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Ethnic identification and outgroup tolerance.

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ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION AND OUTGROUP TOLERANCE

A Dissertation Presented

By

DEBORAH E. SCHIFTER

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

May 1986

Psychology

Deborah E. Schifter
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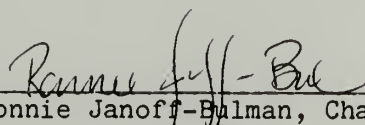
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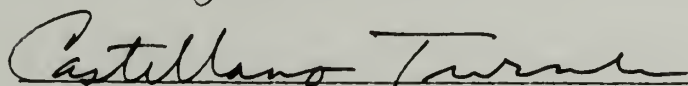
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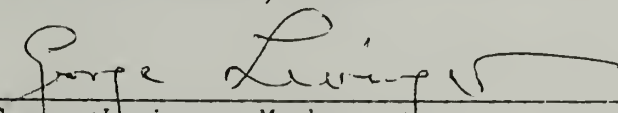
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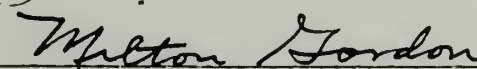
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Milton Gordon, Member



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DEDICATION

For Ruth,
who showed me where to look,

and Leon,
who showed me I could speak.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many thanks to Ronnie Janoff-Bulman, Castellano Turner, George Levinger, and Milton Gordon for their suggestions and support.

ABSTRACT

Ethnic Identification and Outgroup Tolerance

May, 1986

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Over the last two decades we have witnessed throughout the United States a surge of ethnic pride and ethnic identification. Current social differentiation theories (Tajfel, 1978) would predict that greater awareness of intergroup differences would lead to an increase in rejection and discrimination between groups. This proposition is addressed in the dissertation. By means of a survey of over 400 undergraduate students at the University of Massachusetts, I obtained measures of ethnic identification and attitudes toward outgroups, in addition to four personality measures. Strength of ethnic identification exhibited strong correlations with three of the eight measures of attitudes toward outgroups--causal attribution (attributing the unequal socio-economic status of Blacks either to the structure of our society or to traits inherent to Blacks), group social distance (entering a group in which the subject would be the only White among Blacks), and intimate social distance (marrying, dating, or having sex with a Black person). A regression analysis showed, however, that personality variables account for the variance of some of the outgroup attitude measures. After the personali

measures have been included as independent variables, ethnic identification does not contribute as a source of the variance of the causal attribution measure. For the group social distance measure the regression analysis showed that, after the variance due to personality has been taken into account, only one of the two ethnic identification factors contributes as a source of variance. The factor that addresses the importance of ethnic values and traditions does not contribute, whereas the factor that addresses preference for members of one's own ethnic group contributes marginally. Both ethnic identification factors do significantly contribute as a source of the variance of the intimacy social distance measure. These results suggest that, contrary to what would be predicted from Tajfel's social comparison theory, mere awareness of group difference does not in itself lead to outgroup discrimination and rejection.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
ABSTRACT	vi
PROLOGUE	1
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	10
Group Belongingness and Outgroup Rejection	10
Ethnic Consciousness: An Historical Review	17
Measures of Attitudes Toward Ethnic Groups	24
Summary	34
II. METHODS AND RESULTS	36
Questionnaire Description	36
Phase I	36
Phase II	37
Demographics	38
Measures of Attitudes Toward Outgroups	40
Social Distance	40
Group Evaluation	46
Causal Attribution	50
Comparison of Outgroup Attitude Measures	51
Social Norms	54
Gender Differences	57
Ethnic Identification	60
Ethnic Identification Measures	60
Ethnic Identification and Outgroup Attitude Measures ...	63
Ethnic Identification and Personality Measures	67
Ethnic Identification and Conservatism	72
Ethnic Identification and Social Norms	72
Personality Measures Versus Ethnic Identification	75
Theories of Interethnic Relations	78
III. DISCUSSION	83
Social Comparison Theory and Cultural Pluralism	83
Trends of Outgroup Attitude Measures	92
Limitations of the Measures	93
EPILOGUE	97
FOOTNOTES	104
APPENDIX A	105

APPENDIX B	117
APPENDIX C	134
REFERENCES	144

LIST OF TABLES

1.	Rank Importance for Determining Social Distance	27
2.	Interaction Effect of Trait Attribution to Americans and Blacks	33
3.	Demographic Breakdown	39
4.	Percent of White Respondents Answering Affirmatively	41
5.	Mean Social Distance Scores	44
6.	Comparison of Fall and Spring Questionnaire Responses	45
7.	Traits Assigned to Four Racial Groups and Their Frequencies of Appearance	48
8.	Trait Evaluation and Percentage of White Subjects who Assign the Traits to Each Group	49
9.	Correlations Between Measures of Attitudes Toward Outgroups ..	52
10.	Social Norms	55
11.	Social Norms Correlated with Behaviors	56
12.	Gender Differences on Measures of Attitudes Toward Outgroups ..	58
13.	Correlations Between Ethnic Identification and Attitude Measures	64
14.	Demographic Breakdown on High and Low Ethnic Identification Groups	66
15.	Difference in Attitude Measures Between High and Low Ethnic Identification Groups	67
16.	Correlation of Personality and Ethnic Identification Measures	69
17.	Differences Between High and Low Identification Groups on Four Personality Measures	70
18.	Personality Measures Correlated with Attitude Measures	71
19.	Differences in Social Norms Between High and Low Ethnic Identification Groups	73
20.	Correlations Between Social Norms and Behaviors	74
21.	Regression Analysis of Outgroups Attitudes with Personality, Conservatism, and Ethnic Identification Measures	76
22.	Ratings of Theories of Interethnic Relations	79
23.	Correlations with Ratings of Interethnic Relations Theories ..	80
24.	Correlations with Ratings of Interethnic Relations Theories ..	81

P R O L O G U E

A Short Story Written in First Person

I met Ann on the day my mother took me to see the new house. My older sister, Judy, had been sent off to nursery school, my younger brother and sister were left with a neighbor for the day, and I sat in the car for what seemed like hours and hours. We finally slowed down and turned onto a smaller road. I looked out the window and saw new brick houses lined up neatly, each with a garage door on one side and two square windows above it, cement steps leading to the front door, and a big picture window beside that. On each plot closer to the road stood a single spindly maple tree.

We stopped in front of a house where workmen were laying out a lawn in grey, thirsty strips. The lawn of the house next door had already settled in, shining rich and green. On the other side the unfinished house lay in a sea of mud and, beyond that, were woods.

I remember wandering around strange rooms while my mother discussed colors with the painters. I stared for a long time at the bare corner where my mother said my bed would be. I thought of my room in the old house and the gray linoleum floor cover with red and yellow rippled diamonds on it. Mommy said that in the new house Ricky wouldn't be sleeping with us anymore. This room was just for Judy and me.

As my mother and I started to go back to the car to go home, we saw a girl coming up the sidewalk on roller skates, her long blond curls waving from side to side with each stroke.

"Why don't you go say hi to that girl?" my mother suggested, thinking I could get a head start on making friends in the new neighborhood.

"No. She looks bigger than me." I was shy and didn't like talking to new people. My mother, however, was more curious than I was.

The girl, it seemed, was curious, too, for by now she had reached our car and was watching us. She squatted on her skates, scratching her ankles, her head tilted to one side.

"Hello. What's your name?" My mother was ready to make friends for me.

"Ann," she responded still from her squat.

"Hello, Ann. How old are you?"

"Four."

"Oh, how nice. This is Nancy and she's almost four, too. We're going to be moving into the house right here."

Ann smiled at me, and I began to feel a little bit encouraged. "I live right there." She pointed at the house just behind ours. Then, with no more ado, Ann said bye, stood up, turned around, and skated down the hill.

The day the movers came, my parents threw away the gray linoleum rug with the rippled diamonds. I had suspected they would because the day before, when my mother had caught Judy and me crayoning on it, she began to get angry, then sighed, and said it didn't matter anyway. When we got to the new house I saw that they had put down a new one in our room--one with long red and blue stripes.

The next morning Ann was knocking on the back door asking if I could come out and play. She had been waiting for her new friend and was ready to take me under her wing.

Ann introduced me to all the other kids in the neighborhood; she showed me the clearing in the woods where we could tell secrets; and she taught me how to roller-skate. Ann took her role as teacher seriously. She was six months older than I was and knew so much. Besides, she had four older brothers and sisters and three of them were even teen-agers.

That summer, Ann and I played together every day--every day except Sunday, that is. On the first Sunday after we moved, when Ann wasn't at my house at the usual time, I went over to her house. I found Ann with her mother in the bathroom. Her mother was taking skinny pink curlers out of Ann's hair, rapping a blond lock around her finger, and slowly releasing her finger in a way that let the hair fall in a soft spiral. I looked on admiringly as her mother slipped a frilly white dress over her head. Ann looked just like a doll. Then I wandered home while Ann and her parents and her brothers and sisters all crammed in the car and went off to church.

So on Sundays I played with Judy, because her friends also went to church, and on the other days I played with Ann. One day Ann and I were sitting in the clearing in the woods squashing berries on our knees. The peacefulness of the birds and bushes was momentarily broken when we heard a siren wail. An ambulance passed along the highway a block away. Ann dropped her berries and sat up seriously as she touched her forehead, her chest, and each of her shoulders with

her finger tips. When she saw me watching her curiously, she realized that this was an opportunity for another lesson.

"You're supposed to cross yourself whenever you hear the rescue squad. It means that you're praying for whoever got hurt."

"What if it's a policeman after a speeder and nobody was hurt?"

Ann thought my question was stupid. Instead of answering, she got to work teaching me the technique of crossing myself. Later that afternoon when another siren passed, she was happy to see that I could do it right.

That evening my family had dinner out on the back porch. It was just starting to get dark and we could see lightening bugs flashing on the other side of the screen. Judy and I wanted to finish dinner quickly so we could go out and chase them.

After dinner when my mother was standing at the end of the table scooping out ice cream, we heard a siren scream down the highway. Happy for the opportunity to show what I had learned, I crossed myself just as Ann had taught me.

Suddenly I noticed my father stiffen and everybody at the table became very still. Why had the crickets now decided to chirp so loudly?

"What are you doing?" my father asked harshly.

"I'm crossing myself so the person in the ambulance will get better." My voice was meek. What had I done wrong?

"Who taught you that?"

"Richard, calm down," my mother interrupted. "It's not 1938 and you're not in Vienna."

With that my father sat back in his chair and looked at my mother. As the tension eased, Judy spoke up.

"Nancy, you're not supposed to do that. Only Catholics do that, and we're Jewish."

I stared into my plate, my face and ears burning red, and waited until someone would start talking about something else.

Another day Ann's lesson went like this:

"Whites are better than Negroes."

"What's Whites?" I asked. I had an idea of what Negroes were.

"We're Whites. See? We have white skin."

I looked at my arm. It didn't look white to me, especially after being out in the sun all summer. But I let Ann continue.

"People who aren't Negroes and aren't Chinese are Whites. It's best to be White. We're better than the others."

At the time I had known only two Negroes. One was Martha, the woman who helped my mother clean when we lived in the old house. I liked Martha. She was kind of fat and she liked to talk to me. The other was Mrs. Jackson who helped my mother now in the new house. Mrs. Jackson didn't like us kids much. She was cold and yelled at us when my mother was gone. But both Martha and Mrs. Jackson were grownups and grownups were in charge.

"Ann, that doesn't make any sense! How can a kid be better than a grownup?" "We just are," Ann answered seriously. "You shouldn't let Mrs. Jackson boss you. Next time she does, you should day, 'Stop spitting when you talk, nigger.'"

I was getting confused, and a little bit scared. I knew my

parents wouldn't let me talk to a grown-up that way. "Let's go roller skating," I suggested so we wouldn't have to talk about it anymore.

That September Ann started going to school. I asked my mother why I couldn't go to school, too, but she never had a good answer. Instead, I was alone at home with a two-year old bratty brother and a boring baby sister. All week long I waited for Saturday, because on Saturdays I could play with Ann.

There were some good days, I remember. Like my birthday. My mother made my favorite foods for dinner and the whole family sang happy birthday to me.

I remember that everybody made a big deal about Thanksgiving, but I didn't like it much. We all got dressed up and went to the Landaus for dinner. My mother made me taste the pumpkin pie and it made me vomit.

The best time was Hannukah. Every evening for a week Judy and I couldn't wait until my father came home. Then my mother would bring out candy and nuts and my father would show us how to spin dreidles. But my favorite part was the candles. Everybody would sit very still as my father said the Hebrew prayer in the glow of a single candle. Then he lit the others, an extra one each night. We'd all guess which candle would last the longest. After the candles were all burned out and we had found out who won, my parents put us in bed.

But week days were usually lonely. Every once in a while my mother gave me little chores to do, like one day in the spring,---it was still pretty chilly and I needed a hat--when she sent me off with a letter to take to the mailbox one block away. "Hurry," she said.

"The mailman will come soon and I want it to go out today.

Just as I stepped onto the sidewalk, I saw the mail truck pull up. I knew my mother wanted the letter to go out now, so I started to run as fast as I could in order to hand the letter over before the truck left. The mailman was just climbing back into the truck when I ran into the street calling out for him to stop.

The mailman slowly climbed out of the truck, took the letter, and smiled, white teeth contrasting a black face. He squatted down so that his eyes were level with mine and explained, "You must not run into the street without looking. I saw you this time, but next time a car might come and hit you."

Was I being scolded? I had done something wrong and struggled against my desire to cry. Then in a flash I remembered Ann's words. "Don't boss me, nigger," I said.

The mailman's kind face turned to stone. He rose from his squat, stiffly turned around, and got back into the truck. I stood at the curb and watched him drive away. Then I slowly trudged home with a sick feeling in the center of my chest.

Later in the week, on the day that Mrs. Jackson came, my mother went out to do her shopping. I felt an uneasiness as I watched her drive away, leaving me alone in the house with the maid.

I decided to get out my crayons and paper and went to the kitchen table to color. I knelt on the bench so that I could lean over my work and concentrate on my designs. I always tried to be neat, but after a while I got either bored or enthusiastic and found myself making fast, long, strong strokes with my crayons, no longer

staying on the page. I was vaguely aware of marking up the green formica table underneath, but mostly I was engrossed in what I was putting on the paper.

Not so with Mrs. Jackson. "What are you doing, girl? I just cleaned up in here! Look at what you're doing to that table!"

I looked up startled seeing only Mrs. Jackson's silhouette before the glare of the north-facing window. I didn't have to see her expression to cringe under the glare on her face. Then it came out without thought. "Don't spit at me, nigger."

This time the response wasn't hurt; it was rage. "Get out of my sight and stay away from me, girl!" When my mother came home that day, Mrs. Jackson said she was quitting.

Mrs. Jackson didn't quit. I suppose my parents talked her into staying. But that evening I had a session with my parents.

All I remember is my father looking at me in anger. Then his anger turned to horror as I felt the familiar sick feeling rise in my chest. I started to whimper, the pain expanding in my heart, when my mother interrupted. "Richard, she doesn't understand." I was free to go back to my room, alone with the sickness and confusion.

The next morning I woke up before anybody else in the house stirred. From my top bunk I could look across the street and see the picture window in the Elliot's house. A nearby tree reflected itself in such a way, the curtains fell just so, that I could see a face in the window--eyes, nose, mouth and a wide, white sheriff's hat. The eyes were dark and deep, the mouth frowning. The face watched me, condemning, knowing I was bad.

Later that spring Vicki moved into the neighborhood. Vicki was half a year younger than I was so she wasn't in school yet either. Vicki and I became friends instantaneously, and we played together every day.

Ann was jealous and tried to make me stop playing with Vicki, but Ann held less and less sway over me. Vicki and I had fun together--we colored together, we played cards together, and sometimes we put on skits for my brother and his friend. The next year Vicki and I started school together. We went to public school, and Ann went to private school. Pretty soon I didn't see much of Ann at all.

It was about that time that the woods next to our house were cut down. They brought in loud machines to dig holes and flatten out a road. Pretty soon a house was standing where Ann and I used to go for our lessons.

I never told Vicki about what happened with the mailman and Mrs. Jackson. I never told anyone else either. After a while I stopped thinking about it, and eventually forgot the whole story.

But some mornings I would wake up before anyone else in the house stirred. I would lie in my bunkbed and see a face in the picture window across the street with a sick feeling rising in my chest. I'd turn around and curl up with my face to the wall trying to escape. Yet I knew I couldn't hide from whoever that was, frowning from the window across the street.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Over the last two decades we have witnessed throughout the United States a surge of ethnic pride and ethnic identification. Current social differentiation theories (Tajfel, 1978) would predict that the greater awareness of intergroup differences would lead to an increase in rejection and discrimination between groups. In this dissertation, I investigate this question.

In the introduction I first provide a theoretical background for understanding group belongingness and intergroup relations. Second, I present an historical overview of the predominant attitudes toward ethnic groups in this country. Third, I report the findings of social psychological measurements of ethnic attitudes from the 1920's to the 1960's.

In the second chapter I state the method I used to investigate the question together with the results from the analysis of the questionnaire data. In the third chapter, I discuss the question in light of the study's results.

Group Belongingness and Outgroup Rejection

At my birth I was already a member of a variety of groups that have shaped who I am and how I view the world. I was born White into an upper-middle class family in the United States. As such, I have

been offered many opportunities in education, travel, and career, while sheltered from many of the hardships suffered by the majority of humankind. I was born Jewish, receiving a rich set of rituals, history, beliefs, and standards of conduct. I lived in the suburbs of Washington, D.C. among elected and appointed officials who govern this country. Furthermore, as I go out into the world I am seen and treated as a White, upper-middle class American Jewish woman who grew up near the capital of the United States.

It is a universal phenomenon that people are born into groups that make them what they are. One's group provides a world-view and a life plan, a picture of how the world is or should be, and how individuals do or ought to participate. The group puts the individual at a point in history and at a place in society. In the context of the group, the individual finds a role, whether it be leader, follower, or rejecter, a place of honor or the role of fool.

A study of an old established community that was destroyed in a natural disaster illustrates the importance of the group to the individual. Kai T. Erikson (1978) studied the survivors of the Buffalo Creek Flood in West Virginia and found that the survivors were unable to get over the impact of the disaster, not only because people and houses were destroyed, but because the community was gone. The community, rooted in history, proximity, and time, was ruined beyond repair. The individuals lost their network of people, their objects of reference, their customs and their obligations. "To a man and a woman, the survivors of the flood continued to experience life as disjointed, without meaning and without hope long after the event"

(Hoffman, 1981, p.192).

Kurt Lewin has also written about the importance of belonging to a group. "The speed and determination with which a person proceeds, his readiness to fight or to submit, and other important characteristics of his behavior depend upon the firmness of the ground on which he stands and upon his general security. The group a person belongs to is one of the most important constituents of this ground. If a person is not clear about his belongingness or if he is not well established within his group, his life-space will show characteristics of unstable ground" (1948, p.85).

Leon Festinger (1954) and Stanley Schachter (1959) took this issue, which they called the "affiliative tendency," to the laboratory. They hypothesized, and their results supported, that a major cause of the affiliative tendency is a need for self-evaluation. Man, they say, has a drive to evaluate the rightness of his opinions, the goodness of his abilities, and the appropriateness of his emotions. Evaluation is made by comparison with opinions, abilities, and emotions of other people. However, other people's opinions, abilities, and emotions are used for comparison only when they are not too divergent from one's own. Thus one tends to look for groups with experiences common to one's own.

The implication of Festinger's and Schachter's work is that even when we leave our initial and most immediate group we will still continue to function in groups that have similar customs, values, and standards of conduct. This is most acutely observed in the importance of ethnic communities to new immigrants and the disorientation one

feels when suddenly immersed in a different culture.

A further implication of their work is the tendency for people to consider only those groups that are similar to their own and disregard those groups that are seen as different. Erik Erikson (1968) has discussed this phenomenon, explaining that human beings have a tendency to break themselves apart into "pseudospecies," viewing their own particular group as the human species. A pseudospecies often has a history and/or mythology that describes its own creation as the chosen one, the group with the special knowledge, special gifts, or most advanced civilization. Sumner (1906) illustrated this tendency as follows: "When Caribs were asked whence they came, they answered, 'We alone are people.' The Lapps call themselves 'men' or 'human beings'. The Greenland Eskimo think that Europeans have been sent to Greenland to learn virtue and good manners from the Greenlanders. Their highest praise for a European is that he is, or soon will be, as good as a Greenlander" (p.12).

From here we can see the dark side of the affiliative tendency, the need to belong to a group, and the sense of specialness of one's own group. In the extreme, ethnocentrism has been, at least partially, at the basis of war, genocide, enslavement and oppression. In daily life, especially in our heterogeneous society, ethnocentrism is manifested in our prejudices and discriminations.

Henri Tajfel (1978) has further elaborated upon Festinger's social comparison theory in order to understand this dark side of intergroup relations. He explains that Festinger was concerned with comparisons made between individuals and with evaluations of oneself

and others made by means of these interindividual comparisons. Tajfel points out that another important aspect of a person's self-definition is the fact that that person is a member of a number of groups. The evaluation that a person holds regarding his/her group is integrated into his/her own self-concept. That is, an individual's social identity is positive or negative according to the subjective status of the groups which contribute to it. Furthermore, other groups in the social environment constitute the frame of reference for evaluating one's own group's prestige.

Since one strives to achieve a positive image of oneself, it is necessary to maintain a positive image of one's own group relative to other groups. According to this version of the social comparison theory, it is not sufficient to see one's own group as good. It is necessary to see one's own group as better than other groups.

Tajfel's experimental work has supported this hypothesis. Within the context of the laboratory, he has shown that people will use even trivial information to create ingroups and outgroups and then proceed to discriminate against members of the outgroup. In one set of experiments, subjects were divided into groups according to trivial differentiations, like being identified as either an under- or an over-estimator of the number of dots in clusters, or being told that an aesthetic preference test indicated a preference for either Klee or Kandinsky. Then they were given the task of distributing money to individuals of both their own group and the other group, with the opportunity to use one of four strategies: maximum joint profit (the strategy of awarding the maximum joint amount, so that all the

subjects together could get the greatest possible amount of money out of the experimenters); maximum profit for members of the ingroup; maximum difference in favor of the ingroup at the price of sacrificing both the above advantages; and fairness. "Of these strategies, the first--maximum joint profit--exerted hardly any pull on the decisions; maximum ingroup profit was important, but sometimes not nearly as important as achieving a maximum difference in favor of the ingroup. Fairness was also a significant variable and served to moderate the excesses of ingroup favouritism" (Tajfel, 1978, pp.78-79).

The conclusion that Tajfel draws from these results is that as a member of a group, for most individuals one's first priority is not to achieve the most abundant result for everybody, but to differentiate one's own group from another group. The explanation provided by social comparison theory is that belonging to the group that receives more reward than the other enhances one's positive sense of self.

John Turner (1978) has summarized the implications of the many experiments similar to those described above that have been conducted by Tajfel's research team:

The tendency to favour one's own group over other groups is usually referred to in the laboratory situation as ingroup bias. Ingroup bias is, in a sense, the experimental analogue of ethnocentrism amongst groups in the real world. Since the phenomenon first began to receive attention, evidence has grown that it is a remarkably omnipresent feature of intergroup relations. Indeed, research has tended to eliminate progressively one variable after another from the intergroup situation without noticeably decreasing the potential for ingroup favouritism. Thus ingroup bias has been found as a function of hostility (Sherif, 1966), competition (Blake and Mouton, 1962), face-to-face contact (Ferguson and Kelley, 1964), and ultimately, mere awareness of an outgroup (Doise and Sinclair, 1973). Recently, Tajfel et

al (1971) have shown that under certain conditions, the mere perception by subjects that they belong to two distinct social categories is alone sufficient for intergroup discrimination....Indeed, it begins to seem that ingroup bias is related to psychological processes intrinsic to the intergroup situation." (p.235)

In contrast to the distressing implications of Tajfel's work, Gordon Allport's (1954) theory of prejudice suggests a more promising picture of human beings. Two decades before Henri Tajfel suggested that discrimination, ingroup bias, or ethnocentrism are at the basis of all intergroup interaction, Allport proposed that "at bottom, (people) long for affiliation with life and peaceful and friendly relations with their fellow men" (p.366). He explains:

What governs an individual at the beginning of his life is a dependent, affiliative relationship with the mother....Toward his environment the baby is positive, approaching nearly every type of stimulus, every type of person. His life is marked by eager outgoingness and, normally, by positive social relationships.

The initial affiliative tendencies, when threatened or frustrated, may give way to alarm and defense....Thus, the genesis of hatred is secondary, contingent, and relatively late in the development process. It is always a matter of frustrated affiliative desire and the attendant humiliation to one's self-esteem or to one's values. Perhaps the most perplexing problem in the entire field of human relations is this: why do so relatively few of our contacts with other people fit in with, and satisfy, our predominating affiliative needs, and why do so many find their ways into sentiments of hatred and hostility?

The answer to this riddle seems to lie in three directions. One concerns the amount of frustration and the hardness of living that beset people....A second explanation has to do with the learning process....Children brought up in a rejective home, exposed to ready-made prejudices, will scarcely be in a position to develop a trustful or affiliative outlook upon social relationships....Finally, there is a kind of economy in adopting an exclusionist approach to human relations. By taking a negative view of great groups of

mankind, we somehow make life simpler (by no longer having to bother with them). (pp.365-366)

Thus, while Allport acknowledges that hostility and prejudice constitute the predominant mode of human interaction, he does not claim that they are fundamental to human nature, but rather believes that they are secondary to our need to love and be loved. In contrast to Tajfel, Allport believes that under the right conditions people can maintain a friendly and trustful attitude toward others, regardless of the groups to which they belong.

Ethnic Consciousness: An Historical Review

In his review of the history of attitudes toward ethnicity in the United States, Milton Gordon (1964) has suggested that Anglo-conformity--the assumption that English institutions, the English language, and English-oriented cultural patterns are to be maintained as the standard of American life--has been the most prevalent ideology of assimilation throughout the nation's history. Already at the inception of this country, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Benjamin Franklin were concerned about the impact that a large influx of Europeans--particularly those accustomed to despotic monarchy--would have upon the fledgling institutions of democracy and republicanism.

Gordon further explains that in later decades,

the arrival in an overwhelmingly Protestant society of large numbers of poverty stricken Irish-Catholics who

settled in groups in the slums of eastern cities activated fears of "Popery" and Rome. The substantial influx of Germans who made their way to the cities and farms of the Midwest, and whose different language, separate communal life, and freer ideas on temperance and sabbath brought them into conflict with the Anglo-Saxon bearers of Puritan and Evangelical traditions, constituted another source of anxiety. Fear of foreign "radicals" and suspicion of economic demands of the occasionally aroused workingmen added fuel to the nativist fires. (p.92)

By the late nineteenth century, the Irish and the Germans had become established in the United States and joined in with the rejection of the new waves of immigrants, largely Italians, Jews, and Slavs. At this time, Anglo-conformity took on a new slant, that of racism. Those who were already in the United States for generations were considered to be of a superior race--tall, blond, blue-eyed Nordics--whereas the newcomers, peoples of Eastern and Southern Europe made up of the darker Alpines and Mediterraneans, were considered an inferior breed.

Anglo-conformity received its fullest expression in the so-called Americanization movement, which gripped the nation like a fever during World War I. While "Americanization" in its various stages had more than one emphasis, essentially it was a consciously articulated movement to strip the immigrant of his native culture and attachments and make him into an American along Anglo-Saxon lines--all of this to be accomplished with great rapidity....Both the patriotic appeals and the instrumental materials (of the Americanization program), however, were embedded in a framework of either explicit denigration or implicit disregard of the immigrant's own native culture and the groups and institutions which, with his fellows, he had created on American soil (Gordon, 1964, pp.98-100).

By the 1920's, the Americanization crusade had subsided. In its place came a call for immigration restrictions. From 1921 to 1924, a set of laws was enacted by Congress to effect a decrease in

immigration and to set up a formula that would favor the entry of immigrants from Northern and Western Europe, and keep the number of immigrants from the unfavored groups at a minimum.

Throughout this period, American Blacks, who had been living in the United States since the time of the founding fathers, were categorically rejected from White institutions and segregated from informal contact with the White population.

During the 1920's and 1930's, many social psychologists convinced of the behaviorist paradigm to explain human behavior, looked for a rational and behaviorist means to end conflict between ethnic groups. The models chosen closely resemble the ideology of the Americanization program. Floyd Allport was a leading proponent of this approach.

Allport argued that culture conflict could be reduced very simply. Cultural conflicts could be "abolished" by "leading" the individual to behave as if such conflicts did not exist, by inducing him to react as if he were not a member of any group at all. If the problem was one of group membership, the obvious solution was to abolish the consciousness of membership in any group. As Allport warmed to his subject, it became clear that his deeper objective was to abolish all group identities in the larger interest of reducing all prejudice. Once the individual was led to discover himself and find his integration "as a true biological and psychological organism...the stigma of inferiority adhering to a certain race or caste would at once disappear" (Wacker, 1983, p.64).

During the 1930's, as American intellectuals and scholars became more aware of the racist ideology of the Nazis and fascists, the idea that ethnic consciousness and identification was dangerous was reinforced (Wacker, 1983). Social scientists continued to look for optimistic and rational resolutions of culture conflict through the

denial of cultural differences. Gunnar Myrdal's thesis, presented in his 1944 study of Blacks in America, was representative of the dominant beliefs held until the mid-1960's. Myrdal saw White Americans dropping their ingroup prejudices because of its inconsistency with democratic ideals. He believed that White Americans would not desire to remain inconsistent and ambivalent. The dissonance between their democratic ideals and their treatment of Blacks would cause such psychic discomfort that they would eventually change their behavior and open the doors to equal opportunity (Rose, 1964).

Yet ethnic identification and prejudice have proved to be more durable than predicted. In spite of these optimistic perspectives, prejudice and discrimination against ethnic minority groups have continued.

The psychological impact of belonging to an oppressed and exploited minority has been the subject of several studies. They explain that ethnic and racial minorities of the United States have been presented with the cultural ideals of the dominant Anglo group while being prevented from emulating them. To the extent that minority group members adopt those cultural ideals as their own, they are apt to take on the negative images of themselves that are held up to them by the dominant majority.

In 1940, Clark and Clark conducted a study on racial identification and preference among Black children. They presented 153 children between the ages of 3 and 7 with White and Black dolls, asking the questions: "Which doll would you like to play with?"

"Which is the nice doll?" and "Which doll is a nice color?" The majority of the Black children chose the White doll in response to these questions. The majority of the children also chose the Black doll in response to the question, Which doll looks bad? After expressing their preference, some of the children became very uncomfortable when they were asked to make self-identifications. Some broke down and cried, some ran out of the room, and some made rationalizations. "I burned my face and made it spoil," one child said. "I look brown because I got a suntan in the summer," said another (p.611).

The preference for a group to which one does not belong, as illustrated by the children in the Clark and Clark study, often leads to self-hatred. Kurt Lewin (1948) has described this dynamic. Because of membership in one's own group, one's needs and desires (for esteem, beauty, wealth, status, etc.) are not met. One tries to remove oneself from one's own group in order to enter the majority group, but the majority does not let one in. Thus, one stands at the boundary, not fully in either group, feeling frustration, which leads to aggression. However, the aggression is not directed at the majority group that will not let one in, for that is still the desired high status group. Besides, the majority group is too powerful to be attacked. Therefore, the aggression is directed toward one's own minority group and even oneself.

Albert Memmi (1966) has illustrated the futility and self-destructiveness of trying to deny one's own group membership with his personal experiences. After he had tried for years to deny his

Jewishness, "I discovered that one does not easily cease to be Jewish, and that self-rejection never solves anything....The net result was...constant self-contradiction, a veritable and painful distortion of the whole being which isolated me, singled me out more surely than the accusation of others" (p.76).

Lewin (1948) has also pointed out another difference between a minority group kept together merely by outside pressure and a group in which the members choose to be together and have positive attitudes toward their own group. The latter group will have an organic life of its own; it will show organization and inner strength. A minority kept together only from outside is in itself chaotic. It is composed of a mass of individuals without inner relations with each other; it is a group that is unorganized and weak. For one who feels no connection to fellow group members, one's group is nothing but a burden.

Indeed, although they had constructed their own network of organizations and institutions, until the 1960's the Black community had largely been perceived as such an unorganized group:

The ideological attachment of Negroes to their communal separation is...not conspicuous. Their sense of identification with ancestral African national cultures is virtually nonexistent, although Pan-Africanism engages the interest of some intellectuals and although "black Nationalist" and "black racist" fringe groups have recently made an appearance at the other end of the communal spectrum. As for their religion, they are either Protestant or Catholic (overwhelmingly the former). Thus there are here no "logical" ideological reasons for separate communality; dual social structures are created solely by the dynamics of prejudice and discrimination rather than being reinforced by ideological commitments of the minority itself (Gordon, 1964, pp.113-114).

This assessment was written in 1963, just as considerable changes in the Black community and Black identity began to occur. During the last two decades, ancestral African culture has engaged more than a handful of intellectuals and Black solidarity groups are no longer on the fringe. Following the walk-ins, the sit-ins, and the picket lines; along with the Freedom Riders and the March on Washington, Blacks began to find in themselves and in their group a new source of strength.

Black leaders and the Black community at large began to realize the contradiction between accepting Anglo values and maintaining a sense of one's own self-esteem. Whites were ousted from the Civil Rights Movement so that Blacks could be led by Blacks. Black student unions were formed on college campuses and Afro-American Studies became a recognized college major. Rather than follow the Caucasian standard of beauty, the "natural" or "Afro" hairstyle became popular. The television version of Roots (Haley, 1976) brought Blacks together around the nation, and also presented to the White American an image of Blacks that commands sympathy and respect. By 1984, a Black Presidential candidate was able to bring thousands of previously unregistered Black voters to the polls.

The example set by the Black community has led many other groups to recognize that they need not follow Anglo standards and values. "Stokely Carmichael's introduction of the slogan 'Black Power' in 1966 symbolized the emergence of a much greater emphasis on particularistic group consciousness, pride, cohesiveness, and assertiveness which is associated with the enhanced salience of ethnicity in American public

life" (Gleason, 1980). Chicanos and Native Americans followed suit with the slogans "Brown Power" and "Red Power." These minority groups, in addition to Asians, among others, have established organizations on college campuses. Thousands of young Jews have been seeking ways to make traditional observance compatible with their urban lives of this decade. Genealogy has become a hobby, as people trace their family's histories in the Old Country.

Tajfel's social comparison theory would predict that with the increased awareness of different ethnic groups, there would also be an increase in the hostility between the groups. On the other hand, Allport would argue that the mere delineation of the groups is not sufficient to arouse hostility. In this study I investigate the question of whether there is something positive that subjects find in their ethnic identification that does not necessarily promote outgroup discrimination.

Measures of Attitudes Toward Ethnic Groups

From the 1920's until the late 1960's, a number of social psychologists were engaged in the measurement of attitudes toward ethnic groups. The two most common measurements used were social distance and the uniformity and negativity of stereotypes. In this study I will use variations of these two measures to assess attitudes toward different groups.

In 1924 Robert Park introduced the concept of social distance as

"the grades and degrees of understanding and intimacy which characterized personal and social relations generally" (p.339). Emory Bogardus (1925) was the first person to operationalize social distance to measure the behavioral dimension of prejudice.

Bogardus' scale employed 30 ethnic targets and presented each subject with the following judgmental task:

According to my first feeling reactions I would willingly admit members of each race (as a class, and not the best I have known, nor the worst members) to one or more of the classifications...

To close kinship by marriage.

To my club as personal chums.

To my street as neighbors.

To employment in my occupation in my country.

To citizenship in my country.

As visitors only to my country.

Would exclude from my country.

In 1926 Bogardus received nationwide responses from 1725 subjects at 24 different colleges. The results showed that the most accepted third of the 30 target groups were of north European origins, indicating that college students felt the least social distance toward these groups. This result was predictable, since the large majority of the respondents themselves had north European hereditary background. The middle third was composed of groups with south and east European backgrounds. The groups in the bottom third were those of Asiatic, Black, and Mexican lineage.

Since 1926, variations of Bogardus' original scale have been used to research other aspects of social distance. Triandis and Triandis (1960) observed that the original scale included groups that are distinguished by their race, religion, and nationality, or a combination. Furthermore, many of the groups are largely represented

in a particular socio-economic class. Triandis and Triandis wanted to separate these variables to find which of the factors--race, religion, nationality, or occupation--is the main determinant of social distance.

In order to do this the social distance targets in the Triandis' study were described as having one trait from each of the four following groups:

race: Black or White

nationality: north European (Swedish, French, or English)

or south or east European (Portuguese or Greek)

religion: same religion as subject or different religion

occupation: high prestige (physician, banker, civil engineer)

or low prestige (truck driver, coal miner, unskilled worker)

Subjects were asked to indicate their acceptance or rejection of the target according to 14 items of varying social distance, from "I would accept this person as an intimate friend" to "I would be willing to participate in the lynching of this person."

The results of this study, conducted at a predominantly White college in the United States, indicated that race was the most important determinant of social distance.

Cross-cultural research has shown that the phenomenon of outgroup rejection observed in these social distance studies is not unique to the United States. Consistent findings have been obtained from studies conducted in Armenia, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Egypt, Ethiopia, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, India, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Lebanon, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan,

the Phillippines, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria, Tanzania, Thailand, Turkey, and Uganda (Ehrlich, 1973).

What does vary, however, is the characteristics that are chosen to classify socially distant groups. In their subsequent research, Triandis and Triandis (1965) used the method described above to study social distance in Germany, Japan, and Greece. Variation in the relative importance of the four categories is apparent from the data shown in Table 1. Different from the United States, race was not the strongest determinant of social distance in any of the other three countries. In Germany and Japan, the major determinant was occupation, and in Greece it was religion.

In their studies in the United States, Triandis and Triandis (1960) also considered social distance as a function of subject characteristics. Their findings indicated that Whites preferred more distance (were less inclined to interact with minority group individuals) than Blacks; lower class subjects were more distant than lower-middle class subjects who were more distant than upper-middle

	Race	Occupation	Religion	Nationality
	----	-----	-----	-----
United States	1	2	3	4
Germany	3	1	2	4
Japan	2	1	4	3
Greece	2	3	1	4

Table 1. Ranked Importance for Determining Social Distance

class subjects; Catholics were more distant than Protestants who were more distant than Jews; subjects with north European background were more distant than those with a south or east European background; and women were more distant than men. In order to summarize these findings, the researchers suggested that the more marginal a person's standing in society (e.g. Blacks and Jews) the less distance he/she will feel toward outgroups. Also, the more traditional a person is, the more distance he/she will feel toward outgroups. A corrolary to this conclusion is that women are more traditional than men.

Bogardus (1967) himself continued to use his original social distance scale for 40 years. Every 10 years (skipping 1936) he distributed his scale to about 2000 subjects. (Precisely, he received responses from 1,725, 1,950, 2,053, and 2,605 respondents in 1926, 1946, 1956, and 1966, respectively.) This research reveals some interesting trends in the United States over a large part of this century.

The results over a 40-year span show that the rank order of the 30 groups remained relatively stable, except for some fluctuations at times of world-wide political strife. For example, the ranks of the Germans and Japanese dropped in 1946, but these groups regained their previous positions by 1956. The rank of the Russians dropped in 1956, and remained low in 1966.

Although ranks remained constant, the results do show a steady decrease in social distance over a 40 year period. The greatest change occurred with the bottom third of the target groups. That is, more respondents were more accepting of the Black, Asian, and Mexican

groups.

As Triandis and Triandis observed, women were consistently more distant than men. However, over the 40 year period the gap became continually smaller.

Bogardus' conclusion is that social relations in the United States are on the whole improving. "While the improvement takes place slowly and is greatly hindered by antiracial happenings, it is a social movement toward a recognition of the unity of the human race" (1967, p.39).

In 1933, Katz and Braly introduced another line of research related to racial prejudice. They felt that the phenomenon of social distance toward different groups may reflect attitudes toward race names, rather than reactions to individual members of each group. In order to study this idea, Katz and Braly had Princeton undergraduates select traits to characterize ten racial and national groups. Another group rated the traits. From these data, Katz and Braly could study the uniformity of the characterization of each group and, from the ratings of the traits selected, the groups could be ranked according to the favorableness of the characterizations.

The results of the study indicated that there was considerable agreement on the characteristics attributed to the different groups. Since some of the groups were foreign to most of the subjects, the attributions could not have been based on contact or direct knowledge. Rather, the stereotypes were somehow transmitted through the society--word of mouth, books, films, and, today, television.

Since the characterizations of the groups were uniform,

obviously the ranking of the groups were uniform among the subjects as well. Furthermore, the rankings also agreed with the results from Bogardus' social distance studies.

Subsequent work on stereotypes using Katz and Braly's methods has displayed a trend similar to that revealed by Bogardus' longitudinal studies of social distance. The trend observed in the stereotype studies is one toward less disparaging characterizations of certain groups.

Gilbert (1951) repeated the Katz and Braly experiment at Princeton and found that the uniformity in verbal stereotyping was considerably reduced, as was the use of unfavorable traits to describe the groups. Furthermore, many of the students expressed irritation at being asked to make generalizations. This kind of resistance had not been encountered by Katz and Braly.

Gilbert suggested that the change in Princeton students' responses from those given 15 years earlier could be attributed to three factors: entertainment and communications media were curtailing and discouraging traditional patterns of stereotyping; students were now more interested in the social sciences and, as a consequence, were more sophisticated about making ethnic generalizations; and the composition of Princeton's student population had changed from a well-to-do ingroup to one that was more representative of a cross-section of the population of this country. That is, the subject population had changed.

In 1967, Karlins, Coffman, and Walters again repeated the Katz and Braly study at Princeton. As Gilbert found, some of the subjects

were reluctant to perform the task of making generalizations about groups. Yet, Karlins et al found that stereotype uniformity had increased since 1951 for every group except Blacks.

When considering the ratings of the stereotypes over the 34 year period, trends closely paralleled Bogardus' findings regarding social distance. The favorableness of the stereotypes of Germans and Japanese dropped in 1951 and rose again in 1967. The stereotypes of Jews and Chinese rose in favorableness in each study, and the stereotype of Blacks rose from being unfavorable in 1933 to neutral in 1967.

The only stereotype that dropped in favorableness in 1967 was that of Americans. In 1933 and 1951, Americans ranked highest in terms of the favorableness of stereotypes. In 1967, Japanese, Germans, Jews, and English were assigned more favorable traits than Americans.

In order to check Gilbert's hypothesis that the differences in responses is partially attributable to a change in the demographics of the respondents, Karlins et al divided their subject population into two groups--those who went to prep schools, and those who went to public high schools. Presumably, the group that went to prep school was culturally more similar to Princeton's 1933 student population. The results indicated, however, that there was no difference between the responses of the two groups.

An experiment conducted by Sigall and Page (1971) gives us a clue as to how deep-seated the new liberal attitudes were. Their experiment was a stereotyping study similar to the Katz and Braly

method, but it introduced a technique referred to as the bogus pipeline. This technique involves hooking subjects to an electromyograph (EMG), a bogus machine that was described to the subjects as the newest version of a lie detector. Subjects were instructed to report verbally the response that they believed the EMG was indicating. The experimenters felt that subjects would respond more truthfully under this condition, than if they were asked to mark their responses with paper and pencil.

Sigall and Page used a 2x2 factorial design for their experiment. Of 60 male subjects, 30 were told to indicate how characteristic each of a series of traits was of Americans; 30 were told to do the same for Blacks. Half of each group was given the task under the EMG condition; half performed the task with paper and pencil.

The results indicated that some trait attributions were unaffected by the measurement technique. For example, Americans were described as practical and materialistic, and Blacks as musical, in both conditions. However, traits that are more affect laden displayed an interaction. Table 2 illustrates this effect for two traits--honest and lazy. (A rating less than 0 indicates that the trait is not characteristic; a rating greater than 0 indicates that it is characteristic of the group.) As can be seen, the characterization of Americans under the EMG condition is more favorable than under the paper-and-pencil condition, while the characterization of Blacks is less favorable.

Although the bogus pipeline technique was developed to get more

	"honest"		"lazy"	
	paper and pencil	EMG	paper and pencil	EMG
American	-.27	.60	-.60	-.80
Black	.67	-.33	-.73	.60

Table 2. Interaction Effect of Trait Attribution to
Americans and Blacks

honested responses from subjects, Jones and Sigall (1971) suggested that perhaps other factors were responsible for the effect observed above. They considered that in a liberal atmosphere, it might be better to admit to being bigoted and have it shown that you are fairly tolerant, than vice versa. Thus, under the EMG condition, subjects were likely to present themselves as more bigoted than they actually felt they were.

Another possibility that Jones and Sigall suggested is that subjects assumed that in a paper-and-pencil test they should respond according to their cognitive beliefs, whereas the description of the EMG indicated that it tests affective responses. Thus, acknowledging the differences between their cognitive and affective responses, subjects were responding honestly under both conditions.

Summary

In this study, I address ethnic identification and attitudes toward outgroups. Specifically, I question the conclusion of the social comparison theory--that the mere awareness of group distinctions causes hostility and discrimination--in their application to current ethnic relations in the United States.

Since the founding of the United States until the last few decades, the dominant mode of interethnic relations has been that of Anglo-conformity. That is, the route to higher socio-economic status and the ideal presented to minority ethnic groups was to assimilate into the White, northern European-based culture. In the 1960's, however, many people began to reject this ideal. Minority groups, starting with Blacks, began to emphasize the positive characteristics of their own groups separate from the dominant group. A new concept--that of cultural pluralism--was proposed as a popular ideal.

This dissertation addresses, in effect, whether cultural pluralism is possible. Can individuals feel strongly identified with their own cultural groups and, at the same time, be open to the other groups that make up our society?

In order to address this question, I have surveyed over 400 undergraduate students at the University of Massachusetts in a two-phase study. The survey addresses questions concerning subjects' own ethnic identifications and their attitudes toward other ethnic groups. Attitudes toward outgroups are measured using variations of

scales used by social psychologists since the 1920's to assess social distance and stereotyping. Another scale that assesses subjects' attribution of minority groups' low socio-economic status either to injustices in our society or to traits inherent to the minority groups is also used as a measure of attitudes toward outgroups.

Strong correlations between the measures of attitudes toward outgroups and the ethnic identification measure would lend support to Tajfel's theory. Tajfel's social comparison theory would lead us to predict that those subjects who more strongly identify with their own ethnic groups would more readily reject outgroup individuals. Specifically, according to the theory we would expect strongly ethnically identified subjects to reject individuals of other ethnic groups from their social relations, hold more negative stereotypes of racial minority groups, and tend to attribute the low socio-economic status of Blacks in this country to characteristics inherent to Blacks rather than to social injustice.

Low correlations would lead us to believe that ingroup attraction and outgroup rejection are two separate constructs. Such findings would suggest that, as Gordon Allport proposed, we should look toward factors other than mere group belongingness for causes of intolerance.

The survey questionnaires that I distributed also address societal norms, personality variables, conservatism, and attitudes toward different theories of interethnic relations in order to determine which of these variables indicate the underlying dynamics behind subjects' responses.

C H A P T E R I I

METHOD AND RESULTS

Questionnaire Description

Data were collected in two phases at the University of Massachusetts during the 1984-1985 academic year. In the fall, 116 undergraduate psychology students responded to questionnaires (see Appendix A) in exchange for one or two experimental credits. These data were used as a pilot to determine which measures to include in the second questionnaire. (See Appendix B.) During the spring, 291 undergraduate psychology students answered the second questionnaire, again in exchange for experimental credit. Of these 291 subjects, 20 were randomly selected from 65 volunteers to return for interviews.

Phase I

The major portion of the first questionnaire consisted of three parts. The first part obtained demographic information, including the racial, ethnic, and religious groups to which the subject belongs and a measure of how important each of these groups is to the subject's personal identity.

The second part was a variation of Bogardus' social distance questionnaire which I constructed. Items were chosen so that they pertain to the subjects' lives at the University of Massachusetts, e.g. "I would be willing to share a room in the dorm with this

person." The target groups were Whites, Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, Irish, Italians, Jews, and Native Americans. Subjects responded with a check indicating agreement, or left a blank indicating disagreement.

The third part of the questionnaire consisted of a list of 38 statements concerning prejudice, ethnicity, and group interaction to which subjects indicated whether they agree or disagree using a 5-point scale. This section included statements such as:

I don't see anything wrong with ethnic jokes.

Most minority groups are getting too pushy these days.

It is important to have a strong sense of one's ethnic background.

If someone doesn't want to date outside of his/her own group, that person must be racist.

In addition to the main questionnaire, 40 subjects were given an additional task. Twenty subjects were presented with a set of scenarios describing two people of different ethnic backgrounds who are considering dating or rooming together; these subjects were asked to state the thoughts and concerns that the people in the scenarios might have. The other 20 subjects were given a Katz-and-Braly type task, listing traits that people (not necessarily the subject) often think characterize different racial and ethnic groups. These tasks were given to the subjects after the demographics and before the social distance part of the questionnaire.

Phase II

The second questionnaire also first obtained demographic

information and a measure of how important each group is to the subject's personal identity.

Social distance measures were obtained in the second section from 21 items in the format of a 7-point bipolar scale. The target group for all non-Black subjects was Blacks; the target groups for Black subjects was Whites. In this section, measures of social norms were also obtained from items formatted as a 7-point bipolar scale.

In the third section, subjects were asked to identify traits that characterize Whites, Blacks, Asians, and Hispanics. They were also asked to evaluate the favorableness of each trait.

The fourth section consisted of 96 Likert-type items concerning ethnicity, conservatism, and individual personality variables.

Finally, subjects were asked to rate three theories concerning how groups fit into American society--assimilation, melting pot, and cultural pluralism.

Demographics

Table 3 displays the demographic breakdown of the subject populations in the two data collection periods. (The first data set was collected in the fall of 1984; the second set was collected in the spring of 1985.) The number of subjects in each period was 116 and 291 in the fall and spring, respectively. In both groups, the female to male ratio was about 2 to 1. Also in both groups about 95% of the subjects were White. The distributions of the minority races differed

	FALL SUBJECT POPULATION	SPRING SUBJECT POPULATION
	-----	-----
Number of subjects	116	291
Males	41(36%)	102(35%)
Females	75(64%)	189(65%)
Whites	109(94%)	279(96%)
Blacks	3(2%)	2(.5%)
Asians	0(0%)	6(2%)
Hispanics	6(4%)	4(1.5%)
Catholics	52(45%)	128(44%)
Jews	32(28%)	50(17%)
Protestants	15(13%)	51(18%)

Table 3. Demographic Breakdown

between the fall and spring studies. However, the numbers were too small to be considered in the statistical analyses in any case.

In both the fall and the spring, about 45% of the subjects were Catholic. From fall to spring, the percentage of Jewish subjects decreased from 28% to 17% while the percentage of Protestant subjects rose from 13% to 18%. I do not have an explanation for this change in the subject population.

This subject population is somewhat skewed from the total undergraduate population at the University of Massachusetts. Of the total population, 51% are male and 49% are female; 92% are White, 4% are Black, 2% are Asian, and 1% are Hispanic; 49% are Catholic, 13% are Jewish, and 18% are Protestant.

Measures of Attitudes Toward Outgroups

Social Distance

For the fall study subjects were given 14 social distance items to which they responded yes or no. Ten of the items indicated the subjects' willingness to allow a member of a target group into one's own group and four of the items indicated the subjects' willingness to enter a group of an ethnic background different from their own. These items are listed in Table 4. The target groups were Whites, Blacks, Asians, Hispanics, Jews, Irish, Italians, and Native Americans. (For the format of the questionnaire, see Appendix A.)

Since subjects were confused about the definition of Native American (many thought the term referred to native born U.S. citizens), this target group was immediately dropped from the analysis. The social distance ranks for the remaining 7 groups was as follows: Whites, Irish, Italians, Jews, Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians. The scores of Blacks, Hispanics and Asians were very close. (Correlations were above .75, $p < .001$.)

Since I wanted to consider the social distance of one group from members of outgroups, the bulk of the analysis from the fall data considers the responses of 109 White subjects to White, Black, Hispanic, and Asian targets. In Table 4, I have listed the percentage of respondents (total respondents, males, and females) who report that they would engage a member of the target group in each activity, or would participate with a group in which they would be a minority.

Among this group of respondents, the data are consistent with a

	White -----	Black -----	Hispanic -----	Asian -----
Individual targets:				
marry this person.	98 (100,97)	20 (32,14)	27 (34,23)	25 (34,20)
date this person seriously.	98 (97,98)	31 (40,26)	33 (42,29)	32 (40,27)
have sex with this person.	98 (100,97),	33 (50,24)	39 (66,24)	34 (55,23)
share a room with this person.	99 (100,99)	71 (74,70)	66 (68,64)	69 (68,69)
take this person to my parents' home.	100 (100,100)	72 (71,73)	72 (71,73)	75 (76,74)
have this person as an intimate friend.	100 (100,100)	79 (79,79)	77 (76,77)	73 (76,71)
spend an evening with this person.	100 (100,100)	86 (87,86)	82 (87,80)	81 (84,79)
go to the same party.	100 (100,100)	94 (97,93)	92 (95,90)	91 (92,90)
sit at the same table in the D.C.	100 (100,100)	96 (95,97)	94 (92,94)	93 (89,94)
sit in class next to this person.	99 (100,99)	98 (97,99)	96 (95,97)	95 (95,96)
Group targets:				
share a floor with these people.	99 (100,99)	55 (55,59),	51 (47,52)	50 (55,46)
go to a party with these people.	99 (100,99)	58 (55,60)	55 (55,55)	51 (55,48)
sit with these people in the D.C.	99 (100,99)	78 (71,82)	73 (68,75)	75 (71,77)
attend a class with these people.	99 (100,99)	85 (82,88)	84 (82,85)	83 (79,85)

Table 4. Percent of White Respondents Answering Affirmatively
Total
(Males, Females)

trend toward lowering social distance from different races. Selecting items from these data that correspond to Bogardus' items, the mean distance score is calculated to be about 2.2, compared to Bogardus' measure of 2.6 in 1966. (A score of 2.0 would mean that subjects were willing to accept the target as a close friend. A score of 3.0 would mean that subjects would not accept the target as a close friend, but would have him/her as a neighbor.) It should be noted, however, that Bogardus' sample included subjects from colleges in 25 states and was more likely to represent national trends whereas Amherst is generally found to be more liberal than the rest of the country.

A factor analysis on the 14 items brings to the fore what is hinted at in the data in Table 4--that is, the items cluster around three factors. The items concerning entering a group in which the subject would be a minority make up one factor. Items concerning intimacy with a member of the opposite sex (marriage, sex, and serious dating) are a second factor. (I am choosing to ignore the issue of homosexuality.) The third factor that resulted in the factor analysis contained the items regarding friendship, from being close friends to sitting in class together. (These last two factors are consistent with Triandis' [1967] research in which he found four factors. Triandis' other two factors were not represented in this questionnaire. They are what he refers to as positional acceptance--willingness to obey, ask an opinion of, depend upon, praise, admire, and the like--and categorical rejection--intention to exclude from one's neighborhood, not invite into one's club, avoid, and so on.)

The social distance scores from the spring data set were obtained from items in a different format. In order to provide a greater degree of variance, subjects were presented with 7-point scales (rather than a choice of yes or no) which appeared as follows:

I would___:___:___:___:___:___:___I would not

spend an evening with a Black person.

Since the fall data showed the scores for the three racial minority target groups were highly correlated, I chose just one target group, Blacks. (Black subjects were given questionnaires in which the target group was Whites. Since there were only two Black subjects, however, these data were not analyzed.)

The social distance items contained 13 of the 14 items used in the spring plus another 8 items. Six of the additional items were chosen to represent Triandis' factor of positional acceptance e.g. I would/would not have an academic advisor who was Black. Table 5 lists the mean score and standard deviation for each of the 21 social distance items. (A score of 1 means that the subject would perform the behavior without ambivalence; a score of 7 means that the subject definitely would not perform the behavior.)

In terms of comparing the fall and spring social distance scores, we must consider the change in format. Table 6 lists the cumulative frequencies of 13 social distance items from the spring data together with the percentage of affirmative responses to the corresponding item in the fall data. It is interesting to note that for the nine items that refer to an individual member of the outgroup, the percentage of people who responded with 1 or 2 (on a 7-point

<u>I would/I would not</u>	<u>MEAN</u>	<u>STD DEV</u>
marry a Black person.	4.6	2.2
seriously date a Black person.	4.2	2.2
have sex with a Black person.	3.9	2.3
casually date a Black person.	3.2	2.1
spend an evening with a Black person.	2.2	1.7
room with a Black person.	1.9	1.6
take a Black friend to my parents' home.	1.6	1.3
have a Black person as a close friend.	1.4	1.0
sit in class next to a Black person.	1.2	0.5
go to a party with a Black person.	1.3	0.8
have a Black person as a speaking acquaintance.	1.2	0.6
live on a dorm floor where everyone else was Black.	4.4	2.1
go to a party where everyone else was Black. ...	4.3	2.1
attend a class where everyone else was Black ..	3.4	2.0
sit at a table in the dining commons where everyone else was Black.	3.6	2.1
live on a dorm floor where the R.A. was Black.	1.3	0.7
take a class taught by a Black T.A.	1.2	0.6
take a class taught by a Black professor.	1.2	0.5
take a job where my boss was Black.	1.3	0.8
have an academic advisor who was Black.	1.3	0.7
go to a Black doctor.	1.8	1.4

Table 5. Mean Social Distance Scores (Spring Data)

scale) in the spring is nearly the same as those who responded affirmatively (not given the chance to express ambivalence) in the fall. For the other 4 items, however, those items that refer to entering a different group, more subjects responded negatively in the spring than in the fall. The difference in the response pattern is likely to be owing to a change in the questionnaire format and a change in the items themselves. In the Phase I questionnaire, subjects responded to entering a group in which they would be in the minority. Items in the Phase II questionnaire addressed entering a

	1	2	<u>Spring Cum %</u>			6	7	<u>Fall %</u>
			3	4	5			
Intimacy:								
marry	15	24	32	46	56	68	100	20
date seriously	19	30	39	52	62	75	100	31
have sex with	24	35	44	62	68	78	100	33
Friendship:								
share a room with	63	78	84	91	94	97	100	71
take to parents'	71	86	91	95	97	98	100	72
have as close friend	76	90	94	98	99	100	100	79
spend an evening with	53	71	80	90	93	95	100	86
go to a party with	83	94	97	99	99	100	100	94
sit in class next to	90	97	98	100	100	100	100	98
Group:								
share a dorm floor	11	24	36	49	63	77	100	57
go to a party with	13	24	36	49	64	81	100	58
attend a class with	27	43	54	69	81	90	100	85
eat in D.C. with	20	39	51	63	74	87	100	78

Table 6. Comparison of Fall and Spring Questionnaire Responses

group in which everyone else is Black.

A factor analysis on the 21 social distance items indicated four factors. Three of the factors corresponded to the same factors that were found in the fall data--intimacy, friendship, and entering a group. The fourth factor, containing only items that were not included in the fall questionnaire, corresponds to Triandis' positional factor.

Based on the factor analysis, I continued the analysis with four variables computed by summing individual items that loaded heavily on the factor. These variables were composed of the following items:

Intimacy--I would/would not
 marry a Black person.
 seriously date a Black person.
 have sex with a Black person.
 casually date a Black person.

Friendship--I would/would not
 have a Black person as a close friend.
 go to a party with a Black person.
 take a Black person to my parents' home.
 sit in class next to a Black person.

Group--I would/would not
 live on a dorm floor where everyone else was Black.
 go to a party where everyone else was Black.
 attend a class where everyone else was Black.
 sit at a table in the dining commons where everyone
 else was Black.

Position--I would/would not
 live on a dorm floor where the R.A. was Black.
 take a class taught by a Black T.A.
 take a class taught by a Black professor.
 take a job where my boss was Black.
 have an academic advisor who was Black.

Group Evaluation

In the fall questionnaire, I used the Katz and Braly method to obtain data concerning stereotypes. I presented 20 subjects with a list of traits and asked them to indicate which traits many people (not necessarily the subject) feel characterize the different groups. Then they were asked to mark the 5 traits that were most characteristic. As in the studies of 1951 and 1967, one subject refused to perform the task. Another two subjects said that they did not know how Asians are characterized. Table 7 lists the traits that were given by at least three of the respondents for the four racial groups.

Without performing a detailed analysis, we see that some of the traits appear frequently enough to indicate that there is still uniformity in stereotyping. Many of the traits listed here are the same ones that were listed in 1967, 1951, and even in 1933.

The characterization of Whites closely resembles the earlier characterization of Americans. (That is a statement about prejudice and stereotyping in itself.) As the Americans were in earlier studies, Whites are described as materialistic, conventional, intelligent, individualistic, and ambitious.

Blacks are still seen as musical, lazy, and talkative. However, perhaps as a result of the Black movement since 1967, Blacks are now also described as aggressive, radical, loud, and clannish.

Several of the traits that had been previously attributed to Blacks are now attributed to Hispanics--stupid, lazy, unreliable, talkative, and physically dirty.

The traits given to Asians combine some of those that had earlier been given to either Chinese or Japanese--conservative, loyal to family ties, intelligent, and reserved. The negative traits have been dropped for the Asian characterization.

For the spring questionnaire, I chose 24 of the 39 traits listed in Table 7 to continue the stereotype study. For each of the traits, subjects were asked to indicate which groups (Whites, Blacks, Asians, and Hispanics) are characterized by the trait. Later in the questionnaire subjects were asked to rate each trait according to whether they would be attracted as a friend to a person having that trait. The rating went from -2 (strongly negative) to 2 (strongly positive).

Table 8 lists the 24 traits according to the average ratings, from most negative to most positive. It shows the mean scores and standard deviations, and the percent of White subjects who indicated

<u>Whites (n=19)</u>	<u>Blacks (n=19)</u>	<u>Hispanics (n=19)</u>	<u>Asians (n=17)</u>
materialistic(9)	poor(11)	poor(12)	hard working(6)
conventional(7)	musical(10)	stupid(7)	quiet(5)
individualistic(5)	talkative(4)	lazy(5)	brilliant(4)
hard working(5)	lazy(4)	aggressive(4)	reserved(4)
intelligent(5)	promiscuous(3)	unreliable(3)	loyal to family ties(4)
conservative(4)	aggressive(3)	quick tempered(3)	intelligent(4)
ambitious(4)	radical(3)	talkative(3)	scientifically minded(4)
conceited(3)	loud(3)	deceitful(3)	conservative(4)
efficient(3)	clannish(3)	physically dirty(3)	efficient(3)
sophisticated(3)		militant(3)	
sexist(3)			

Table 7. Traits Assigned to Four Racial Groups and Their Frequencies of Appearance (Fall Data)

that the trait characterizes the group.

As in the fall study, several subjects refused to characterize different racial groups. Seven subjects (2.5%) left the page blank, and nine subjects (3%) checked every trait for every group. These data are included in the percentages in Table 8. In subsequent correlational analyses, however, these data are dropped.

The data from this questionnaire agree with the group characterizations from the fall. As in the fall, many of the subjects see Whites as materialistic, conventional, individualistic, hard working, and intelligent. Blacks are seen as aggressive, poor, musical, clannish, loud, and talkative. Hispanics are poor, talkative, loud, clannish, and quick tempered. Asians are hard working, quiet, scientifically minded, and intelligent. All three

	Evaluation		Percent of White Subjects Assigning Trait to:			
	Mean Rating	Std Dev	Whites	Blacks	Asians	Hispanics
deceitful	-1.84	.53	32	33	17	44
unreliable	-1.66	.57	20	30	16	50
physically dirty	-1.61	.62	7	19	17	46
conceited	-1.43	.76	74	32	11	25
lazy	-1.31	.79	25	37	16	48
quick tempered	-1.19	.75	42	51	16	69
militant	-1.16	.95	38	32	20	28
stupid	-1.13	.79	12	26	15	36
loud	-0.80	.92	41	66	9	62
clannish	-0.77	.89	33	61	38	61
materialistic	-0.53	1.02	94	38	19	31
poor	-0.30	.65	21	79	37	91
quiet	-0.03	.85	15	10	79	11
aggressive	0.04	1.21	65	68	18	54
reserved	0.25	.86	25	12	70	11
conventional	0.27	.86	78	24	38	20
scientifically minded	0.40	.87	67	18	58	12
talkative	0.80	.87	57	63	17	67
musical	0.97	.81	57	89	28	42
loyal to family ties	1.00	.83	50	65	69	70
individualistic	1.32	.96	67	43	40	29
ambitious	1.43	.75	84	41	53	25
hard working	1.54	.67	76	53	69	32
intelligent	1.56	.62	78	46	66	36

Table 8. Trait Evaluation and Percentage of White Subjects Who Assign the Traits to Each Group

minority groups are seen as being loyal to family ties.

Looking at the 12 negatively evaluated traits (considering quiet, evaluated at -0.03, to be neutral), over 40% of the subjects feel that Hispanics are characterized by 8 of them, Blacks are characterized by 4 of them, and Whites are characterized by 3 of them. The characterization of Asians does not reach 40% for any of these 12 traits.

Of the 10 positively evaluated traits (considering aggressive, evaluated at 0.04, to be neutral), the majority of respondents characterized Whites with 9 of them, Asians with 5, Blacks with 4, and Hispanics with 2. The only positive trait on which Whites scored lowest was "loyal to family ties."

For each subject I calculated four measures by summing the evaluations (from -2 to 2) of the traits that were checked for each group. (The average number of traits checked was 11.5, 10.2, 8.0, and 9.7 for Whites, Blacks, Asians, and Hispanics, respectively.) The means of the resulting measures were as follows:

Evaluation of Asians = 2.78 (s.d.=4.79)

Evaluation of Whites = 2.61 (s.d.=5.20)

Evaluation of Blacks = 1.22 (s.d.=5.87)

Evaluation of Hispanics = -1.75 (s.d.=5.83)

It is interesting to note that although Asians received the highest score in terms of evaluating group characteristics, the fall data indicated that subjects were no more inclined to interact with Asians than with Blacks or Hispanics.

Causal Attribution

The social distance and the group evaluation measures provide two different ways to consider attitudes toward outgroups. The spring study provided one additional measure for assessing attitudes toward minority groups. This measure addressed whether the condition of minority groups in our country is attributable to the state of our society or to traits that are inherent to members of the minority

group.

The causal attribution scale consists of 10 items which I devised. Two sample items are:

So many Blacks are poor because the structure of the society does not provide them with equal access to opportunities.

So many Blacks are poor because they don't work hard enough.

Subjects responded from 1--strongly disagree--to 5--strongly agree.

(For a list of the 10 items in the scale, see Appendix C.)

The scores of the 5 items attributing minority groups' conditions to society were reversed. Thus, in averaging the 10 items, a low score indicates attribution to society; a high score indicates attribution to the minority group itself. The alpha reliability test provided an alpha score of .658. The mean value for the causal attribution measure was 2.25 and the standard deviation was .51.

Comparison of Outgroup Attitude Measures

Pearson correlations were computed among the 4 social distance factors, the 4 group evaluation measures, and the causal attribution score. The results are shown in Table 9.

The directions of almost all of the correlations are as would be expected. Social distance factors correlate with each other positively. The positive correlations between social distance and evaluation of Whites as a group indicate that the greater the distance toward the outgroup, the more positively Whites evaluate themselves. The negative correlations between social distance and the evaluation

	SOCIAL DISTANCE				GROUP EVALUATIONS				Causal Attrib
	1 Intim	2 Friend	3 Group	4 Pos	5 White	6 Black	7 Asian	8 Hisp	
1	---	.30**	.48**	.21**	.30**	-.01	-.02	-.12*	.33**
2	---	.39**	.65**	.08	-.19**	-.08	-.19**	.25**
3		---	.27**	.14*	-.19**	-.08	-.25**	.30**
4			---	.08	-.11*	-.04	-.12*	.25**
5				---	.46**	.36**	.30**	.23**
6					---	.34**	.68**	-.13*
7						---	.43**	-.04
8							---	-.18*

**p<.001 *p<.05

Table 9. Correlations Between Measures of Attitudes Toward Outgroups

of other groups indicate the greater the distance, the more negative the evaluation of outgroups. The positive correlations between social distance and causal attribution means that the greater the distance, the more the subjects attribute the condition of minority groups to inherent characteristics of the group rather than to society.

We find the same consistency with the correlations between group evaluations and causal attributions. The causal attribution measure correlates positively with the evaluation of Whites and negatively with the evaluations of the minority groups.

The near-zero correlations between social distance and causal attribution with the Asian evaluation measure must be noted.

Apparently the positive evaluation of Asians is not associated with lower social distance or causal attribution. One might argue that stronger correlations are not necessarily expected, since the other items refer to other groups, specifically Blacks. However, as noted earlier, the fall study showed that social distance measures with Black, Hispanic, and Asian target groups were strongly correlated. Thus, we see that the willingness to describe an outgroup in positive terms does not necessarily indicate a desire to interact. Yet the willingness to describe an outgroup in negative terms is likely to indicate other behaviors. We see that the negative evaluation of Hispanics does correlate significantly with the social distance factors and with the causal attribution measure.

The data also show strong positive correlations between evaluations of Whites and evaluations of the minority groups. Considering the consistency of the rest of the correlations, this comes as somewhat of a surprise. It suggests that, in addition to ingroup-outgroup considerations, subjects who evaluate Whites more positively also evaluate the other groups more positively--perhaps a questionnaire response bias.

Although most of the correlations are in the expected direction, the low and variable magnitudes suggest that we are not dealing with a one-dimensional variable upon which subjects fall along a continuum. Subsequent analyses examine other variables that might distinguish the different outgroup attitude measures from each other.

Social Norms

The questionnaire distributed in the spring study included items used to measure social norms. Subjects were asked whether society, their parents, their friends, and they, themselves, approved or disapproved of interracial marriage, interracial dating, and interracial friendships. Subjects were also asked if their parents and friends would approve or disapprove if they, the subjects, were to marry, date, or room with a Black person. Responses were made on a 7-point scale where 1 indicates unambivalent approval and 7 indicates unambivalent disapproval. Means and standard deviations are displayed in Table 10.

The data show that subjects tend to believe that society at large is most disapproving, parents are less disapproving than society, and friends are less disapproving than parents. Thus subjects tend to perceive a trend toward more liberal attitudes on the part of college students.

Comparing the subjects' evaluation of parents' and friends' general attitudes and parents' and friends' attitudes toward the hypothetical behaviors of the subjects, we find that the means of the latter are consistently higher. This indicates that subjects expect parents and friends to be more disapproving of the subject's personally interacting with Blacks than they are of the idea of interracial interaction in general.

As the scores evaluating subjects' own attitudes are lower than scores evaluating their friends' attitudes, we might conclude that subjects see themselves as more liberal than their peer groups.

	MEAN ----	STD DEV -----
Our society in general approves/disapproves of:		
interracial marriage	5.6	1.1
interracial dating	5.0	1.2
interracial friendships	2.9	1.3
In principle, my parents generally approve/disapprove of:		
Interracial marriage	5.2	1.8
interracial dating	4.8	1.9
interracial friendships	2.3	1.5
In principle, most of my friends generally approve/disapprove of:		
interracial marriage	4.2	1.8
interracial dating	3.7	1.8
interracial friendships	1.8	1.1
In principle, I generally approve/disapprove of:		
interracial marriage	3.4	2.0
interracial dating	3.0	1.9
interracial friendships	1.4	0.9
My parents would approve/disapprove if I were to:		
marry a Black person	5.5	1.9
date a Black person	4.9	1.9
room with a Black person	2.6	1.7
Most of my friends would approve/dissapprove if I were to:		
marry a Black person	4.4	1.8
date a Black person	3.9	1.9
room with a Black person.	2.3	1.5

Table 10. Social Norms

However, since it is highly unlikely that this experiment attracted the most liberal individual of each group of friends, we cannot take this finding at face value. This result might be due to cognitive

factors--when presented with such items subjects think of their less liberal-minded friends--or it might be due to the influence of social desirability.

Table 11 shows the correlations between the attitudes of society, parents and friends, and subjects' indications of whether they personally would perform specific behaviors. (Since the items used to measure social norms referred to specific behaviors, the behavioral measures were also taken as the corresponding specific behavior rather than the composite factors.) The correlations between behaviors and the attitudes of parents and friends are all significant at $p < .001$.

Table 11 also lists the correlations between subjects' own attitudes toward interracial marriage, dating, and friendship in general and their indications of whether they would

	GENERAL ATTITUDES TOWARD INTERRACIAL RELATIONSHIPS				ATTITUDES SPECIFIC TO BEHAVIOR OF SUBJECT	
	society	parents	friends	self	parents	friends
I would/would not:						
marry	.12	.47*	.59*	.71*	.55*	.66*
seriously date	.17	.50*	.62*	.71*	.57*	.69*
casually date	.25*	.48*	.63*	.71*	.55*	.68*
room with	.10	.33*	.38*	.46*	.59*	.58*
take home	.15	.51*	.36*	.46*	.60*	.41*
have as close friend	.16	.46*	.40*	.55*	.52*	.39*
a Black person.						

* $p < .001$

Table 11. Social Norms Correlated with Behaviors

perform specific behaviors. Marrying and dating a Black person correlates more highly with general attitudes toward interracial marriage and dating than does having a Black person as a close friend with a general attitude toward interracial friendship.

Gender Differences

Consistent with the social distance literature of the past, the first results from the fall study show that women are more distant than men. Closer analysis revealed, however, that the only significant differences were found in the intimacy factor: I would marry this person, date this person seriously, and have sex with this person. In fact, a t-test showed that the two items--I would marry this person and I would seriously date this person--have only marginally significant differences. That the only very significant male-female difference ($p < .001$) pertains to the item "I would have sex with this person" suggests that the difference between men's and women's scores has more to do with different attitudes toward sex rather than different attitudes toward race.

Continuing with this line of questioning, t-tests were also run on the spring data set, checking the nine outgroup attitude measures. The results are shown in Table 12.

When examining the nine measures altogether, an interesting pattern emerges. Although not all of the differences are significant, women are more willing than men to interact with Blacks on all the social distance factors other than the intimacy factor. Furthermore, women characterized Whites, Blacks and Hispanics with more positive

	Male Mean	Female Mean	T-Score	Probability
Intimacy	3.48	4.22	-2.95	.003
Friendship	1.48	1.32	1.67	.095
Group	4.05	3.88	.77	.443
Position	1.36	1.20	1.94	.053
Whites	1.7	3.1	-2.10	.037
Blacks	-0.5	2.1	-3.63	.001
Asians	3.0	2.8	.32	.752
Hispanics	-2.8	-1.2	-2.12	.035
Causal Attribution	2.4	2.2	2.78	.006
Marriage	4.3	4.7	-1.70	.091
Serious dating	3.8	4.5	-2.20	.029
Having sex	2.9	4.4	-5.39	.000
Casual dating	2.9	3.3	-1.21	.110

Table 12. Gender Differences on Measures of Attitudes Toward Outgroups

traits and women have a stronger tendency than men to attribute the conditions of minority groups to society.

A clue to partial understanding of this phenomenon can be found with a scale I used to measure attitudes toward gender roles. The gender role scale consisted of 17 items addressing male and female roles in terms of careers, child rearing, household chores, and marital relationships. (Items were taken from a scale developed by Levinson and Huffman, 1955, and a scale developed by Castellano and Barbara Turner[1].) The following two items are examples from this scale:

Child rearing should be split evenly between mother and father.

It's wrong for a father to stay at home with the children while the mother goes to work.

(See Appendix C for the complete scale.)

The alpha reliability test provided an alpha score of .874. The mean score was 1.78 (on a rating from 1 to 5, where 1 indicates support of equal responsibilities and opportunities for men and women, and 5 indicates belief in traditional roles) and the standard deviation was .55.

When examining male and female scores on the gender-role measure separately we find that women have a mean score of 1.64 whereas men have a mean score of 2.05. The resulting t-value is 6.28, $p < .001$.

The correlation between the gender role measure and the causal attribution measure (subjects' attribution of unequal socio-economic status between racial groups) is .47 ($p < .001$). One way to understand this high correlation is to see the traditional gender roles as imposed by the society, leaving women in an inferior, minority position. To the extent that subjects scoring low on the gender role measure see gender roles in this way, they might transfer a similar understanding to society's treatment of racial minorities. Thus, especially women who have been sensitized to the power of social institutions and have been aware of their own victimization owing to sexism are more likely to be sensitive to the plight of racial minorities as well.

The gender role measure also correlates significantly with the four social distance measures, though the magnitude is lower. (Correlations are .29, .16, .28, and .29 with the intimacy, friendship, group, and position factors, respectively, $p < .001$.) Here a similar logic might apply. Those people who are ready to break away from traditional gender roles and want to see changes in the society

are also ready to break with traditional racial barriers.

Why is it that men, who score higher on the gender role measure (that is, prefer more traditional gender roles than women) are more open to intimate relationships with Blacks? I speculate that this has to do with the differences in the gender roles of traditional relationships. In traditional heterosexual relationships, the man has more overt power than the woman. Also in traditional race relations, Whites have had more overt power than Blacks. Thus, a White man who engages in an intimate relationship with a Black woman can maintain his roles as a man and as a White without contradiction. The roles of a White woman involved with a Black man, however, contradict each other. For this reason, White women would be more reluctant than White men to engage in intimate relationships with Blacks.

Ethnic Identification

Ethnic Identification Measure

The fall questionnaire contained three items related to strength of ethnic identification. The first item asked for a rating, on a scale from 1 to 9, of how important one's group is to one's personal identity. The other two items were Likert-style statements with which one could indicate agreement or disagreement on a scale of 1 to 5. The two items were:

It is important to have a strong sense of one's ethnic background.

When I have children, I will want them to identify with

their ethnic background.

An ethnic identification measure was obtained by summing the three items.

What I found in the analysis of the fall data was that strength of ethnic identification correlated with the intimacy social distance factor at .38 ($p < .001$), indicating that the more ethnically identified one is, the more socially distant. However, the correlations with the other social distance measures were only marginally significant. Specifically, ethnic identification correlated with the friendship factor at .15 and with the group factor at .17.

This finding led me to consider the possibility that the intimacy factor might be partially measuring a construct that is related to ethnic identification but is not related to the other social distance factors. When looking for a marriage partner, one might look for members in one's own group because of a desire to bring the traditions and values into one's family, rather than a rejection of outgroups. That is, high scores (greater distance) on the intimacy factor might result from positive feeling toward one's own ethnic group rather than negative feelings toward racial minorities. When the items relate to more casual contact, the strong feelings about one's own ethnic group do not interfere, and thus the lower correlations with the friendship and group factors.

In order to further investigate this question, I included an ethnic identification scale on the spring questionnaire. The scale consisted of nine items that convey positive statements about one's own ethnicity. For example:

The traditions of my ethnic background are meaningful to me.

I get a sense of belongingness from my ethnic group.

(See Appendix C for the complete scale.) The alpha reliability test gave an alpha coefficient of .86. The mean value was 3.17 and the standard deviation was .76.

In the first portion of the questionnaire, subjects were asked to identify the demographic groups to which they belong and to indicate on a scale from 1 to 9 how important each group is to their personal identity. The ratings of four categories of response significantly correlate with the ethnic identity scale as follows:

your family's religion: $r=.39$ ($p<.001$)

your religion: $r=.25$ ($p<.001$)

your race: $r=.25$ ($p<.001$)

your family's national background: $r=.30$ ($p<.001$)

Frequency of attendance at religious services correlates with the ethnic identification score at .24 ($p<.001$). A scale indicating orthodox interpretation of the Bible (Comrey and Newmeyer, 1965) correlates with ethnicity at .23 ($p<.001$). Thus, we see that ethnic identification is somewhat related to religious practices and beliefs but has more to do with the family's traditions and history.

A factor analysis on the 9 items of the ethnic identification scale indicated two separate factors. The items were grouped as follows:

Factor 1:

The traditions of my ethnic background are meaningful to me.

When I have children I will want them to identify with their ethnic background.

Sometimes I like to gather with a group that is only, or mainly, of my own ethnic background.

I get a sense of belongingness from my ethnic group.

The history of my ancestors is meaningful to me.

Factor 2:

I sometimes choose my friends because they are from my own ethnic background.

I like to date people of my own ethnic background.

I will marry someone of my own ethnic background.

I feel more comfortable with people from my own ethnic group.

The first factor largely addresses a sense of history and a respect for tradition, while the second factor has to do with social interactions. Note, however, that there is some overlap. Gathering with a group that is mainly of one's own ethnic background is part of the first factor. Also, although "I get a sense of belongingness from my ethnic group" loads more heavily on the first factor at .52, it also loads heavily on factor 2 at .46.

The two factors correlate at .47 ($p < .001$).

Ethnic Identification and Outgroup Attitude Measures

As I had with the fall data, I considered the relationship between strength of ethnic identification and attitudes toward outgroups by looking at the correlations of the ethnic identification measure with the social distance factors. The correlations exhibited a similar pattern as in the fall data. (See Table 13.)

<u>Ethnic Identification Measures</u>			
	Composite	Factor 1	Factor 2
Social Distance Factors:			
Intimacy	.39**	.36**	.31**
Friendship	.13*	.09	.15*
Group	.24**	.20**	.21**
Position	.14*	.07	.18**
Group Evaluations:			
Whites	.15*	.17*	.16*
Blacks	.02	.04	.03
Asians	.11*	.13*	.04
Hispanics	-.07	-.01	-.07
Causal Attribution	.22**	.14*	.25**
** p<.001, * p<.05			

Table 13. Correlations Between Ethnic Identification and
Attitude Measures

The correlations between ethnic identification and the intimacy and friendship factors are the same as in the earlier data set. The correlation with the group factor has risen. (Recall that the phrasing of the group items was changed in the second data set from being in a group in which the subject would be in the minority to being the only White in a group of Black people.)

Both of the ethnic identification factors correlate equally

strongly with the intimacy and group factors. Only the second factor, that having to do with preferring social interactions with members of one's own group, correlates with the friendship and position factors.

Ethnic identification marginally correlates with a positive evaluation of Whites as a group, and the first identification factor marginally correlates with positive evaluation of Asians. Otherwise, the evaluation measures do not correlate with ethnic identification.

Ethnic identification does correlate with the causal attribution measure. That is, the stronger the ethnic identification, the stronger the tendency to attribute low socio-economic status of Blacks to Blacks themselves rather than to the society.

In order to further investigate these relationships, I divided the subject population into two groups. Group 1, consisting of those subjects whose scores were greater than 3.5 on the ethnic identification measure, had 96 subjects. Group 2, consisting of those subjects whose scores were less than or equal to 3.0 on the ethnic identification measure, had 112 subjects. The demographic breakdown of the two groups is shown in Table 14.

In Table 15, I show the mean outgroup attitude scores of the two groups and the resulting t-values. The results from the t-test show that the two groups differ significantly on the intimacy factor, the group factor, and the causal attribution measure. Although these differences are significant, we must look at the mean scores to understand what is significant about them. The intimacy and group social distance measures fall on a scale from 1 to 7, where 4 indicates ambivalence. For both of these measures, the high

	<u>High Identity Group</u>	<u>Low Identity Group</u>
Number of Subjects	96	112
Males	27(28%)	39(35%)
Females	69(72%)	73(65%)
Protestants	19(20%)	18(16%)
Catholics	42(44%)	46(41%)
Jews	24(25%)	16(14%)
Agnostics	10(10%)	31(27%)
Upper class	3(3%)	3(3%)
Upper-middle	42(44%)	41(37%)
Middle-middle	42(44%)	51(45%)
Lower-middle	7(7%)	12(11%)
Upper-lower	2(2%)	3(3%)
Lower-lower	0	2(2%)

Table 14. Demographic Breakdown of High and Low Ethnic
Identification Groups

identification group scores higher than 4 and the low identification group scores lower than 4. Thus, the high identification group tends to be unwilling to perform the particular behaviors with Blacks, while the low identification group tends to be willing. The causal attribution measure falls on a scale from 1 to 5 where 1 indicates strong agreement with statements that attribute the condition of Blacks to society and strong disagreement with statements that attribute the condition of Blacks to characteristics of Black people

	High Ident Group Mean	Low Ident Group Mean	T-value	Probability
Social Distance:				
Intimacy	4.8	3.3	5.68	.001
Friendship	1.4	1.3	1.25	.211
Group	4.5	3.6	3.59	.001
Position	1.3	1.2	1.17	.244
Group Evaluation:				
Whites	3.8	1.9	2.54	.012
Blacks	1.5	.04	1.34	.181
Asians	3.4	2.4	1.48	.139
Hispanics	-1.9	-1.8	-.05	.959
Causal Attribution	2.3	2.1	3.25	.001

Table 15. Difference in Attitude Measures Between High and Low
Ethnic Identification Groups

themselves. A score of 5 indicates the reverse i.e. agreement with statements that attribute to Blacks and disagreement with statements that attribute to society. Both the high and the low identification groups score close to 2--agreeing with the attribution to society rather than to Blacks themselves.

Ethnic Identification and Personality Measures

In order to further investigate what might lie behind the differences between the high and low identification groups revealed in Table 15, I included some standard personality scales in the spring questionnaire. The four measures pertained to ambiguity intolerance (Budner, 1962), status concern (Kaufman, 1957), conformity (Webster et al 1955), and self esteem (unpublished revised Janis-Field scale as reported in Robinson and Shaver, 1976). (The scales are listed in Appendix C.) The ambiguity intolerance scale measures the extent to

which the subject wants to experience only one way to do things.

Items include:

What we are used to is always preferable to what is unfamiliar.

A good teacher is one who makes you wonder about your way of looking at things.

The status concern scale measures how important the subject feels ambition and social standing are in one's life. The following two items are samples from this scale:

Ambition is the most important factor in determining success in life.

It is worth considerable effort to assure one's self of a good name with the right kind of people.

The conformity scale measures how much the subject wants to adapt his or her own behavior to his or her group of friends and to society.

The scale includes items such as:

A person should adapt his ideas and his behavior to the group that happens to be with him at the time.

I would be uncomfortable in anything other than fairly conventional dress.

The self-esteem scale addresses how comfortable the subject feels in social situations and in class. Items include:

How often do you feel that you have handled yourself well at a social gathering?

How much do you worry about how well you get along with other people?

The Cronbach alpha scores for these measures were .50, .78, .43, and .89, respectively. The complete scales are listed in Appendix C.

Table 16 shows the correlations among the personality variables

	Ambiguity Intolerance -----	Status Concern -----	Conformity -----	Self- Esteem -----
Ambiguity Intolerance	---	.36**	.41**	-.11*
Status Concern	---	---	.34**	.06
Conformity	---	---	---	-.19**
Ethnic Identification	.15*	.31**	.24**	.02
Factor 1	.07	.26**	.18*	.03
Factor 2	.21**	.28**	.24**	.01

**p<.001 *p<.01

Table 16. Correlation of Personality and Ethnic Identification Measures

themselves and with the ethnic identity measures. Ethnic identification, particularly the second factor--having to do with a preference for socializing with people of one's own ethnic group--correlates positively with ambiguity intolerance, status concern, and conformity. The first factor--having to do with an appreciation of tradition, history and rituals--does not correlate with ambiguity intolerance.

In Table 17, t-values obtained by dividing the subjects into the high and low ethnic identification groups are shown. The t-test provides results that are consistent with the correlations in Table 16. The two groups differ significantly on the status concern and conformity measures, and marginally on the ambiguity intolerance measure.

For each of the two groups, defined according to their scores on

	High Ident Group Mean	Low Ident Group Mean	T-value	Probability
Ambiguity intolerance	2.6	2.5	2.11	.036
Status concern	3.3	2.9	5.10	.001
Conformity	3.1	2.6	3.24	.001
Self esteem	3.9	3.9	0.01	.990

Table 17. Differences Between High and Low Identification Groups
on Four Personality Measures

the ethnic identification measure, I then computed the correlations between the personality variables and the outgroup attitude measures. The results are found in Table 18. (For each personality-outgroup attitude correlation, there are two scores--one for the high identification group, and one for the low identification group.)

The status concern measure correlates positively and significantly with the intimacy factor, the group factor, and the causal attribution measure for both groups. Conformity correlates positively and significantly with all of the social distance measures for the high identification group only. (Taken as pairs, the only correlations that prove to be significantly different are the position-conformity correlations. However, the pattern found between the conformity and the social distance measures is consistent.) Thus, not only does the high identification group score higher on conformity, but conformity is expressed in terms of social distance.

	Ambiguity	Status		Self
	Intolerance	Concern	Conformity	Esteem
Intimacy	.29,.21	.34,.29	.27,.20	.00,.10
Friendship	.15,.10	.31,.18	.26,.10	-.02,-.06
Group	.12,.08	.32,.36	.33,.17	-.05,-.04
Position	.25,.09	.18,.08	.30,.03	-.16,-.02
White	.08,.14	.13,.20	.00,.15	.15,-.01
Black	-.04,.03	-.08,-.04	-.15,.04	.00,-.02
Asian	-.11,-.00	-.13,-.05	-.02,.09	.09,.01
Hispanic	-.11,-.09	-.16,-.21	-.15,-.12	-.06,.08
Causal				
Attribution	.36,.49	.44,.25	.15,.21	.11,-.08

$p < .001$ for $r > .29$, $p < .01$ for $r > .25$

Table 18. Personality Measures Correlated With Attitude Measures
(High Identification Group, Low Identification Group)

We might conjecture that members of the other group who also score high on the measure conform in behaviors other than those having to do with ethnic and racial boundaries.

Although most of the correlations with ambiguity intolerance are not significant, I would like to make one point concerning this measure. If ethnic and racial differences are not salient for an individual subject, then interracial interaction would not necessarily be a test for his/her tolerance for ambiguity. For the subject who is strongly identified with his/her ethnic background, interracial interaction is more likely to be such a test. The correlations in

Table 18 hint at this logic.

Ethnic Identification and Conservatism

The differences in attitudes toward outgroups, conformity, and status concern between the high and low ethnic identification groups might lead one to consider the high identification group to be generally more conservative. In order to investigate this possibility, I included in the questionnaire a scale to measure political conservatism (Stagner, 1936) and a scale to measure pacifism (Comrey and Newmeyer, 1965) in addition to the gender role measure. The correlation between ethnic identification and political conservatism is significant ($r=.18$, $p<.002$), but correlations between ethnic identification and the other two scales are not.

Ethnic Identification and Social Norms

The two personality measures on which the high and low identification groups differed most--status concern and conformity--have to do with concern for the attitudes and standards of one's own social group. This leads us back to the social norm measures discussed above. Now there are two questions to consider: (1) Are there differences between the two groups concerning how subjects rate the attitudes of society, parents, and friends? and (2) Are there indications that the high identification group is more influenced by those attitudes than the low identification group?

Table 19 addresses the first question. T-tests were run on the 18 social norm items and the results are shown here. The two groups

	High Ident Group Mean -----	Low Ident Group Mean -----	T-value -----	Probability -----
Our society in general approves/disapproves of:				
interracial marriage	5.6	5.6	-.23	.815
interracial dating	4.9	5.1	-.75	.454
interracial friendships	2.9	2.9	-.19	.847
In principle, my parents approve/disapprove of:				
interracial marriage	5.6	4.8	3.22	.001
interracial dating	5.2	4.5	2.86	.005
interracial friendships	2.4	2.3	.48	.633
In principle, my friends approve/disapprove of:				
interracial marriage	4.8	3.8	4.09	.001
interracial dating	4.2	3.4	3.44	.001
interracial friendships	2.0	1.8	.97	.335
In principle, I approve/disapprove of:				
interracial marriage	4.1	2.9	4.60	.001
interracial dating	3.6	2.5	3.95	.001
interracial friendships	1.6	1.4	1.43	.152
My parents would approve/disapprove if I were to:				
marry a Black person	5.9	5.0	3.37	.001
date a Black person	5.4	4.6	2.96	.003
room with a Black person	2.9	2.3	2.31	.022
My friends would approve/disapprove if I were to:				
marry a Black person	5.0	4.0	4.01	.001
date a Black person	4.5	3.4	4.31	.001
room with a Black person	2.6	2.0	2.91	.004

Table 19. Differences in Social Norms Between High and Low

Ethnic Identification Groups

tend to view general societal attitudes about evenly--disapproving of interracial marriage and dating, but approving of interracial friendships. The same pattern holds for subjects' views of parental attitudes as general principles and with respect to judgments of the subjects' behaviors. Although the parents of both groups disapprove of interracial marriage and dating, the parents of the high identification group are more disapproving, both in principle and with regard to the subject. The perceived attitudes of the friends of the two groups differ not so much in strength but on which side of ambivalence they fall. Whereas the friends of the high identification subjects tend to disapprove of interracial marriage and dating, friends of the low identification subjects approve.

	GENERAL ATTITUDES TOWARD INTERRACIAL RELATIONSHIPS				ATTITUDES SPECIFIC TO BEHAVIOR OF SUBJECT	
	-----				-----	
I would/would not	society	parents	friends	self	parents	friends
marry	.09,.21	.51,.37	.55,.54	.66,.73	.57,.54	.66,.62
seriously date	.16,.23	.55,.37	.58,.57	.67,.70	.61,.53	.67,.68
casually date	.30,.26	.51,.36	.62,.59	.69,.71	.63,.47	.72,.66
room with	.16,.02	.36,.21	.46,.27	.46,.39	.72,.36	.64,.51
take home	.19,.07	.44,.56	.39,.23	.46,.43	.60,.63	.45,.50
have as a close friend	.25,.04	.55,.35	.50,.28	.59,.50	.54,.47	.42,.37
p<.001 when r>.28, p<.01 when r>.22						

Table 20. Correlations Between Social Norms and Behaviors
(High Identification Group, Low Identification Group)

In answer to the second question, not only are the attitudes of the parents and friends of the high identification group more disapproving, but they are more influential as well, as demonstrated in the correlations in Table 20. We find that, almost across the board, the correlations of attitudes of parents and friends with subjects' behaviors are higher for the high identification group than the low identification group. This is consistent with the differences in the status concern and conformity measures.

Personality Measures Versus Ethnic Identification

In the last three sections we have investigated how the high and low ethnically identified groups differ on personality measures, measures of political conservatism, and social norms. The differences on these scores and the differences between the correlations of these scores with outgroups attitude measures have given us some indication of the different dynamics between the two groups.

There is yet another question to ask concerning these measures: to what extent is it the differences in personality traits or political conservatism rather than ethnic identification that accounts for the differences in attitudes toward outgroups? Another way to ask the question is, would a strongly identified individual who scored low on the ambiguity intolerance, status concern, conformity, and conservatism measures tend to look (with regard to outgroup attitudes) more like an individual who scored low on the ethnic identification scale and also scored low on the personality and conservatism scales or more like another strongly identified individual who scored high on

the other measures?

In order to address this question a regression analysis (see Table 21) was performed for the three attitude measures on which the high and low identification groups differed--the intimacy social distance factor, the group social distance factor, and the causal attribution measure. The personality and conservatism measures on

	F SCORE	SIGNIFICANCE	MULTIPLE R	R SQUARE
Intimacy:				
status concern	11.4	.001	.33	.11
conformity	6.6	.011	.39	.15
ambiguity intolerance	6.3	.012	.42	.17
political conservatism	7.5	.007	.45	.20
ethnic identification:				
factor 2	8.6	.004	.47	.23
factor 1	19.1	.001	.53	.28
Group Social Distance:				
status concern	17.9	.001	.33	.11
conformity	6.0	.015	.36	.13
ambiguity intolerance	0.0	.833	.36	.13
political conservatism	2.7	.102	.37	.14
ethnic identification:				
factor 2	5.0	.026	.40	.16
factor 1	1.4	.243	.40	.16
Causal Attribution:				
status concern	24.7	.001	.42	.18
conformity	0.4	.504	.44	.19
ambiguity intolerance	24.0	.001	.51	.26
political conservatism	41.4	.001	.61	.37
ethnic identification:				
factor 2	1.5	.217	.61	.37
factor 1	0.0	.939	.61	.37

Table 21. Regression Analysis of Outgroup Attitudes with Personality, Conservatism, and Ethnic Identification Measures

which the two groups differed--status concern, conformity, ambiguity intolerance, and political conservatism--were introduced as the independent variables in the first step. In the second step the two ethnic identification factors were added. In this way we could determine whether the ethnic identification measures significantly contributed as a source of the variance of the dependent variables.

What we do in fact find from the regression analyses is that the dependent variables are related to ethnic identification in very different ways. Ethnic identification does significantly contribute to the variance of the intimacy factor after the other four variables have been accounted for. For the group social distance factor, the second ethnic identification factor--preference for individuals of one's own ethnic group--makes a marginally significant contribution, while the first factor--reflecting the importance of tradition and belongingness--contributes not at all. (It is of interest to note that this factor includes the item, "Sometimes I like to gather with a group that is only, or mainly, of my own ethnic background.") Neither of the ethnic identification factors contributes to the variance of the causal attribution measure after status concern, conformity, ambiguity intolerance, and political conservatism have been considered.

Theories of Interethnic Relations

In the spring questionnaire, I presented subjects with three theories concerning how the large variety of ethnic groups in this country should fit into American society. The three theories were:

Assimilation: Ethnic groups should give up their own cultures and should take on the values and behaviors of the dominant group.

Melting pot: All groups should blend together, biologically (through intermarriage) and culturally, so that there will be a single, new American type.

Cultural pluralism: Ethnic groups should preserve their cultures and communities within the context of American citizenship and political and economic integration into American society.

Subjects were asked to indicate how favorably they view each of the three theories, where 1 indicates very unfavorably and 5 indicates very favorably. The mean scores for the three theories are 1.6 (s.d.=0.9), 2.8 (s.d.=1.2), and 4.1 (s.d.=0.9), respectively. Thus, most subjects view assimilation unfavorably and cultural pluralism favorably.

Considering the high and low ethnic identification groups separately (see Table 22) we see that the trends are the same for the two groups. However, the high identification group is more opposed to the melting pot theory and more in favor of cultural pluralism than is the low identification group.

In Table 23 are listed the correlations of the scores on the three interethnic relations theories with the personality and attitude measures. The significant negative correlations between the social

	High Ident Group Mean	Low Ident Group Mean	T-value	Probability
Assimilation	1.65	1.63	.16	.873
Melting Pot	2.54	2.98	-2.60	.010
Cultural Pluralism	4.24	3.88	2.71	.007

Table 22. Ratings of Theories of Interethnic Relations

distance factors and the rating of the melting pot theory is as would be expected. The negative correlation indicates that those subjects who positively evaluate the melting pot theory are inclined to interact with Blacks.

The significant correlations of assimilation with ambiguity intolerance and causal attribution also make sense. A person who scores high on ambiguity intolerance would not accept that other people could or should operate under a different set of values and would expect other people to become like the dominant group (presumably the group of the subject). Similarly, that person would not admit that the structure of our society precludes other groups from participating on an equal basis with the dominant group.

Some interesting differences are found when we look at the correlations for the high and low identification groups separately. (See Table 24.) First of all, we see that correlations between ambiguity intolerance and favorability of the three theories are different for the two groups. For the person who is not strongly

Assimilation Melting Pot Cultural Pluralism

Personality Variables:

ambiguity intolerance	.16*	-.03	.01
status concern	.10	.01	-.01
conformity	.06	-.10	0.01
self-esteem	.00	.11	.08

Social Distance

intimacy	.02	-.33**	.09
friendship	.13	-.13	-.02
group	.05	-.21**	-.01
position	.17*	-.15*	.13

Group Evaluations:

Whites	-.04	-.10	.09
Blacks	.03	.05	.01
Asians	-.10	.04	.02
Hispanics	-.03	-.02	.06
Causal Attribution	.21**	-.08	-.10

**p<.001, *p<.01

Table 23. Correlations with Ratings of Interethnic Relations Theories

ethnically identified, ambiguity intolerance would lead one to favor assimilation or melting pot--make everybody the same. For the ethnically identified person, ambiguity intolerance leads one to reject the melting pot and support cultural pluralism--keep the groups well defined. The same pattern is found with the conformity measure.

Not to go unnoticed are the correlations between group

Personality Variables:	Assimilation	Melting Pot	Cultural Pluralism
ambiguity intolerance	.04,.23	-.21,.19*	.17,-.01
status concern	.12,.08	.04,.04	-.10,.02
conformity	.03,.08	-.30,.11*	.12,-.08
self esteem	.09,-.08	.12,.04	.17,.12
Social Distance:			
intimacy	.05,-.03	-.43,-.22	.09,-.02
friendship	.07,.08	-.13,-.09	.04,-.07
group	.01,-.03	-.13,-.23	.02,-.03
position	.15,.08	-.15,-.16	.04,.02
Group Evaluations:			
Whites	-.28,-.00*	-.18,-.04	.08,.18
Blacks	-.11,.10	.03,.08	.03,.03
Asians	-.31,.02*	.02,.07	.01,.12
Hispanics	-.18,.08	-.09,.07	-.06,.11
Causal attribution	.06,.31*	-.07,-.04	-.14,-.10

*difference between the correlations is significant at $p < .05$.

For single correlations, $p < .001$ when $r > .28$, $p < .01$ when $r > .22$.

Table 24. Correlations with Ratings of Interethnic Relations Theories
(High Identification Group, Low Identification Group)

evaluations and the three theories. In Table 15 we saw that although the differences were not statistically significant, the high identification group consistently evaluated the racial groups more

positively (except for Hispanics where the groups were equal). In Table 24 we see that for the high identification group, the group evaluations consistently correlate negatively with support for the assimilation theory. A possible reading of these statistics is that the positive group evaluations indicate a respect for the differences between racial groups and a belief that these differences must not be eliminated through cultural assimilation.

CHAPTER III

DISCUSSION

Social Comparison Theory and Cultural Pluralism

When I conceived of this dissertation project, I sought to address the issue of ingroup attraction and outgroup rejection. Specifically, I was concerned with whether I could establish ingroup attraction and outgroup rejection as two separate phenomena. If one is strongly drawn to one's own group, what does that imply about one's attitudes and behaviors toward individuals who are not members of that group, or toward other groups in themselves, if anything?

The research of Henri Tajfel (1978) suggests that a person who identifies with one group will naturally tend to put down or discriminate against members of another group. Tajfel proposes that individuals define themselves by the group they belong to and, in order to enhance self-esteem, need to feel that their group is better than other groups. Thus, the very awareness of group distinctions will result in ingroup attraction and outgroup rejection as a single phenomenon.

Gordon Allport does not deny that intergroup hostility tends to dominate human relations. However, he considers the hostility a secondary phenomenon resulting from frustration, rejection, or laziness. At bottom, he believes, people long for peaceful relations with their fellow humans and, under the right conditions, can maintain

friendly attitudes toward others, regardless of the groups to which they belong.

I chose to consider this question in terms of the ethnic and racial groups relevant to the subjects of the study. (I had decided to take advantage of the subject pool in the psychology department at the University of Massachusetts.) To assess ingroup attraction, I asked subjects about their own ethnic identification. Thus, the particular ingroup differed from subject to subject. When subjects responded to items on the questionnaire, they could have been answering as Catholics, Jews, Protestants, Irish, Italians, Poles, Germans, or any number of other groups. Questionnaire items asked about the importance of one's ethnic values and traditions and one's attraction to members of one's own ethnic group, however one defined one's own ethnicity.

A factor analysis on the ethnic identification items indicated two separate factors. The first factor addressed the importance of ethnic values and traditions. The second factor addressed attraction to or comfort with individual members of one's own ethnic group.

I used 8 different measures to try to get at attitudes and behaviors toward outgroups. Since almost all of the subjects were White, I used racial minorities as the target groups for these measures. (I subsequently chose to analyze only the data from White subjects.) Six of the measures targeted Blacks; one targeted Asians; and one targeted Hispanics.

Seven of the measures were variations of traditional social psychological measures that have been used to assess attitudes toward

outgroups. Four of them were social distance measures, addressing how open a subject is to performing certain behaviors with individual Blacks and with a group of Blacks. There were 39 individual items which fell into four different factors--intimacy (marry, date, have sex with), friendship (go to a party with, have as a close friend or speaking acquaintance, take to parents' home), group (go to a party, live on a dorm floor, attend a class, or sit in the dining hall with a group of Black people where the subject would be the only White), and position (have as a boss, advisor, or teacher).

The other three traditional measures came out of the stereotype research initiated by Katz and Braly in the 1930's. Subjects were asked to check off a list of traits that characterize different racial groups. Subjects were later asked to evaluate the favorableness or unfavorableness of each of the traits. Measures were obtained for each racial group by summing the trait evaluations for the traits subjects felt characterize the group. In addition to three racial minorities--Blacks, Asians, and Hispanics--a fourth measure of this kind assessed subjects' evaluations of Whites as a group.

The eighth measure was obtained from a scale which I devised to assess causal attribution. The 10 items on the scale were statements that attribute the condition of Blacks in our country to Blacks themselves (e.g. they don't work hard enough, they're clannish, they're aggressive, etc.) or to the structure of our society (e.g. unequal access to opportunities, poor schools in Black neighborhoods, etc.).

Strong correlations between the eight measures of attitudes

toward outgroups and the ethnic identification measure would offer support for Tajfel's theory. That is, Tajfel's theory would lead us to predict that Whites who more strongly identify with their own ethnic groups will more readily reject Third World individuals from their social relations, will hold more negative stereotypes of racial minority groups, and will attribute the low socio-economic status of Blacks in this country to characteristics inherent to Blacks rather than social injustice.

Low correlations would lead us to believe that ingroup attraction and outgroup rejection are two separable constructs. Such findings would suggest that, as Gordon Allport proposed, we should look toward factors other than mere group belongingness for the causes of intolerance of outgroups.

Initially it seems that the analysis of the data that I collected from the undergraduate psychology students provide ambiguous results. The correlations and t-tests neither consistently support Tajfel's theory nor consistently indicate rejection of his theory.

First of all, the low correlations among the outgroup attitude measures indicate that they are not all measuring a single construct. The four separate social distance measures, the group evaluations, and the causal attribution measure might all be related to outgroup acceptance or rejection, but they are also each influenced by different variables. This statement is supported by the fact that an interaction effect results from looking at the male and female scores separately. That is, the different measures seem to reflect constructs other than outgroup acceptance/rejection for men and women.

Thus, also, when considering the relationship between ingroup attraction and outgroup rejection or tolerance, we must look at each measure separately.

In fact, we do find that the relationships of the ethnic identification measure to the different outgroup attitude measures differ. When the subjects were divided into high and low ethnic identification groups, t-tests showed that there were differences with respect to some measures, and not to others.

There were no differences between the two groups on the friendship and position social distance factors or on the group evaluation measures. The t-test did show significant differences on the remaining three measures: the intimacy and group social distance factors and the causal attribution measure. The low-identification group was more open to interacting with Blacks on these two social distance factors, and also tended to be stronger in attributing the low socio-economic status of Blacks to injustices in our society.

That the two groups differ on the intimacy factor is not difficult to understand. It is likely that many people who feel strongly about ethnic values and traditions will look for marriage partners who come from similar backgrounds. In such partnerships, it is more probable that values would be shared, traditions would be familiar, and conflicts around child rearing would be reduced.

In fact, these ideas were almost explicitly stated by some of the 20 subjects responding to the fall questionnaire who were presented with a set of scenarios concerning interethnic dating and rooming. Respondents were asked what they felt might be the thoughts

and concerns of the scenario subjects. Some of the responses included: "Would it be difficult to live with someone of an opposite ethnic background?" "Would the other person be comfortable with someone from such a different background?" "Will the other person try to push a different religion or a different set of beliefs on me?" "Would either of us be stigmatized by our own group?" "Will currently unconscious prejudices later come to the fore?" These responses indicate an awareness of the possible difficulties that would arise when trying to mesh different ethnic backgrounds at an intimate level, rather than rejection. The correlation between ethnic identification and the intimacy factor does not provide support for Tajfel's theory.

In order to better understand the different scores on the group social distance factor, let us first consider the differences on the conformity measure. That the high identification group scored higher on that measure indicates a greater concern for fitting in and being accepted by others. In fact, if the group that a person belongs to is important and meaningful to him/her, we would expect that person to be more concerned about fitting in, and vice versa. The concern for the opinion of others is consistent with the higher correlations between the attitudes of parents and friends and the behaviors of the subjects that was found among the subjects who are strongly ethnically identified.

If individuals are dependent upon and influenced by the opinions of others, then, as Festinger (1954) and Schachter (1959) have pointed out, they will choose to remain with a group that is like them. To find oneself as a minority among a group that makes different

assumptions and has different values and habits, would be especially threatening to one who values fitting in.

The discussion above addresses the group social distance scores of subjects who scored high on the ethnic identification and conformity measures. We might still ask about the group scores of subjects who scored high on ethnic identification and low on conformity. The distribution of scores do not allow me to compare group means, but a regression analysis did provide results that inform this question.

The two-step regression analysis used the group social distance measure as the dependent variable. Conformity, status concern, ambiguity intolerance, and conservatism were included as the independent variables in step one. Once these variables were accounted for, the two ethnic identification factors were added in step two. The analysis indicated that the factor that addresses preference for individuals of one's own ethnic group did contribute marginally as a source of variance to the group social distance factor. Inasmuch as both variables are measures of social distance (one for an ingroup and the other for an outgroup) this result is expected. However, the ethnic identification factor concerning the importance of ethnic traditions did not significantly contribute after the personality variables had been accounted for. (A rerun of the regression analysis with only the conformity measure included as the independent variable in step one, but with both ethnic identification factors in step two, provided the same results.)

To understand the different scores on the causal attribution

measure, I conjecture that the high identification group is more likely to identify with their immigrant ancestors. The history of White immigration into the United States has been a story of initial hardship and eventual achievement to middle class status. The experience of the families of these subjects might be that improvement of one's socio-economic standing depends upon hard work and ambition. In fact, the high identification group scored significantly higher on the status concern measure which included items such as, "An ambitious person can almost always achieve his goals," and "Ambition is the most important factor in determining success in life." That the causal attribution measure correlates strongly with the ambiguity intolerance measure suggests that subjects might not be able to distinguish between the experiences of their own families, which support the truth of the statements above, and the experiences of racial minorities. Thus, they would conclude that the poor conditions of racial minorities in this country must be due to their own failings.

This reasoning is consistent with the regression analysis that was performed with causal attribution as the dependent variable. For, once the variance resulting from status concern and ambiguity intolerance has been accounted for, neither of the two ethnic identification factors make a significant contribution. (In Chapter II, I reported the regression analysis that included four independent variables in step one. The same results were provided by the analysis using only the two variables, status concern and ambiguity intolerance, in step one.)

Whether the analysis of the causal attribution measure supports

Tajfel's theory or not is not immediately obvious. On the one hand, the reasoning or rationalization that I have projected onto the subjects involves a person comparing one's own group to another and concluding that one's own group is better. This is exactly what the theory states. On the other hand, the theory's claim is that such reasoning is inherent to the mere awareness of group differences, which is not supported by the data. The regression analysis has shown that the personality variables--status concern and ambiguity intolerance--are sufficient to account for the variance of the causal attribution scores independently of strength of ethnic identification.

Thus we find that although there are significant differences between the high and low ethnic identification groups on three of the outgroup attitude measures, the differences on two of them can be understood in terms of conformity, status concern, and ambiguity intolerance rather than ethnic identification in itself. The analysis of these data suggests that ethnic identification is a significant source of variance independently from the personality variables only for the intimacy social distance measure. Rather than to consider the relationship between ethnic identification and the intimacy factor to be evidence of outgroup rejection by strongly identified individuals, I suggest that this variable is an inappropriate measure of prejudice.

When subjects were asked directly about their preferred mode of interethnic relations at a theoretical level, their responses were not ambiguous. Subjects were presented with three theories of interethnic relations--assimilation, melting pot, and cultural pluralism. The overwhelming majority of subjects, both those who identify with their

ethnic groups and those who do not, rejected assimilation and supported cultural pluralism. Thus it seems that the subjects hold the belief, at least as a goal, that ethnic groups should maintain their different cultures and still participate fully in American society.

Trends of Outgroup Attitude Measures

The data that Bogardus (1967) collected over a 40 year period exhibited a constant trend of Whites lowering their social distance from other races. The data that I collected are consistent with this trend. Selecting items from these data that correspond to Bogardus' items, the mean distance score is calculated to be about 2.2, compared to Bogardus' measure of 2.6 in 1966. (A score of 2.0 means that a subject is willing to accept the target as a close friend. A score of 3.0 means that a subject would not accept the target as a close friend but would have him/her as a neighbor.) It must be noted, however, that Bogardus' sample included subjects from colleges in 25 states and was more likely to represent national trends whereas Amherst is generally found to be more liberal than the rest of the country.

My group evaluation data also exhibit consistency with the stereotype studies over the decades. As happened in other studies since 1951, over 5% of my subjects refused to describe different racial groups with a set of traits. Also consistent with

previous studies, among those who did perform the task the characterization of Asians was higher than the characterization of Whites, which was higher than the characterization of the other races. There is also a consistent movement in the evaluation of Blacks: the characterization of Blacks rose from unfavorable in 1933 to neutral in 1967 and to positive in 1985. However, Hispanics are still evaluated unfavorably and now have been assigned the traits that had been previously attributed to Blacks.

Limitations of the Measures

When interpreting any empirically based social scientific study, we must ask whether the measures we use actually do reflect the constructs we intend. In the previous chapter I discussed 16 measures that I obtained by distributing questionnaires to over 400 subjects. Although we should ask the question about each of the measures, I am especially concerned about the social distance measures.

In 1924 Robert Park presented the concept of social distance as "the grades and degrees of understanding which characterized personal and social relations generally" (p.339). Shortly afterwards, Bogardus (1925) developed a questionnaire to operationalize this construct. The items on Bogardus' social distance scale dealt with whether an individual from a target group would be permitted to enter the majority group--"my country," "my occupation," "my street," "my club," and, by implication, "my family."

Embedded in this construct of social distance we find the assumptions and attitudes of the researchers themselves. The scale assumes that individuals from minority groups want to join majority groups and it is up to them, minority individuals, to make the adjustments.

The scale does not consider interest or curiosity about other ethnic groups and does not ask about a subject's willingness to have a large number of minority group members enter the street or the club. Tolerance of individuals who desired to assimilate apparently was considered the highest degree of understanding with respect to interethnic relations.

At this time, and particularly in Amherst, Massachusetts, most of our subjects could answer "yes" to 6 of Bogardus' social distance items, and a large percentage would answer "yes" to all seven. Their responses would be frank and honest. Yet, do we now consider such responses to indicate the highest "grades and degrees of understanding" in dealings with people from other ethnic and racial groups? Tolerance of individuals is no longer sufficient. The change in the political climate has made this scale obsolete.

The minority groups themselves pointed out to us that many of our liberal attitudes, which we had thought reflected our generosity and belief in justice, were in actuality self-serving. Similarly, our social psychological scales, which we thought measured how prejudiced or open our subjects were, actually reflected our own prejudices. Perhaps under the current circumstances a measure of social distance should include the extent to which an individual supports minority

groups' obtaining power--political, economic, and social--and is willing to accomodate, perhaps even make sacrifices, in order to even out the power distribution in this country.

I do not have such a measure in this study. The measure that comes closest to this construct is the causal attribution measure. This measure addresses the unequal power and status of racial groups in this country and asks about the causal root of the inequality. Presumably those subjects who say that the situation is inherent to characteristics of the minority groups themselves will claim that the power distribution is as it should be. Those who believe that the cause is the structure of our society are more likely to be amenable to changes in the structure.

In the discussion above I have suggested that the social distance measures that we use are too mild. I have advocated, on the one hand, that one who is willing to admit a minority individual into one's own group may yet hold significant prejudices against the group as a whole. On the other hand, I also believe that we, as social scientists, might be too ready to label a subject prejudiced if he/she scores high (preferring distance) on our measures.

I have already discussed some of the confounding constructs that appear in the intimacy social distance factor (pp.57-58, pp.84-85). In some of the subjects' responses I also find evidence of a similar problem in the group social distance measure.

In the fall study, a subset of the respondents were presented with a scenario in which one person was invited to a party where everyone else would be of a different race. Subjects were asked to

state what they felt would be the thoughts and concerns of the people involved. Responses included: "We must be prepared for staring," "I might feel out of place," "Will I be accepted?" "I don't want to be a spectacle."

Most likely, these are among the concerns of anybody thinking about entering a group in which one would stand out as different. Subsequent responses to these thoughts will differ from person to person as will the motivations behind the responses.

I believe that subjects' responses to the group social distance items are still of interest to us as social scientists. However, we must take care not to immediately assume that we have a measure of prejudice.

E P I L O G U E

For the prologue of this dissertation I wrote a short story to consider the issue at hand--ethnic identification and attitudes toward outgroups--in the context of an individual's life. My intention was to provide an opportunity to reflect upon the question and the results of my empirical study from a different perspective. In the story we see a little girl named Nancy learning about rituals. Some of the rituals are shared by the rest of the community, while others are unique to her ethnic group. In either case, the rituals are felt by the little girl to be a special time for her family. Whether her neighbors are performing the same rituals is irrelevant.

Yet Nancy is also learning about differences--Jews and Catholics, Blacks and Whites. She is learning all of this in the context of a White, middle class, religiously mixed neighborhood where Black women come to clean houses and Black men pick up the garbage and the mail.

Differences in themselves do not bother Nancy. Her friend, Ann, goes to church; she does not. Yet we see in the story that the girl learns which differences make a difference, and the power they have.

Nancy learns that one significant difference between her and her friend pertains to how one behaves when an ambulance passes. Ann has learned that she should pray for the victim and make the sign of the cross to show her concern. Nancy learns that such behavior is inappropriate in her family. Yet, it is not merely the difference itself that is important. From her father's reaction to Nancy's

crossing herself, she learns that there is something frightening and painful--from a child's perspective, bad--about that difference. Where that badness lies--in herself, in Ann, or in her father--is unclear. The only information Nancy receives at that time is that it has to do with Vienna in 1938.

Even as Nancy learns about racial distinctions, it is not difference per se that prompts her to be hostile. The instances that lead her to "sass back" and call names are based in her fear--in fear of her own guilt after running into the street, which she knew was wrong. The sassing was used both as a distraction from her guilt and as a way to obtain power from the powerless position of a scolded child.

The power that the child discovers, however, is confusing, frightening, and far greater than anything she has previously experienced. She learns that with a word she can deeply hurt a strange adult man and can cause her parents' employee to threaten to quit.

The power that the little girl has comes neither from within herself nor from any inherent difference between herself and the mailman or the maid. The power comes from the structure of the society, a society which sanctions the behaviors that the girl exhibits. The mailman, who is much more knowledgeable about the structure of the society, knows the significance of the word "nigger" coming from the mouth of a White child, even if she does not. With the mailman's response, she is quick to learn.

Nancy's behaviors are not sanctioned by her parents. Her

parents' scolding, however, does not negate the power that the society has given her. She has got it, whether she wants it or not, and she will either use it, deny it, or confront it. Most likely, she will learn from her parents to believe in equality for Blacks and try to submerge her knowledge of her own power and the inequality that exists.

The subjects who participated in my dissertation research may or may not have had experiences that were as explicit as that of Nancy. However, it is not unreasonable to assume that, growing up in the United States in recent decades, the subjects did at some time, whether explicitly or subtly, experience the power differential between Blacks and Whites. Most likely they were also taught, as was Nancy, that prejudice is bad and that Blacks and Whites are equals.

The contradiction between the covert and overt messages presented by parents and the society at large is not openly discussed. Many of us, and most likely many of the subjects, learn to voice our belief in the equality of all groups and try to bury our knowledge of the power we have as Whites.

What the questionnaire data shows us is that the majority of the subjects believe that the appropriate questionnaire response is to indicate that they are open to interacting with Blacks. What we do not know is how many of these people would, or could, abuse the Black-White power differential under conditions of fear or powerlessness. Furthermore, on a more subtle level, we do not know whether those very subjects who state that they would befriend or date a Black person, or live on a dorm floor with a group of Blacks, would

actually avoid such situations in order not to confront the knowledge that is buried away.

I did learn from interviewing a subset of my subjects that, whether or not racial differences are still as powerful as in earlier decades, there are other groups that serve the same purpose, and discussion of differences with respect to these groups is not yet considered taboo. For example, let me describe to you my interview with Jill.

Jill's parents are both professors at a large state university on the East Coast and Jill went to school in a district with a large number of children of academics. Other than the university, however, Jill's district is mainly rural where most people are small farmers.

Jill learned from her parents and also from her own experience that racial prejudice is stupid and meaningless. At the university she saw that alongside White professors were also Blacks, Asians, and Hispanics. In fact, all of the people she knew who were not White were well-educated upper-middle class. In her school, the "people of color" were among the brightest and most popular students.

I was very struck by Jill's self-assurance and self-righteousness. She told me that everybody makes such a big deal out of nothing and that she was horrified to think that some of the subjects actually had to think about their responses to the questionnaire I had given them. Everybody should know, she told me, that the real difference is class.

Alongside Jill's self-righteous liberalism with respect to race, she held very strong class prejudices. With that same self-assurance,

she then proceeded to tell me all about "those hicks" that went to her school, the children of the farmers who weren't even interested in going to college.

Amy was another subject I interviewed. Amy came from a wealthy family and lived in a neighborhood of wealthy families. When Amy was in high school, her school became integrated by bussing in Black students from another neighborhood.

When I asked Amy about interracial relations at her school, she explained that at first there was some tension, but eventually students fell into groups that kept a respectful distance. She explained to me that the different life experiences of the two groups led them to different styles and different values. For example, she said, she and her friends from wealthy families thought it was cool to dress down. Overalls and T-shirts were the proper attire for the rich. The Black kids, however, had a different sense of aesthetic and liked to dress up--the girls in pretty dresses, the boys in fancy shirts. After all, they didn't have much money, and to spend their money on clothes gave them pleasure, Amy explained. My impression was that she wasn't being condescending, but was trying hard to understand where the differences in style came from.

Amy's effort to understand did not extend to all groups, however. A few minutes later she was telling me about her sister's complaints about American University. "All those Jewish girls from Long Island only care about clothes," she said.

Of the twenty subjects that I interviewed, I asked each one what he or she thought about the fact that there is a Black Affairs page in

the University of Massachusetts Collegian, that there are special groups in the Student Union for Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, etc., and that there are "awareness days" for specific racial groups. All of the subjects said that they didn't mind any of that. They felt that the members of the different groups got support from each other and that was good. The questions I asked addressed only various racial groups. However, without prompting, several of the subjects independently reported that although none of those groups bother them, they really don't like it that the gay community makes so much noise. "I don't care what they do in their beds, but don't make me look at it," I heard repeatedly.

Where are we now? I have conducted an empirical research study to address ethnic identification and outgroup tolerance. I found that, except for the expression of different personal choices in intimate relationships, strong ethnic identification does not in itself lead to outgroup rejection. In fact, the overwhelming majority of subjects from both groups choose cultural pluralism as the preferred mode of interethnic relations.

I have used a short story to put the results from this empirical study into a context. For, as much as we all want to be good people who are open to all individuals--as much as we enjoy the vision of cultural pluralism in which all people are free to maintain their own cultures and have their values and traditions respected--our society, and we, the individuals who make up this society, don't allow it. Power differentials are drawn along group boundaries and, whether we choose to or not, we act on them.

In the short story I tried to illustrate how we learn about group differences--the innocuousness of some differences and the power of others. From interviews with a subset of my questionnaire subjects, I learned that although they do not speak disparagingly of Blacks, their tolerance does not extend to all groups. They know of their power over the lower classes, Jews, or homosexuals, for example, and are not afraid to let it be known.

In light of the optimistic vision provided by the subjects' overwhelming support for cultural pluralism, I find it necessary to point out that we need not go far to find prejudice and hostility that are not always well hidden.

FOOTNOTES

1. Personal communication.

APPENDIX A

In order to insure confidentiality, please turn in your informed consent sheet before beginning the questionnaire.

1. What is your sex? ☐ male, ☐ female
2. Where did you attend high school? city: _____, state: _____
3. What dorm are you in? _____
4. What is your major? _____
5. What year are you in? _____
6. How old are you? _____
7. Considering your race, religion, and ethnic background, to which of the following groups do you belong? (You may check more than one group.)
☐ White ☐ Black ☐ Asian ☐ Hispanic ☐ Jew
☐ Irish ☐ Italian ☐ Native American ☐ Catholic
☐ Protestant ☐ Northern European ☐ Portuguese
☐ Other(s) _____
8. To the right of each of the groups you have checked, indicate with a scale from 1 to 10 how important belonging to that group is to your personal identity. (1-not at all, 10-extremely important)
9. Do you have a roommate? _____ If yes, to which of the above groups does your roommate(s) belong?
10. Other than your roommate, consider the three people at the University of Massachusetts with whom you spend the most time. To which of the above groups do they belong?
 - a)
 - b)
 - c)

Mark this chart with x's to indicate if you would be willing to participate in the following activities if the majority of the people there are members of the group at the head of each column. (When considering groups other than your own, you will be in the minority.)

<p>If I had my choice, I would be willing to:</p> <p>Go to a party with these people.</p> <p>Share a floor with these people.</p> <p>Attend a class with these people.</p> <p>Sit at the same table in the D.C.</p>	Whites
	Blacks
	Hispanics
	Asians
	Irish
	Italians
	Jews
	Native Americans

1-strongly disagree, 2-disagree, 3-not sure, 4-agree, 5-strongly agree

Use this scale to indicate whether you agree with the following statements with respect to the group at the head of each column.

Note: Mark this chart with numbers 1 through 5.

The University administration discriminates against this group.	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics	Asians	Irish	Italians	Jews	Native Americans
Some faculty members discriminate against this group.								
The student body in general discriminates against this group.								
A considerable portion of the student body discriminates against this group.								
Society at large discriminates against this group.								

1-strongly disagree, 2-disagree, 3-not sure, 4-agree, 5-strongly agree

Use this scale to indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements.

- ___1. I don't see anything wrong with ethnic jokes.
- ___2. If I hear an acquaintance use words like "nigger", "kyke", or "spic" about groups other than his own, I would not want to be his friend.
- ___3. People should stay among their own kind.
- ___4. A person's position in society reflects how hard that person has worked.
- ___5. Affirmative Action should be enforced to make up for past wrongs.
- ___6. When I see a mixed-race couple, I feel uncomfortable and don't know where to look.
- ___7. In this society we can't help but grow up with prejudiced attitudes.
- ___8. I feel uncomfortable when I find myself sitting on a bus next to someone of a different race.
- ___9. If resources are not equally distributed to different schools in a city, bussing should be enforced to correct the problem.
- ___10. When I go to the cafeteria to eat, I am likely to sit at a table where there is nobody of my race.
- ___11. People should never be judged by the group to which they belong.
- ___12. Graduate school admissions committees should know nothing about an applicant's race or ethnic background.
- ___13. Parents who discourage their children from interracial or inter-ethnic dating are prejudiced.
- ___14. I wouldn't take a job if my boss were of a different race than my own.

1-strongly disagree, 2-disagree, 3-not sure, 4-agree, 5-strongly agree

- ___15. If I saw a poster that had racist implications, I would tear it down.
- ___16. When I notice prejudiced attitudes in myself, I feel ashamed.
- ___17. If I am in an elevator alone with someone of a different race, I will make a special effort to be friendly.
- ___18. Jews have too much power in this society.
- ___19. It is important to me to celebrate holidays with my family.
- ___20. It's okay for minority group members to exclude members of the majority group.
- ___21. It is important to have a strong sense of one's ethnic background.
- ___22. When I see an athletic event, I tend to root for people of my own race.
- ___23. I have never thought of my group as being better than any other group.
- ___24. I feel more comfortable with people of my own race.
- ___25. When I go to a party, I wouldn't notice if anyone of a different race were present.
- ___26. So many Blacks are poor because they don't work hard enough.
- ___27. It is not polite to talk about race if someone of a different race is present.
- ___28. I don't hold any prejudiced attitudes.
- ___29. Most minority groups are getting too pushy these days.
- ___30. If someone doesn't want to date outside of his/her own group, that person must be racist.
- ___31. So many Hispanics are poor because they don't work hard enough.
- ___32. Prejudice and bigotry are wrong no matter who is doing it.
- ___33. I feel more comfortable with people of my own ethnic group.

1-strongly disagree, 2-disagree, 3-not sure, 4-agree, 5-strongly agree

- ___34. When I have children, I will want them to identify with their ethnic group.
- ___35. Bussing school children only creates problems.
- ___36. A person who decides to have an open mind will find no prejudiced attitudes in himself.
- ___37. The color of a person's skin tells you nothing about that person.
- ___38. Minority groups' anger against the dominant group is justified.

1. Judith Greenbaum and Joe Rodriguez met at a folk dancing workshop. Judith comes from a Jewish family and is quite sure that she wants to get married and raise a family that follows Jewish tradition. Joe's family immigrated from Puerto Rico. Joe says he doesn't have a religion, but his parents go to mass every Sunday. Judith and Joe had fun together at the workshop and decide to go to a movie together the following.

What might be Judith's thoughts and concerns?

What might be Joe's thoughts and concerns?

2. Pete Smith (who is Black) and John Martin (who is White) are on the football team together. John is looking for a place to live, and Pete's roommate just left school. Both of them have realized that John could move in with Pete, but they haven't discussed it yet.

What might be Pete's thoughts and concerns?

What might be John's thoughts and concerns?

3. Martha Jones grew up in a small town where everyone was White. It seemed that most of the people there, including her parents, didn't like people who were different from themselves. Tina Thomas, who is Black, works for the Black Affairs page of the Collegian. One day Martha and Tina happened to be sitting at the same table at the Campus Center coffee shop and started talking. They discovered that they had a lot in common and talked for three hours. It came up that they might enjoy rooming together the following year. They agreed that they should both think about it for a few days.

What might be Martha's thoughts and concerns?

What might be Tina's thoughts and concerns?

4. David Sampson (who is White) and Nancy Brown (who is Black) met each other in math class. They frequently get together outside of class to work on homework. One day Nancy invited David to a party. After thinking about it for a while, she decided to mention that he might be the only White person there.

What might be Nancy's thoughts and concerns?

What might be David's thoughts and concerns?

5. David Sampson (from the previous scenario) invited Nancy Brown to a party where almost everyone would be White.

What might be Nancy's thoughts and concerns?

What might be David's thoughts and concerns?

6. Every time Jason Lewis (who is Black) walks from his Latin class to his math class he notices a very pretty White student walking in the same direction. One day he starts talking to her and finds that she is very friendly. Jason decides that the next time he sees her he will ask her out.

What might be Jason's thoughts and concerns?

What might be the White student's thoughts and concerns?

7. Consider the same situation from the previous scenario, except that Jason is White and is attracted to a very pretty Black student.

What might be Jason's thoughts and concerns?

What might be the Black student's thoughts and concerns?

brilliant	unemotional	physically dirty
quiet	sensitive	tradition loving
conceited	stubborn	loyal to family ties
intelligent	progressive	scientifically minded
aggressive	imitative	pleasure loving
stupid	straight-forward	individualistic
honest	naive	good spouses
shrewd	jolly	drink too much
cowardly	militant	condescending
alert	musical	sportsmanlike
reserved	suspicious	good lovers
unreliable	quarrelsome	hard working
artistic	neat	extremely nationalistic
imaginative	evasive	spiritual
conservative	persistent	poor
disloyal	loud	
talkative	practical	
rude	superstitious	
kind	selfish	
impulsive	sophisticated	
deceitful	loud	
faithful	meditative	
cruel	quick tempered	
conventional	humorless	
efficient	grasping	
materialistic	suave	
promiscuous	boastful	
courteous	passionate	
radical	lazy	
clannish	sensual	
generous	greedy	
argumentative	extroverted	
sexist	revengeful	
ambitious	arrogant	
frivolous	methodical	
witty	ignorant	
suggestible	very religious	
sly	happy-go-lucky	

APPENDIX B

1. What is your sex? male , female ()
2. How old are you? ()
3. What is your family's religion? ()
4. What is your religion? ()
5. What is your race? ()
6. What is your family's national background? ()
7. Of what country are you a citizen? ()
8. What is your major? ()
9. What dorm (or other residence) are you in? ()
10. In what state did you grow up? ()
11. In what town or city did you grow up? ()
12. What is your favorite hobby? ()
13. To which socio-economic class does your family belong? (upper, upper-middle, middle-middle, lower-middle, upper-lower, lower-lower) ()
14. What is your father's occupation? ()
15. What is your mother's occupation? ()
16. Which college do you attend? ()
17. What is your political party affiliation? ()
18. Do you belong to any clubs, groups, or organizations related to your religion or ethnic background? If yes, what are they?

Go back over items 1 through 18 and in the parentheses following each item, indicate on a scale from 1 to 10 how important that item is to your personal identity. (10 means very important, and 1 means not at all important.)

19. Are there any other groups that have not been mentioned here that are important to your identity? If yes, what are they?

On the following pages you will find various statements to be judged according to the given scale. For example, if you are given the statement:

Our society in general

approves ____:____:____:____:____:____ disapproves

of men with long hair

you will decide if you think society approves, disapproves, or is neutral on this issue. If you think society strongly approves, place an x at the far left:

approves x:____:____:____:____:____ disapproves

If you think society approves, but not so strongly, place the x either here:

approves ____:x:____:____:____:____ disapproves

or here:

approves ____:____:x:____:____:____ disapproves

depending on how important you think the issue is to most people in this society.

Similarly, if you think that society in general disapproves of men with long hair, your response will be one of the following:

approves ____:____:____:____:____:x disapproves

approves ____:____:____:____:x:____ disapproves

approves ____:____:____:x:____:____ disapproves

depending on how strongly you think most people feel.

If you think society is neutral on this issue, your response will be as follows:

approves ____:____:____:x:____:____ disapproves

1. Our SOCIETY in general

- a) approves ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ disapproves
of interracial marriage.
- b) approves ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ disapproves
of interracial dating.
- c) approves ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ disapproves
or interracial friendships.

2. In principle, MY PARENTS generally

- a) approve ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ disapprove
of interracial marriage.
- b) approve ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ disapprove
of interracial dating.
- c) approve ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ disapprove
of interracial friendships.

3. In principle, most of my FRIENDS generally

- a) approve ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ disapprove
of interracial marriage.
- b) approve ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ disapprove
of interracial dating.
- c) approve ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ disapprove
of interracial friendships.

4. In principle, I generally

- a) approve ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ disapprove
of interracial marriage.
- b) approve ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ disapprove
of interracial dating.
- c) approve ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ disapprove
of interracial friendships.

5. My PARENTS would

- a) approve ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ disapprove
if I were to marry a Black person.
- b) approve ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ disapprove
if I were to date a Black person.
- c) approve ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ disapprove
if I were to room with a Black person.

6. Most of my FRIENDS would

- a) approve ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ disapprove
if I were to marry a Black person.
- b) approve ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ disapprove
if I were to date a Black person.
- c) approve ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ disapprove
if I were to room with a Black person.

7.

I would ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ I would not
marry a Black person.

8.

I would ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ I would not
seriously date a Black person.

9.

I would ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ I would not
have sex with a Black person.

10.

I would ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ I would not
spend an evening with a Black person.

11.

I would ____:____:____:____:____:____:____ I would not
casually date a Black person.

12.

I would ____:____:____:____:____:____ I would not
room with a Black person.

13.

I would ____:____:____:____:____:____ I would not
 take a Black friend to my parents' home.

14.

I would ____:____:____:____:____:____ I would not
 have a Black person as a close friend.

15.

I would ____:____:____:____:____:____ I would not
sit in class next to a Black person.

16.

I would ____:____:____:____:____:____ I would not
go to a party with a Black person.

17.

I would ____:____:____:____:____:____ I would not
 have a Black person as a speaking acquaintance.

18.

I would ____:____:____:____:____:____ I would not
live on a dorm floor where everyone else was Black.

19.

I would ____:____:____:____:____:____ I would not
go to a party where everyone else was Black.

20.

I would ____:____:____:____:____:____ I would not
attend a class where everyone else was Black.

21.

I would ____:____:____:____:____:____ I would not
sit at a table in the dining commons where everyone else was Black.

22.

I would ____:____:____:____:____:____ I would not
live on a dorm floor where the R.A. was Black.

23.

I would ____:____:____:____:____:____ I would not
take a class taught by a Black T.A.

24.

I would ____:____:____:____:____:____ I would not
take a class taught by a Black professor.

25.

I would ____:____:____:____:____:____ I would not
take a job where my boss was Black.

26.

I would ____:____:____:____:____:____ I would not
 have an academic advisor who was Black.

27.

I would ____:____:____:____:____:____ I would not
 go to a Black doctor.

Different cultures often have different characteristics. For example, some cultures value emotional expressiveness while others emphasize emotional reserve. For each of the following traits, place a check under those groups that you feel are characterized by the trait.

	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Asians</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
materialistic	_____	_____	_____	_____
poor	_____	_____	_____	_____
hard working	_____	_____	_____	_____
conventional	_____	_____	_____	_____
musical	_____	_____	_____	_____
stupid	_____	_____	_____	_____
quiet	_____	_____	_____	_____
individualistic	_____	_____	_____	_____
talkative	_____	_____	_____	_____
lazy	_____	_____	_____	_____
aggressive	_____	_____	_____	_____
reserved	_____	_____	_____	_____
intelligent	_____	_____	_____	_____
unreliable	_____	_____	_____	_____
loyal to family ties	_____	_____	_____	_____
quick tempered	_____	_____	_____	_____
ambitious	_____	_____	_____	_____
scientifically minded	_____	_____	_____	_____
conceited	_____	_____	_____	_____
loud	_____	_____	_____	_____
deceitful	_____	_____	_____	_____
clannish	_____	_____	_____	_____
physically dirty	_____	_____	_____	_____
militant	_____	_____	_____	_____

Indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements by circling the number that corresponds to your response. Use the following guidelines to choose your rating:

1-strongly disagree, 2-disagree, 3-not sure, 4-agree, 5-strongly agree

1. An expert who doesn't come up with a definite answer probably doesn't know too much.....1 2 3 4 5
2. So many Blacks are poor because they don't work hard enough..1 2 3 4 5
3. In order to merit the respect of others, a person should show the desire to better himself.....1 2 3 4 5
4. There is really no such thing as a problem that can't be solved.....1 2 3 4 5
5. Many minority groups are getting too pushy these days.....1 2 3 4 5
6. People who fit their lives to a schedule probable miss most of the joy of living.....1 2 3 4 5
7. I would be uncomfortable in anything other than fairly conventional dress.....1 2 3 4 5
8. I like parties where I know most of the people more than ones where all or most of the people are complete strangers.....1 2 3 4 5
9. Since Whites in power don't freely provide Blacks with equal opportunity, Blacks have to be assertive in demanding their rights.....1 2 3 4 5
10. I dislike people who are frequently blunt in their speech...1 2 3 4 5
11. An ambitious person can almost always achieve his goals.....1 2 3 4 5
12. A good job is one where what is to be done and how it is to be done is always clear.....1 2 3 4 5
13. So many Blacks are poor because the structure of the society does not provide them with equal access to opportunities.....1 2 3 4 5
14. I would like to live in a foreign country for a while.....1 2 3 4 5
15. It is worth considerable effort to assure oneself of a good name with the right kind of people.....1 2 3 4 5
16. A person should adapt his ideas and his behavior to the group that happens to be with him at the time.....1 2 3 4 5
17. Many minority groups have spoken out because society has been too slow to respond to their needs.....1 2 3 4 5
18. The sooner we all acquire similar values and ideals the better.....1 2 3 4 5

1-strongly disagree, 2-disagree, 3-not sure, 4-agree, 5-strongly agree

19. Before I do something I try to consider how my friends will react to it.....1 2 3 4 5
20. One of the things you should consider in choosing your friends is whether they can help you make your way in the world.1 2 3 4 5
21. I would be uncomfortable if I accidentally went to a formal party in street clothes.....1 2 3 4 5
22. If Blacks weren't so aggressive, more Whites would tend to be accepting of them.....1 2 3 4 5
23. In the long run it is possible to get more done by tackling small, simple problems rather than large and complicated ones...1 2 3 4 5
24. I like unconventional language.....1 2 3 4 5
25. The raising of one's social position is one of the more important goals in life.....1 2 3 4 5
26. So many Blacks are poor because they tend to be stupid.....1 2 3 4 5
27. What we are used to is always preferable to what is unfamiliar.....1 2 3 4 5
28. I dislike people who always follow the usual social conventions (manners, customs, etc.).....1 2 3 4 5
29. A person who leads an even, regular life in which few surprises or unexpected happenings arise, really has a lot to be grateful for.....1 2 3 4 5
30. A good teacher is one who makes you wonder about your way of looking at things.....1 2 3 4 5
31. The extent of one's ambition to better oneself is a pretty good indication of one's character.....1 2 3 4 5
32. The social life of this campus would be more integrated if Blacks were not so clannish.....1 2 3 4 5
33. It is more fun to tackle a complicated problem than to solve a simple one.....1 2 3 4 5
34. Ambition is the most important factor in determining success in life.....1 2 3 4 5
35. I would like to have children some day.....1 2 3 4 5
36. I plan to get married eventually.....1 2 3 4 5
37. I intend to have a career.....1 2 3 4 5

1-strongly disagree, 2-disagree, 3-not sure, 4-agree, 5-strongly agree

38. Blacks tend to group together in order to give each other support in a racist environment.....1 2 3 4 5
39. One should always try to live in a highly respectable residential area, even though it entails sacrifices.....1 2 3 4 5
40. Often the most interesting and stimulating people are those who don't mind being different and original.....1 2 3 4 5
41. It is a mother's responsibility to stay at home with her children.....1 2 3 4 5
42. Before joining any civic or political association, it is usually important to find out whether it has the backing of people who have achieved a respected social position.....1 2 3 4 5
43. People who insist upon a yes or no answer just don't know how complicated things really are.....1 2 3 4 5
44. So many Blacks are poor because the society has not provided good schools in Black neighborhoods.....1 2 3 4 5
45. Possession of proper social etiquette is usually the mark of a desirable person.....1 2 3 4 5
46. Many of our most important decisions are based upon insufficient information.....1 2 3 4 5
47. Any able-bodied man could get a job right now if he tried hard enough.....1 2 3 4 5
48. It is only fair for women to be paid less than men who do the same work because the man will be the bread winner.....1 2 3 4 5
49. The man in the family should be responsible for making decisions.....1 2 3 4 5
50. Teachers or supervisors who hand out vague assignments give a chance for one to show initiative and originality.....1 2 3 4 5
51. Every child should have religious instruction.....1 2 3 4 5
52. Even if a woman has the ability and the interest, she should not choose an occupation that would be difficult to combine with child rearing.....1 2 3 4 5
53. God exists, in the form in which the Bible describes him....1 2 3 4 5
54. The people who complain most about unemployment wouldn't take a job if you gave it to them.....1 2 3 4 5
55. Our country should prepare to employ every available weapon to destroy any major power that seriously attacks us.....1 2 3 4 5

1-strongly disagree, 2-disagree, 3-not sure, 4-agree, 5-strongly agree

56. It is as important for a woman to marry a man with a really good job as to have such a good job herself.....1 2 3 4 5
57. This country would be better off if religion had a greater influence in daily life.....1 2 3 4 5
58. People should not be allowed to vote unless they are educated and intelligent.....1 2 3 4 5
59. One of the most important things to a happy marriage is for the man to be somewhat more intelligent than the woman.....1 2 3 4 5
60. All people alive today are the descendents of Adam and Eve...1 2 3 4 5
61. Most people on relief are living in reasonable comfort.....1 2 3 4 5
62. School teachers should believe in God.....1 2 3 4 5
63. Under no circumstances should our country use nuclear bombs against anybody.....1 2 3 4 5
64. A man can make long-range plans for his life, but a woman has to take things as they come.....1 2 3 4 5
65. If the government hadn't meddled so much with business everything would have worked out all right.....1 2 3 4 5
66. If my country had been destroyed, I still would not push the button to wipe out the attacking enemy nation.....1 2 3 4 5
67. When both the husband and wife work, if career opportunities would take them to different cities, the couple should decide to follow the man's career.....1 2 3 4 5
68. Child rearing should be split evenly between mother and father.....1 2 3 4 5
69. It should be against the law to do anything which the Bible says is wrong.....1 2 3 4 5
70. It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves.....1 2 3 4 5
71. It's wrong for a father to stay at home with the children while the mother goes to work.....1 2 3 4 5
72. If we have unemployment, we should deport the excess workers back to their home countries.....1 2 3 4 5
73. This country should disarm regardless whether or not other countries do.....1 2 3 4 5
74. Moses got the ten commandments directly from God.....1 2 3 4 5

1-strongly disagree, 2-disagree, 3-not sure, 4-agree, 5-strongly agree

75. Household chores are mainly a woman's responsibility.....1 2 3 4 5
76. If the government must go deeper in debt to help people,
it could do so.....1 2 3 4 5
77. All the miracles described in the Bible really happened....1 2 3 4 5
78. Women do not perform as well as men at upper management
jobs.....1 2 3 4 5
79. Our country should be engaged constantly in research to
develop superior weapons for our national defense.....1 2 3 4 5
80. It goes against nature to place women in positions of
authority over men.....1 2 3 4 5
81. The government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat.1 2 3 4 5
82. Women should take an active interest in politics and
community problems as well as in their families.....1 2 3 4 5
83. I would rather have a foreign power take over our country
than start another world war to stop it.....1 2 3 4 5
84. The traditions of my ethnic background are meaningful to me.1 2 3 4 5
85. Women think less clearly than men and are more emotional....1 2 3 4 5
86. The average person today is getting less than his/her
rightful share of the nation's wealth.....1 2 3 4 5
87. I sometimes choose my friends because they are from my own
ethnic background.....1 2 3 4 5
88. Almost any woman is better off in the home than in a
job or profession.....1 2 3 4 5
89. Even today women live under unfair restrictions that
ought to be done away with.....1 2 3 4 5
90. I like to date people of my own ethnic background.....1 2 3 4 5
91. I will marry someone of my own ethnic background.....1 2 3 4 5
92. When I have children I will want them to identify with
their ethnic background.....1 2 3 4 5
93. I get a sense of belongingness from my ethnic group.....1 2 3 4 5
94. Sometimes I like to gather with a group that is only, or
mainly, of my own ethnic background.....1 2 3 4 5
95. The history of my ancestors is meaningful to me.....1 2 3 4 5
96. I feel more comfortable with people from my own ethnic
group.....1 2 3 4 5

Use the following rating to answer the questions:

- | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|--|-------|--------------------------|-----------|-----------------|---------------|
| | never | once in a
great while | sometimes | fairly
often | very
often |
| 1. How often do you have the feeling that there is <u>nothing</u> you can do well?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. When you have to talk in front of a class or a group of people your own age, how often are you afraid?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. How often do you feel confident about your abilities?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 4. How often do you worry about whether other people like to be with you?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 5. How often do you feel confident that some day the people you know will look up to you and respect you?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 6. How often do you feel sure of yourself when among strangers?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 7. When you speak in a class discussion, how often do you feel sure of yourself?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 8. How often do you feel self-conscious?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 9. How often are you troubled with shyness?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 10. How often are you confident that your success in your future job or career is assured?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 11. How often do you feel inferior to most of the people you know?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 12. How often do you feel that you are a successful person?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 13. How often do you feel comfortable when starting a conversation with people whom you don't know?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 14. Do you ever think that you are a worthless individual?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 15. When you talk in front of a class or a group of people your own age, how often are you pleased with your performance?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 16. How much do you worry about how well you get along with other people?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 17. How often do you feel that you dislike yourself?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 18. How often do you have the feeling that you can do everything well?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 19. Do you ever feel so discouraged with yourself that you wonder whether anything is worthwhile?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 20. How often do you feel that you have handled yourself well at a social gathering?..... | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

In this country composed of a large variety of ethnic groups, different theories have developed concerning how the groups should fit into American society. The three predominant theories are:

Assimilation: Ethnic groups should give up their own cultures and should take on the values and behaviors of the dominant group.

Melting pot: All groups should blend together, biologically (through intermarriage) and culturally, so that there will be a single, new American type.

Cultural pluralism: Ethnic groups should preserve their cultures and communities within the context of American citizenship and political and economic integration into American society.

Indicate on a scale of 1 to 5 how favorably you view each of the three theories.

1-very unfavorably, 2-unfavorably, 3-not sure, 4-favorably, 5-very favorably
___ assimilation, ___ melting pot, ___ cultural pluralism

Of these three theories, which do you think is likely to occur in the United States during the next 25 years? (check one)

___ assimilation, ___ melting pot, ___ cultural pluralism

For each of the following traits, indicate with a rating from -2 to 2 whether you would be attracted as a friend to a person having that trait. Use the following guidelines to choose your rating:

The trait is strongly positive.....2

The trait is somewhat positive.....1

The trait is irrelevant.....0

The trait is somewhat negative.....-1

The trait is strongly negative.....-2

materialistic ____	poor ____	hard working ____
conventional ____	musical ____	stupid ____
quiet ____	individualistic ____	talkative ____
lazy ____	aggressive ____	reserved ____
intelligent ____	unreliable ____	loyal to family ties ____
quick tempered ____	ambitious ____	conceited ____
scientifically minded ____		loud ____
deceitful ____	clannish ____	physically dirty ____
militant ____		

1. Which candidates did you support in the 1984 Presidential election?

☐ Reagan-Bush ☐ Mondale-Ferraro ☐ other ☐ none

2. How often did you attend religious services during the past two years?

(check one)

☐ once a week or more

☐ between once a week and once a month

☐ 1 to 10 times a year, beyond major holidays

☐ on major holidays only

☐ never

3. Have you ever experienced prejudice, discrimination, or hostility against you as a member of your ethnic or religious group? ☐ If yes, please explain.

4. If you have any comments about this questionnaire, please write them here.

APPENDIX C

Causal Attribution

- +1. So many Blacks are poor because they don't work hard enough.
- 2. So many Blacks are poor because the structure of the society does not provide them with equal access to opportunities.
- +3. So many Blacks are poor because they tend to be stupid.
- +4. The social life of this campus would be more integrated if Blacks were not so clannish.
- 5. Blacks tend to group together in order to give each other support in a racist environment.
- +6. If Blacks weren't so aggressive, more Whites would tend to be accepting of them.
- 7. Since White people in power don't freely provide Blacks with equal opportunity, Blacks have to be assertive in demanding their rights.
- 8. So many Blacks are poor because the society has not provided good schools in Black neighborhoods.
- 9. Many minority groups have spoken out because society has been too slow to respond to their needs.
- +10. Many minority groups are getting too pushy these days.

Conformity

- +1. I would be uncomfortable in anything other than fairly conventional dress.
- +2. A person should adapt his ideas and his behavior to the group that happens to be with him at the time.

- +3. Before I do something I try to consider how my friends will react to it.
- +4. I would be uncomfortable if I accidentally went to a formal party in street clothes.
- 5. I dislike people who always follow the usual social conventions (manners, customs, etc.).
- 6. I like unconventional language.
- 7. I dislike people who are frequently blunt in their speech.

Ethnic Identity

- 1. The traditions of my ethnic background are meaningful to me.
- 2. I sometimes choose my friends because they are from my own ethnic background.
- 3. I like to date people of my own ethnic background.
- 4. I will marry someone of my own ethnic background.
- 5. When I have children I will want them to identify with their ethnic background.
- 6. Sometimes I like to gather with a group that is only, or mainly, of my own ethnic background.
- 7. I get a sense of belongingness from my ethnic group.
- 8. The history of my ancestors is meaningful to me.
- 9. I feel more comfortable with people from my own ethnic group.

Gender Roles

- +1. It is a mother's responsibility to stay at home with her

children.

- +2. It is only fair for women to be paid less than men who do the same work because the man will be the bread winner.
- +3. Even if a woman has the ability and the interest, she should not choose an occupation that would be difficult to combine with child rearing.
- +4. It is as important for a woman to marry a man with a really good job as to have such a good job herself.
- +5. One of the most important things to a happy marriage is for the man to be somewhat more intelligent than the woman.
- +6. A man can make long-range plans for his life, but a woman has to take things as they come.
- +7. When both the husband and wife work, if career opportunities would take them to different cities, the couple should decide to follow the man's career.
- +8. The man in the family should be responsible for making decisions.
- 9. Child rearing should be split evenly between mother and father.
- +10. It's wrong for a father to stay at home with the children while the women go to work.
- +11. Household chores are mainly a woman's responsibility.
- +12. Women do not perform as well as men at upper management jobs.
- +13. It goes against nature to place women in positions of authority over men.
- 14. Women should take an active interest in politics and community problems as well as in their families.

- +15. Women think less clearly than men and are more emotional.
- +16. Almost any woman is better off in the home than in a job or profession.
- 17. Even today women live under unfair restrictions that ought to be done away with.

Intolerance of Ambiguity

- +1. An expert who doesn't come up with a definite answer probably doesn't know too much.
- +2. There is really no such thing as a problem that can't be solved.
- +3. A good job is one where what is to be done and how it is to be done is always clear.
- +4. In the long run it is possible to get more done by tackling small, simple problems rather than large and complicated ones.
- +5. What we are used to is always preferable to what is unfamiliar.
- +6. A person who leads an even, regular life in which few surprises or unexpected happenings arise, really has a lot to be grateful for.
- +7. I like parties where I know most of the people more than ones where all or most of the people are complete strangers.
- +8. The sooner we all acquire similar values and ideals the better.
- 9. I would like to live in a foreign country for a while.
- 10. People who fit their lives to a schedule probably miss most of the joy of living.
- 11. It is more fun to tackle a complicated problem than to solve a

simple one.

- 12. Often the most interesting and stimulating people are those who don't mind being different and original.
- 13. People who insist upon a yes or no answer just don't know how complicated things really are.
- 14. Many of our most important decisions are based upon insufficient information.
- 15. Teachers or supervisors who hand out vague assignments give a chance for one to show initiative and originality.
- 16. A good teacher is one who makes you wonder about your way of looking at things.

Pacifism

- +1. This country should disarm regardless whether or not other countries do.
- +2. If my country had been destroyed, I still would not push the button to wipe out the attacking enemy nation.
- 3. Our country should be engaged constantly in research to develop superior weapons for our national defense.
- +4. Under no circumstances should our country use nuclear bombs against anybody.
- +5. I would rather have a foreign power take over our country than start another world war to stop it.
- 6. Our country should prepare to employ every available weapon to destroy any major power that seriously attacks us.

Political Conservatism

- +1. Any able-bodied man could get a job right now if he tried hard enough.
- +2. The people who complain most about unemployment wouldn't take a job if you gave it to them.
- +3. Most people on relief are living in reasonable comfort.
- +4. If the government hadn't meddled so much with business everything would have worked out all right.
- +5. If we have unemployment, we should deport the excess workers back to their home countries.
- +6. People should not be allowed to vote unless they are educated and intelligent.
- 7. The average person today is getting less than his/her rightful share of the nation's wealth.
- 8. The government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat.
- 9. It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves.
- 10. If the government must go deeper in debt to help people, it should do so.

Religiosity

- 1. Every child should have religious instruction.
- 2. God exists, in the form in which the Bible describes him.
- 3. This country would be better off if religion had a greater influence in daily life.

4. All people alive today are the descendents of Adam and Eve.
5. School teachers should believe in God.
6. It should be against the law to do anything which the Bible says is wrong.
7. Moses got the ten commandments directly from God.
8. All the miracles described in the Bible really happened.

Self-Esteem

- 1. How often do you have the feeling that there is nothing you can do well?
- 2. When you have to talk in front of a class or a group of people your own age, how often are you afraid?
- 3. How often do you worry about whether other people like to be with you?
- 4. How often do you feel self-conscious?
- 5. How often are you troubled with shyness?
- 6. How often do you feel inferior to most of the people you know?
- 7. Do you ever think that you are a worthless individual?
- 8. How much do you worry about how well you get along with other people?
- 9. How often do you feel that you dislike yourself?
- 10. Do you ever feel so discouraged with yourself that you wonder whether anything is worthwhile?
- +11. How often do you feel that you have handled yourself well at a social gathering?

- +12. How often do you have the feeling that you can do everything well?
- +13. When you talk in front of a class or a group of people your own age, how often are you pleased with your performance?
- +14. How often do you feel comfortable when starting a conversation with people whom you don't know?
- +15. How often do you feel that you are a successful person?
- +16. How often are you confident that your success in your future job or career is assured?
- +17. When you speak in a class discussion, how often do you feel sure of yourself?
- +18. How often do you feel sure of yourself when among strangers?
- +19. How often do you feel confident that some day the people you know will look up to you and respect you?
- +20. How often do you feel confident about your abilities?

Status Concern

1. In order to merit the respect of others, a person should show the desire to better himself.
2. One of the things you should consider in choosing your friends is whether they can help you make your way in the world.
3. The extent of a man's ambition to better himself is a pretty good indication of his character.
4. Ambition is the most important factor in determining success in life.

5. One should always try to live in a highly respectable residential area, even though it entails sacrifices.
6. Before joining any civic or political association, it is usually important to find out whether it has the backing of people who have achieved a respected social position.
7. Possession of proper social etiquette is usually the mark of a desirable person.
8. The raising of one's social position is one of the more important goals in life.
9. It is worth considerable effort to assure one's self of a good name with the right kind of people.
10. An ambitious person can almost always achieve his goals.

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