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EGO-INVOLVED JUDGMENTS AND SOCIO-DEFINED SEX ROLES

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EGO-INVOLVED JUDGMENTS AND SOCIO-DEFINED SEX ROLES

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EGO-INVOLVED JUDGMENTS AND SOCIO-DEFINED SEX ROLES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The science of psychology is obliged to learn and utilize stimulus properties from other disciplines (Sherif & Sherif, 1956, pp. 28-33). Its unit of analysis is the individual. Using this unit, psychology studies the experience and behavior of the individual in relation to the stimulus properties. The units of analysis of the other disciplines are different from the above unit. For instance, sociology utilizes as its unit of analysis the group. Hence it studies the properties of the group. Through the interaction of individuals, the production of group norms is one of the properties of the group. Therefore sociology is one of the disciplines with which psychology must cross check its findings in order to increase their validity.

The difference in units of analysis does not mean that findings at one level must differ from those at another.

When the problem at one level is fundamentally the same as that at another, it is at these levels that the findings pertaining to the common problem are expected always to agree if they are valid (Sherif & Sherif, 1956, pp. 28-33).

The foregoing statements present the main points of the interdisciplinary approach as formulated by Sherif (1954) when he introduced the "levels" concept.

Within the above conceptual framework, the general purpose of the present study is to attempt to transpose a problem in intergroup relations from the sociological to the psychological level and thereby to demonstrate the influence which sociologically defined stimulus properties have on the psychological functioning of the individual.

It is assumed that the foregoing influences could be demonstrated equally of individual members of various cultures and subcultures as well as different groups or subgroups within any of these--whether Caucasoid, Negroid, or otherwise (cf. Bartlett, 1932; Sherif, 1936; Sherif & Sherif, 1953, 1956).

The particular features of the problem of this study, however, have not been previously demonstrated by psychological experiment according to a review of the relevant literature by the investigator.

These features make it necessary to employ in the experiment of this study individual Negro subjects who are members of a socially defined racial group in the United States culture. The stereotypes upon which this definition is based are not supported by the weight of scientific evidence (cf. Allport, 1954; Anastasi & Foley, 1949; Clark, 1955; Conant, 1955; Davis & Dollard, 1940; Frazier, 1957b; Goldstein, 1948; Peck, 1953; Negro History Bulletin, 1959; Snyder, 1957; Time, 1956).

The features are revealed by historical and sociological observations indicating the conditions which Negroes as a group experience in the socialization process of the conflicting phases of Negro-white intergroup relations (cf. Goldstein, 1948; Franklin, 1950; Frazier, 1951; Sherif & Sherif, 1953). It has been found that the involvement of Negroes in this socialization process has been significantly different from the involvement of any other group in the same process (cf. Goldstein, 1948; Franklin, 1950; Frazier, 1957a, 1957b). One of the features of this difference is that the social context in which Negroes have attempted to satisfy biogenic and other motives appears to have been and to still be significantly different from the corresponding social context of any other group in the larger society of

the United States of America (Goldstein, 1948).

There is another feature of this socialization which, according to observations in sociology, involves men and women of the black bourgeoisie (Frazier, 1957a, pp. 214-221). There are both similarities and differences between these two subgroups in behavior. The weightier factors interacting to produce these similarities and differences appear to be the group norms and their attitude counterparts which define the behavior of Negroes in general and the behavior of Negro females and Negro males in particular in relation to whites.

The two subgroups suffer feelings of insecurity arising from their fear of losing status in the American society at large. They show ambivalence towards both the white bourgeoisie and Negroes more or less in general. The white bourgeoisie rejects them on an equalitarian basis (Frazier, 1957a, pp. 219-220). In turn they must identify themselves with Negroes although against certain of their wishes. There are at least two reasons for the latter kind of identification. First, certain group norms define the relations between Negroes and whites in such manner that these two groups do not feel free to interact with each other on an equalitarian basis (Frazier, 1957a, 1957b).

Second, the men and women of the black bourgeoisie have to

get their patrons from the masses of Negroes for the most part. The group norms referred to are partly responsible for this dependence.

As indicated, a socially defined behavior difference exists between the two subgroups. The women of the black bourgeoisie fear competing with women of the white bourgeoisie for men of the former group; yet the former women do not object to marriages between Negro women and white men, particularly if the latter are wealthy. When these marriages occur, the women of the black bourgeoisie think of them as due mainly to the charming trait which Negro women are said to possess (Frazier, 1957a, pp. 218-221).

The socially defined behavior of the men of the black bourgeoisie contrasts with that of the women of this group (Frazier, 1957a, pp. 220-221). The men, even if relatively wealthy, cannot exercise political power or express self-assertion on an equalitarian basis with white men (Frazier, 1957a, pp. 109-111, 220). The norms of the larger American society are responsible for this restriction of freedom in the masculine role of the Negro man (Frazier, 1957a, pp. 220-221). The degree of this restriction appears to be significantly greater than that of the freedom of the Negro woman's role (Frazier, 1957a, especially pp. 220-221).

Moreover, there is a tradition of female dominance in the Negro family (Frazier, 1951, 1957a, p. 221). Because of the socially defined restriction of freedom of men of the black bourgeoisie, the wives of this group assume leadership in the more militant instances of dealing with men of the white bourgeoisie (Frazier, 1957a, pp. 220-225).

The foregoing findings in sociology will now be stated in a way that will facilitate the formulation of psychological hypotheses, the experimental test of which is expected to yield results by which the validity of the above findings may be evaluated.

It is assumed here that the above sociological findings apply to Negro females and Negro males in general who have reached or passed the adolescent stage of development. With the aid of this assumption, the findings are briefly stated as follows: The group norms defining Negro-white intergroup relations also define a significantly greater degree of freedom of the feminine role of the Negro woman than of the masculine role of the Negro man.

The more specific purpose of this study is directly based upon the latter statement. This purpose will be the attempt to determine what influences, if any, the ego attitudes stemming from the foregoing socially defined sex

difference in behavior will have on the psychological functioning of the Negro females and Negro males in our population.

Summary Points of Representative Research Findings Directly Related to the Problem

The observations at the sociological level have been stated so fully that only summary points of further research findings related to the problem will be indicated. These findings appear to be representative.

First, the stereotypes of the Negro have been utilized to the political, economic, and social advantages of the dominant white group in all the phases of Negro-white intergroup relations (Goldstein, 1948). These phases may be categorized as follows: slavery, Reconstruction, "separate but equal," and integration. During the ten-year period of Reconstruction, the stereotypes appear to have been least used to the advantage of any group (cf. Franklin, 1950;

Negro History Bulletin, 1959; Woodward, 1956). The Reconstruction government appears to have been the only government in the South that has so far passed equalitarian legislation (cf. Franklin, 1950; Woodward, 1956). Second, the stereotypes have also been utilized to define more freedom for the

Negro woman than for the Negro man principally in the interrelated political, economic, and social areas of life (cf. Conrad, 1947; Franklin, 1950; Goldstein, 1948; Frazier, 1951, In the area of religion, however, Negroes in 1957a, 1957b). general have exercised great freedom (Franklin, 1950; Redding, 1951). Whites have utilized the concept of God in an attempt to justify the stereotypes of the Negro (Frazier, 1957a, 1957b; Redding, 1951). Negroes have utilized the same concept in an attempt to heal the psychological wounds inflicted by social arrangements in line with the stereotypes (Frazier, 1957a; Redding, 1951). Third, of all the stereotypes, the intellectual and the sexual appear to be the major The intellectual essentially holds that Negroes are hereditarily inferior to whites in intellectual strength (cf. Frazier, 1957b). The sexual essentially holds that Negroes are hereditarily superior to whites in sexual strength (cf. Frazier, 1957b; Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, 1957). There appears to have been far more research work done to test the intellectual than the sexual stereotype (cf. Redding, 1951). Up until May 17, 1954, the highest court of the land, the United States Supreme Court, has upheld the stereotypes of the Negro (cf. Allport, 1954). The sexual stereotype of the Negro appears to be contributing the

greatest tension to the integration phase of Negro-white intergroup relations (cf. Dwyer, 1958; Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, 1957; Schuman, Dean, & Williams, 1958). The greatest opposition to integration is the expressed fear on the part of white individuals that white girls will develop an attachment to Negro boys that may lead to interracial marriage (Dwyer, 1958; Rowan, 1957; Schuman, et al., 1958). Fourth, there have been far more Negro males lynched than Negro females (cf. Berry, 1951; Cantril, 1941; Murray, 1949; Raper, 1933; White, 1929, 1955). Only two Negro females were found to have been lynched in the investigator's review of the literature. They were lynched along with their Negro husbands (Murray, 1949). Apparently they would not have been lynched if one of the lynchers had not feared that they would later identify the lynchers (Murray, 1949). Over three thousand Negro males have been lynched in the United States (cf. Berry, 1951; Frazier, 1957b). A relatively small percentage of lynchings have included white individuals (cf. Berry, 1951; White, 1929, 1955). White persons who were equalitarian in attitude towards Negroes were included among these (cf. White, 1929, 1955). The expression of this attitude appears to have contributed significantly to their fate (cf. White, 1929, 1955). Rape of

white women has been and still is a popularized reason for lynching of Negro males although the statistical records suggest the major cause of this lynching behavior to be quite otherwise (White, 1929, 1955). Lynching of Negro males appears to be one indication of the greater freedom the larger society grants to the Negro female than to the Negro male. Fifth, the stereotypes of the Negro have been internalized into the psychological make-up by individual Negroes as well as individual whites at all age levels of development from early childhood through adolescence (cf. Champly, 1936; Clark, 1955; Clark & Clark, 1940, 1947; Dean, 1952; Goodman, 1952; Hill, 1944; Horowitz & Horowitz, 1937; Marks, 1943). Sixth, Negro children tend to develop racial group consciousness at an earlier age than white children owing to racial discrimination (cf. Clark & Clark, 1940, 1947; Goodman, 1952). Seventh, these internalizations of the stereotypes are examples of many instances of the formation of the ego and its development and restructuring (cf. Sherif & Sherif, 1956).

Theoretical and Methodological Leads

The foregoing observations imply that the mentality, psychological functioning, experience, and behavior of the

individual may be relatively greatly influenced by the norms or the values of the groups with which he identifies himself.

This implication holds regardless of how "sound" or "unsound," vague or contradictory these norms or values may be.

Groups and their properties are a product of individuals interacting with one another to satisfy common motives. It does not matter whether the motives are biogenic or sociogenic or any interactive pattern of these (Sherif & Sherif, 1956).

The emergence of the stereotypes of the Negro, which are examples of group norms, as well as groups through the interaction of individuals as indicated above, indirectly confirms the concept of ego in social psychology (cf. Sherif & Sherif, 1956). The ego is fundamentally formed, i.e., learned, by the individual's internalization into his psychological make-up the norms or values of the groups with which he identifies himself regardless of whether or not he is aware of this event (Sherif & Cantril, 1947; Sherif & Sherif, 1956). Therefore in the broader sense the ego is an educational achievement, not an hereditary gift. The internalized values or norms are the attitudes that together form a subsystem in the psychological make-up of the individual. More technically, this subsystem or constellation of

attitudes is called the ego (Sherif & Sherif, 1956). The ego defines the relation of the individual to the group with which he identifies himself as well as his relation to other groups. It also defines his relation to any other individuals identifying themselves with these groups. The relation may be defined as that of "enemy" or "friend." This defining role has been and still is played by the attitudes which are counterparts of the stereotypes of the Negro. For the stereotypes are group norms.

The attitudes based on the stereotypes confirm the concept of intergroup relations under hostile conditions. Whenever individuals interact with one another to form a group whose norms or values hold that it must reach its goals at the expense of some other group, there will always be conflict between such groups (Sherif, 1956; Sherif & Sherif, 1953, 1956). This is intergroup conflict because the hostile interaction is between two or more groups or members thereof who interact with one another in terms of the norms of these groups and the ego-attitude counterparts of these norms (Sherif, 1956; Sherif & Sherif, 1953, 1956).

This production of tension need not necessarily be the consequence of intergroup relations. For when super-ordinate goals are introduced into the process of conflicting

interaction between two or more groups, the hostile ego attitudes which members of one group hold against members of the other group or groups change to positive attitudes. The change may require a surprisingly short time. Consequently intergroup tension may be replaced by harmony through the introduction of superordinate goals. It was Sherif (1956) who demonstrated these effects by a series of group experiments in social psychology.

The stereotypes of the Negro negate the possibility of superordinate goals. Why? Because they require one group to reach its goals at the expense of another. Superordinate goals are those goals which one group cannot possibly reach without the fuller and more constructive cooperation of some other group or groups (Sherif, 1956; Sherif & Sherif, 1953, 1956).

Of all the stereotypes of the Negro, the sexual is presently most called into play in opposition to the integration phase of Negro-white intergroup relations.

It is expected that the attitude counterparts of the sex differential under investigation in this study will manifest itself in the ego-involved judgments of the individual Negro females and males to be experimentally employed.

This expectation is theoretically based upon the

eleven principles of psychology discussed by Sherif and Sherif (1956, pp. 77-116). Of these, the principle of psychological selectivity is especially applicable to the problem. Obviously this principle holds that all the psychological functions (perceiving, judging, remembering, imagining, dreaming, learning, etc.) operate selectively. This statement more specifically means 1) that the individual manifests the psychological tendency to discriminate those aspects of his world which are most relevant to his biogenic, sociogenic, or ego motives operative in a given space and time; and 2) that the less motivationally relevant aspects tend to recede into the relatively indistinct portion of that world (cf. Sherif & Sherif, 1956, pp. 77-116).

The criteria of indirect assessment of attitudes proposed by Campbell (1950) and Sherif and Sherif (1956) appear to be anticipated by the principle of psychological selectivity.

The main points of these criteria are crucial in view of the above principle and principles intimately related to it. These points will now be given. 1) The stimulus items or stimulus situations to be employed in the experiment will be more relevant to the presumably weightier ego attitudes under investigation if the items or situations

are realistically formulated on the basis of the known existence of the attitudes and if they are sufficiently unstructured in one or several dimensions to appear vague to the subject. 2) The criteria further require that the stimulus items or situations be presented to the subject in such manner that he will remain unaware of the fact that his attitudes are under investigation.

When these attitudes are more fully evoked by the stimulus items or situations, this event is an interactive factor, not an absolute process. It is known as ego involvement and as such has its relative weights of influence upon given outcomes of behavior in given settings (Sherif & Sherif, 1956). The principle of psychological selectivity relies on other principles which fundamentally hold that the more unstructured the stimulus items or situations, the greater will the internal factors (e.g., weightier ego attitudes) under investigation contribute to the determination of the specifiable product of behavior ensuing from the joint interaction of internal and external factors in the frame of reference for the above product of behavior (Sherif & Sherif, 1956).

Therefore the subjects employed in this investigation would be expected to manifest differential ego involvements

in reacting to the interrelated political and economic aspects of the stimulus items to be constructed and experimentally presented.

In view of the preceding considerations, an attempt will be made to construct the stimulus items so that they will be systematic, vague, and relevant to the political, economic, and other aspects represented in the ego-attitude counterparts of the group norms defining significantly greater degrees of freedom for the feminine role of the Negro woman than for the masculine role of the Negro man.

Of all the phases of Negro-white intergroup relations, the "separate but equal" phase appears to be the most appropriate as a basis for constructing the stimulus items. The "separate but equal" doctrine was never fulfilled in real life (cf. Ashmore, 1954; Harlan, 1958; Rowan, 1957; St. James, 1958; Woodward, 1955). The above phase appears to be the one which segregationists today are trying to make more separately equal than in the past (Woodward, 1955). They offer this step as a compromise to the present segregation-integration issue. Usually the states with the largest Negro population are engaging in this equalizing activity, which was begun in the late 1940's and has since then continued unabated (Woodward, 1955).

The foregoing equalizing attempt proceeds in spite of the psychological impossibility of fulfilling the requirements which the above doctrine would impose even if taken more seriously than in the past (cf. Sherif & Sherif, 1953). The psychological impossibility would be expected because persons trying to live by the standards of behavior embodied in the "separate but equal" doctrine would experience serious psychological conflicts due to its inherently unequal, dual, contradictory, and vague features (cf. Allport, 1954; Clark, 1955; Sherif & Sherif, 1953).

These features are more or less in line with the criteria of indirect assessment of attitudes already mentioned. Hence the implication is that, in the experimental design, an attempt should be made to replicate in the construction of the stimulus items the above features of "separate but equal" group norms and their ego-attitude counterparts. A second implication is that the theoretical, aesthetic, economic, political, social, and religious characterizations of the evaluative attitudes contained in the Study of Values scale (Allport, Vernon, & Lindzey, 1951) could be adaptively utilized to represent the factors of real life involved in the sexual differential under investigation. These factors appear to be the political, economic,

religious, and social. A third implication is that all of these should be constructed around an anti-"separate but equal"-pro-family stimulus issue. For the main findings by Hughes and Thompson (1954) and Danziger (1958) clearly justify the interpretation that Negro subjects, apparently regardless of biologically or socially defined sex differences, would be expected to manifest significantly more ego involvement in the "public" social justice than in the "private" personal happiness side of the issue.

The next chapter will present a formal statement of the problem and the hypotheses based upon the foregoing implications.

CHAPTER II

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Generally, the problem of this study is to attempt to transpose an intergroup relations problem from the sociological to the psychological level of analysis.

In sociology, it has been found that the group norms defining the phases of Negro-white intergroup relations also define significantly more freedom for the feminine role of the Negro woman than for the masculine role of the Negro man (Frazier, 1957a). This finding is intimately tied up with the development of the Negro family in the context of the above phases (cf. Frazier, 1951). The finding is, moreover, supported by observations clearly indicating that the stereotype of the Negro as hereditarily superior to whites in sexual strength has made a significant contribution to producing tension in most of the above phases, especially integration (cf. Dwyer, 1958; Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, 1957; Schuman, et al., 1958). It has further

been found that the above sex differential has appeared mostly in the interrelated political and economic areas of life and least in the religious area (cf. Frazier, 1957a; Redding, 1951).

In psychology, an attempt is here made to determine whether or not the assumed ego-attitude counterparts of the above sexually differentiating group norms will be manifested by the subjects when judging an experimentally provided stimulus issue which satisfies the following specifications: 1) It must have anti-"separate but equal" and profamily sides. 2) It must be systematically varied to generate stimulus gradations which will fundamentally replicate the dual, vague, and contradictory features of "separate but equal" group norms. 3) The whole stimulus issue must be presented to the subjects in accordance with the criteria of indirect measurement of attitudes proposed by Campbell (1950) and Sherif and Sherif (1956).

Hypotheses

Specifically, the purpose of this study is to test experimentally the following hypotheses, which are assumed to be in line with the principle of psychological selectivity:

Hypothesis 1

There will be no significant difference between females and males in the degree of ego involvement manifested in their judgments of the two major sides of the issue when the other stimulus variations of the issue are disregarded in the analysis.

Hypothesis 2

The females will manifest in their judgments a significantly greater degree of ego involvement in the interrelated political and economic variations of the whole stimulus issue than will the males.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Subjects

A total of 113 subjects (70 females and 43 males) served in the experiment of this investigation. All were Negro adolescents and seniors of Douglass High School in Oklahoma City.

The stimulus materials were constructed and presented to the subjects as indicated hereafter.

Materials

Description and Construction of Stimulus Items

The materials were constructed in such manner as to provide stimulus items relevant to the ego attitudes under investigation (see Appendix A). On the basis of the specifications indicated in Chapter II, these attitudes are designed as anti-"separate but equal" attitude and pro-family attitude. Every attitude encompasses in its range a

relatively small or a relatively large number of referent items (Sherif & Sherif, 1956, p. 495). Therefore it was conceivable that, in relation to the realistic background factors of the subjects, each of the attitudes indicated above would encompass such background factors as the following: political, economic, social, religious, aesthetic, theoretical, or any combination of these (cf. Allport, Vernon, & Lindzey, 1951).

The infinitive phrase, "...to realize more rights and opportunities for all people in the society," was formulated as an anchoring or figural part of each stimulus item relevant to the anti-"separate but equal" attitude. The infinitive phrase, "...to realize more personal happiness for all members of the family," was formulated as an anchoring or figural part of each stimulus item relevant to the profamily attitude.

These two anchoring phrases formed the two major sides of the experimentally devised stimulus issue, which was indicated in Chapter II as an anti-"separate but equal"-profamily issue. In an attempt in the experimental design to replicate the essentials of the dual, contradictory, vague, and inherently unequal features encompassed in "separate but equal" group norms, the foregoing two major sides of the

stimulus issue were taken through six stimulus variations or gradations. In each of the latter the words of the anchor remained invariant in a methodological sense.

The variations were accomplished by embedding each of the two anchoring phrases in an introductory stimulus-item setting six times, each specific setting being different.

The characterizations of the six evaluative attitudes contained in the <u>Study of Values</u> scale (Allport, Vernon, Lindzey, 1951) were modified and utilized as the above variations, since the characterizations of this scale are quite adaptable to the relevant and realistic background factors of the subjects.

As a consequence of making the above six variations, the two figural phrases were each expanded into six dual, contradictory, vague, and experimentally conceived "separate but equal" stimulus gradations. This step generated a deck of twelve 2½ x 4" stimulus cards (Appendix A).

The Negro family and its larger social setting were, and still are in a number of instances, in decided conflict with each other due to that aspect of "separate but equal" group norms which negates the possibility of superordinate goals as a guide to Negro-white intergroup relations (cf. Frazier, 1951, 1957a, 1957b; Sherif & Sherif, 1953, 1956).

The focal point here is that an attempt in the experimental design was made subtly and realistically to replicate the essentials of this conflicting feature of Negro-white intergroup relations by constructing an anti-"separate but equal"-pro-family stimulus issue that could be controlled experimentally. Further logic for utilizing and constructing this issue was laid down at the end of Chapter I.

The political and economic stimulus cards are assumed to be motivationally relevant to the extent of evoking the sex differential in the ego involvements expected in the subjects' judgments. The religious and social stimulus cards are expected to be motivationally relevant also. For, according to the historian J. H. Franklin (1950, pp. 198-199), there was usually no restriction on interrelated social and religious activities in the framework of everyday life among Negroes during slavery. This observation takes on importance only when it is considered that fundamentally the same picture exists today (cf. Redding, 1951). This observation implies that in the interrelated social and religious areas of life there is an essential absence of sex-differentiating restrictions among Negroes based on "separate but equal" group norms as treated in this chapter. In spite of this realistic importance of the socially religious background

factors for the problem, the specific political and economic factors are expected ultimately to provide the differential influence studied. For, of all the external factors considered, the political and economic have been most involved in the differential treatment of the sexes.

The remaining two constructed stimulus-item settings, the theoretical and aesthetic, even if not in line with the realistic background factors, will be expected to contribute to the psychological phenomenon of suggestibility. The latter must be utilized in the presentation of the stimulus materials. For the criteria of indirect assessment of attitudes proposed by Campbell (1950) and Sherif and Sherif (1956) necessarily employ the phenomenon of suggestibility as an indispensable feature of the methodology of assessing attitudes indirectly.

Other studies regarding conflicting suggestibilities, psychological selectivity, stimulus gradations, etc., provided further methodological basis for modifying and utilizing the Study of Values (Allport, Vernon, & Lindzey, 1951) six attitudinal variations as indicated above (e.g., Postman, Bruner, & McGinnies, 1948; Rothney, 1936; Rubin, 1921; Sherif, 1953; Sherif & Sherif, 1956, p. 59 f.).

From what precedes, it appears that there are

sufficient historical, sociological, psychological, and empirical leads to utilize the six specific settings of stimulus items just considered.

Also a list of appropriately modified statements (see Appendix B) was constructed from the six characterizations of evaluative attitudes contained in the Study of Values scale indicated above. It must be made clear, however, that no attempt was made to administer this scale to the subjects since the problem did not require such.

The list was assumed to help make the whole experimental task lend itself more to the psychological phenomenon of suggestibility and to expand further the setting or ground of each stimulus item as well as the stimulus issue as a whole.

The foregoing procedures in the construction of the stimulus items notwithstanding, the entire experimental stimulus issue is theoretically regarded as one whole figure-ground situation with its variational factors as external reference points to be judgmentally displaced from their experimentally conceived "separate but equal" positions to positions in line with the relative weights of the ego factors of the individual subjects to be studied.

Although not a part of the foregoing systematically

constructed stimulus materials, the form contained in Appendix C was constructed to collect personal data from the subjects after the experiment. For these may be useful in interpreting the results.

Procedure

Each deck of twelve stimulus cards (Appendix A) was preshuffled, i.e., "randomized," by the experimenter before the experiment was begun. A rubber band was then placed around it. Together with one copy of the list (Appendix B), the deck was put in a small envelope marked "No. 1."

One copy of the personal data sheet (Appendix C) was put in an envelope marked "No. 2."

The two above envelopes, identical in size and other aspects, were then put in a larger envelope.

The flap to each of the three envelopes was not sealed; it was merely tucked in.

The subjects were in three different sections of an English class at the time of the experiment.

The time intervals for the experimental sections followed those of the regular class schedule. The total experimental time consumed for each section was about 50 minutes.

As implied earlier, every attempt was made to satisfy the criteria of indirect assessment of ego motives proposed by Campbell (1950) and Sherif and Sherif (1956).

A fellow graduate student assisted in the experiment by helping to pass out and collect the envelopes containing the stimulus materials.

The following instructions were orally given the subjects:

This is a survey of human problems.

Its purpose is to find out how younger people differ from older people in the importance they attach to solving various human problems.

Open your envelope. You will find two smaller envelopes in it. Open the smaller one; it is marked "No. 1." Two things are in it: a deck of cards and a sheet of paper. Both have something written on them. The cards show different areas of life in which there are human problems to be solved. The sheet is to help you get a better idea of the cards.

Glance through the deck and over the list. As you do so, keep in mind this question: In your independent judgment, what three areas are the most important for solving the human problems you judge to come first in importance? When you finish doing this, I will ask you to do one more thing concerning the cards [pause].

Now you are to deal yourself a hand; that is, pick out from the deck the three cards you judge to be the most important for solving human problems you feel should come first in importance. Put the other cards back in the

envelope marked "No. 1" until further instructions [pause].

Concerning the three "choice" cards in your hand, write the number "1" in the lower right-hand corner of the card you judge to be the most important of the three; put "2" on the one you judge to be next in importance; and, of course, put "3" on the third card.*

At this point the experiment was technically ended.

Subjects now filled out the personal data sheet in the envelope marked "No. 2" (Appendix C).

At the request of various subjects, a postexperimental session was held in which the subjects asked questions. The essence of these questions will be indicated in presenting the results in the chapter to follow.

^{*}The subjects were asked to rank and mark the three cards so that the experimenter could detect them later from other cards in the deck. The distinguishing marking was the main objective and ranking was deemed to make the task more plausible to the subjects (cf. Campbell, 1950).

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Table 1 for individuals of the female sample and
Table 2 for individuals of the male sample contain the basic
experimental data. They also contain other data--such as
subject identification by number, age, etc.--which were
believed to be indispensable in rendering a more adequate
interpretation of the results. The tables are contained in
Appendixes E and F, respectively.

In each of these tables are shown the following subgroupings of data for each subject: sex; age; identifying
number in place of name; identifying description of the
three stimulus cards, in a deck of twelve (see Appendix A),
which were judged to be the "first in importance" in the
performance of the experimental task; and the ranks which
were assigned (for methodological reason indicated at end of
Chapter III) to these cards during the performance.

Within each of the two foregoing tables, the main subgroupings are based on 1) whether or not the selected set

of three stimulus cards contains more anti-"separate but equal" than pro-family cards or vice versa; and on 2) similarity or difference in external AVL-SVS factors (see Appendix D) between one selected set of stimulus cards and another.

These subgroupings did not allow the utilization of age or identifying number of the subjects as a basis for subgrouping. Nor did they justify additional data tables utilizing either of these two classifications as a subgrouping basis. For the latter would have required needless duplication of effort as well as needless monetary expense.

The criterion level of significance set before the experiment was .05.

The chi-square test of independence of observed frequencies and the Friedman two-way, nonparametric analysis of variance of ranked data (Walker & Lev, 1953) were previously planned as the statistical means of analyzing the performance measures in order to evaluate the research hypotheses and the sociological finding upon which they are based (see Chapter II).

The obtained values of these statistical tests will be shown in this chapter and discussed in the next. The interpretation of these values in relation to the research hypotheses will be included in that discussion rather than in this chapter. This step will keep "fact" and "opinion" separated from each other in one instance and together in another in order to reduce the possibility of confusing the two beyond recognition.

Statistically significant results will be accompanied by their tables, but statistically insignificant results will not. Both significant and insignificant values, however, will be indicated. The values will now be shown according to this schema.

Results of statistical tests will be shown in this paragraph under the condition that the external theoretical, aesthetic, economic, political, social, and religious factors be disregarded in each analysis in the same paragraph. The females and the males did not differ significantly from each other in the frequency of selections of the external anti-"separate but equal" versus pro-family factors (chi-square of 0.1; p greater than .05). When the external pro-family factors are also disregarded as a part of the above qualifying condition, the 17- and 18-year-old females and males did not differ significantly from each other in frequency of selections of external anti-"separate but equal" factors (chi-square approximately zero; p greater than .05);

when the same analysis by sex and age was made for frequency of selections of external pro-family factors, no significant difference was found (chi-square of 0.3; \underline{p} greater than .05). The females selected significantly more external anti-"separate but equal" than external pro-family factors (Table 3; \underline{F} of 21.28; \underline{p} less than .01). Likewise, the males selected significantly more external anti-"separate but equal" than external pro-family factors (Table 3; \underline{F} of 10.20; \underline{p} less than .01).

Table 3

Summary of Results of Nonparametric Analysis of Variance of Ranked Greater Magnitudes (Frequencies) of aSBE than pF Stimulus Cards Selected by Females and Males Separately

(N = 113, i.e., 70 Female and 43 Male Adolescents)

Sex of S	df			
Group	Numerator	Denominator	Obtained <u>F</u>	
Female	1	69	21.28 (significant; p less than .01)	
Male	1	42	10.20 (significant; p less than .01)	

Note: See Appendix D for meaning of symbols used in the heading of this table.

From this point forward in this chapter, the external factors not named in connection with a particular statistical test are to be considered disregarded in the statistical analysis. This qualifying condition is essentially the same as those indicated in the paragraph next preceding. The females selected significantly more external factors in the religious, social, political, and economic pattern than did the males (Table 4; chi-square of 6.8; p of .01).

Table 4

Chi-Square Test of Independence of Observed Frequencies of Individuals by Sex and S-R with P-or-E or Not S-R with P-or-E Patterns of Judgments in Three-Card Stimulus Selections

(N = 113, i.e., 70 Female and 43 Male Adolescents)

Category of Patterns of Judgments	Observed Females	-			
External S-R with P-or-E factors in selection of "first in importance" three cards	37	12	49	6.8 (significant; p of .01)	
External S-R with P-or-E factors NOT in selection of "first in importance" three cards	33	31	64		

Note: See Appendix D for meaning of symbols used in heading and category column of this table.

The females selected significantly more external factors in the religious, social, and political pattern than did the males (Table 5; chi-square of 5.6; p of .025).

Table 5

Chi-Square Test of Independence of Observed Frequencies of Individuals by Sex and R-S-P or Not R-S-P

Patterns of Judgments in Three-Card

Stimulus Selections

(N = 113, i.e., 70 Female and 43 Male Adolescents)

Category of Patterns of Judgments	Observed Frequencies Females Males Total			Obtained Chi-Square	
External R-S-P factors in selection of three "first in importance" cards	24	6	30	5.6 (significant:	
External R-S-P factors NOT in selection of three "first in importance" cards	46	37	83	<u>p</u> of .025)	

Note: See Appendix D for meaning of symbols used in heading and category column of this table.

The females and the males did not differ significantly from each other in the frequency of selection of external factors in the religious, social, and economic pattern (chi-square of 0.4; p greater than .05). The females and the males showed no significant difference in the frequency of selection

1) of external factors in the political or economic pattern (chi-square of 0.1; p greater than .05); 2) of external factors in dominant political and economic pattern (Yates' corrected chi-square of 0.2; p greater than .05); 3) of external factors in dominant social and/or religious judgmental pattern (chi-square of 3.5; p greater than .05); 4) of external factors in religious, social, and theoretical pattern (chi-square of 0.4; p greater than .05). The frequencies of aesthetic factor selected in religious, social, and aesthetic pattern were so low in the case of both sexes that a statistical test for difference was not deemed worthwhile.

The representative post-experimental questions asked were concerned with the "ups and downs" of the segregation-integration issue.

The representative post-experimental comments made by the subjects in reacting to the last item of Appendix C will now be given. They follow:

Female No. 50:

To me religion is a necessity, because I can turn to it, when there is no one else to turn to. My reason for saying this is because there are times when a person is burdened and there may be nothing else that can lift them.

Female No. 2:

Although I chose religion as the topic I considered to be the most important of the group, ...I would have to take the social problem. I have chosen the social problem because of the main issues or events that are placed upon our people today. Being a Negro, believe me I have faced a great deal of social problems!

Female No. 24:

What has impressed me most was that everything in life must be made as a whole. Everything can not be just for one person or one family, but for everyone. Take the religious side. If everyone in one church isn't together it can not stand up. The same is in political & social. If we aren't together we can't accomplish anything in the world today.

Female No. 39:

The thing that impressed me most in solving the problems I considered in this survey was the difference in how people think or act. I have experienced this in working with our N.A.A.C.P. In most cases the people who do not want political rights are lacking intelligence or education.

Male No. 21:

The thing that impresses me most in solving the problem of religion is, What difference does it make what religion you belong to because of color or creed, just as long as you worship God? Male No. 20:

I think that the problems of unity of religion impressed me the most. I think that a family who doesn't have religion in their home is not very happy.

Male No. 18 (the only male mentioning the political area of life):

The reason I chose problems of political and finance is that our Negro race as a whole has less political advantages than any other race.

As indicated earlier, the next chapter will contain interpretations of the foregoing statistical outcomes and comments in relation to the research hypotheses and the sociological finding presented in Chapter II.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

<u>Interpretation</u> of the Results

On the basis of the preceding comments by subjects and the statistical outcomes, Hypotheses 1 and 2 (Chapter II) are here regarded as confirmed statistically (see Tables 3, 4, 5, & paragraphs 9 & 10, Chapter IV*). Similarly, the main sociological finding stated in Chapter II is regarded as indirectly confirmed statistically. The confirmation in each case, however, the investigator accepts with certain reservations that will be indicated later in pointing out the limitations of this study.

Hypothesis 1 predicted that there would be no significant difference between females and males in the degree of ego involvement manifested in their judgments of the two

^{*}Chapter designation will be omitted in remaining references in this chapter. It is to be understood that the reference will invariably refer to Chapter IV, Results.

major sides of the issue when the other stimulus variations of that issue are disregarded in the analysis. Compliance with this specification was an attempt to utilize the psychological principle of relative weights in the frame of reference for given products of behavior, as discussed by Sherif and Sherif (1956, p. 83).

Towards the end of Chapter I it was indicated that the females and males would be expected to be essentially equally ego involved more in the anti-"separate but equal" than in the pro-family side of the stimulus issue regardless of the biologically and socially defined sex differences involved. The logic behind this expectation was one of the most important parts of the theoretical foundation of the experimental design. The stimulus issue as a whole should be known beforehand to be motivationally relevant to the ego factors to be investigated. This condition is believed to have been fulfilled in the present investigation. The major findings of Hughes and Thompson (1954) in the United States culture and Danziger (1958) in the South Africa culture were pointed out (Chapter I) as realistically assuring the relevance of the expectation under discussion. Essentially the same problem and ego motives are involved in the three different studies (the present one and the above two). Further

support of this view may be had from that part of the findings reported by Sherif and Hovland (1953) which indicated that the Negro subjects tended to be significantly more ego involved than did the white subjects in the pro-integration side of the segregation-integration issue. In view of the essential agreement among the four sets of findings (one from a different culture) and of these with the statistical confirmation of Hypothesis 1, the stand tentatively taken by the present investigator is that the stimulus issue as a whole was highly ego involving to the subjects of this study. This stand is further supported by the insignificant sex difference (paragraph 9) found in the significantly more frequent judgmental selection of the anti-"separate but equal" than of the pro-family factors on the two major sides of the issue (Table 3). Therefore Hypothesis 1 is regarded as statistically confirmed. This confirmation means that the females and males did not differ significantly from each other in degree of ego involvement in either of the two major sides of the stimulus issue, and that this finding agrees with the significant finding that both females and males manifested essentially equal ego involvement more in one and the same major side (anti-"separate but equal") than in the other (pro-family).

It has been statistically demonstrated that the stimulus issue as a whole was highly ego involving to the subjects. This demonstration clearly implies a confirmation of the principle of psychological selectivity as related to other principles (cf. Sherif & Sherif, 1956, pp. 77-116). In view of this implication and the foregoing differential in ego involvement (significantly more in the anti-"separate but equal" than in the pro-family side of the issue), ego involvement in various figural or anchoring parts of the whole stimulus issue becomes more meaningful as a topic of discussion.

The specification required that the systematic variations of the whole stimulus issue were obliged to include counterparts of certain realistic factors in the historical and sociological background of the subjects. The historical, sociological, and psychological findings (Chapter I) suggested that the most important of these background factors were the political, economic, social, and religious (cf. Allport, Vernon, & Lindzey, 1951). The findings also indicated that, of these four factors, the interrelated political and economic were expected to be the relatively weightier factors accounting for the sex differential in judgments predicted by Hypothesis 2 (Chapter II). The highly

significant obtained value of chi-square (Table 4) confirms this prediction. Certain other aspects of this confirmation must be considered, however.

When the religious and social factors were disregarded in the statistical analysis just indicated, a clearly insignificant obtained value of chi-square resulted (paragraph 10). What does this outcome imply? Simply it implies that various factors are so interrelated in their real-life setting that they cannot be left separated artificially in the statistical analyses without distorting their meaning. To some extent the present study may be guilty of this charge, for it did not sufficiently consider beforehand (Chapter I) the importance which the socially oriented religious area of life would play in interacting with the factors of the interrelated political and economic areas of life in so far as the subjects would be concerned. terpretation appears to be supported by the fact that when the \underline{E} (economic) was disregarded in the $\underline{R}-\underline{S}-\underline{P}-\text{or}-\underline{E}$ (religious and social with political or economic) selective pattern of judgments, the obtained value of chi-square drops from a p of .01 to a p of .025 in significance. When R (religious) and S (social) are disregarded from the above judgmental pattern, the probability of sex difference drops from a p of

.01 to a p of insignificance (paragraph 10).

Nevertheless, the temporary disregarding of \underline{P} (for sake of analysis) from the same $\underline{R}-\underline{S}-$ with $\underline{P}-$ or- \underline{E} pattern of judgmental selectivity brings out a very important relative weight, i.e., the political is a significantly weightier factor than the economic in the ego-involvement sex differential manifested in the judgments (\underline{p} of .025; Table 5). This outcome also rests upon the insignificant value of chisquare obtained when the two sex groups were compared in their R-S-E pattern of judgmental selectivity (paragraph 10).

This interpretation and the answer to the question raised in the last preceding paragraph must be considered in evaluating Hypothesis 2 (Chapter II). This hypothesis predicted that the females would manifest a significantly greater degree of ego involvement than would the males in the interrelated political and economic variations of the whole stimulus issue. This prediction is confirmed only when the R-S-P-E factors are regarded as inseparable in their interactive patterning together for the given items of behavior considered in this investigation. Therefore it is in this sense that Hypothesis 2 is accepted by the investigator.

This acceptance does not overlook the finding that the females attached significantly more importance to the political approach to the issue than did the males. As already indicated, this difference is statistically significant (p of .025; see Table 5). The representative comments made by the females and the males (Chapter IV) support this statistical outcome. They indicate that the females were much more concerned with the political approach to the issue than were the males, an empirical outcome which confirms the corresponding statistical outcome.

The foregoing findings as interpreted here are regarded as indirectly confirming the main sociological finding from which the problem of the present investigation was derived (Chapter II). This stand gains further support from at least three other considerations. First, the representative comments made by the subjects indicate that the females manifested, more than did the males, a greater tendency (freedom) to branch out from the religious approach to integrate the latter with other approaches to the same issue. Second, the confirmation of Hypothesis 1 enhances the acceptance of Hypothesis 2. Third, the females and males were given an equal opportunity for selecting the stimulus variations of the experimental issue.

It is now a question of the confidence which the present investigator places in the statistical confirmation of Hypothesis 2 and in the main sociological observation upon which it is based. It cannot be said with finality that the statistically confirmed hypotheses and sociological observation necessarily mean that the relationship sought in this study (between differentials of social involvement of the biologically defined sexes and the ego-attitude counterparts of these differentials) has been experimentally demonstrated.

Two reasons for this stand will now be indicated.

First, the experiment did not utilize representative sampling. Second, the experimental design did not allow a more realistic replication of the main features of "separate but equal" group norms. Stimulus cards containing verbal representatives of these features may be significantly different from these features as met with in real life. Therefore the statistical confirmation of Hypothesis 2 and of the sociological observation upon which it is based (Chapter II) is accepted only tentatively depending on future research on the problem.

With this reservation the major findings of the present study will now be condensed. First, the females manifested significantly more ego involvement than did the males

in the interrelated political and economic approaches to the stimulus issue; however, this difference is significant only when the interrelated political and economic are integrated (patterned) with the interrelated religious and social approaches. Second, the females manifested significantly more ego involvement than did the males in the political approach to the issue; again this difference is significant only when the political is integrated (patterned) with the interrelated religious and social approaches to the issue. Third, the above two socially defined sex differentials indirectly confirm the main sociological observation. indirect confirmation more fully means that the above experimentally demonstrated sex differentials in ego involvements indirectly confirm the generalized sociological finding that the group norms -- i.e., largely if not entirely the still existing stereotypes of the Negro--defining Negrowhite intergroup relations also define significantly greater degrees of freedom for the feminine role of the Negro woman than for the masculine role of the Negro man.

<u>Implications</u> of the Major Findings

Theoretical Implications

To the extent that the limitations of this study will allow, it is maintained that the major findings clearly

imply confirmation of the principle of psychological selectivity, as discussed by Sherif and Sherif (1956, pp. 77-116).

Practical Implications

Notwithstanding the reservation referred to, the major findings, together with points brought out in Chapter I, imply that the current existence of "separate but equal" attitudes is an unfortunate instance of mis-education of the people (cf. Allport, 1954; Angelino, Edmonds, & Mech, 1958; Ashmore, 1954; Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, 1957; Negro History Bulletin, 1959; Russell, 1950, pp. 59-60, 1957; Woodson, 1933).

Education or mis-education may be conducted formally in the schools or informally outside of them or simultaneously in both instances. Whichever the case, the attitudes taught and learned in the process interact with the biologically, i.e., genetically, inherited capacities of the individual in such manner that the product of performance in a given activity may show the mark of these attitudes as factors of relatively great weight in the determination of the product referred to a given setting. The mention of a few representative observations will make the point clearer.

Strodtbeck (1958, pp. 135-194) reports the findings of a preliminary study which compared the intellectual achievement of Italians with that of Jews. The latter were found to be superior to the former in intellectual achieve-The social attitudes of the two groups differed The attitudes of the Italians were that man faces a destiny over which he has no rational control; that the son therefore should not leave home so soon, if at all, in an attempt to attain the impossible, i.e., rational control over one's destiny; and that prestige for group achievement is more important than prestige for individual achievement. In sharp contrast, the attitudes of the Jews were that man does have rational control over his destiny; that the son should become independent as soon as possible, even leaving home as early as possible to get down to the serious task of achieving this attainable, rational control of one's destiny; and that prestige for individual achievement is more important than prestige for group achievement.

In quite different cultures, essentially the same psychological problem can be observed. For instance, Mead (1935-1950) reports that children in the Mundugumor society who are born with the umbilical cord coiled around their necks are highly valued by the dominant group norms of that

society as individuals who are naturally endowed with the ability to become great artists. These are the only children in that society who eventually become outstanding artists.

In still another culture, essentially the same psychological problem may be observed. Historically (cf. Brubacher, 1947) it is reported that there was a significant difference between the ancient Greeks and the ancient Romans in individual achievement. Certain dominant group norms in the ancient Greek society placed greatest social value on intellectual achievement, whereas certain dominant group norms in the ancient Roman society placed greatest value on artistic achievement (cf. Durant, 1953; Frank, 1957). The achievement of outstanding individuals tended to agree relatively significantly with this difference in the social definition embodied in the dominant group norms and the attitude counterparts.

In each of the preceding societies or cultures, individuals apparently had internalized into their psychological make-up the dominant group norms indicated, thus forming (i.e., learning) corresponding social attitudes. Hence the dominant norms of the group with which the individual identifies himself tend to become an interactive part of his very mentality regardless of whether or not he is aware of

this phenomenon.

The foregoing observations confirm those which follow regarding the difference in individual performance or achievement between whites and Negroes. Again, essentially the same psychological problem observed in the foregoing instances will be observed here. A number of Negroes have internalized into their mentality, i.e., psychological makeup, the "separate but equal" group norm or stereotype which essentially holds that Negroes are hereditarily inferior to whites in intellectual strength. In a number of instances their intellectual performance apparently tends to agree with this stereotype (cf. Davis & Dollard, 1940; Sullivan, 1941). It can be expected that as long as this stereotype remains a part of the mentality of such Negro persons, they will feel intellectually inferior to whites, especially when in their presence (cf. Whyte, 1955, p. 19), and will, in various forms, show resistance to getting rid of this kind of mis-education. For instance, a Negro physician was observed saying that he avoids as much as possible prescribing for Negroes the new articles of medicine because he felt that they are the white man's medicine and therefore no good for Negroes (cf. Frazier, 1957a). Another case in point is the observation that some Negro teachers, in spite of their

potentially extraordinary scholarship or creativity, dread the competition with white teachers which the former expect integration will bring (Frazier, 1957a). On the other hand, a number of whites have internalized into their mentality, i.e., psychological make-up, the "separate but equal" group norm or stereotype which essentially holds that whites are hereditarily inferior to Negroes in sexual strength. number of instances, their sexual performance apparently tends to agree with this stereotype (cf. Allport, 1954; Champly, 1936; Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, 1957, pp. 16-75; Kardiner, 1954; Menninger, 1938, pp. 337-350; Menninger & Menninger, 1942; Stekel, 1921; Whyte, 1955, p. It can be expected that as long as this stereotype remains a part of the mentality of such white persons, they will feel sexually inferior to Negroes, especially when in their presence (cf. Whyte, 1955, p. 19), and will, in various forms, show resistance to getting rid of this kind of mis-education. For instance today the greatest resistance to integration is the feeling among a number of white persons that widespread intermarriage would result between whites and Negroes, especially white women and Negro men (Dwyer, 1958; Rowan, 1957; Schuman, et al., 1958).

It is important to note that in all of the foregoing

instances, essentially the very same psychological problem was observed in different cultures and in different groups within the same culture. To the reflective observer the implication is quite clear that there is a universal natural lawfulness of human behavior and that the best theoretical principles of psychology will be found to apply with equal validity to all human beings everywhere.

Therefore when the foregoing observations are considered in relation to the major findings of the present investigation, the implication is that the public would benefit from a superordinate-goal program aimed at helping a number of white persons and a number of Negro persons get rid of the mis-education. As indicated earlier, superordinate goals cannot possibly be reached by one group without the fuller and more constructive cooperation of other groups (Sherif, 1956; Sherif & Sherif, 1953, 1956). The intellectual and sexual stereotypes of the Negro are in opposition to superordinate goals, because they require one group to reach its goals at the expense of the other.

Related to this is the fact that psychotherapy is a form of re-education (cf. Adler, 1935; Freud, 1949; Weiss & English, 1949). It is therefore aimed at helping the patient or client to get rid of his mis-education by unlearning the

negative attitudes involved and by simultaneously learning in their place positive attitudes (Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, 1957).

It appears impossible, however, for the foregoing kinds of re-education to take place in the absence of super-ordinate goals.

Future-Research Implications

It is suggested that future research be done on the same or essentially the same problem of this study. Such research would do well to overcome the limitations of this study. Second, it could create a more realistic experimental situation so as to provide many more degrees or forms of freedom of judging (or of any other psychological function) in order to get at the interrelations of attitudes through the interrelations of the referent items encompassed by the attitudes themselves (cf. Sherif & Hovland, 1953; Sherif & Sherif, 1956). Third, subjects at a greater variety of age levels could be employed in the experiment. Such age range may provide further valuable scientific data on ego formation, ego development, and ego reformation in space and time. This suggestion is especially important in terms of Piaget's research on concept formation with increase in age (Piaget,

1930, 1932). This suggestion takes on more significance in view of the discussion by Sherif and Sherif (1956, p. 495) which points out the implication that the generalization process necessary in attitude formation has its counterpart in concept formation. Fourth, the same psychological problem of this study could be investigated among individuals of different cultures, different subcultures, and different groups within these. Fifth and last, the concept of reference groups could be utilized to great advantage with the same problem of this study, but in a more real-life experimental design than was possible in the present investigation (cf. Sherif & Sherif, 1956).

The conclusions of this investigation will be indicated in the next chapter, which will also present a summary of the study.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Generally, the problem of this study was an attempt to transpose an intergroup relations problem from the sociological to the psychological level of analysis.

In sociology, it was found that the group norms defining the phases of Negro-white intergroup relations also define significantly more freedom for the feminine role of the Negro woman than for the masculine role of the Negro man. Testing this finding indirectly by psychological experiment was the main concern of this study.

The above finding was observed to be intimately tied up with the development of the Negro family in the context of the above phases of intergroup relations. The finding was, moreover, observed to be supported by findings indicating that the stereotype of the Negro as hereditarily superior to whites in sexual strength has made a significant contribution to producing tension in most of the above phases,

especially the present one of integration. It was further observed that the above sex differential has appeared mostly in the interrelated political and economic and least in the socially oriented religious areas of the various phases.

In psychology, an attempt was made to determine whether or not the assumed ego-attitude counterparts of the above sexually differentiating group norms would be manifested by the subjects when judging an experimentally provided anti-"separate but equal"-pro-family stimulus issue.

From realistic historical, sociological, and psychological leads, hypotheses were formulated and tested experimentally. The main prediction stemming from these hypotheses was that the females would utilize the interrelated political and economic approaches to the issue significantly more freely than would the males.

Two brief figural or anchoring dependent clauses, representing the two major sides of the issue, were each embedded in six different grounds or settings to replicate essentially the dual, contradictory, vague, suggestible, and inherently unequal features of "separate but equal" group norms. The settings were derived by simplifying the six characterizations of evaluative attitudes contained in the 1951 Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values scale.

The resulting twelve stimulus cards, together with a sheet of clarifying statements, were presented as a deck to 113 Negro adolescents (70 females and 43 males). Each subject was asked to select, from the whole deck, a hand of the three cards which to him or her contained points of view that were the most important for solving those human problems that he or she judged to come first in importance.

Three major conclusions are drawn from the findings. First, the females manifested significantly more ego involvement than did the males in the interrelated political and economic approaches to the issue; however, this difference is significant only when the interrelated political and economic are patterned with the interrelated religious and social approaches (p of .01). In this sense, the main prediction indicated above is confirmed. Second, the females manifested significantly more ego involvement than did the males in the political approach to the issue; however, this difference (like the preceding one) is significant only when the political is patterned with the interrelated religious and social approaches to the issue (p of .025). Third, in view of the foregoing, it is concluded that the findings of this study indirectly confirm the main sociological finding involved.

Limitations to the study were pointed out. These restrict the confidence placed in the foregoing conclusions until further research.

Theoretical, practical, and future-research implications were suggested.

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APPENDIX A

List of the Twelve Stimulus Phrases Presented on Twelve Separate $2\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ " Cards in the Form of a Deck in the Experiment

Scientific values of truth to realize more rights and opportunities for all people of the society

Artistic values of experience to realize more rights and opportunities for all people of the society

Practical values of finance to realize more rights and opportunities for all people of the society

Political values of leadership to realize more rights and opportunities for all people of the society

Social values of love of people to realize more rights and opportunities for all people of the society

Religious values of unity to realize more rights and opportunities for all people of the society Scientific values of truth to realize more personal happiness for all members of the family

Artistic values of experience to realize more personal happiness for all members of the family

Practical values of finance to realize more personal happiness for all members of the family

Political values of leadership to realize more personal happiness for all members of the family

Social values of love of people to realize more personal happiness for all members of the family

Religious values of unity to realize more personal happiness for all members of the family

APPENDIX B

Additional Stimulus Material Presented on One 8½ x 11" Sheet of Paper

VALUES AND HUMAN PROBLEMS

Scientific values of truth

Solving some human problems may mostly involve scientific values of truth. These values attach greatest importance to finding truth by observing and reasoning in an impartial way, and by making knowledge orderly and systematic.

Practical values of finance

Solving some human problems may mostly involve practical values of finance. These values attach greatest importance to making things and experiences useful. For example, these values insist that education should be practical and that impractical knowledge is a waste.

Artistic values of experience

Solving some human problems may mostly involve artistic values of experience. These values attach greatest importance to enjoying the form or beauty of things and experiences. For example, these values insist that each single impression should be enjoyed for its own sake.

Social values of love of people

Solving some human problems may mostly involve social values of love of people. These values attach greatest importance to expressing kindness, sympathy, unselfishness, and love towards people.

Political values of leadership

Solving some human problems may mostly involve political values of leadership. These values attach the greatest importance to personal influence through realizing the power, rights, and duties of responsible leadership.

Religious values of unity

Solving some human problems may mostly involve religious values of unity. These values attach the greatest importance to relating oneself to the world as a whole and to uniting oneself with divine reality.

APPENDIX C

Subject's Personal Data Sheet

Age
Sex
Occupation or profession of father
Occupation or profession of mother
Occupation or profession you plan to enter in future
Grade you are now in
What has impressed you the most about solving the human problems you have considered in this survey? (Give facts from life, as you have experienced it, to support this impression. Write your answer in the space below.)

APPENDIX D

Key to Symbols of Eight Experimental External Stimulus Factors and to One (AVL-SVS) Symbol Otherwise

Symbols*	Literal Translation	Abridged Meaning**						
aSBE	anti-"separate but equal"	external stimulus factor relevant to anti-"separate but equal" ego-attitude						
pF	pro-family	external stimulus factor relevant to pro-family ego-attitude						
AVL-SVS	Allport-Vernon- Lindzey <u>Study of</u> <u>Values</u> scale	the 1951 edition; not itself a stimulus factor as intended in this appendix; however, six stimulus factors to follow were derived from its attitude characterizations.						
T	theoretical	external stimulus factor relevant to theoretical attitude						
A	aesthetic	external stimulus factor relevant to aesthetic attitude						
E	economic	external stimulus factor relevant to economic attitude						
P	political	external stimulus factor relevant to political attitude						
S	social	external stimulus factor relevant to social attitude						
R	religious	external stimulus factor relevant to religious attitude						

^{*}These symbols, particularly the factor symbols, are mostly used with one another, especially in Appendixes E and F.

^{**}Fuller version of meaning in the two columns of six stimulus items each in Appendix A.

APPENDIX E

Table 1

Female Subjects' Selected Patterns of Three First-in-Importance Stimulus Cards Grouped by aSBE and pF with Their Accompanying AVL-SVS Symbols and by Age and Subject-Assigned Ranks within this Grouping

(N = 70)

Female Ss Grouped by Number and Age	aSBE or pF Grouping with AVL-SVS Symbols*	_	Assigned R Second	ank Order Third
	Selected Stimulus Card Patterns for Weightier Anti-"Separate But Equal" Factor			
No. 69; 18		pF S	aSBE P	aSBE T
No. 55; 18		aSBE S	aSBE T	aSBE P
No. 51; 17		aSBE S	aSBE A	pF P
No. 39; 17		aSBE S	aSBE P	pF A
No. 50; 18		aSBE R	aSBE E	aSBE P
No. 56; 17		aSBE R	aSBE E	aSBE P
No. 14; 17		aSBE R	aSBE T	aSBE S
No. 44; 17		aSBE R	aSBE T	aSBE S
No. 16; 18		aSBE S	pF R	aSBE T

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Table 1--Continued

Female Ss Grouped by Number and Age	aSBE or pF Grouping with AVL-SVS Symbols*	Subject-A First		Rank Order Third
No. 26; 17		aSBE S	aSBE R	aSBE T
No. 70; 17		aSBE T	aSBE R	aSBE S
No. 32; 18		aSBE R	aSBE E	aSBE S
No. 11; 19		pF R	aSBE S	aSBE E
No. 17; 17		aSBE R	aSBE S	aSBE E
No. 25; 16		aSBE R	aSBE S	pF E
No. 35; 17		aSBE R	aSBE S	aSBE E
No. 6; 17		pF S	aSBE E	aSBE R
No. 31; 17		aSBE S	aSBE R	aSBE E
No. 13; 18		aSBE R	aSBE A	aSBE S
No. 38; 17		aSBE R	aSBE S	pF A
No. 12; 18		aSBE P	aSBE R	pF S
No. 68; 17		aSBE P	aSBE R	pF S
No. 41; 17		aSBE P	aSBE S	aSBE R
No. 19; 18		aSBE R	aSBE P	aSBE S
No. 21; 17		aSBE R	aSBE P	aSBE S
No. 45; 17		aSBE R	aSBE P	aSBE S
No. 48; 18		aSBE R	pF P	aSBE S

APPENDIX F

Table 2

Male Subjects' Selected Patterns of Three First-in-Importance Stimulus Cards Grouped by aSBE and pF with Their Accompanying AVL-SVS Symbols and by Age and Subject-Assigned Ranks within this Grouping

(N = 43)

Male <u>S</u> s Grouped by Number and Age	aSBE or pF Grouping with AVL-SVS Symbols*	-	Assigned Second	Rank Order Third
	Selected Stimulus Card Patterns for Weightier Anti-"Separate But Equal" Factor			
No. 12; 17		aSBE A	aSBE T	pF E
No. 10; 18		aSBE T	aSBE E	aSBE A
No. 36; 18		aSBE P	aSBE R	aSBE T
No. 19; 19		aSBE R	aSBE P	aSBE T
No. 38; 18		aSBE P	aSBE T	aSBE R
No. 34; 17		aSBE R	pF E	aSBE P
No. 18; 17		pF R	aSBE P	aSBE E
No. 30; 18		aSBE R	aSBE E	pF T
No. 14; 19		aSBE R	aSBE T	aSBE E

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Table 2--Continued

Male S Grouped Number a Age	Ъy	aSBE or pF Grouping with AVL-SVS Symbols*	-	ect-As	-		Rank Ord Thi	
No. 1;	18		aSBE	R	aSBE	S	aSBE	E
No. 21;	17		aSBE	R	aSBE	S	aSBE	E
No. 26;	17		aSBE	R	aSBE	S	pF E	
No. 31;	18		aSBE	S	aSBE	R	pF E	
No. 6;	18		aSBE	R	pF S	7	aSBE	P
No. 17;	17		aSBE	R	aSBE	S	pF P	
No. 39;	18		aSBE	R	aSBE	S	aSBE	P
No. 23;	18		aSBE	S	aSBE	R	aSBE	P
No. 11;	18		aSBE	R	aSBE	s	aSBE	T
No. 22;	17		aSBE	R	aSBE	T	aSBE	S
No. 33;	17		aSBE	R	pF T		aSBE	S
No. 24;	17		aSBE	S	aSBE	R	aSBE	Т
No. 25;	18		aSBE	S	pF R		aSBE	Т
No. 13;	17		pF S		aSBE	A	aSBE	E
No. 15;	19		pF S		aSBE	E	aSBE	Α
No. 3;	18		aSBE	Р	aSBE	T	aSBE	E
No. 29;	17		aSBE	R	aSBE	E	aSBE	A

Table 2--Continued

			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·										
Grou Numb	ale uped per Age	Ъу	aSBE or pF Grouping with AVL-SVS Symbols*		_	ect-As	-	-		Rank		de	
No.	43;	17		aSI	3E	R	рF	R		· ·	aSI	3E	P
No.	42;	17		pF	R		aS1	BE	S		aSI	BE	R
No.	28;	18		pF	S		aS]	BE	R	•	aSI	 3E	A
No.	5;	17		aSI	3E	S	aSl	BE	R		aSI	3E	S
No.	4;	18		aSI	3E	S	aSI	BE	Т]	ρF	Т	
			Selected Stimulus Card Patterns for Weightier Pro-Family Factor										
No.	40;	18		pF	R		pF	E		ä	aSI	3E	S
No.	8;	18		pF	R		aSl	BE	s]	ρF	E	
No.	20;	17		pF	R		aSI	BE	S	1	ρF	Т	
No.	27;	18		pF	R		pF	S		1	ρF	T	
No.	32;	18		aSl	BE	R	рF	S		1	ρF	Т	
No.	35;	18		pF	S		pF	R			ρF	P	
No.	37;	17		pF	A		рF	Т]	ρF	S	
No.	41;	17		pF	Е		aS]	BE	R]	ρF	P	

Table 2--Continued

Male Ss Grouped b Number an	y aSBE or pF Grouping	~	Assigned Ran Second	nk Order Third
No. 7; 1	.8	pF E	pF T	aSBE S
No. 16; 1	.7	pF R	pF P	pF T
No. 9; 1	.8	pF S	aSBE R	pF A
No. 2; 1	.9	pF R	aSBE T	pF E

 $^{{\}tt *See}$ Appendix D for the meaning of the symbols.