Portuguese,

particularly those from the Azores Islands, had relatively little contact with other groups before coming to the United States. So, the self preservation of the ethnic group has not become as ingrained a value as it has for the Jews.

Similarly, at the other end of the social distance rank order, the Irish and Italians both are recipients of a low level of prejudice, but the Italians display almost twice as much social distance toward other groups as do the Irish. The Irish began coming to the United States in large numbers in the early nineteen century. "By 1850, after the potato famine, they had replaced England as the chief source of new settlers, making up 44 percent of the foreign-born in the United States. In the century, between 1820 and 1920, some four and a quarter million people left Ireland to come to the United States" (Kennedy, 1964, p. 18-19). Because their mass migration came earlier than that of the other European groups and because they came speaking the language (albeit with a brogue), the Irish are more assimilated than the other ethnic groups in this study (except, of course, the Yankees). Only very seldom did an Irish subject mention following any Irish cultural practice in filling out the acculturation questionnaire (see Appendix A). Further evidence

of the lesser ethnic involvement of the Irish is the finding that Irish Ss used a larger mean number of categories (5.73) than did Ss of any other ethnic group included in the research in sorting statements about the social position of their group. Their high degree of assimilation is also a factor in their receiving little social distance. They received less social distance than the Yankees probably because they are Catholic (like most of the other groups in the study) whereas the Yankees are Protestant.

As can be seen in Table 12, the Italians came somewhat later than the Irish. The peak decade for Italian immigration was 1901-1910. First and second generation Italians comprise nearly ten per cent of Rhode Island's population and are also the largest ethnic group at Rhode Island College. Even though many second and third generation Italians have moved out of the Federal Hill area of Providence to the middle class suburbs of North Providence and Johnston, they still form the majority of the population of these newer areas. Their large numbers thus make it possible for many second and even third generation Italians to confine their social life to relatives and friends of the same ethnic group. Italian Americans in their twenties who are graduate students

TABLE 12

Immigration to the United States by Country
for Decades: 1820-1968

| | England | Ireland | Italy | Poland | Portugal | Canada |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1820 | 1,782 | 3,614 | 30 | 5 | 35 | 209 |
| 1821-30 | 14,055 | 50,724 | 409 | 16 | 145 | 2,277 |
| 1831-40 | 7,611 | 207,381 | 2,253 | 369 | 829 | 13,624 |
| 1841-50 | 32,092 | 789,719 | 1,870 | 105 | 550 | 41,723 |
| 1851-60 | 247,125 | 914,119 | 9,231 | 1,164 | 1,055 | 59,309 |
| 1861-70 | 222,277 | 435,778 | 11,725 | 2,027 | 2,658 | 153,878 |
| 1871-80 | 437,706 | 436,871 | 55,759 | 12,970 | 14,082 | 383,640 |
| 1881-90 | 644,680 | 655,482 | 307,309 | 51,806 | 16,978 | 393,304 |
| 1891-1900 | 216,726 | 388,416 | 651,893 | 96,720 | 27,508 | 3,311 |
| 1901-10 | 388,017 | 339,065 | 2,045,877 | * | 69,149 | 179,226 |
| 1911-20 | 249,944 | 146,181 | 1,109,524 | 4,813 | 89,732 | 742,185 |
| 1921-30 | 157,420 | 220,591 | 455,315 | 227,734 | 29,994 | 924,515 |
| 1931-40 | 21,756 | 13,167 | 68,028 | 17,026 | 3,329 | 108,527 |
| 1941-50 | 112,252 | 26,967 | 57,661 | 7,571 | 7,423 | 171,718 |
| 1951-60 | 156,171 | 57,332 | 185,491 | 9,985 | 19,588 | 377,952 |
| 1961-65 | 88,730 | 27,844 | 78,893 | 32,889 | 14,308 | 243,400 |
| 1966 | 16,018 | 2,603 | 26,449 | 8,470 | 8,481 | 37,273 |
| 1967 | 20,257 | 1,991 | 28,487 | 4,356 | 13,400 | 34,768 |
| 1968 | 22,970 | 2,268 | 25,882 | 3,676 | 11,827 | 41,716 |
| Total: 149 years 1820-1968 | 3,057,589 | 4,711,113 | 5,122,086 | 481,702 | 331,071 | 3,912,555 |

*Poland was recorded as a separate country from 1820-1898 and since 1920. Between 1899 and 1919, Poland was included with Austria-Hungary, Germany and Poland.

(1968 Annual Report Immigration and Naturalization Service, pp. 58-60).

at Rhode Island College said that either they or their wives have to call their mother every day and go to mother's house for Sunday dinner every week. They said that when an Italian boy is considering marrying a non-Italian, the first question relatives ask is "Can she cook Italian?" One woman who is of Scotch-Irish descent who married a second generation Italian 25 years ago reported that even neighbors of her prospective mother-in-law tried to persuade her to forbid the marriage. My informant said she shed many tears her first year or so of marriage over her attempts at Italian cooking. Although attitudes of Italians toward intermarriage have liberalized considerably during the past 25 years, subtle pressures are still brought to bear on the young people to marry other Italians.

In a recent doctoral dissertation, Gabriel (1969) compared ethnic voting patterns in the 1964 and 1966 elections in Irish and Italian wards in Providence. He concluded that although both endorsed Irish and Italian candidates receive a higher percentage of the vote in Irish and Italian wards respectively, Italians are more likely to vote for a candidate of their ethnic background than are Irish. The Irish, however, have held long time control of the Democratic party

in Providence. Evidence of this is the fact that there has never been an Italian mayor of Providence nor an Italian endorsed for that position by the Democratic Party. Also, out of 120 party city committeemen, only 32 are Italian but 72 are Irish. Because the Irish came earlier and are more assimilated, having a higher general socioeconomic level than the Italians they have been in control of the Providence power structure. Another reason Gabriel cites for their greater political control in Providence is that while the Irish have tended to move into middle class areas within Providence itself, the second and third generation Italians have moved to the suburban areas, thus leaving the less educated Italian "foreign stock" in the city.

A number of comparisons were made in the results section between the Irish and the Portuguese because on a number of measures they were in polar positions. As was mentioned above, Irish used the largest number of categories in sorting statements about their ethnic group whereas Portuguese used the fewest; Irish Ss had a significantly larger latitude of noncommitment than Portuguese Ss; Portuguese Ss placed significantly more statements in the Most Objectionable category than did Irish Ss. According to previous research (see

Chapter III) all these measures indicate that the Portuguese have a greater ethnic involvement than the Irish. These findings are consistent with the history and current status of these two groups in Rhode Island. As was indicated above, the Irish were early immigrants who have now attained a power position in the society and are well on their way to assimilation. On the other hand, the Portuguese are the most recent of the European immigrants to Southern New England. Immigration quotas from Portugal were greatly increased with passage of an amendment (October 3, 1965) to the Immigration and Nationality Act which eliminated the national origins quota system which discriminated against people from certain countries including Portugal. At the present time there is an annual limitation of 170,000 from the Eastern hemisphere with a quota of 20,000 for each country. The change in the law brought about a sharp increase in the number of Portuguese immigrants to the United States in the last few years, from 2,077 in 1964 to 13,927 in 1967 (1968 Annual Report Immigration and Naturalization Service). Most of these Portuguese immigrants are settling in the Portuguese communities of Southeastern Massachusetts and Rhode Island and bringing about a heightened awareness of Portuguese culture and customs. The

sociological data thus supports the validity of the Own Categories Procedure as a measure of acculturation and assimilation.

The French-Canadians stand out as a special case because although they give and receive a moderate degree of social distance, they show a high degree of ethnic involvement as measured by their using a low mean number of categories (3.87) in sorting statements about their ethnic group. Informants who were Ss in this study as well as those who were not said that close ties are maintained with relatives in Quebec and that there is frequent visiting back and forth. Another reason for the high degree of ethnic involvement is perhaps the strong feelings of ethnic identification and striving for separatism among present day French-Canadians in Canada which has perhaps served to heighten the ethnic awareness of the French-Canadians in New England.

The Polish fall in an intermediate range in terms of the number of categories used in sorting statements about their ethnic group and in terms of social distance given and received. The author conducted a participant observation study of Polish in Rhode Island during the fall of 1967. She concluded that the Polish in Rhode Island are an "open" subculture. The

fact that endogamy is not an important value among Polish-Americans in Rhode Island is illustrated by the fact that although there was some difficulty turning up enough third generation students at Rhode Island College for the purpose of this study, whose four grandparents were born in this country, results from the screening questionnaire (see Appendix A) revealed twenty-two students who had grandparents on one side who had immigrated from Poland and grandparents on the other side who were either born in the United States or who had immigrated to America from a country other than Poland. Nine of the students listed the United States as the birthplace of their other set of grandparents. The breakdown for the other countries were as follows: three-Portugal; two-Austria; two-one grandparent born in Canada and one in the United States; one-Russia; one-Ireland; one-the Ukraine, one-Lithuania. These figures show that second generation Polish-Americans were intermarrying with a wide range of other ethnic groups. Another indication of the "open" subculture is for example, that at the polka dances held every Sunday night at Pulaski Hall in Pawtucket which are free of charge and open to the public, the Polish at the hall when questioned say anyone is welcome. In fact, a number of

French-Canadians, Portuguese and members of other ethnic groups do attend regularly. First and second generation Polish informants in Rhode Island and nearby Massachusetts indicate little opposition to intermarriage. Marriage to Jews is rare, however, and derogatory comments are frequently made about marrying someone who is Portuguese.

An important part of life in the Polish-American community are rituals such as the Harvest Festival, Pulaski Day celebration, Christmas Eve Wylija, blessing of the food by the priest at Easter and Polish weddings and dances, which provide unity and identity for the subculture. Perhaps because the Polish in Rhode Island are not represented by such large numbers as are some of the other ethnic groups, when the second and third generation move out of the Polish community they give up many of these rituals of the subculture. One reason for this is that the new friendship groups they form in their suburban communities include mostly members of other ethnic groups.

The fairly high degree of ethnic involvement on the part of the Yankee Ss is not surprising in view of the pride New England Yankees have in their heritage and forbears. Not infrequently, a family geneology is kept, dating from the

arrival of the first ancestor from England. In Rhode Island, the white Protestants of English ancestry have had a position of social dominance and economic and political power since colonial times. In more recent years the political power is being eroded by the Irish and to a lesser extent by the Italians. The Jews are providing some economic competition in the ownership of some of the factories and discount houses in Rhode Island. Nevertheless, most of the factories, banks and department stores of Rhode Island are still owned and managed by Yankees.

It is interesting that the Yankees display low social distance toward other groups, receiving a higher degree of social distance than they give. One reason for the social distance received by Yankees is that they were the only Protestant group in the study, and as was pointed out before, intermarriage within the same religion is viewed more favorably. Another possible explanation is that there may be some resentment toward the Yankee as the mill owner and boss. One French-Canadian informant, not a student at Rhode Island College, but a life long resident of Rhode Island and a graduate student in sociology said that many of the French-Canadians felt that the Yankees exploited them in the mills for

many years and as a result felt resentment toward the Yankees. One reason for the lower social distance displayed by the Yankees toward the other groups is perhaps due to the greater tolerance for interfaith dating and marriage of Protestant churches.

The "Mixed" Ss represented all of the ethnic groups included in the research except the Jews. "Mixed" Ss showed about the same degree of ethnic involvement as measured by mean number of categories used in sorting statements about the social position of each of their ethnic groups as did Ss whose all four grandparents came from the same country. However, on the reference identification question, nearly half (7) of them labeled themselves as American. Only a larger number of Yankee Ss considered themselves American. Also, "Mixed" Ss gave a larger percentage of zero social distance responses than did Ss of any of the other groups. On the basis of these data, it appears that having parents who each belong to a different ethnic group does not necessarily dilute ethnic involvement with either group, but does tend to reduce prejudice toward other groups and strengthen identification as an American.

# CHAPTER VI

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The hypotheses of the research were formulated on the basis of previous theories and research in acculturation and assimilation and social judgment (Chapter II and III). An interactionist frame of reference was developed in which the rate and extent of acculturation and assimilation of an ethnic group was viewed as a product of a number of variables both within that group and in the relation of that group to other groups in the contact situation. Immigrant groups, by virtue of their history, including how early or late they arrived in relation to other immigrant groups, their numbers in the new country, the values and skills they bring with them, face differing degrees of discrimination at the present time. It is a contention of this research that the degree of ethnic identification of a group is directly related to the degree of prejudice and discrimination they face.

The Own Categories Procedure was used as an indirect measure of the Ss's ethnic involvement. Previous research has shown that individuals highly involved in an issue use

fewer categories in sorting statements about that issue then individuals who are less involved. Another measure of involvement is provided by the ranges of positions that an individual accepts, rejects and toward which he is noncommittal. Individuals highly involved in some stand on an issue typically have a narrow latitude of noncommitment while placing a large number of statements in the Acceptable and Objectionable categories. Psychological principles underlying the bimodal distributions of judgments by highly involved persons are equivalent to those governing assimilation and contrast effects which result from comparison relative to a specified anchor in psychophysical experiments (Sherif & Sherif, 1969). In making judgments about statements on a social issue, the individual's own attitude serves as an anchor.

The Ss in the present research were one hundred and twenty female undergraduate students at Rhode Island College. They were selected on the basis of a preliminary questionnaire, administered in their classes, on which they were asked where they, their parents and their grandparents were born. Fifteen third generation Ss were selected from each of the following groups: Irish, Polish, French-Canadian, Italian, Jewish and Portuguese. In addition, fifteen Yankee and fifteen "Mixed"

Ss whose grandparents on one side were from one of the above groups and grandparents on the other side from another of the groups were included in the study. All Ss were residents of Rhode Island or nearby Connecticut or Massachusetts.

For the purpose of selecting statements for the Own Categories Procedure, a pre-test was conducted in which twenty-four Ss who did not participate in the subsequent research, sorted 90 statements relative to the social position of their ethnic group. Of these 90 statements 60 were selected for the Own Categories card sort, 20 of which had been placed within the latitude of rejection or latitude of noncommitment of all pre-test Ss, 20 of which had been placed within the latitude of acceptance and noncommitment of all pre-test Ss and 20 of which had a high variability of placement.

All Ss of the research were tested either in a separate room or in individual cubicles in the psychology laboratory where they could not observe other Ss performing the task. The Ss were instructed to categorize the same series of 60 statements into any number of categories considered necessary in order to group items that represented the same stand on the issue of the social position of her ethnic group. After sorting the items, S labeled the category most acceptable to

her, other acceptable categories, the category most objectionable to her, and other objectionable categories.

Next,S checked the label on a reference identification form (i.e., Portuguese, Portuguese-American, American-Portuguese, or American) which came closest to the way she would describe herself when asked what group she belonged in.

Finally, S was asked to indicate her degree of social distance toward each of the ethnic groups included in the study.

## Hypotheses and Summary of Results

The first hypothesis stated that Ss who are members of ethnic groups toward which there is greater social distance will use fewer categories in sorting statements about the social position of their ethnic group than will Ss who are members of ethnic groups toward which there is less social distance. A Pearson product moment correlation coefficient was computed to measure this relationship. A correlation coefficient of -.772 was obtained which is significantly greater than zero ($t=4.26$, $p < .005$, one tailed test). Thus, the hypothesis was supported indicating a higher degree of ethnic involvement on the part of members of groups included in this research toward which there is greater social distance.

The second hypothesis stated that Ss who are members of ethnic groups toward which there is greater social distance will also display greater social distance toward other groups. A Pearson product moment correlation coefficient of .207 was obtained when the total number of social distance responses received by ethnic group was correlated with the total number of social distance responses given by ethnic group. A t test of the significance of the correlation resulted in a t of .483 which does not approach significance at the .05 level. It can be concluded that no simple or consistent relation was found between the degree of prejudice directed toward an ethnic group included in this study and the degree of social distance that group displays toward the other groups.

Hypothesis 3 postulated that members of those groups which display a higher degree of social distance toward other groups would use a smaller mean number of categories in sorting statements about the social position of their own group. A very low r of .054 was obtained by correlating the Given Social Distance Index with number of categories used by ethnic group. Further research is necessary to determine if there is a relation between ethnic involvement and the degree of social distance members of an ethnic group indicate toward other ethnic groups.

Hypothesis 4 stated that Ss whose fathers are in lower level occupations will use fewer categories in sorting statements about their ethnic group than will Ss whose fathers are in higher level occupations. There was no significant difference ($p > .05$) in number of categories used by father's occupation. Therefore, there is reason to believe that differences in socioeconomic level by ethnic group do not account for differences in number of categories used by ethnic group.

The fifth hypothesis tested predicted that Ss who use fewer categories in sorting the statements about their ethnic group will label themselves as members of the ethnic group or as hyphenated Americans (for example, Italian or Italian-American) rather than as American. Except for the Yankee Ss, the majority of Ss of all of the groups studied selected the hyphenated American or ethnic label to describe themselves. Therefore the third generation American has not yet reached the final stage of the assimilation process which is most frequently considered to be identificational assimilation (see Chapter II).

The expectation of hypothesis 6 was that those Ss who are members of ethnic groups which used fewer mean categories in

sorting the statements would have a larger latitude of rejection and latitude of acceptance relative to the latitude of non-commitment than Ss who were members of ethnic groups which used a larger mean number of categories in sorting the statements. The hypothesis was not supported, as no significant differences were found by ethnic group in the width of the latitudes of acceptance, rejection and noncommitment. Of the groups tested, the Irish Ss used the largest mean number of categories (5.73) in sorting the statements and the Portuguese Ss the smallest mean number of categories (3.47). The Irish Ss had a significantly larger latitude of noncommitment ($p < .05$) than did Portuguese Ss and significantly narrower Most Objectionable and Most Acceptable categories. This finding is consistent with assimilation-contrast theory which predicts bidirectional displacement of items for more highly involved Ss.

The final hypothesis predicted that Ss whose maternal grandparents immigrated from a different country than the one from which their paternal grandparents came would use fewer categories in sorting statements referring to the maternal ethnic group than in sorting statements referring to the paternal ethnic group. The data did not support the hypothesis:

no significant difference was found in number of categories used in sorting statements relative to maternal ethnic group as compared with paternal ethnic group.

Of interest with regard to "Mixed" Ss however, is the fact that they gave the largest percentage of no social distance responses of any of the groups participating in the research. Also, a larger percentage of "Mixed" Ss identify themselves as American than any other group of third generation Ss. Tentatively, this would seem to indicate that third generation college students who are products of mixed marriages are somewhat more assimilated than are third generation college students who are descended from one nationality.

## Concluding Remarks

Although this research was exploratory in nature, it demonstrates the relevance of an interactionist approach to the study of acculturation and assimilation. Further, it serves to clarify the relation between the ethnic involvement of the third generation descendents of an immigrant group and the social distance directed toward that group. The present research also has implications for studies of prejudice and discrimination. It points to a number of variables as a basis for the social distance both given and received by an ethnic

group. Unfortunately, it offers little clarification of the relative weight of these variables.

Greater precision in predicting rates of acculturation and assimilation will probably be obtained when historical, sociological and psychological studies of different groups in the same contact situation can be coordinated. Experiments utilizing laboratory groups can also provide fruitful tests of hypotheses with regard to group involvement and social distance. The Own Categories Procedure warrants further development as a measure of differing frames of reference of both successive generations of the same ethnic group and of different ethnic groups in the same setting.

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## Appendix A

The purpose of this questionnaire is to determine the extent to which the culture of the countries from which their ancestors came is being preserved by Americans today.

1. Where were you born?

2. Where was your mother born?

3. Where was your father born?

4. Where was your mother's father born?

5. Where was your mother's mother born?

6. Where was your father's father born?

7. Where was your father's mother born?

8. What language is spoken most of the time in your home?

9. Is any other language spoken in your home some of the time?

   Yes ( )
   No ( )

10. If Yes to Question 9, what other language is sometimes spoken in your home?

11. Before entering Rhode Island College, did you attent public or parochial school?

    Public ( )
    Parochial( )
    Both ( )

12. Do you observe any customes such as holidays, feast days or attend festivals which are typically observed by people from the countries from which your forefathers came, but which are not generally observed by people from other countries?

    Yes ( )
    No ( )

13. If Yes to Question 12, what are some of these customs?

14. Do you regularly eat any dishes at home which are native to the country of your forefathers?

    Yes ( )
    No ( )

15. If Yes to Question 14, what are some of these dishes?

16. What is your father's occupation?

17. If your mother works outside the home, what type of work does she do?

18. Sex Male ( )
    Female ( )

19. Religion Catholic ( )
    Protestant ( )
    Jewish ( )
    Other ( )

20. Age _____

21. Class Freshman ( ) Junior ( ) Non-Matriculated ( )
    Sophmore ( ) Senior ( )

Name _____

Telephone _____

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

# Appendix B

## Pre-test Statements for the Own Categories Technique

1. Show a high rate of efficiency in their work.
2. May be good workers.
3. Are trustworthy.
4. Should be permitted to intermarry with all other groups.
5. Are fun loving.
6. Make good friends.
7. Are not respected by better groups.
8. Are a religious group.
9. Have a low standard of living.
10. Tend to take advantage of available opportunities.
11. Imitate other groups in order to succeed.
12. Have both desirable and undesirable characteristics.
13. Are envious of others.
14. Because of lack of opportunities, are not well educated.
15. Preserve many old world values.
16. Are an emotional people.
17. Have a family life based on respect for the parents.
18. Are about as intelligent as any other ethnic group in America.

19. Are very loyal to their own kind.

20. The more successful are eager to help out less fortunate members of their group.

21. Are no better or worse than any other people.

22. Although they are hard working, they have a low standard of living.

23. Not all other groups are willing to accept them.

24. When they achieve financial success, they are extravagant with their means.

25. There are a few descendants of this group who have made outstanding contributions to American life.

26. Although most members of this group are solid citizens, there is a sizeable criminal element.

27. They are mentally strong but most members of this group have less than a high school education.

28. Some other groups are not willing to intermarry with them.

29. In a time of national crisis only a relatively small number would likely prove disloyal to our government.

30. Would fight members of other groups whom they felt were encroaching on their territory.

31. Because they have been discriminated against, they have produced few leaders.

32. The women are beautiful when young but become fat and sloppy after marriage.

33. Since large numbers have already come to this country, further immigration of this group should be restricted.

34. Are pretty much content with things as they are.

35. Prefer to have their own districts and schools and to have little contact with other groups.

36. The family has a high degree of control over each of its members.

37. The grown children help the parents with support if necessary.

38. Are extremely proud of their ethnic group.

39. They take a keen interest in politics and usually vote as a group.

40. Because of their respect for tradition they are slow to accept change.

41. Most of them are clean and neat in their personal appearance.

42. Although their home may be shabby it is usually clean and neat.

43. There is something different about them; it's hard to figure out what makes them tick.

44. The young people frequently hang out on street corners.

45. To stop their kids from getting into trouble they instill fear in them, whether it be the fear of God or the fear of punishment.

46. Can be depended upon as being honest.

47. Are generous to others of their group.

48. Are envious of others in their group who succeed.

49. Are unreasonable in their attitude toward other groups.

50. Less than 5% of this group are in the professions.

51. It doesn't matter to the members of this group how they rate socially.

52. They place a high value on physical fitness.

53. Education is of first rate importance to this group.

54. On the whole, the members of this ethnic group have been of benefit to this country.

55. It's hard to say what kind of an overall image the mass media (radio, TV, movies, magazines, etc.) have presented of this group.

56. Most members of this group are willing to intermarry with members of other ethnic groups.

57. The Young people of this group are getting out of hand, despite the best efforts of their parents.

58. Most of their social life takes place within their own ethnic community.

59. The older children in the family usually take care of younger brothers and sisters.

60. They do not receive the recognition and respect they deserve from other groups.

61. Are considered inferior by many other groups.

62. The higher class of this group is accepted by "old" Americans.

63. It is their own fault that they have not succeeded to a greater extent in business and the professions.

64. Evenwhen they are poor, they have an air of dignity about them.

65. Have been quick to learn the American culture.

66. They are criticized too much.

67. Many other groups have tried to hold them back.

68. Very few of this group are on relief.

69. Members of this group usually marry within the group.

70. Parents discourage their children from dating outside of the group.

71. When you get to know them well, they are a very pleasant people.

72. They are a most desirable class of immigrants.

73. Many of the young people would like to Americanize their names.

74. Family ties are strong.

75. So far as values and standards for behavior are concerned, the parents and their grown children live in different worlds.

76. They are strongly prejudiced toward individuals of a different race.

77. Employers would be wise to give preference to members of this group.

78. Much can be said both in favor and against members of this group.

79. The sooner their ethnic communities cease to exist the better.

80. A large part of the prejudice toward this group is the result of jealousy and ignorance.

81. The members of this group are not really so different from other Americans.

82. All the better class of individuals have moved out of the ethnic community.

83. They feel that their children have failed them.

84. It's hard to say how much power they have in politics.

85. They drink too much.

86. They buy a lot of goods on credit.

87. I would be completely opposed to allowing them into my neighborhood.

88. They have low standards of cleanliness.

89. They are a disgrace to American society.

90. They are an influence for right living in American society.

91. They have contributed a great deal to this country.

92. They are the finest group of immigrants this country had.

93. They are decent, law abiding citizens.

# Appendix C

## Sixty Statements Used in Own Categories Card Sort

### 15 Favorable Statements

Are fun loving.

Can be depended upon as being honest.

Are generous to others of their group.

Show a high rate of efficiency in their work.

Should be permitted to intermarry with all other groups.

Much can be said both in favor and against members of this group.

On the whole, the members of this group have been of benefit to this country.

Most members of this group are willing to intermarry with members of other ethnic groups.

They are decent, law abiding citizens.

They are an influence for right living in American society.

Even when they are poor, they have an air of dignity about them.

Are trustworthy.

Preserve many old world values.

The more successful are eager to help out less fortunate members of their group.

They are no better or worse than any other people.

30 Neutral Statements

To stop their kids from getting into trouble they instill fear in them whether it be the fear of God or the fear of punishment.

Although their home may be shabby, it is always clean and neat.

Because of their respect for tradition they are slow to accept change.

There is something different about them; it's hard to figure out what makes them tick.

They take a keen interest in politics and usually vote as a group.

They're pretty much content with things as they are.

A large part of the prejudice toward this group is the result of jealousy and ignorance.

It's hard to say how much power they have in politics.

They buy a lot of goods on credit.

They drink too much.

Employers would be wise to give preference to members of this group.

There are a few descendants of this group who have made outstanding contributions to American life.

Because they have been discriminated against, they have produced few leaders.

Would fight members of other groups whom they felt were encroaching on their territory.

In a time of national crisis only a relatively small number would likely prove disloyal to our government.

They are mentally strong but most members of this group have less than a high school education.

Although most members of this group are solid citizens, there is a sizeable criminal element.

Because of lack of opportunities, they are not well educated.

They are a religious group.

They imitate other groups in order to succeed.

It doesn't matter to the members of this group how they rate socially.

It's hard to say what kind of an overall image the mass media (radio, TV, movies, magazines, etc.) have presented to this group.

Most of their social life takes place within their own ethnic community.

They do not receive the recognition and respect they deserve from other groups.

Many of the young people would like to change their names.

So far as values and standards for behavior are concerned, the parents and their grown children live in different worlds.

They are critized too much.

Many other groups have tried to hold them back.

Members of this group usually marry within the group.

Parents discourage their children from dating outside of the group.

Unfavorable Statements

The women are beautiful when young but become fat and sloppy after marriage.

They are envious of others in their group who succeed.

The young people frequently hang out on street corners.

They are a disgrace to American society.

They have low standards of cleanliness.

They feel that their children have failed them.

I would be completely opposed to allowing them into my neighborhood.

The sooner their ethnic communities cease to exist the better.

The young people of this group are getting out of hand, despite the best efforts of their parents.

They are strongly prejudiced toward individuals of a different race.

When they achieve financial success, they are extravagant with their means.

Some other groups are not willing to intermarry with them.

They are envious of others.

They have a low standard of living.

They are not respected by better groups.

## Appendix D

Reference Identification Question

If you were asked to use one of these four names for describing yourself, which group would you say you belonged in:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| American-Jewish | WASP | ( ) | Portuguese-American |
| Jewish | Yankee | ( ) | American |
| American | American | ( ) | Portuguese |
| Jewish-American | English | ( ) | American-Portuguese |

| | |
|---|---|
| French-Canadian | Polish |
| American | Polish-American |
| Franco-American | American-Polish |
| Canadian | American |

| | |
|---|---|
| Ir ish-American | American |
| American-Irish | Italian-American |
| Irish | Italian |
| American | American-Italian |

The same instructions were given to Ss of all ethnic groups.

Only one set of the appropriate four labels appeared on the sheet given to each S.

Appendix E

| | Irish | Polish | Italian | French Canadian | Jewish | Yankee | Portuguese |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. I would marry this person. | | | | | | | |
| 2. I would accept this person as an intimate friend. | | | | | | | |
| 3. I would accept this person as close kin by marriage. | | | | | | | |
| 4. I would accept this person as a roommate. | | | | | | | |
| 5. I wouldddate this person. | | | | | | | |
| 6. I would accept this person as a personal chum in my club | | | | | | | |
| 7. I would accept this person as a neighbor. | | | | | | | |
| 8. I would accept this person as my husband or wife's friend. | | | | | | | |
| 9. I would life in the same apartment house with this person. | | | | | | | |
| 10. I would accept this person as one of my speaking acquaintances. | | | | | | | |
| 11. I would rent property from this person. | | | | | | | |
| 12. I would give asylum to this person, if he were a refugee, but I would not grant him citizenship. | | | | | | | |
| 13. I would not permit this person to live in my neighborhood. | | | | | | | |
| 14. I would not permit this person's attendance of our colleges and universities. | | | | | | | |
| 15. I would exclude this person from my country. | | | | | | | |