1967

An Analysis of the Attitudes of Lay Teachers of Catholic Boys' High Schools in the Chicago Area Toward Selected Minority Groups

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Recommended Citation

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE ATTITUDES OF LAY TEACHERS OF CATHOLIC
BOYS' HIGH SCHOOLS IN THE CHICAGO AREA
TOWARD SELECTED MINORITY GROUPS

by

Thomas G. Schackmuth

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

February
1967
LIFE

Thomas G. Schackmuth was born in Chicago, Illinois, April 23, 1940. He was graduated from St. Ignatius High School, Chicago, Illinois, June, 1958 and from Loyola University, Chicago, June 1962 with the degree of Bachelor of Science in Social Science. His graduate studies were performed at Loyola University. In the academic year 1960-1961, he attended the University of Vienna, Vienna, Austria.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

It is the writer's purpose to identify the attitudes of a sample of Catholic male lay teachers of Catholic boys' high schools in the Chicago area, which are a reflection of the reference groups to which they belong. Of central importance is the exploration of those patterns of relationship between one's reference groups and the attitudes one possesses.

Serving as an agent of socialization, the high school teacher is formally appointed or selected by the interested parties - the parents, state and particular educational institution - to communicate a set of values to adolescents in preparing them for a pluralistic society. Since the religious community as well as parents have at least the implied confidence that those who teach possess a set of desired values, it will be the purpose of this study, at least partially, to identify these values.

A comprehensive inquiry into the behavior of the high school teacher as an agent of socialization would be ideal; however, since the time, financial resources and the setting is not available for such an undertaking, a study in such depth is not possible.

However, the study does attempt to identify, in part, the attitudes which are possessed by the teacher who serves as a functionary of
socialization for pluralistic living. By focusing on the identification of
certain selected attitudes as being associated with certain socio-economic
factors, the study hopefully will reveal attitudes which will represent a
crystallization of possible influences that bear upon the individual teacher.

Theoretical Implications

In attempting to delineate those influences which may reflect upon the
attitude of the teacher, several questions emerge: What persons or groups
within the social environment of the teacher have significantly affected his
attitudes? Can it be generally acknowledged that one's behavior is
prominently affected by the groups of which one is a member? Or must there
exist the possibility that individuals frequently tend to orient themselves
to groups other than their own in shaping their attitudes?

Merton sheds some light on this question when he suggests two distinct
frames of reference by which individuals acquire attitudes and evaluate their
own behavior.

the first is the "normative type" which sets and maintains
standards for the individual and the second is the "comparison type"
which provides a frame of comparison relative to which the individual
evaluates himself and others . . . . The first is a source of values
assimilated by designated individuals (who may or may not be members
of the group). . . . The second is instead a context for evaluating
the relative position of oneself and others, . . . . .

\[1\text{Robert Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe: The}
\text{Free Press, 1963), p. 283.}\]
Merton's dichotomy suggests that individuals do not necessarily internalize and maintain a set of norms established by groups to which they belong, but possibly acquire behavior patterns that are significantly shaped by those groups to which the individual is not a part.

Newcomb gives further evidence that one's behavior is significantly affected by groups to which he does not belong. In his classic study of value-assimilation by college students, Newcomb concludes that individuals may either assimilate or reject norms of the groups to which they belong. If one is motivated to reject the norms of the groups to which he belongs, he forms counter-norms. If one is not motivated to reject the norms of the groups to which he belongs, he may be motivated to acquire new norms of groups to which he does not belong and establish a frame of reference to non-membership groups.

However, Williams indicates that one's frame of reference accompanies his need for group belongingness and group anchorage. According to Williams, individuals without stable social relationships and strong group ties remain uncertain of their identity. Williams contends that the need to conform to the expectations of those groups to which the individual belongs creates feelings of social distance toward those groups perceived to be lacking in mutually acceptable norms.


What then is the individual's frame of reference for the attitudes he possesses? Is his behavior prominently affected by those groups of which he is a member? Or perhaps does he, at least partly, reject the norms of his membership groups and assume a broader frame of reference to include non-membership groups?

In an attempt to determine which reference individuals or groups an individual identifies with, much is dependent upon the social milieu in which he participates. The immediate social environment, constituted by the social relationships in which the individual is directly engaged, may significantly influence his perspectives; or perhaps the larger society, including public figures with whom there is no direct interaction, serves prominently as a frame of reference for the individual.

Fenichel has observed that some individuals may experience a rapid turnover of personnel in their immediate environment making enduring social relationships impossible. Consequently, people who lack local reference individuals may turn to more distant figures with whom they identify themselves.

Assuming, then, that different reference groups have varying relevance to the behavior patterns of individuals, one's group frame of reference will

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not have identical impact on the specified behavior patterns of individuals.

It might be argued, however, that specific frames of reference may be relevant to segments of an individual's values. For the purposes of this study, it is necessary to explore what particular kinds of values regarding certain groups are associated with specific frames of reference. Does the high school teacher, for example, reflect any particular types of values or prejudices seemingly related to his identification with such frames of reference as his ethnic group, religious group, educational group or community in which he lives? In applying Newcomb's conclusions there is the distinct possibility that the teacher will be motivated to resist the norms and values maintained by the community in which he lives, his ethnic group, religious group or educational group and adopt norms and values of other potential frames of reference.

One might hypothesize that individuals who assimilate a set of norms and values may be motivated to reject those norms and values or relate negatively to a frame of reference which is perceived to be ideologically opposed to their own preferred frame of reference.

Perhaps, then, a teacher who assimilates those values in which his community approves, or who seeks to identify with the "values of the middle class," may be motivated to reject the values implicit in the teachings of his university or those values professed in the tenets of his religion.

Similarly, a teacher who establishes as his frame of reference, a community which attributes to him a low professional status may view his work
as a job and reject his educational group as a frame of reference. Consequently, he may reject the conception of his role as a contributor to the educational process in its social setting in terms of socializing the student.

With these introductory remarks, an attempt is made in this study to examine responses to a questionnaire which was administered to high school teachers in Catholic boys' high schools in order to examine responses for a possible reflection of selected reference groups or membership groups contributing to a "seeming" ethnocentrism and prejudice against Negroes, Jews and the Church.

A group has been defined as "two or more people who bear an explicit psychological relationship to one another," or as a "collection of persons who are bound together by a distinctive set of social relations." Olmstead has defined a group "as a plurality of individuals who are in contact with one another, who take one another into account, and who are aware of some significant commonality."

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However, when considering the concept "category" or "social category" a noticeable difference is observed. The qualities of interaction, psychological relationship or awareness of common membership seem to be lacking.

Williams defines a category as a collection of individuals "having only a vague sense of membership and a very rudimentary capacity for any sort of concerted collective action." Olmstead's explanation of the concept stresses the assigning of persons to classes or types on the basis of some common characteristic such as age, sex, or political affiliation.

When alluding to the concept "frame of reference" or "reference group", this writer is not explicitly identifying a group but rather a category. The term "reference groups" is then somewhat of a misnomer. A reference group is operationally defined as involving those categories, classes, or types based on some common characteristics whose perspective the individual acquires and through his participation forms attitudes and evaluates his behavior.

In sharp contrast, the concept of "membership group" specifically includes group properties. In addition to acquiring perspectives that affect attitudes and behavior, the membership group connotes interaction according to established patterns and psychological recognition as belonging to the "group" by the other "members".

Merton's explication on membership groups has led the writer to adopt

9Williams, op. cit., p. 18.

10Merton, op. cit., p. 283.
the following definition of a membership group: A number of people who interact with one another in accordance with patterned expectations of each other's behavior and who are regarded by the others as belonging to the group.

In a previous paragraph it was pointed out that Robin Williams believes that conformity to the expectation of one's membership group or reference group may create feelings of social distance to groups which are perceived to be lacking in mutually acceptable norms. In this study such feelings of social distance seemingly displayed by the high school teacher will be suggested by their attitudinal response to selected statements on the questionnaire focusing on Negroes, Jews and the Church.

Thurstone has defined an attitude "as the sum total of man's inclinations and feelings, prejudice or bias, preconceived notions, ideas, fears, threats and convictions about any specific topic." In attempting then to discover the high school teacher's ethnocentric attitudes, we are seeking the partial constellation of ideas and feelings that he possesses about Negroes, Jews and the Church.

When considering that the particular culture man finds himself in shapes the entire constellation of his ideas and feelings, it is likely that feelings

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11 Ibid., p. 285.

12 Edward A. Marciniak, "The Racial Attitudes of Students in the Catholic Colleges of the Chicago Area" (unpublished Master's dissertation, Department of Sociology, Loyola University, Chicago), p. 141.
of social distance will emerge toward specific groups perceived to be ideologically in opposition to one's values or seem as "different" from oneself. Such negative attitude or unfavorable disposition toward specific and entire groups of persons has been referred to as prejudice by Gordon Allport.

Prejudice has been defined as a "judgment without due examination of the facts" or "a feeling favorable or unfavorable toward a person or things prior to or not based on actual experience," or "thinking ill of others without sufficient warrant."

However, for our purposes, prejudice will be defined in the sense that it implies an overcategorized, negative judgment about a specific yet entire group of persons. Allport defines prejudice as:

an avertive or hostile attitude toward a person who belongs to a group, simply because he belongs to that group and is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to the group.

Whether strong negative feelings toward an outgroup always accompany positive feelings toward one's reference group is a question that has been

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14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid., p. 8
explored in many studies. Sumner has been identified among sociologists as supporting the idea that "ingroup solidarity is related to outgroup hostility." However, Goodman's study of Negro and white children showed that racial preference was associated with hostility in only a minority of cases. Furthermore, Williams indicates that there are rare instances of endogamous and ethnocentric peoples who have sustained contacts with little conflict and little or no assimilation of one culture to another.

Adorno's explication on ethnocentrism provides the following definition:

A pervasive and rigid ingroup and outgroup distinction involving negative imagery and hostile attitudes regarding non-reference groups and positive imagery and submissive attitudes regarding reference groups with a hierarchical authoritarian view of group interaction in which ingroups are rightly dominant and outgroups subordinate.

Williams introduces the concept of negative ethnocentrism indicative of a self-hatred or self-depreciation of one's own membership. This negative ethnocentrism is manifested by negative sentiments towards one's membership usually in the case of subordinated minority groups who are the objects of prejudice and discrimination.

17 Williams, op. cit., p. 23.
18 Ibid., p. 24.
In this study, however, ethnocentrism will be defined in its positive sense as presented by Adorno. The concept of prejudice will be used in the sense that it refers to highly specific negative prejudgments toward minority groups.

With these remarks, it is necessary to draw upon the conclusions of studies which reflect patterns of prejudice and ethnocentrism as they affect the teacher in the performance of his role.

Some Related Studies

Some recent research presently being conducted under the auspices of the North Central Association reveals that secondary school teachers are ill-prepared to handle human relations situations in the classroom. Some clear-cut negative attitudes of teachers toward minority groups, particularly Negroes, have been revealed. This research indicates that the college training of these secondary school teachers has not adequately provided the necessary information and skills required in teaching the diversity of people found in the public schools.

The negative attitudes toward minority groups which are revealed by the teachers in the survey indicates the incompleteness of their information about children and adolescents of minority groups. Furthermore, a lack of

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understanding of the cultural patterns of minority groups is quite evident by the descriptions these teachers give in telling how they deal with individuals who are experiencing learning difficulties. An additional dimension of this study discloses that teachers are frequently noncreative and unimaginative with respect to teaching methods and that the amount and quality of pre-service education is insufficient to meet the needs of teachers who will work in metropolitan areas, especially where there is a wide range of abilities and a heterogeneous population.

Consistent with this general condition, Reverend Andrew Greeley et al., in a study of the effects of Catholic education, has revealed that Catholic secondary education has been able to transmit a sense of loyalty to Catholic norms such as Papal authority, religious knowledge of doctrinal and ethical orthodoxy, and a willingness to accept the Church as an authoritative teacher in controversial areas. However, the same Catholic secondary education has seemingly had little impact on the social attitudes of graduates of its secondary schools. Since the products of Catholic education were no more positive than Protestants and Catholics educated in public schools in their attitudes toward race, international relations and domestic-economic problems, it would appear that the social doctrine and values have not been transmitted.

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21 Ibid., p. 21.

effectively either by the institutionalized church or by Catholic education.

However, some additional studies suggest that Catholic parochial and secondary education has had some success in transmitting favorable social attitudes to its graduates. In a study of factors related to the internalization of Catholic values, Schindler analyzed the attitudes of a group of engaged couples concerning marriage morality, racial prejudice, war morality, censorship and fundamental points of Catholic doctrine and values. His findings reveal that engaged couples who had received their education predominantly in Catholic schools scored significantly more according to the expectations of Catholic values than did Catholics who had predominantly received public school education.

In a study of Catholic boys of predominantly middle class families from the Chicago area, Sister M. Ignatius Staley's findings indicate a more demonstrable absence of racial prejudice among the products of all-parochial grade school education in comparison to products of public school education. One might hypothesize that perhaps Catholic higher education, with its

\[23\] Ibid., p. 54.


detailed formal instruction in philosophy and some instruction in the social sciences, should develop teachers who are capable of communicating to Catholic students an understanding and enthusiasm for relating to human beings within a Christian framework. However, Father Greeley's research suggests that the transmission of Catholic values has not been so much the result of the parochial school system, but rather the school system is a result of the transmission of Catholic values.

If Catholic values have not emanated from the school system, perhaps the effects of Catholic education can best be understood in the context of the acculturation of American Catholics. Discrepancies in social attitudes of American Catholics along ethnic lines or at various age levels may reveal that Catholic education has had a dynamic effect on the acculturation of immigrant groups.

**Some Suggestions for Future Research**

In his analysis of the communication of Catholic values, O'Dea points out that Catholic education has emphasized a negative statement of morality and made spiritualism highly individualistic. From this observation, he suggests that Catholic education aims to formalize religious practice and

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26 Greeley, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

produces little understanding, appreciation, or motivation for Christian living. He indicates that as Catholics have experienced upward social mobility, they have assimilated to a materialistic society developing shallow ideals. Accordingly, they are not interested in learning and do not understand the possibility of any kind of genuine vocation outside the "sacred" sphere.

There is evidence to suggest that the alleged failure of Catholic secondary education to transmit positive social attitudes may be attributable in part to cynicism and/or tensions between the lay faculty and the religious faculty-administration in the Catholic secondary schools. Complaints by laymen of the lack of appreciation of religious administrators for the laymen's permanent role in the school system may serve as a handicap to the layman in performing his role effectively. An additional handicap to the lay teacher may revolve about unfavorable working conditions. The heavy teaching load, the limited opportunity for promotion, the limited participation in faculty meetings, the lack of social security, retirement benefits, or tenure -- all these may well have a bearing in seemingly reducing the layman's enthusiasm for performing his job.

Salary may be another source of this tension. What appears to be an "enormous" salary from the standpoint of the religious administrator appears


29 Ibid.
to the layman to be in variance with the basic principles of social justice. 30

Various studies suggest that attitudes toward one's reference groups and membership groups are not acquired in a social vacuum but depend on whether the individual is personally absorbed or externally attached to the reference groups. Allport points out that belonging to a church because it is safe, powerful and superior is quite different from belonging to a church because its basic creed of brotherhood expresses the ideals that one sincerely believes in. The latter motivation for "belonging" contains for the individual an "interiorized" religious outlook and is associated with tolerance in social attitudes; however, belonging for the sake of safety, power and superiority breeds an "institutionalized" religious outlook with an authoritarian character. 31 Adorno suggests that the authoritarian structure of the Church may actually breed individuals who submit to authority and who become ethnocentric about the Church as a rigid membership group. Consequently, the individual's image of the Church as an authoritarian structure might readily overshadow or contradict his configuration of attitudes about democracy and brotherhood.

According to Robin Williams, whenever a rigid acceptance of one's own group develops, negative imagery will be attributed to outgroups. It might

31Allport, op. cit., p. 422.
32Adorno et al., op. cit., p. 422.
33Williams, op. cit., p. 25.
be expected then that immigrant groups which customarily have been enveloped in "ghettos" and become assimilated to the dominant group only through a gradual process, might tend to hold rigidly to language, folkways and religious beliefs of their nationality and thus reject other language, religious and ethnic groups, and social classes. Hence, the more recent immigrants to America may exhibit more intense ethnocentric attitudes and a correspondingly higher degree of prejudice.

Additional evidence to account for anti-Negro prejudice is attributed to the impersonal, mechanical culture of our large cities where the lack of interpersonal contacts arouses insecurity and uncertainty in men's minds. The strength of advertising in relation to standards of living and desires possibly forces standards which call for contempt of people who are poor and who do not reach the prescribed level of material existence within the class system. One might predict, then in concurring with Bettelheim's findings, that with increasing upward social mobility a more intense prejudice develops toward those who rank lower in social class.

With these remarks on the theoretical implications of studies relating to the teacher's role in the adoption of values, the following four hypotheses will be tested:

34Allport, op. cit., pp. 206-207.

1. Individuals of those national descent or ethnic groups which have most recently migrated to the United States will exhibit higher anti-Negro attitudes than those nationality or ethnic groups which have less recently migrated to the United States.

2. Individuals who have received all or most of their college training in a Catholic institution will exhibit lower anti-Negro attitudes than those who received all or most of their college training in a non-Catholic institution.

3. Individuals who have experienced measurable upward or downward social mobility in the social class structure within the last generation will exhibit higher anti-Negro attitudes than those who have remained stable in the social class structure.

4. Individuals who exhibit a high degree of identification with their own reference and membership groups will relate negatively to other groups perceived to be in tension ideologically with such reference and membership groups.

Sub-hypotheses:

4-A. Individuals who exhibit higher ethnocentric attitudes will exhibit higher anti-Negro attitudes.

4-B. Individuals who exhibit higher ethnocentric attitudes will exhibit higher anti-Semitic attitudes.

4-C. Individuals who exhibit lower anti-Negro attitudes will exhibit attitudes expressing socially conventional approval toward the (Catholic) Church.
The universe of the study includes all male lay teachers currently teaching in the Catholic boys' high schools throughout the Chicago Area. In order to identify all those Catholic boys' high schools who have male lay teachers on their faculties, the Archdiocese of Chicago School Board was consulted to obtain a complete listing of all Catholic schools in the Chicago area. A total of twenty-eight Catholic boys' high schools have been identified and included within the study. Eighteen of the schools are located within the city of Chicago, while the remaining ten are situated outside of the city limits, yet are within the metropolitan area of Chicago.

Since there were difficulties in gaining the cooperation of all schools within the population, the sample included twenty-one participating high schools. The following schools which participated in the study are enumerated according to their location in and around the city of Chicago.

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<td>Quigley Preparatory Seminary, So.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Weber High School</td>
<td>St. Laurence High School, Stickney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quigley Preparatory Seminary, North</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>West</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Holy Trinity High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Ignatius High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mel High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Phillip's Basilica High School</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notre Dame High School for Boys in Niles, Illinois, was purposely excluded from the study since the lay teachers at this school participated in the pilot study. Thirty lay teachers at Notre Dame received a preliminary form of the questionnaire in order to ascertain their opinions and understanding of it. An introductory letter explained the purpose of the study and requested the lay teachers to complete the questionnaire and return it to the writer without signing their names or otherwise identifying themselves. The teachers were also requested to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the questionnaire with the writer either orally or in writing. A total of twenty-seven teachers complied by filling out the questionnaire. Since the majority of these respondents indicated that the questionnaire was too lengthy requiring between forty minutes and one hour to complete, it was judged advisable to reduce the original ninety attitude items to forty-five. Items noted to be ambiguous or eliciting more than one attitude were eliminated.

The questionnaire was developed from a collection of items taken from 

36 Adorno, et al., op. cit., p. 146.

37 Williams, op. cit., p. 401

values of religious women.

The questionnaire itself consists of eighty items of which the first thirty-five items requested information concerning the socio-economic background of the respondent; the remaining forty-five items are attitude statements of various social issues requiring the respondent to indicate the extent of his agreement or disagreement with that particular item.

Among the personal background items, questions were designed to elicit such information as the respondent's age, teaching subjects, national descent, the nature and size of the community in which he resides, the extent of his education, his major field of study, the religious affiliation of the schools he has attended, the number of semester hours he has completed in theology, philosophy and the social sciences, his familiarity with the papal encyclicals and finally the occupation, education and income of his parents and siblings.

Of the attitude items, the first fifteen items are statements relating to salient, personal, physical and social characteristics of Negroes. The next ten items are statements of ethnocentrism focusing on social issues about conscientious objectors, European refugees, military training and

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40 Sister Anthony Claret, O.S.F., loc. cit.
foreign leaders of religious sects, social movements and labor unions.
The next ten statements are taken from Thurstone's scale of attitudes toward
the Church. The final ten statements focus on attitudes toward Jews.

For each of the forty-five attitude items, the respondent indicated
the degree of his agreement or disagreement with the statement. A number of
"one" in the left hand column indicates strong agreement; a number of "two"
indicates moderate agreement; a number of "three" indicates that the
respondent is undecided on that particular item; a number of "four"
indicates moderate disagreement and a number of "five" strong disagreement.

The procedure for distributing the questionnaires consisted in
requesting the principals of the cooperating high schools to indicate the
number of lay members on their teaching faculty. The appropriate number of
questionnaires was mailed to the principal who was then requested to issue a
copy to each lay member of the teaching faculty.

The procedure for returning the questionnaires was to request the lay
faculty to seal the unsigned completed questionnaire in a white envelope
provided and to return it to the principal. The principal then was
instructed to mail the sealed questionnaires to the researcher. A self-
addressed large brown envelope with sufficient postage to cover the
returning mailing costs was enclosed.

41 These items were taken from Adorno et al., pp. 110-111.
42 Thurstone, loc. cit. pp. 61-63
As was indicated in a previous paragraph, twenty-one high school principals agreed to participate in the study by receiving copies of the mailed questionnaire. Six high school principals openly refused to participate in the study. In most cases, the unwillingness of the principal to participate in the study stemmed from one of two reasons. The most frequent explanation was that the faculty members and/or the principal were too overburdened with work at the present time (May, 1965) to complete the questionnaires, or that this particular type of questionnaire would not be relevant to the school and would be of little interest to the faculty.

A total of 561 questionnaires were mailed to the principals of the twenty-one high schools, of which 114 persons responded from approximately fourteen schools by mailing back completed questionnaires.

In coding the forty-five attitude items, the respondent received from one to five points for each item. If the respondent expressed a strongly favorable attitude toward Negroes, Jews, the Church, or those items opposed to ethnocentrism, he received five points on that particular item. If he was moderately favorable toward the statement, he received four points. For a strongly unfavorable response, he received minimal credit of one point. A moderately unfavorable response toward the item resulted in two points. Three points were given for no response or an "undecided" response to a particular item.

The total number of points for each category (Negroes, Jews, the Church, and ethnocentrism) was totaled to provide the cumulative score on the attitude items. For example, among the fifteen attitude items focusing on Negroes,
the respondent could receive a minimum of fifteen points by consistently indicating strongly unfavorable attitudes and a maximum of seventy-five points by consistently indicating strongly favorable attitudes. On those attitude items relating to Jews, the Church and low ethnocentrism, there were a total of thirty statements. In each of these categories the respondent could acquire a minimum of ten points for consistently indicating strongly unfavorable attitudes and a maximum of fifty points for consistently indicating strongly favorable attitudes. Theoretically, the cumulative scores could range from a maximum of 225 points (5 points for each of the 45 items) to a minimum of 45 points (1 point for each of the 45 items).

Some of the difficulties that emerged in the course of the study concerning the randomness of the sample will place some obvious limitations on this research. Due to the fact that only about fourteen of the schools among the population of twenty-eight returned completed questionnaires, there is some doubt as to the representativeness of the conclusions to be drawn from this study. Furthermore, as explained, there is incomplete information concerning the names of the high schools which actually participated in the study. (Frequently the post-marks on the returned envelope gave little or no indication of the zone or post office from which the questionnaires were mailed. A simple coding system designed by the writer would have obviated this problem. Needless to say, no conclusions can be drawn in terms of the responses from the schools in various sections of the city or suburbs.)

Another limitation hinges on a factor of unknown significance. Since
the high school principals were ultimately responsible for returning the mailed questionnaires, it is possible that some of the sealed envelopes containing completed questionnaires may have been mishandled or discarded. In a few instances it was apparent that envelopes had been opened and resealed with transparent tape. Furthermore, the circumstances under which the principals distributed the questionnaires to their faculties may have had some influence in the manner in which the lay teachers responded to the items on the questionnaire. Therefore the possibility remains that the responses to the questionnaire may not reflect a representative sample of the attitudes expressed by the lay faculty.

One might also question whether or not the scoring system serves as a good measure of one's attitude. Despite the pre-test, several respondents indicated on the questionnaire that certain attitude items were either vague or ambiguous to them.

An attempt will be made in Chapter Two to focus on the socio-economic background of the respondents—namely, to describe the respondents according to their nationality descent, social class, the religious affiliation of the colleges they have attended, the subjects in which they are teaching and the number of years of their teaching experience.
CHAPTER II

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE RESPONDENTS

In this study of "The Attitudes of Lay Teachers in Catholic Boys' High Schools in the Chicago Area Toward Selected Minority Groups," it was previously indicated that the universe included 561 individuals in twenty-one cooperating high schools. Of the total number of questionnaires distributed, 144 were completed and returned. These will actually be used in this investigation.

The first thirty-five items of the questionnaire seek socio-economic background information of the participants in order to test any patterns of relationship between one's reference groups and attitudes expressed toward Negroes, Jews and the Church. By utilizing this socio-economic background information of the respondents, an attempt is made to present an image of the typical or average teacher who participated in the study. However, since most of the obtained data are not susceptible to statistical analysis, an accurate representation of the average teacher is hardly possible.

When speaking of the "average" person, we refer not to any particular person but to a type which is most representative of the group under investigation. Since no attempt is made to classify any living person as the average, the existence of an "average" person is restricted to a
"logical existence" in the realm of mental images. The usefulness of such a methodological concept in attitudinal research lies in its assistance to the sociologist or statistician in presenting comprehensive, balanced pictures of the central tendencies in a collection of facts.

With recognition of the obvious limitations of the interpretative usefulness of the "average" respondent, the socio-economic background of the "average" high school teacher will be brought together in a composite that follows.

The average teacher in the study has experienced upward social mobility in the last generation and has transcended the educational attainments of both parents and the occupational level of his father. Typically, the teacher in the survey is an offspring of a lower or lower middle class family.

Although the majority describe their national descent as Irish, Polish, German or Italian, a sizable percentage are representative of numerous miscellaneous nationalities.

Typically, the teacher in the survey received most of his higher education in Catholic institutions and has had less than five years of teaching experience. However, when measuring the median for the number of years of teaching experience, the "average" respondent has been teaching for 5.7 years.

Marciniak, op. cit., p. 30.
When considering the teaching subject area of the respondents, no adequate generalizations can be made since the respondents are widely and somewhat uniformly distributed among the courses of instruction included in the typical Catholic high school curriculum.

Among a selected group of papal encyclicals, the respondents were asked to indicate which ones they had read from start to finish. A broad and somewhat uniform cross-section of respondents is revealed among those who have read none to those who have read as many as five of the encyclicals in their entirety.

For a closer look at the socio-economic background information of the respondents, the writer has isolated six factors which describe and identify the reference groups of the respondents. The six factors are as follows: nationality or ethnic group, social class, religious affiliation of the college attended, number of years of teaching experience, subject area they are teaching, number of a selected group of papal encyclicals which the respondents indicate they have read.

In recording the nationality or ethnic group of the respondents, only the Irish, Polish, German, Italian and Irish-German were identified in categories. An additional miscellaneous ("other") category includes several other nationalities to which there was an insufficient number of respondents.

An arbitrary method was used to identify one's nationality. Each participant was asked "How would you describe your family's descent?" If the respondent indicated a single ethnic group, he was classified within that group. If he chose to describe his national descent by listing two ethnic
groups, the ethnic origins of the parents and/or grandparents were used to more clearly identify the respondent's national descent. However, if, as in a few cases, the parents and the grandparents indicated that the United States was the country of their birth, very little indication of the respondent's national descent was then available. In this case, then, the ethnic group listed first was recorded as the respondent's national descent. An exception to this arbitrary rule occurred among those respondents identifying their national descent as German-Irish. Since there was a sufficient number of "German Irish" or "Irish-German" responses, a separate category was established.

Sometimes the respondent described his national descent by listing three or more ethnic groups. Whenever this situation occurred, no attempt was made to classify within a specific nationality group; all of these respondents were placed in the miscellaneous "other" category. The distribution of national descents is recorded in Table 1.

Among the 144 respondents in the study, the vast majority had experienced measurable upward social mobility. When viewing the social class position of the teachers, it was apparent that in general they had received more formal education than their parents and had transcended the occupational level of their fathers.

For this study the measure of social class has been determined by using the Hollingshead two factor index of social class based on education and occupation of father. By ranking and weighing educational attainments and the occupational levels of the respondents' fathers on a seven point scale, a measure of social class is obtained.
According to the Hollingshead index of social class, the vast majority of the respondents' children (as children of high school teachers -- lesser professionals occupationally and at least college graduates in terms of educational attainments) would now rank in Social Class II according to the Hollingshead measure. Table 2 below attests the upward social mobility experienced by the respondents in the study by illustrating their social class rankings based on fathers' occupations and education.

In inquiring about college attended, the respondents were identified as attending Catholic colleges or non-Catholic colleges. Since many of the respondents reported that they had attended more than one college they were identified as attending non-Catholic institutions only when the larger part of their college or post graduate training was received in non-Catholic
institutions. Table 3 indicates that more than three fourths of the respondents in the study received all or most of their higher education in Catholic institutions.

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS' SOCIAL CLASS, BY HOLLINGSHEAD TWO-FACTOR METHOD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Class</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I and II</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unable to Determine</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Since there were so few respondents in Social Class One and Two, it was necessary to combine these two categories.*

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS, BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF COLLEGE ATTENDED

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Affiliation of College Attended</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>77.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Catholic</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When asked "How many years have you been teaching?" more than half of the respondents in the survey indicated that they had been teaching less than five years. In Table 4 the respondents are classified according to the number of years of their teaching experience.

**Table 4**

**Distribution of Respondents, by Years of Teaching Experience**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of Teaching</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>56.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-over</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In classifying the respondents in the study according to teaching subjects, four major subject areas have been identified: Social Studies (including teachers of history, sociology, economics, civics and national problems); English; Mathematics and Natural Science (including teachers of physics, biology, chemistry, general science and all other specific areas within the field of mathematics); Business and Vocational (including teachers of accounting, bookkeeping, general business, business law, drafting, mechanical drawing, typing and shop courses); Other (which includes specifically teachers of classical and modern languages, religion and
physical education).

The particular subject area of each respondent was identified either by the subjects he indicated that he was presently teaching or by the area of concentration in which he had the most courses and training. In each of the aforementioned subject areas, there were at least fifteen responses. However, an additional "Other" category was included to identify a small assortment of teachers of religion, physical education, classical and modern languages. In each of these subject areas, there were fewer than fifteen respondents.

In Table 5, the respondents are categorized according to teaching subject.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics and Natural Science</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>24.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business and Vocational</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>01.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The respondents were asked to "Check the encyclicals you have read from start to finish, if any: "Quadragesimo Anno, Rerum Novarum, Mystici Corporis, Mater et Magistra, Pacem in Terris." Table 6 gives the distribution of respondents according to the number of selected Papal Encyclicals they have read from start to finish.

TABLE 6

DISTRIBUTION AND PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF SELECTED PAPAL ENCYCICALS THEY HAVE READ FROM START TO FINISH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Selected Papal Encyclicals Read</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>31.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>41.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Chapter Three, an attempt will be made to present the attitudes of the respondents in the study to the first fifteen attitude statements on the questionnaire—specifically, those items which focus on Negroes.
CHAPTER III

ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGROES

In this chapter, the responses to the first fifteen attitude items on the questionnaire will be analyzed in order to present the patterns of response expressed toward Negroes by the participants. The data will be presented from three points of view: (1) to determine the extent to which the attitudes toward Negroes of individuals possessing certain socio-economic characteristics deviates from the attitudes expressed toward Negroes by the "average" respondent in the study; (2) to determine any response pattern from the distribution of the responses toward Negroes in the first fifteen attitude items on the questionnaire. (3) to determine the significance of cross-comparisons and correlations between one's attitudes expressed toward Negroes and other groups selected in the study—toward Jews, the Church and ethnocentrism.

By comparing the mean attitude or the responses expressed by the "average" person in the study toward Negroes, an attempt is made to determine how significantly groups within a particular socio-economic category differ from other socio-economic groups or from the mean attitude scores expressed toward Negroes.

Table 7 presents the mean attitude scores on the fifteen attitude items relating to Negroes according to the nationality descent of the respondents.
TABLE 7

MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES TOWARD NEGROES ACCORDING TO THE
NATIONALITY DESCENT OF THE RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality Descent</th>
<th>Mean Attitude Scores Toward Negroes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>56.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>56.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>55.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German-Irish</td>
<td>55.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>57.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative Mean (all respondents)</td>
<td>54.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although each of the means in Table 7 indicate that the respondents taken as nationality descent categories are favorable rather than unfavorable in their attitudes expressed toward Negroes, it is nevertheless necessary to determine the significance of the differences among the means in Table 7.

By calculating the standard deviation of each of the means and by use of standard (Z) scores, it is possible to determine whether or not the means in Table 7 represent a chance deviation from the population of the study or are significant differences at the .05 level of certainty.

In obtaining a standard (Z) score between 1.96 and 2.58, the difference between two separate means is significant at the .05 level of certainty; a
standard score larger than 2.56 indicates that the difference between the
two means is significant at the .01 level of certainty.

It is noteworthy that the Polish mean of 50.0 differs significantly
at least at the .05 level of certainty from the cumulative mean, the Irish
mean, the German mean and "other" mean. The standard scores are 2.82, 2.59,
2.07 and 3.43 respectively. No other significant differences, that is,
standard (z) scores above 1.95 are obtained in cross-comparison among the
means according to nationality descent.

Since those of Polish descent are significantly less favorable in
their attitudes toward items relating to Negroes than either those of Irish
or German descent, this finding lends support to hypothesis number 4 which
is stated as follows:

Individuals of those national descent or ethnic groups which have
most recently migrated to the United States will exhibit higher
anti-Negro attitudes than those nationality or ethnic groups which
have less recently migrated to the United States.

It is noteworthy, however, that those of Italian descent, being
identified as recent migrants to the United States, do not exhibit attitudes
significantly different from the respondents of other national descent
groups. Moreover, those of Italian descent reflect an attitudenal pattern
more closely allied with the responses of those of German and Irish descent.

In Table 8 the mean attitudes toward Negroes of the respondents are
presented according to the religious affiliation of the college they
attended.
TABLE 8

MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES TOWARD NEGROES ACCORDING TO THE RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF THE COLLEGE ATTENDED BY THE RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Affiliation of College Attended</th>
<th>Mean Attitude Scores Toward Negroes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholic College</td>
<td>55.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Catholic College</td>
<td>53.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative Mean (all respondents)</td>
<td>54.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In testing the difference between the means in Table 8, it would appear that the deviations are small enough to be attributed to chance. Since a standard score is not obtainable at the .05 level of certainty, there are no significant differences among the means in Table 8.

These findings, then, do not lend adequate support to the hypothesis that individuals who have received all or most of their college training in a Catholic institution will exhibit lower anti-Negro attitudes than those who have received all or most of their college training in a non-Catholic institution.

According to the data presented in Table 9, there appears to be no significant discernible patterns of relationship between the social class of the respondents and the attitudes they express toward Negroes.
The data in Table 9 suggests that the higher the social class rank of the respondents, the more favorable the attitude toward items relating to Negroes; however, the differences between the means are so slight that no significant differences between the means are obtainable by the use of standard scores.

Hypothesis number 2 indicates that those who have remained stable in the social class structure will possess lower anti-Negro attitudes than those who have experienced upward or downward social mobility within the last generation. As was previously stated and illustrated in Table 2, the vast majority of the respondents had experienced upward social mobility moving
chiefly from social classes IV and V to social class II. The findings, however, do lend some support to this hypothesis from the fact that those who have remained stable in the social class structure (classes I and II) exhibit lower anti-Negro attitudes than do the respondents in social classes III, IV and V. The mean attitude differences expressed toward Negroes according to the social class of the respondents is so slight however that a chance deviation must be concluded and thus lends little or no validity to the acceptance of hypothesis number 2.

Table 10 indicates the mean attitude scores of the respondents toward Negroes according to the subject matter they teach.

**TABLE 10**

MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES TOWARD NEGROES ACCORDING TO THE TEACHING SUBJECT OF THE RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teaching Subject</th>
<th>Mean Attitude Scores Toward Negroes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>56.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>55.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics and Natural Sciences</td>
<td>54.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business and Vocational</td>
<td>54.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>52.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative Mean (all respondents)</td>
<td>54.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although the Social Studies and English teachers appear to be the most favorable toward Negroes, their mean attitude scores reflect only a chance deviation from the remainder of the respondents in the study.

In Table 11 the respondents are categorized according to the number of years of teaching experience.

TABLE 11

MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES TOWARD NEGROES ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF YEARS OF TEACHING EXPERIENCE OF THE RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Years of Teaching Experience</th>
<th>Mean Attitude Scores Toward Negroes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>54.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>58.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>54.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 or more</td>
<td>49.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative Mean (all respondents)</td>
<td>54.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few discernible patterns of relationship emerge from the data presented in Table 11. The largest difference in mean attitude scores toward Negroes appears between those who have been teaching between five and nine years and those who have been teaching fifteen years or longer. A standard (Z) score of 2.83 is obtained indicating a significant difference between
these two means at the .01 level of certainty.

In a previously stated reference to a study conducted by the North Central Association, one finding indicated that second-year teachers were generally ill-equipped to handle human relations situations in the classroom. Perhaps the relatively favorable attitude expressed toward items relating to Negroes by those teachers with five to nine years of teaching experience is indicative of the favorable influence that teaching experience may have with respect to one's attitudes and skills in handling human relations situations in the classrooms. However, those respondents who have been teaching fifteen years or longer are significantly less favorable in expressing their attitudes toward items relating to Negroes than the respondents in the five to nine-year category. Perhaps after one has been teaching for fifteen years, the crucial variable is the age factor rather than teaching experience.

The respondents who have been teaching between five and nine years are significantly more favorable in their mean attitude toward Negroes than the entire population taken collectively. A standard score of 2.00 is obtained indicating a significant difference between these two means at the .05 level of certainty. Conversely, those who have been teaching fifteen years or longer are less favorable in their mean attitude toward Negroes than the entire group of respondents. However, a standard score of 1.82 is obtained indicating a difference at only the .10 level of certainty. Therefore, the difference between these two means is interpreted as a chance deviation rather than a significant difference.

In Table 12, the data indicates that there is little or no relationship
between the number of encyclicals read from start to finish and the mean attitude expressed toward items relating to Negroes.

TABLE 12

MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES TOWARD NEGROES ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF PAPAL ENCYCICALS READ FROM START TO FINISH BY THE RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Encyclicals Read</th>
<th>Mean Attitude Scores Toward Negroes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Three, Four or Five</td>
<td>55.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One or Two</td>
<td>54.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>54.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative Mean (all respondents)</td>
<td>54.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After analyzing attitudes toward Negroes from the point of view of certain socio-economic characteristics of the respondents, it will now be necessary to analyze these attitudes towards Negroes from a second point of view. Table 13 will present a distribution of the responses by the entire population to the first fifteen attitude items on the questionnaire or those items which focus specifically on Negroes. An attempt will be made to determine the patterns of response to these first fifteen attitude items.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pct. in Agreement</th>
<th>Pct. Undecided</th>
<th>Pct. in Disagreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>It is wrong for Negroes and whites to intermarry.</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Negroes seem to have an aversion to plain hard work; they tend to be a parasitic element in society by finding easy, nonproductive jobs.</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Negroes should be more concerned with their personal appearance, and not be so dirty and smelly and unkempt.</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>There is little hope of correcting the racial defects of the Negroes since these defects are simply in their blood.</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>It would be to the best interests of all if the Negroes would form their own nation and keep more to themselves.</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>On the whole, the Negroes have probably contributed less to American life than any other group.</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>It would be a mistake to have Negroes for foremen and leaders over whites.</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Negroes may have a part to play in white civilization, but it is best to keep them in their own districts and schools and to prevent too much intermixing with whites.</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>The people who raise all the talk about putting Negroes on the same level as whites and giving them the same privileges are mostly radical agitators trying to stir up conflicts.</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 13--Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pct. in Agreement</th>
<th>Pct. Undecided</th>
<th>Pct. in Disagreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10. Middle class colored people should be allowed to buy or rent homes in middle class white neighborhoods.</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Colored people are by nature prone to crime, illegitimacy, poverty and ignorance.</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>86.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Most colored persons are treated fairly in the United States most of the time.</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>52.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Colored people have a body odor because of the pigment of their skin.</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>60.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. If a colored family buys a home in an all-white neighborhood, the property values of all other residences drop inevitably.</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. The most prevalent and fundamental cause of blighted neighborhoods is negligence and destruction on the part of the inhabitants.</td>
<td>78.4</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In analyzing the responses to the attitude items focusing on Negroes, it is readily apparent that the nature of the attitude items themselves had a bearing on the pattern of response. The extent to which a particular item elicits controversy is in itself an indication of the pattern of response to that particular statement.

Attitude items numbers four, eleven and thirteen are statements which might be considered non-controversial since they attribute social evils and shortcomings among Negroes to hereditary defects. Hence these statements
received a low percentage of responses of agreement. While only 11.1% agree that "Colored people are by nature prone to crime, illegitimacy, poverty and ignorance," an even smaller percentage of 1.4% believe "There is little hope of correcting the racial defects of the Negroes, since these defects are simply in their blood."

It is noteworthy that while only 11.8% believe "Colored people have a body odor because of the pigment of their skin," a sizeable percentage of the respondents (27.8%) are undecided on this particular item. Perhaps this statement is indicative of the respondents' lack of information concerning the relationship between environmental factors and body odor.

Judging from the responses, there are at least four statements on the questionnaire relating to Negroes that elicited controversy to the extent that at least thirty percent agree with the statement and no more than sixty percent disagree with the statement. The first statement "It is wrong for Negroes and whites to intermarry" indicates an almost equal distribution of those in agreement and those in disagreement. Furthermore, the respondents seem to have conflicting views about items number two and three concerning the Negroes "aversion to plain hard work," their lack of concern with their personal appearance in being "so dirty and smelly and unkempt." Finally in item twelve, the respondents differ as to whether "Most colored persons are treated fairly in the United States most of the time."

It is interesting to note that while a majority of the respondents disagree that Negroes should form their own nation or be kept in their own districts and schools so as to prevent too much intermixing with whites, they appear to have a complex and reserved attitude about residential integration.
Among the 144 respondents more than half (52.1%) subscribe to the following statement: "If a colored family buys a home in an all-white neighborhood, the property values of all other residences drop inevitably."

A majority of the respondents view the arrival of Negro home-owners into a white neighborhood as a direct cause of declining property values. Apparently they perceive the Negro as incapable and/or unconcerned about maintaining the condition of the neighborhood, since 78.4% agree that "The most prevalent and fundamental cause of blighted neighborhoods is negligence and destruction on the part of the inhabitants." However, since two-thirds (66.7%) of the respondents indicate that "Middle class colored people should be allowed to buy or rent homes in middle class white neighborhoods," it might be hypothesized that perhaps the lower class Negro is perceived as "causing blighted neighborhoods." The answers suggest that the respondents either (A) discriminate clearly between the destructive tendencies of the lower-class Negro and the middle-class Negro or (B) they are highly aware of the injustice of prohibiting qualified Negroes from inhabiting middle class white neighborhoods, and therefore will accept the apparent reality of property values declining inevitably.

After analyzing the pattern of responses to the first fifteen attitude items on the questionnaire, an attempt is made to compare the responses of those participants in the study who exhibit either high anti-Negro or low anti-Negro attitudes with the attitudes they express toward Jews, the Church and ethnocentrism. The identification of respondents as exhibiting high anti-Negro and low anti-Negro attitudes is determined by those who rank in the highest and lowest quartile with respect to their responses toward the
attitude items relating to Negroes.

The low anti-Negro quartile contains the thirty-six respondents (among a total of 144 respondents) who exhibited responses on the questionnaire most favorable to items relating to Negroes. The scores within this low anti-Negro quartile range from sixty-three to seventy-five points.

The high anti-Negro quartile contains the thirty-six respondents whose responses were most unfavorable to the items relating to Negroes. The scores within this quartile range between twenty-nine and forty-seven points.

By employing the Pearson r correlation, an attempt is made to determine whether those who exhibit attitudes favorable to Negroes will similarly exhibit attitudes favorable toward Jews, the Church and ethnocentrism. Conversely it is expected that those who exhibit high anti-Negro attitudes would similarly express attitudes unfavorable toward Jews, the Church and ethnocentrism.

Table 14 provides the Pearson r correlations of the high and low anti-Negro quartiles with attitudes expressed toward Jews, the Church and ethnocentrism.

The interpretation of the Pearson r's in Table 14 indicates neither a significant positive correlation nor a significant negative correlation between high anti-Negro responses and responses toward items relating to Jews, the Church and ethnocentrism. Therefore, it can be assumed that no significant measure of relationship exists between the attitudes of respondents who are highly unfavorable toward items relating to Negroes and the attitudes they express toward items relating to Jews, the Church and ethnocentrism.

However, when considering the quartile containing low anti-Negro
respondents or those who are most favorable to items relating to Negroes, a significant measure of relationship is obtained. A significant negative correlation exists at the .01 level of certainty between the responses of the low anti-Negro quartile and the attitudes expressed toward the Church. In brief, those who expressed attitudes highly favorable to Negroes expressed attitudes of socially conventional disapproval toward the Church with a measure of relationship significant at the .01 level of certainty.

**TABLE 11**

**PEARSON R CORRELATION OF THE HIGH AND LOW ANTI-NEGRO QUARTILES WITH ATTITUDES EXPRESSED TOWARD JEWS, THE CHURCH AND ETHNOCENTRISM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low Anti-Negro Scores (63-75)</th>
<th>High Anti-Negro Scores (29-47)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low Anti-Semitic</td>
<td>.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Anti-Church</td>
<td>-.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Ethnocentric</td>
<td>.40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, a significant positive correlation is obtained at the .05 level of certainty between the responses of the low anti-Negro quartile and their responses toward items relating to Jews and ethnocentrism. Therefore, it appears that those respondents who are highly favorable toward Negroes tend also to be highly favorable toward items relating to Jews and ethnocentrism.

In summary, the findings concerning the attitudes of the respondents toward Negroes tend to parallel the findings of Creeley in his analysis of
the Social Effects of Catholic Education.

Concurring with Greeley's findings that Catholics educated in Catholic schools are no more positive than Protestants and Catholics educated in public schools in their attitudes toward race, the findings in this study suggest that secondary school teachers having received their college training in Catholic institutions are no more favorable toward Negroes than those who have attended non-Catholic colleges.

If Catholic higher education has had little impact on the racial attitudes of its graduates, then one might safely predict, in accordance with Greeley's findings, that the products of Catholic higher education will not effectively transmit to the future graduates of Catholic secondary education racial attitudes which are in accord with the social doctrine of the Church.

As Merton has pointed out in his reference group theory, individuals do not necessarily internalize and maintain a set of values established by the groups to which they belong but probably acquire behavior patterns which are significantly shaped by those groups to which the individual is not a part.

The findings in this study do not lend themselves to an accurate interpretation of any single reference group or membership group significant for the respondents. Rather as has been concluded by Newcomb in his study of value-assimilation by college students, one's behavior is significantly shaped by

\[44\] Greeley, op. cit., p. 77.

\[45\] Merton, op. cit., p. 263.
groups to which he does not belong. One might predict in accordance with Merton's reference group theory that identification with public figures or adherence to "middle class values" may have served as a more meaningful frame of reference for the respondents in this study than any of the socio-economic characteristics or reference groups isolated as independent variables for analysis in this study.

In concluding the analysis of the data concerning attitudes toward Negroes, Chapter Four will investigate the patterns of response expressed toward ethnocentrism by the respondents in the study.

\[ \text{Newcomb, op. cit., p. 300.} \]
CHAPTER IV

ATTITUDES TOWARD ETHNOCENTRISM

In this chapter, the responses to attitude items number sixteen to twenty-five will be analyzed in order to present the patterns of response expressed toward ethnocentrism by the participants. As in the previous chapter, the data will be presented from three points of view: (1) to determine the extent to which the attitudes toward ethnocentrism of individuals possessing certain socio-economic characteristics deviates from the attitudes expressed toward ethnocentrism by the "average" respondent in the study; (2) to determine any response patterns from the distribution of responses toward ethnocentrism on attitude items number sixteen to twenty-five on the questionnaire; (3) to determine the significance of cross-comparisons and correlations between one's attitudes expressed toward ethnocentrism and other groups selected in the study—toward Negroes, Jews and the Church.

Table 15 presents the mean scores toward items relating to ethnocentrism according to the nationality descent of the respondents.

Since all of the above means are larger than thirty, this is an indication that all the nationality descent groups obtained means that indicate relatively low ethnocentrism rather than high ethnocentrism. However, when comparing the above means by use of standard scores, some significant differences are obtained.
TABLE 15
MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES TOWARD ITEMS RELATING TO ETHNOCENTRISM ACCORDING TO THE NATIONALITY DESCENT OF THE RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality Descent</th>
<th>Mean Attitude Scores Toward Ethnocentrism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>37.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>33.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>37.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>34.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German-Irish</td>
<td>34.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative Mean (all respondents)</td>
<td>35.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The largest differences between means exists between the Polish and the "Other" nationality descent groups and the Polish and Irish; standard scores of 2.41 and 2.38 are obtained respectively indicating significant differences in the mean attitude scores toward items relating to ethnocentrism at the .01 level of certainty.

Although there are no other standard scores above 1.95 indicating a significant difference at least at the .05 level of certainty, a standard score of 1.64 is obtained in testing the difference between the Polish and German mean attitude scores toward items relating to ethnocentrism. This
standard score, however, indicates a difference only at the .10 level of certainty. Smaller standard scores are obtained in testing the difference between mean attitude scores of the Polish and all respondents (1.47); all respondents and "Other" nationality descent groups (1.23); Italians and "Other" nationality descent groups (1.22).

The mean attitude scores toward ethnocentrism according to the nationality descent of the respondents adhere very closely to the pattern of responses expressed toward Negroes. Just as the Polish mean attitude score toward Negroes was significantly less favorable than the Irish, German, "Other" nationality descent groups and the cumulative mean (including all respondents), the Polish mean attitude score toward ethnocentrism exhibits the similar pattern of being considerably, if not significantly, more ethnocentric than these other nationality descent groups.

In Table 16, the mean attitude scores toward items relating to ethnocentrism are presented according to the religious affiliation of the college attended by the respondents.

The difference between the means in Table 16 indicates that the deviations are small enough to be attributed to chance. Since a standard score is not obtainable at the .05 level of certainty, there are no significant differences between the means in Table 16.

Moreover, the findings in Table 16 closely approximate the attitudinal pattern expressed toward Negroes according to the religious affiliation of the college attended by the respondents; those respondents who have attended Catholic colleges exhibit attitudes which are less anti-
Negro and less ethnocentric than those respondents who attended non-Catholic colleges. However, in each case the difference between the means is so small that it can be attributed only to chance.

TABLE 16

MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES TOWARD ITEMS RELATING TO ETHNOCENTRISM ACCORDING TO THE RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF THE COLLEGE ATTENDED BY THE RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Affiliation of College Attended</th>
<th>Mean Attitude Scores Toward Ethnocentrism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholic College</td>
<td>36.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Catholic College</td>
<td>34.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative Mean (all respondents)</td>
<td>35.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the data presented in Table 17, there appears to be no discernible pattern of relationship between the social class of the respondents and the mean attitude scores expressed toward items relating to ethnocentrism.

The data in Table 17 closely parallels the data presenting attitudes toward Negroes according to the social class of the respondents. In both groups of data the difference between means is so slight that the social class of the respondents seemingly has little or no relationship to the attitudes expressed.
TABLE 17
MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES TOWARD ITEMS RELATING TO ETHNOCENTRISM
ACCORDING TO THE SOCIAL CLASS OF THE RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Class</th>
<th>Mean Attitude Scores Toward Ethnocentrism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I, II</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>36.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>35.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>36.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td>35.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative Mean (all respondents)</td>
<td>35.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 18 the mean attitude scores of the respondents toward items relating to ethnocentrism are presented according to the subject matter they teach.

When the mean attitudes of the respondents toward Negroes according to their teaching subjects were compared, the Social Studies and English teachers were the most favorable toward Negroes; however, their mean attitude reflected only a chance deviation from the mean attitudes of the remainder of the respondents in the study.

The same pattern is manifested by the respondents with respect to items relating to ethnocentrism with one notable exception: those respondents who identified themselves as teachers of Business and Vocational subjects
are considerably more ethnocentric than all other respondents ranked according to their teaching subjects. A standard score of 1.71 is obtained in testing the difference between means of Social Studies teachers and teachers of Business and Vocational subjects; similarly a standard score of 1.65 is obtained when testing the difference between means of English teachers and teachers of Business and Vocational subjects. Both of these standard scores, however, indicate a difference only at the .10 level of certainty and therefore a chance deviation rather than a significant difference between the means must be concluded.

**TABLE 18**

**MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES TOWARD ITEMS RELATING TO ETHNOCENTRISM ACCORDING TO THE TEACHING SUBJECT OF THE RESPONDENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teaching Subject</th>
<th>Mean Attitude Scores Toward Ethnocentrism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>36.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>37.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics and Natural Sciences</td>
<td>36.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business and Vocational</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>34.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative Mean (all respondents)</td>
<td>35.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 19 the respondents are ranked according to the number of years of teaching experience.
TABLE 19

MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES TOWARD ITEMS RELATING TO ETHNOCENTRISM
ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF YEARS OF TEACHING
EXPERIENCE OF THE RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Years of Teaching Experience</th>
<th>Mean Attitude Scores Toward Ethnocentrism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>38.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 or more</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative Mean (all respondents)</td>
<td>35.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data presented in Table 19 reveals a few patterns of relationship that are highly similar to the attitudes expressed toward Negroes in terms of number of years of teaching experience. As in the previous chapter, the largest difference in mean attitude scores is between those who have been teaching between five and nine years and those who have been teaching fifteen years or more. Although those who have been teaching between five and nine years are considerably less ethnocentric than those who have been teaching fifteen years or more, a significant difference in mean attitude scores toward items relating to ethnocentrism is not obtained. A standard score of 1.48 indicates a difference merely at the .15 level of certainty. However, a somewhat larger standard score of 1.62 is obtained indicating that those
who have been teaching between five and nine years are less ethnocentric than
the cumulative mean (all respondents) only at the .10 level of certainty.

Although no significant differences between mean attitude scores toward
items relating to ethnocentrism is observed according to the teaching subjects
of the respondents, a pattern is clearly discernible that the teachers in the
five to nine year category are clearly the least anti-Negro and ethnocentric
while those who have been teaching fifteen years or longer clearly exhibit
the most anti-Negro and ethnocentric attitudes of all the respondents when
ranked according to their teaching subjects.

Table 20 presents the mean attitude scores of the respondents according
to the number of encyclicals they have read from start to finish.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 20</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES TOWARD ITEMS RELATING TO ETHNOCENTRISM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF ENCYCLICALS THEY HAVE READ FROM START TO FINISH</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Encyclicals Read</th>
<th>Mean Attitude Scores Toward Ethnocentrism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3, 4 or 5</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 or 2</td>
<td>36.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative Mean (all respondents)</td>
<td>35.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Table 20, the data is similar to the mean attitude scores expressed toward items relating to Negroes, namely that there is seemingly little or no relationship between the number of Encyclicals read from start to finish and attitudes expressed toward items relating to ethnocentrism.

After analyzing attitudes toward items relating to ethnocentrism from the point of view of certain socio-economic characteristics of the respondents, the data will be viewed from a second point of view. In Table 21, a distribution of the responses from the entire population is presented to attitude items numbers sixteen to twenty-five or those items that focus exclusively on ethnocentrism.

**TABLE 21**

**PERCENTAGE OF RESPONSES TO ATTITUDE ITEMS RELATING TO ETHNOCENTRISM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pct. in Agreement</th>
<th>Pct. Undecided</th>
<th>Pct. in Disagreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16. Certain religious sects whose beliefs do not permit them to salute the flag should be forced to conform to such a patriotic action, or else be abolished.</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>54.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Any group or social movement which contains many foreigners should be watched with suspicion and, whenever possible, be investigated by the FBI.</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>70.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. One main difficulty with allowing the entire population to participate fully in government affairs (voting, jobs, etc.) is that such a large percentage is innately deficient and incapable.</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>54.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 21—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pct. in Agreement</th>
<th>Pct. Undecided</th>
<th>Pct. in Disagreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>The most vicious, irresponsible, and racketeering unions are, in most cases, those having largely foreigners for leaders.</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>We are spending too much money for the pampering of criminals and the insane, and for the education of inherently incapable people.</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Minor forms of military training, obedience and discipline, such as drill, marching and simple commands, should be made a part of the elementary school educational program.</td>
<td>38.9</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>The main threat to basic American institutions during this century has come from the infiltration of foreign ideas, doctrines, and agitators.</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Present treatment of conscientious objectors, draft evaders, and enemy aliens is too lenient and mollycoddling. If a person won't fight for this country, he deserves a lot worse than just prison or a work camp.</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>European refugees may be in need, but it would be a big mistake to lower our immigration quotas and allow more to enter the country.</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>People who break the law should be punished no matter how good their excuse is.</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the statements which appear to be extreme and non-controversial,
Statements numbers seventeen, nineteen, twenty and twenty-two elicit only a paucity of responses in agreement. Statements numbers seventeen, nineteen and twenty-two place suspicion on social movements, labor unions and American institutions which contain "foreigners" for leaders.

Among the controversial items concerning ethnocentrism, nearly half (45.8%) agree that "People who break the law should be punished no matter how good their excuse is". In sharp contrast slightly more than one fourth or only 25.7% indicate that "Present treatment of conscientious objectors, draft evaders and enemy aliens is too lenient and mollycoddling." If a person won't fight for this country, he deserves a lot worse than just prison or work camp." Furthermore on item number 16, only 40 or 27.8% agree that "Certain religious sects whose beliefs do not permit them to salute the flag should be forced to conform to such a patriotic action or else be abolished." The latter two items present seemingly a contradiction to the frequently accepted statement that "People who break the law should be punished regardless of their excuse." There appears to be an underlying respect for lawbreakers who happen to be conscientious objectors, draft evaders or "members of certain religious sects" refusing to salute the flag. Perhaps the key to the apparent contradiction of responses lies in a conflict over a state-church hierarchy of values. In both of these statements "one's religious beliefs" are given as contradictory to the law and hence prohibit "conventional patriotism."

An additional explanation for the favorable attitude expressed toward conscientious objectors, draft evaders and enemy aliens may lie in the fact that the respondents, all being teachers, are occupationally deferred (or virtually draft exempt in Illinois) and perhaps would be sympathetic to those seeking
to avoid military induction. At the time the questionnaire was distributed, the dispute over the political necessity and morality of the United States role in the Viet Nam War possibly may have induced some favorable attitudes toward "reasonable" draft evaders and conscientious objectors.

The data will now be presented from a third point of view, namely, to determine the significance of cross-comparisons and correlations between one's attitudes expressed toward items relating to ethnocentrism and the attitudes expressed toward other groups selected in the study—toward Negroes, Jews and the Church.

After examining the responses to attitude items numbers sixteen to twenty-five, the respondents were ranked in quartiles in terms of high and low ethnocentrism scores. Each quartile contains thirty-six respondents. Those who were most ethnocentric comprised a quartile containing low ethnocentrism scores ranging from fifteen to thirty-one points. The thirty-six respondents whose scores ranged between forty-one and fifty comprised a quartile containing the least ethnocentric or those receiving high ethnocentrism scores. Two quartiles of respondents (a total of seventy-two) were intermediate scorers ranging from thirty-two to forty points on the attitude items relating to ethnocentrism.

By use of the Pearson $r$ correlation, an attempt is made to determine whether those who exhibit attitudes which are highly ethnocentric will similarly exhibit attitudes highly unfavorable to Negroes, Jews and the Church. Conversely, one might suspect that the quartile containing those respondents who expressed the least ethnocentric attitudes would similarly express attitudes highly favorable toward items relating to Negroes, Jews and the Church.
In Table 22 the Pearson $r$ correlations of the quartiles containing high ethnocentrism and low ethnocentrism scorers are contrasted with their attitudes expressed toward Negroes, Jews and the Church.

**TABLE 22**

PEARSON $r$ CORRELATIONS OF THE HIGH AND LOW ETHNOCENTRISM QUARTILES WITH ATTITUDES EXPRESSED TOWARD NEGROES, JEWS AND THE CHURCH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High Ethnocentrism Scores (41-50)</th>
<th>Low Ethnocentrism Scores (15-31)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low Anti-Negro</td>
<td>.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Anti-Semitic</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Anti-Church</td>
<td>-.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Anti-Negro</td>
<td>.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Anti-Semitic</td>
<td>.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Anti-Church</td>
<td>-.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hypothesis 1A indicates that "Individuals who exhibit higher ethnocentric attitudes will exhibit higher anti-Negro attitudes." The Pearson $r$ correlations obtained in Table 22 strongly support this hypothesis. The quartile containing the respondents who are highly ethnocentric (receiving low ethnocentrism scores) also express attitudes which are highly unfavorable to Negroes. The Pearson $r$ of .56 indicates that a positive correlation between highly ethnocentric and high anti-Negro attitudes is significant at the .01 level of certainty.

Conversely, those respondents contained in the quartile who are least ethnocentric (receiving high ethnocentrism scores) tend also to express attitudes highly favorable to items relating to Negroes. The Pearson $r$ of .55
testifies to a significant, positive correlation at the .01 level of certainty between those respondents who express the least ethnocentric attitudes and the highly favorable attitudes they express toward items relating to Negroes.

These findings, then, obtained by use of Pearson r correlations, tend to strongly support the hypothesis that high anti-Negro attitudes will accompany attitudes of individuals which are highly ethnocentric.

Hypothesis 1B indicates that "Individuals who exhibit higher ethnocentric attitudes will exhibit higher anti-Semitic attitudes." Within the quartile containing the highly ethnocentric respondents (receiving low ethnocentrism scores between fifteen and thirty-one) they similarly express attitudes highly unfavorable to the Jews. The Pearson r of .66 indicates a positive correlation significant at the .01 level of certainty between highly ethnocentric attitudes and high anti-Semitic attitudes.

However, those respondents who are the least ethnocentric do not necessarily exhibit a significantly low anti-Semitic attitude. A Pearson r of .10 is obtained indicating only a slight positive correlation between low ethnocentric attitudes and low anti-Semitic attitudes.

Although the findings lend partial support to hypothesis 1B, the Pearson r correlations do not indicate that total acceptance be attributed to the hypothesis that "Individuals who exhibit higher ethnocentric attitudes will exhibit higher anti-Semitic attitudes."

When comparing the quartiles of respondents who are most and least ethnocentric with their attitudes toward items relating to the Church, Pearson r's of -.01 and -.21 are obtained respectively. Both of these correlations indicate slight negative correlations of little significance. In brief, those
respondents who are highly ethnocentric exhibit attitudes tending to be favorable toward the Church; those respondents who are least ethnocentric tend to be unfavorable toward the Church.

In summary, the findings suggest that the selected socio-economic characteristics of the respondents are not significantly related to the attitudes expressed toward ethnocentrism. However, in terms of the nationality descent of the respondents, those who identified themselves as Polish did exhibit attitudes significantly more ethnocentric (and more unfavorable toward Negroes) than respondents who were identified in the Irish or "Other" categories.

Seemingly, this finding lends support to Williams theory that the need to conform to the expectations of those groups to which the individual belongs creates feelings of social distance toward those groups perceived to be lacking in mutually acceptable norms.

As members of relatively recent immigrant groups, the Polish and Italian respondents might be expected to exhibit a more rigid acceptance of their own ethnic groups accompanying negative imagery to out-groups. Although the Italian respondents expressed highly ethnocentric attitudes similar to the Polish respondents, their attitudes did not differ significantly from those expressed by respondents of other nationality groups. Hence these findings lend partial support to Williams theory.

In concluding the discussion of the data concerning attitudes toward ethnocentrism, Chapter 5 will explore the patterns of response expressed toward the Church by the respondents in the study.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{47}}\text{Williams, op. cit., pp. 19-20.}\]
CHAPTER V

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE CHURCH

In this chapter, the attitudes expressed toward items relating to the Church will be analyzed from two points of view: (1) to determine the extent to which the attitudes toward the Church of individuals possessing certain socio-economic characteristics deviates from the attitudes expressed toward the Church by the "average" respondent in the study; (2) to determine any response patterns from the distribution of responses toward the Church on attitude items number twenty-six to thirty-five on the questionnaire.

In this chapter, the data will not be presented from the third point of view as was done in two previous chapters. It is the opinion of the writer that the measurement of cross-comparisons and correlations between one's attitudes expressed toward the Church and other groups selected in the study—toward Negroes, Jews and ethnocentrism will not convey a reliable estimate or meaningful presentation of the "real" attitudes of the respondents.

The statements focusing on attitudes toward the Church present several difficulties to the writer in terms of their interpretive meaningfulness. Since all the respondents in the study are Catholic and would seemingly identify the Catholic Church as their frame of reference in responding to items focusing on the Church, it is questionable whether the Thurstone "Scale of Attitudes toward the Church" is an appropriate instrument in
eliciting responses about the Catholic Church. A second basic difficulty in interpreting the responses of the participants emerges from the fact that the statements do not lend themselves adequately to distinguish between respondents who express attitudes of constructive criticism of the Church and the less critical respondents who express seemingly favorable responses to the Church perhaps because of personal alienation or lack of appreciation for the Church's relevance to the modern world. Finally the attitude statements about the Church do not test the doctrinal orthodoxy of the respondents as much as it tests their judgments concerning social allegations about the Church in the form of stereotypes.

Because of the difficulty in interpreting whether attitudes constitute a favorable or unfavorable response toward the Church, it is the opinion of the writer that correlation by the use of standard scores would convey an inaccurate presentation of the real attitudes endorsed by the respondents toward the Church. Hence, the presentation of the data from this third point of view will be eliminated in this chapter. Furthermore, the responses of the participants concerning the Church will not be interpreted as favorable or unfavorable but rather as an indication of a socially conventional approval or disapproval of the Church.

With these limitations in mind, an attempt is now made to compare the mean attitude scores toward the Church of the respondents within a particular

Thurstone, op. cit., p. 61-63.
socio-economic category with the mean attitude scores expressed toward the Church by the "average" respondent in the study.

Table 23 presents the mean scores on attitude items number twenty-six to thirty-five relating to the Church according to the nationality descent of the respondents.

### TABLE 23

**MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES TOWARD THE CHURCH ACCORDING TO THE NATIONALITY DESCENT OF THE RESPONDENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality Descent</th>
<th>Mean Attitude Scores Toward The Church</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>40.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>38.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>37.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>40.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German-Irish</td>
<td>37.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>39.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative Mean (all respondents)</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The mean attitude scores in Table 23 indicate that the respondents taken as nationality descent categories express attitudes of socially conventional approval rather than disapproval toward the Church. Furthermore, all the nationality descent groups obtain higher mean attitude scores with respect to attitudes toward the Church than they obtained on attitude items.
relating to ethnocentrism. However, as was pointed out in a previous chapter, a high mean attitude score toward the Church may not be indicative of loyalty or a favorable constellation of attitudes toward the Church, but perhaps reflects a lack of constructive criticism concerning the Church's relevance to the modern world.

Although no significant differences between mean attitude scores are obtained by use of standard scores in Table 23, the Irish mean of 40.5 differs from the German mean of 37.2 at the .10 level of certainty by obtaining a standard score of 1.67. It is evident that all the mean scores of the nationality descent categories cluster closely around the cumulative mean. The German mean and German-Irish mean deviate farthest from the cumulative mean than the means of any of the other nationality descent categories and only obtain standard scores of 1.11 and 1.05 respectively.

Unlike the relatively unfavorable attitudes expressed by the respondents in the Polish category toward items relating to Negroes and ethnocentrism, it is noteworthy that the Polish mean attitude score toward the Church is highly similar to the mean attitude scores obtained by the other nationality descent categories in Table 23. The largest deviation from the Polish mean attitude score is the Irish mean attitude score. A standard score of 1.26 is obtained in testing the significance of these two mean attitude scores indicating a difference only at the .30 level of certainty.

In Table 24, the mean attitudes of the respondents toward the Church are presented according to the religious affiliation of the college they attended.
### Table 24

**Mean Attitude Scores Toward the Church According to the Religious Affiliation of the College Attended by the Respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Affiliation of College Attended</th>
<th>Mean Attitude Scores Toward The Church</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholic College</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Catholic College</td>
<td>38.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative Mean (all respondents)</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since there are no significant differences between the means in Table 24, all the deviations are small enough to be attributed to chance. However, the respondents who indicated that they had received most of their college training in Catholic institutions exhibited attitudes indicating slightly more socially conventional approval toward the Church than do the respondents who received most of their college training in non-Catholic institutions.

The findings in Table 24, moreover, indicate a pattern of response highly similar to the attitudes expressed toward items relating to Negroes and ethnocentrism. Although there are no significant differences between means, the response pattern is evident that those respondents who have attended Catholic colleges exhibit attitudes which are less anti-Negro, less ethnocentric and express more socially conventional approval toward the Church than those respondents who attended non-Catholic colleges.

In Table 25, the data indicates a negligible pattern of relationship...
between the social class of the respondents and the mean attitude expressed toward the Church.

**TABLE 25**

**MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES TOWARD THE CHURCH ACCORDING TO THE SOCIAL CLASS OF THE RESPONDENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Class</th>
<th>Mean Attitude Scores Toward The Church</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I, II</td>
<td>38.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>38.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>38.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>39.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td>40.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative Mean (all respondents)</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Perhaps one might detect the semblance of a pattern of relationship by observing the data in Table 25. It appears that the lower one's social class ranking, the more he expresses socially conventional approval toward the Church. However, the differences among the mean attitude scores are so slight that all deviations must be attributed to chance.

Although the data in Table 25 reveals a pattern of responses more meaningful than the pattern of responses expressed toward items relating to Negroes and ethnocentrism, the conclusion is warranted that the social class of the respondents seemingly has little or no relationship to the attitudes expressed toward items relating to Negroes, the Church or ethnocentrism.
In Table 26 the mean attitude scores of the respondents toward the Church are presented according to the subject matter they teach.

**TABLE 26**

**MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES TOWARD THE CHURCH ACCORDING TO THE TEACHING SUBJECTS OF THE RESPONDENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teaching Subject</th>
<th>Mean Attitude Scores Toward The Church</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>38.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>39.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics and Natural Sciences</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business &amp; Vocational</td>
<td>39.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>41.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative Mean (all respondents)</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In comparing the mean attitude scores of the respondents according to their teaching subjects, the respondents identified as "Other" (which includes teachers of classical and modern languages, religion and physical education) express attitudes of socially conventional approval toward the Church considerably more so than all other respondents ranked according to their teaching subjects. The mean attitude score of the respondents in the "Other" category attributes significantly more socially conventional approval toward the Church than the cumulative mean (all respondents). A standard score of 2.59 indicates a significant difference at the .01 level of certainty.
An additional significant difference is obtained between the mean attitude score of the respondents in the "Other" category and the mean attitude score of the Social Studies teachers. A standard score of 2.37 indicates that respondents in the "Other" category attribute significantly more socially conventional approval toward the Church than Social Studies teachers at the .05 level of certainty.

Finally, the respondents in the "Other" category attribute considerably more socially conventional approval toward the Church than teachers of English, and teachers of Mathematics and Natural Sciences. However, standard scores of 1.77 and 1.83 are obtained respectively indicating differences only at the .10 level of certainty.

The pattern of responses expressed toward items relating to the Church according to the teaching subjects of the respondents is quite dissimilar to the pattern expressed toward items relating to Negroes and ethnocentrism. Although the teachers of English and Social Studies expressed attitudes less anti-Negro and less ethnocentric than the remainder of the respondents in the study, the "Other" category (teachers of classical and modern languages, religion and physical education) attributes clearly more socially conventional approval toward the Church than all other respondents ranked according to teaching subject including teachers of English and Social Studies.

In Table 27, the mean attitude scores of the respondents toward the Church are presented according to the number of years of teaching experience of the respondents.
TABLE 27

MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES TOWARD THE CHURCH ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF YEARS OF TEACHING EXPERIENCE BY THE RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Years of Teaching Experience</th>
<th>Mean Attitude Scores Toward the Church</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>38.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>40.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 or more</td>
<td>41.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative Means (all respondents)</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although there are no significant differences between the means in Table 27, there are some seemingly widespread differences between the means. A standard score of 1.88 is obtained in testing the difference between means of those who have been teaching 0-4 years and those who have been teaching 15 years or longer. Although those respondents who have been teaching 15 years or longer attribute considerably more socially conventional approval toward the Church than those who have been teaching 0-4 years, a standard score of 1.88 is obtained only at the .10 level of certainty.

The mean attitude score of those who have been teaching 15 years or longer attributes also considerably more socially conventional approval toward the Church than the cumulative mean attitude (all respondents). However, a standard score of 1.71 is obtained indicating a difference only at
the .10 level of certainty.

In Table 27, the pattern of responses is quite definitive. The data suggests that the longer one has been teaching, the more he expresses socially conventional approval toward the Church. It is particularly noteworthy that the respondents who have been teaching 15 years or longer express considerably more socially conventional approval toward the Church than those who have been teaching between five and nine years. This pattern goes entirely contrary to a previously obtained pattern, namely, that teachers in the five to nine year category are clearly less anti-Negro and less ethnocentric than those who have been teaching 15 years or longer.

Table 28 presents the mean attitude scores of the respondents toward the Church according to the number of Encyclicals they have read from start to finish.

**TABLE 28**

**MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES TOWARD THE CHURCH ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF ENCYCLICALS READ BY THE RESPONDENTS FROM START TO FINISH**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Encyclicals Read</th>
<th>Mean Attitude Scores Toward the Church</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3, 4 or 5</td>
<td>39.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 or 2</td>
<td>39.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative Mean (all respondents)</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The data in Table 28 illustrates the similar pattern expressed toward items relating to Negroes and ethnocentrism, namely, that there appears to be little or no meaningful relationship between the number of Encyclicals read and the attitudes expressed toward items relating to the Church.

After analyzing attitudes toward items relating to the Church from the point of view of certain socio-economic characteristics of the respondents, the data will be analyzed from the second point of view. In Table 29, a distribution of responses from the entire population is presented to attitude items number twenty-six to thirty-five or those items on the questionnaire that focus specifically on the Church.

**TABLE 29**

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONSES TO ATTITUDE ITEMS RELATING TO THE CHURCH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Pct. in Agreement</th>
<th>Pct. Undecided</th>
<th>Pct. in Disagreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26. I approve of the Church because I know that Church attendance is a good index of the nation's morality.</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>62.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. I have convinced myself that the teaching of the Church is altogether too superficial to be of interest to me.</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>82.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. My emotional reaction toward the Church is negative due to lack of interest.</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>85.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. I am convinced that the Church is shackled with monied interests and does not practice its ideals.</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>65.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. I have concluded that a man cannot be honest in his thinking and endorse what the Church teaches.</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>29.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 29—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pct. in</th>
<th>Pct. in</th>
<th>Pct. in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agreement</td>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>Disagreement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31. I have a feeling that the Church furnishes the stimulus for the best leadership of our country. 47.2 22.9 29.8
32. I am afraid that the Church is non-scientific and emotional depending for its influence upon fear of God and of hell. 17.3 10.4 14.6
33. I am certain that the Church has a most important influence in the development of moral habits and attitudes. 75.0 10.4 14.6
34. I am convinced that the Church is a divine institution and that it should command my highest loyalty and respect. 88.1 3.5 8.3
35. I think the Church is moving ahead too fast in the area of race relations. 17.4 15.3 67.3

Among the non-controversial statements, items 27, 28 and 30 focus on the teaching of the Church and elicit little variation among the responses. Such statements as "The teaching of the Church—is too superficial to be of interest to me," "My reaction toward the Church is negative . . ." "... a man cannot be honest in his thinking and endorse what the Church teaches," elicited unfavorable responses no more frequently than 8.3% of the respondents on these three items.

Although the vast majority of the respondents subscribed to statements about the Church as "a divine institution" commanding one's "highest loyalty and respect" as being an "important influence in the development of moral
habits and attitudes," they are somewhat critical of the Church in terms of its "monied interests" and the leadership it offers to our country.

In item number 29, more than one-fourth or 26.3% agree with the statement "I am convinced that the Church is shackled with monied interests and does not practice its ideals." Evident in these responses is the view of the Church as a large corporation employing the power of religion as a means of increasing its wealth in terms of school and church buildings.

In item number 26, 62.5% disagree with the statement "I approve of the Church because I know that church attendance is a good index of the nation's morality." Here the image of the hypocrite or the "modal Catholic" is evident in that a person may view his faith in terms of church attendance and completely independent of a personal or social morality. In this instance the respondents might view church attendance as only slightly related to the nation's morality.

In item 31 only 47.2% feel that "The Church furnishes the stimulus for the best leadership of our country." An additional 22.9% are "undecided" on this item. Perhaps the lack of confidence in church attendance might be attributed to the apparent confusion of the Church's current stand on such issues as birth control and race relations.

In item number 35, only 17.4% "think the Church is moving ahead too fast in the area of race relations." It is apparent that many respondents who are unfavorable toward Negroes are reluctant to attribute blame to the Church. Perhaps if the Church were to take a more vigorous stand on race problems, more respondents would have agreed with item number 35.

In summary, the respondents expressed attitudes of seemingly high
socially conventional approval of the Church. However, the attitudes expressed by the respondents toward the Church do not readily lend themselves to an explanation for an individual's motivation for belonging to the Church. One might speculate that those respondents expressing high socially conventional approval of the Church may be adhering to what Allport describes as an "institutionalized" religious outlook. In this institutionalized outlook, the individual sees the authoritarian character of the Church and is motivated to belong for the sake of safety, power and authority. Furthermore, one might predict that those respondents who exhibited less critical attitudes toward the Church are personally alienated from the Church or lack appreciation for the Church's relevance to the modern world.

It is likewise plausible that some of the respondents expressing high socially conventional disapproval of the Church have an "interiorized" religious outlook. According to Allport the individual's motivation for belonging to the Church is based on its fundamental creed of brotherhood which expresses the ideals that one sincerely believes in.

In concluding the analysis of the data concerning attitudes toward the Church, Chapter Six will investigate the pattern of responses expressed toward Jews by the respondents in the study.


\[49] Ibid.
CHAPTER VI

ATTITUDES TOWARD JEWS

In this chapter, the responses to attitude items number thirty-six to forty-five will be analyzed in order to present the patterns of response expressed toward Jews by the participants. The data will be presented from three points of view: (1) to determine the extent to which the attitudes expressed toward Jews of individuals possessing certain socio-economic characteristics deviates from the attitudes expressed toward Jews by the "average" respondent in the study; (2) to determine any response patterns from the distribution of responses toward Jews on attitude items number thirty-six to forty-five on the questionnaire; (3) to determine the significance of cross-comparisons and correlations between one's attitudes expressed toward Jews and the other groups selected in the study—toward Negroes, the Church and ethnocentrism.

In analyzing the data from the first point of view, an attempt is made to compare the mean attitude scores expressed toward Jews by the respondents within a particular socio-economic category with the mean attitude scores of other socio-economic categories or the mean attitude score of the "average" respondent in the study.

In Table 30 the mean attitude scores expressed toward items relating to Jews are presented according to the nationality descent of the respondents.
TABLE 30
MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES TOWARD JEWS ACCORDING TO THE
NATIONALITY DESCENT OF THE RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality Descent</th>
<th>Mean Attitude Scores Toward Jews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>42.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>41.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>43.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>43.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German-Irish</td>
<td>39.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>44.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative Mean (all respondents)</td>
<td>42.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The cumulative mean attitude score of 42.8 in Table 30 indicates that the respondents exhibit highly favorable attitudes toward items relating to Jews. When comparing the cumulative mean attitude score of 39.1 toward the Church, 35.9 toward items relating to ethnocentrism and 54.8 (based on fifteen attitude items rather than ten) toward Negroes, the attitudes of the respondents toward Jews is clearly more favorable than toward the other groups selected in the study.

Among the differences between the means in Table 30, two standard scores are obtained which indicate a significant difference at the .05 level of certainty. The mean attitude score of those respondents classified as "Other"
differs significantly from the mean attitude score of the German-Irish respondents and the Polish respondents. Standard scores of 2.11 and 2.15 are obtained respectively indicating differences significant at the .05 level of certainty.

Considerably lower standard scores are obtained in comparing mean attitudes of German-Irish respondents and all respondents (1.60); all respondents and "Other" nationality descent groups (1.30); Polish and German nationality descent groups (1.13).

The pattern of responses expressed toward Jews according to the nationality descent of the respondents seemingly reflects a similar pattern of responses expressed toward items relating to Negroes and ethnocentrism. The "Other" category, the Irish and the Germans appear to be consistently more favorable toward items relating to Negroes, Jews and ethnocentrism while the Polish respondents are consistently less favorable toward these groups.

An additional interesting pattern among the responses is that among each nationality descent group, the mean attitude score toward the Church is more favorable than the mean attitude score toward items relating to ethnocentrism; and the mean attitude score toward Jews is more favorable than the mean attitude expressed toward items relating to both the Church and ethnocentrism. Perhaps this pattern merely indicates that the respondents gave increasingly more favorable responses toward the attitude items as they proceeded in completing the questionnaire.

In Table 31, the mean attitude scores toward Jews are presented
according to the religious affiliation of the college attended by the respondents.

TABLE 31
MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES TOWARD JEWS ACCORDING TO THE RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF THE COLLEGE ATTENDED BY THE RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Affiliation of College Attended</th>
<th>Mean Attitude Scores Toward Jews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholic College</td>
<td>42.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Catholic College</td>
<td>42.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative Mean (all respondents)</td>
<td>42.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The difference between the means in Table 31 indicates that the deviations are small enough to be attributed to chance. Since there are no standard scores obtainable at the .05 level of certainty, there are no significant differences between the means in Table 31.

The findings in Table 31 reflect a similar pattern of response toward items relating to Negroes, the Church and ethnocentrism; namely, that those respondents who have received the greater part of their college training in Catholic institutions exhibit attitudes which are more favorable to items relating to Negroes, Jews, the Church and ethnocentrism than those respondents who received the greater part of their college training in non-Catholic institutions. However, since no significant differences are obtainable at the .05 level of certainty, the differences between means can be attributed
only to chance.

In Table 32, the mean attitude scores toward Jews are presented according to the social class of the respondents.

**TABLE 32**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Class</th>
<th>Mean Attitude Scores Toward Jews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I, II</td>
<td>42.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>43.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>41.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>41.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td>43.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative Mean (all respondents)</td>
<td>42.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unlike the data revealing mean attitude scores toward items relating to Negroes, the Church and ethnocentrism according to the social class of the respondents, the data in Table 32 reveals some patterns of relationship between the social class of the respondents and the attitudes they express. The mean attitude score of those in social class V is significantly more favorable toward Jews than the mean attitude score of those in social class IV. A standard score of 2.06 is obtained indicating a significant difference at the .05 level of certainty.
Smaller standard scores are obtained in comparing the difference between the mean attitude scores of the respondents in social class IV with the mean attitude scores of the respondents in social class III and with the mean attitude score of all respondents. Standard scores of 1.42 and 1.32 are obtained respectively indicating that the mean attitude score of those respondents in social class IV is less favorable toward Jews than the mean attitude score of those in social class III or the mean attitude score of all respondents. However, these standard scores are significant only at the .20 level of certainty and therefore reflect a deviation attributable only to chance.

In Table 33, the mean attitude scores toward Jews is presented according to the teaching subjects of the respondents.

**TABLE 33**

**MEAN ATTITUDE SCORES TOWARD JEWS ACCORDING TO THE TEACHING SUBJECT OF THE RESPONDENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teaching Subject</th>
<th>Mean Attitude Scores Toward Jews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>41.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>45.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics and Natural Science</td>
<td>42.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business and Vocational</td>
<td>41.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>42.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative Mean (all respondents)</td>
<td>42.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The data in Table 33 reveals a striking pattern: namely, that the mean attitude score of the teachers of English is considerably more favorable toward Jews than the mean attitude score of the remainder of the respondents in the study when classified according to their teaching subjects.

Teachers of English are significantly more favorable toward Jews than teachers of Social Studies, Mathematics, "Other" subjects (including teachers of modern and classical languages, religion and physical education) and all respondents. Standard scores of 2.83, 2.17, 2.07 and 2.50 are obtained respectively indicating differences at least at the .05 level of certainty.

A standard score of 1.90 is obtained in comparing the difference between the mean attitude score of English teachers and teachers of Business and Vocational subjects. This standard score indicates that the mean attitude score of teachers of English is more favorable toward Jews than the mean attitude score of teachers of Business and Vocational subjects only at the .06 level of certainty.

It is noteworthy that although teachers of English and Social Studies were less anti-Negro and ethnocentric than the remainder of the respondents in the study classified according to teaching subjects, this pattern has been somewhat altered in terms of attitudes expressed toward Jews. Although the mean attitude score of Social Studies teachers toward Jews is quite favorable, it is nevertheless significantly less favorable than the mean attitude score exhibited by English teachers toward the items relating to Jews.

In Table 34, the respondents are categorized according to the number of years of teaching experience.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Years of Teaching Experience</th>
<th>Mean Attitude Scores Toward Jews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>42.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9</td>
<td>44.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
<td>41.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 or more</td>
<td>40.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative Mean (all respondents)</td>
<td>42.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data in Table 34 indicate that the largest differences between means exist between those respondents who have been teaching between five and nine years and the remainder of the respondents in the study when classified according to the number of years of teaching experience. Those who have been teaching between five and nine years are significantly more favorable toward Jews than those who have been teaching between ten and fourteen years or those who have been teaching fifteen years or more. Standard scores of 2.07 and 2.21 are obtained respectively indicating significant differences at the .05 level of certainty.

Those who have been teaching between five and nine years are also considerably more favorable toward Jews than those who have been teaching less than five years or than all respondents taken collectively. Standard
scores of 1.91 and 1.90 are obtained respectively indicating significant differences only at the .06 level of certainty.

In viewing the data according to the number of years of teaching experience by the respondents, a few consistent patterns are clearly observable. Respondents who have been teaching between five and nine years are considerably more favorable to items relating to Negroes, Jews and ethnocentrism than all other respondents in the study. Furthermore, respondents who have been teaching fifteen years or longer are clearly less favorable toward items relating to Negroes, Jews and ethnocentrism than all other respondents in the study.

In Table 35, the mean attitude scores toward Jews are presented according to the number of Encyclicals read by the respondents.

**Table 35**

**Mean Attitude Scores Toward Jews According to the Number of Encyclicals Read from Start to Finish by the Respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Encyclicals Read</th>
<th>Mean Attitude Scores Toward Jews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3, 4, 5</td>
<td>4.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 or 2</td>
<td>4.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>4.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumulative Mean (all respondents)</td>
<td>4.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The data in Table 35 is highly similar to the data presenting attitudes toward items relating to Negroes, the Church and ethnocentrism according to the number of Encyclicals read by the respondents. In all these groups of data the differences between means are so slight that seemingly there is little or no relationship between the number of Encyclicals read and the attitudes expressed by the respondents.

In concluding the analysis of attitudes towards Jews from the point of view of the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents, the data will now be analyzed from a second point of view. In this second point of view a distribution of responses by the entire population is presented to attitude items number thirty-six to forty-five or those items that focus specifically on Jews.

Although the majority of attitudes expressed toward the Jews were favorable, it appears that only two items, numbers thirty-eight and thirty-nine, were met with some controversy. The stereotype of Jewish "seclusiveness" or clannishness and "power in money matters" is apparent in that thirty-six or 25% agreed that "Much resentment against Jews stems from their tending to keep apart and to exclude Gentiles from Jewish social life." Only a slight majority, or 51.4% disagree that Jewish power and control in money matters is far out of proportion to the number of Jews in the total population.

An apparent inconsistency appears in the pattern of responses to items number thirty-nine and forty-two. While only nineteen or 13.2% agree that "Jews tend to remain a foreign element in American society, to preserve their old social standards and to resist the American way of life," almost twice
as many or exactly one-fourth of the respondents agree that "Much resentment against Jews stems from their tendency to keep apart and to exclude Gentiles from Jewish social life."

Although these last two attitude items are highly similar in terms of highlighting the stereotype of Jewish clannishness, almost twice as many agree with item number thirty-nine in comparison with item number forty-two. In item number forty-two, perhaps the usage of "foreign element" discourages agreement with this statement. As previously mentioned, among the statements dealing with ethnocentrism, items number seventeen, nineteen and twenty-two also make reference to "foreigners" and hence indicated low ethnocentric attitudes. Perhaps the respondents are not inclined to subscribe to the negative connotation frequently associated with the concept foreigner.

In item number forty, only 3.5% agree that "The Jews should give up their un-Christian religion with all its strange customs (kosher diet, special holidays, etc.) and participate actively and sincerely in the Christian religion." While the relatively substantial percentage of 27.8% denies the prerogatives of religious sects whose beliefs do not permit them to salute the flag, the attitudes toward Jewish religious customs is considerably more permissive and less ethnocentric. As a further illustration of the favorable attitudes given toward the Jewish religion, less than 1% (.07%) or only one respondent supports the statement that "Jews must be considered a bad influence on Christian culture and civilization." The absence of religious ethnocentrism is also indicated by 96.5% who disagree that "The true Christian can never forgive the Jews for their Crucifixion of Christ."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pct. in Agreement</th>
<th>Pct. Undecided</th>
<th>Pct. in Disagreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36. To end prejudice against Jews, the first step is for the Jews to try sincerely to get rid of their harmful irritating faults.</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>74.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. The Jews must be considered a bad influence on Christian culture and civilization.</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>93.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Jewish power and control in money matters is far out of proportion to the number of Jews in the total population.</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>51.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Much resentment against Jews stems from their tendency to keep apart and to exclude Gentiles from Jewish social life.</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>47.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. The Jews should give up their un-Christian religion with all its strange customs (kosher diet, special holidays, etc.) and participate actively and sincerely in the Christian religion.</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>91.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. There seems to be some revolutionary streak in the Jewish make-up as shown by the fact that there are so many Jewish Communists and agitators.</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>71.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Jews tend to remain a foreign element in American society, to preserve their old social standards and to resist the American way of life.</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>74.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Most hotels should deny admittance to Jews, as a general rule.</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>97.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. The true Christian can never forgive the Jews for their Crucifixion of Christ.</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>68.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 36—Continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pct. in Agreement</th>
<th>Pct. Undecided</th>
<th>Pct. in Disagreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

45. When Jews create large funds for educational or scientific research (Rosenwald, Heller, etc.) it is mainly due to a desire for fame and public notice rather than a really sincere and scientific interest. 4.2 11.1 84.7

After analyzing the distribution of responses by the entire population to attitude items number thirty-six to forty-five, the data will now be presented from a third point of view. An attempt will be made to determine the significance of cross-comparisons and correlations between one's attitudes toward Jews and the attitudes expressed toward other groups in the study—toward Negroes, the Church and ethnocentrism.

After examining the responses to attitude items number thirty-six to forty-five, the respondents were ranked in quartiles in terms of those who were highly favorable toward Jews and those who were least favorable toward Jews. In each quartile there are thirty-six respondents. Within the quartile containing the thirty-six respondents who were highly favorable toward Jews, the scores range from forty-seven to fifty points. The thirty-six respondents who were least favorable toward Jews comprised a quartile with scores ranging between twenty-three and thirty-nine points. Two intermediate quartiles of respondents containing seventy-two respondents received scores between forty and forty-six points in expressing their
attitudes toward items relating to Jews.

By use of the Pearson r correlations, an attempt is made to determine whether those respondents who exhibit attitudes highly favorable toward Jews will similarly exhibit attitudes highly favorable toward the other groups selected in the study—toward Negroes, the Church and ethnocentrism. Conversely, one might suspect that the quartile containing those respondents who were least favorable toward Jews would similarly express attitudes highly unfavorable to Negroes, the Church and ethnocentrism.

In Table 37, the Pearson r correlations of the quartiles containing high anti-Semitic and low anti-Semitic scorers are contrasted with their attitudes expressed toward Negroes, the Church and ethnocentrism.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Low Anti-Semitic Scores (47-50)</th>
<th>High Anti-Semitic Scores (23-39)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low Anti-Negro</td>
<td>High Anti-Negro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Ethnocentric</td>
<td>High Ethnocentric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Anti-Church</td>
<td>High Anti-Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.16</td>
<td>-.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 37, the Pearson r correlations indicate that a slight positive correlation exists between those respondents who are highly favor-
able toward Jews and the attitudes they express toward items relating to Negroes, the Church and ethnocentrism. Although each of these correlations is clearly positive, none are significant at the .05 level of certainty. Therefore, those who are highly pro-Jewish tend to express attitudes favorable toward items relating to Negroes, the Church and ethnocentrism. However, these positive correlations are not significant and must be attributed to chance.

Among the respondents within the quartile who exhibited high anti-Semitic attitudes, the attitudes they express toward Negroes and the Church indicate correlations of .01 and -.01 respectively. However in contrast, a positive correlation is obtained between high anti-Semitic respondents and the attitudes they express toward items relating to ethnocentrism. The Pearson r of .60 indicates that this positive correlation is significant at the .01 level of certainty.

Therefore it can be concluded that no correlation exists between high anti-Semitic respondents and the attitudes they express toward Negroes and the Church. The findings, however, do support the conclusion that highly ethnocentric attitudes will accompany attitudes of individuals which are least favorable toward Jews.

In analyzing the respondents' attitudes toward Jews, the findings concur with Bettelheim's contention that with increasing upward social mobility, a more intense prejudice develops toward those who rank lower in social class. Although there were no significant differences in attitudes

50 Bettelheim, op. cit., p. 217.
expressed toward Jews or Negroes according to the social class of the respondents, the attitudes toward Jews expressed by the respondents are considerably more favorable than the attitudes expressed toward Negroes.

Since all the respondents participating in the study were secondary school teachers, the vast majority had experienced upward social mobility. Perhaps then one might attribute the relatively favorable attitudes expressed toward Jews as an indication that Jews were not perceived by the respondents as ranking lower in social class. Conversely, the unfavorable attitudes expressed toward Negroes may be attributed to the fact that Negroes were perceived by the respondents as ranking lower in social class.

Furthermore, these findings lend support to Allport's contention that the lack of interpersonal contacts in the mechanical culture of our city coupled with the strength of advertising in relation to standards of living arouses insecurity and uncertainty in minds of men and thus forces standards which call for contempt on people who are perceived as poor and who do not reach the prescribed level of material existence.

After concluding the analysis of attitudes expressed toward Jews, the final chapter will provide a summary of the findings and a comprehensive picture of the conclusions drawn in the study.

51 Allport, op. cit., p. 8.
CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This thesis presents the findings of an inquiry into the selected social attitudes of a sample of Catholic male lay teachers in Catholic high schools. By partially identifying the attitudes of the high school teacher toward Negroes, Jews, the Church and ethnocentrism as being associated with certain socio-economic characteristics, hopefully this study will reveal some of the possible influences that bear upon the individual teacher.

The universe of the study includes all male lay teachers currently teaching in the Catholic boys' high schools throughout the Chicago area. A total of 561 questionnaires were mailed to the participants in twenty-one Catholic high schools of which 141 persons responded from approximately fourteen high schools by mailing back completed copies of the questionnaire.

The questionnaire was developed from a collection of items taken from the Authoritarian Personality, Strangers Next Door a "Scale of Attitudes Toward The Church" and a study by Sister Anthony Claret, O. S. F., on the values of religious women.

The questionnaire itself consists of eighty items of which the first thirty-five items requested information concerning the socio-economic background of the respondents; the remaining forty-five items are attitude statements of various social issues requiring the respondent to indicate the
extent of his agreement or disagreement with that particular item.

The respondents, all lay teachers in the Catholic high schools throughout the Chicago area, are somewhat widely distributed in socioeconomic background. The "average" teacher in the survey, however, typically has experienced upward social mobility in the last generation and is an offspring of a lower or lower-middle class family. The most frequently identified nationality descents are Irish, Polish, German and Italian including a sizable percentage of respondents who are representative of numerous other nationalities. Typically, the respondents have received most of their college training in Catholic institutions and have been teaching less than five years.

Before presenting a summary of the findings, it should be noted that the following four hypotheses were tested:

1. Individuals of those national descent or ethnic groups which have most recently migrated to the United States will exhibit higher anti-Negro attitudes than those nationality or ethnic groups which have less recently migrated to the United States.

2. Individuals who have received all or most of their college training in a Catholic institution will exhibit lower anti-Negro attitudes than those who received all or most of their college training in a non-Catholic institution.

3. Individuals who have experienced measurable upward or downward social mobility in the social class structure within the last generation will exhibit higher anti-Negro attitudes than those who have remained stable in the social class structure.
4. Individuals who exhibit a high degree of identification with their own reference and membership groups will relate negatively to other groups perceived to be in tension ideologically with such reference and membership groups.

4-A. Individuals who exhibit higher ethnocentric attitudes will exhibit higher anti-Negro attitudes.

4-B. Individuals who exhibit higher ethnocentric attitudes will exhibit higher anti-Semitic attitudes.

4-C. Individuals who exhibit lower anti-Negro attitudes will exhibit attitudes expressing socially conventional approval toward the (Catholic) Church.

In the first hypothesis, it was predicted that individuals of ethnic groups which have most recently migrated to the United States will be more unfavorable to Negroes than ethnic groups who have less recently migrated to the United States. It would be expected then that respondents who identified themselves as Polish or Italian would exhibit higher anti-Negro attitudes than respondents who identified themselves as Irish, German, Irish-German or "Other" (including numerous miscellaneous nationalities to which there was a small number of respondents). By the use of standard scores the first hypothesis, however, can only be partially accepted since only the Polish mean attitude score of 50.0 is significantly less favorable toward items relating to Negroes than the Irish mean of 56.1, the German mean of 56.0 and the "Other" mean of 57.9. Those respondents of Italian descent being identified as recent migrants to the United States obtain a mean attitude score of 55.3 toward items relating to Negroes and therefore
do not exhibit attitudes significantly different from the mean attitude scores expressed by the more recent immigrants to the United States. Moreover, those of Italian descent reflect an attitudinal pattern more closely aligned with the responses of those of German and Irish descent.

With respect to attitudes expressed toward items relating to ethnocentrism and Jews, the Polish attitude is highly similar to the attitudes expressed toward Negroes. Although not significantly less favorable on items relating to ethnocentrism and Jews, the Polish mean attitude scores show up as consistently less favorable to the selected groups than the other nationality descent categories in the study.

In hypothesis number two, it was predicted that individuals who had received their college training in Catholic institutions would exhibit lower anti-Negro attitudes than those who had received their college training in non-Catholic institutions. Although those respondents who attended Catholic colleges or universities exhibit attitudes more favorable toward items relating to Negroes, Jews, the Church and lower ethnocentrism, their attitudes are not significantly more favorable than those who had received their college training in non-Catholic institutions. Therefore, the findings do not lend adequate support to this second hypothesis.

The third hypothesis states that individuals who have experienced measurable upward or downward social mobility within the last generation will exhibit higher anti-Negro attitudes than those who have remained stable in the social class structure.

With respect to attitudes expressed toward items relating to Negroes, the Church and ethnocentrism according to the social class of the respondents,
the difference between means is so slight that the social class of the respondents seemingly has little or no relationship to the attitudes expressed. However, a pattern of relationship is observed between attitudes expressed toward Jews by the respondents in social class IV and social class V. Social class V obtains a mean attitude score of 44.0 toward Jews and is significantly more favorable toward Jews than social class IV with a mean attitude score of 41.6. However, even this finding does not lend support to the third hypothesis.

When classifying the respondents according to their teaching subjects, it is evident that no significant differences are obtained. However, teachers of English and Social Studies generally exhibited more favorable attitudes on the questionnaire than the remainder of the respondents.

A pattern of relationship is clearly observable when classifying the respondents according to the number of years of teaching experience. Those respondents who have been teaching between five and nine years are significantly more favorable on items relating to Negroes and Jews than respondents who have been teaching fifteen years or longer. The findings clearly indicate that the respondents who have been teaching between five and nine years are more favorable on the attitude items than teachers who have had more teaching experience or less teaching experience.

In the socio-economic background portion of the questionnaire, the respondents were requested to indicate whether they had read a select group of five papal encyclicals. The findings indicate that there is little or no meaningful relationship between the number of encyclicals read from start to finish by the respondents and the attitudes they express toward items
relating to Negroes, Jews, the Church and ethnocentrism.

Sub-hypothesis 4-A states that individuals who exhibit higher ethnocentric attitudes will exhibit higher anti-Negro attitudes. The identification of respondents who exhibit higher ethnocentric attitudes is determined by those who rank in the highest quartile (those thirty-six respondents who are most ethnocentric or conversely, who receive the lowest scores with respect to attitude items focusing on ethnocentrism). A Pearson r of .56 is obtained indicating that a positive correlation between highly ethnocentric and high anti-Negro attitudes is significant at the .01 level of certainty. Conversely, those respondents who are the least ethnocentric are also highly favorable toward items relating to Negroes. A Pearson r of .55 is obtained indicating a correlation significant at the .01 level of certainty. These findings then lend strong support to the acceptance of hypothesis 4-A.

Sub-hypothesis 4-B indicates that individuals who exhibit higher ethnocentric attitudes will exhibit higher anti-Semitic attitudes. The findings indicate that within the quartile containing highly ethnocentric respondents, they similarly express attitudes highly unfavorable to Jews. A Pearson r of .66 is obtained indicating a positive correlation significant at the .01 level of certainty between respondents expressing highly ethnocentric attitudes and the attitudes they express toward Jews. However, those who are the least ethnocentric do not necessarily exhibit a significantly low anti-Semitic attitude. A Pearson r of .10 is obtained indicating only a slight positive correlation between the respondents expressing low ethnocentric attitudes and the attitudes they express toward Jews.

Although the findings lend partial support to hypothesis 4-B, the
Pearson r correlations do not indicate that total acceptance be attributed to the hypothesis that "Individuals who exhibit higher ethnocentric attitudes will exhibit higher anti-Semitic attitudes."

When comparing the quartiles of respondents who are most and least ethnocentric with their attitudes toward items relating to the Church, slight negative correlations of little significance are obtained. Briefly, those respondents who are highly ethnocentric exhibit attitudes tending toward socially conventional approval toward the Church; those respondents who are least ethnocentric tend to express socially conventional disapproval toward the Church.

In sub-hypothesis 4-c, it was predicted that individuals who exhibit lower anti-Negro attitudes will exhibit attitudes expressing conventional approval to the (Catholic) Church. Contrary to expectations, respondents who exhibit attitudes highly favorable toward Negroes exhibit attitudes of high conventional disapproval toward the Church. A Pearson r of -.15 is obtained indicating a negative correlation at the .01 level of certainty. Moreover, respondents within the quartile exhibiting high anti-Negro attitudes tend to express attitudes of high conventional approval toward the Church. A Pearson r of -.11 is obtained indicating a slight negative correlation of little significance.

These findings then lead to the rejection of hypothesis 4-c and lend support to the conclusion that attitudes of high conventional disapproval toward the Church accompany the attitudes of respondents who are highly favorable to Negroes.

A rather significant conclusion warranted by the findings is that
respondents who exhibit highly pro-Negro attitudes similarly express attitudes highly favorable to Jews and low ethnocentrism. Pearson r's of .42 and .40 are obtained respectively indicating a positive correlation at the .05 level of certainty. However, the findings do not lend adequate support to the converse proposition that respondents who exhibit attitudes least favorable toward Negroes will similarly exhibit attitudes least favorable to items relating to Jews and high ethnocentrism. Only slight positive correlations are obtained and therefore do not support this conclusion.

Although the findings indicate virtually no correlation between respondents who exhibit attitudes least favorable toward Jews and the attitudes they express toward Negroes and the Church, the findings strongly support the conclusion that highly ethnocentric attitudes will accompany attitudes of respondents who are least favorable toward Jews. A Pearson r of .60 indicates a positive correlation significant at the .01 level of certainty. Furthermore, among the respondents who exhibit attitudes highly favorable toward Jews, the attitudes they express toward items relating to Negroes, the Church and ethnocentrism tends to be favorable. Pearson r's of .19, .16 and .31 are obtained respectively, indicating moderately positive correlations—however, not significant at the .05 level of certainty.

It is questionable whether the statements adequately measure the quality or the extent of the prejudice manifested by the respondents in the study. As has been pointed out previously, the attitude statements focusing on the Church do not give a reliable estimate of the real attitudes of the respondents. There is the possibility that the Thurstone "Scale of Attitudes Toward the Church" is an inappropriate instrument as the frame of reference
toward the Church of a sample of entirely Catholic respondents. Secondly, because of the nature of the attitude items concerning the Church, there are difficulties in meaningfully distinguishing between respondents who express attitudes of constructive criticism of the Church and the less critical respondents who express attitudes seemingly favorable toward the Church perhaps because of personal alienation or lack of appreciation for the Church's relevance to the modern world. Finally, the attitude statements about the Church do not test the doctrinal orthodoxy of the respondents as much as it tests their judgments concerning social allegations about the Church in the form of stereotypes.

Relevance to Theory

In terms of Merton's reference group theory, individuals do not necessarily internalize a set of values established by the groups to which they belong but probably acquire behavior patterns which are significantly shaped by groups to which the individual is not a part. The findings in this study do not lend themselves to an accurate interpretation of any single reference group or membership group significant for the respondents. As Newcomb has concluded in his study of value-assimilation by college students, one's behavior is significantly shaped by groups to which he does not belong. In accordance with Merton's reference group theory, one might

52 Merton, op. cit., p. 283.
53 Newcomb, op. cit., p. 300.
predict that perhaps the larger society rather than the immediate social environment constituted by the social relationships to which the individual is directly engaged may have served as a significant frame of reference for the respondents in this study. Moreover, identification with public figures or adherence to "middle class values" could have been more meaningful reference groups than any of the socio-economic characteristics or reference groups isolated as independent variables for analysis in this study.

Although the findings suggest that the selected socio-economic characteristics of the respondents are not significantly related to the attitudes expressed by the respondents, the nationality descents of the respondents did reflect some divergent patterns of response. Those who identified themselves as Polish did exhibit attitudes significantly more ethnocentric (and more unfavorable to Negroes) than respondents who were identified in the Irish or "Other" categories.

Seemingly, this finding lends support to Williams theory that the need to conform to the expectations of those groups to which the individual belongs creates feelings of social distance toward those groups perceived to be lacking in mutually acceptable norms.

As members of relatively recent immigrant groups, the Polish and Italian respondents might be expected to exhibit a more rigid acceptance of their own ethnic groups accompanying negative imagery to out-groups. Although

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the Italian respondents expressed highly ethnocentric attitudes similar to
the Polish respondents, their attitudes did not differ significantly from
those expressed by respondents of other nationality groups. Hence these
findings lend partial support to Williams theory.

The attitudes expressed toward the Church by the respondents seemingly
manifest high socially conventional approval of the Church. However, the
attitudes expressed toward the Church do not really lend themselves to an
explanation for the individual’s motivation for belonging to the Church.
One might speculate that the responses toward the Church adhere closely to
Allport’s dichotomy of the institutionalized and interiorized religious
outlooks. In the institutionalized outlook, the individual sees the
authoritarian character of the Church and is motivated to belong for the sake
of safety, power and authority. Furthermore, one might predict that those
respondents who exhibited less critical attitudes toward the Church are
personally alienated from the Church or lack appreciation for the Church’s
relevance to the modern world.

It is likewise plausible that some of the respondents expressing high
socially conventional disapproval of the Church have an “interiorized”
religious outlook. According to Allport the individual’s motivation for
belonging to the Church is based on its fundamental creed of brotherhood
which expresses the ideals that one sincerely believes in.

55Allport, op. cit., p. 7.
In analyzing the respondent's attitudes toward Jews, the findings concur with Bettelheim's contention that with increasing upward social mobility, a more intense prejudice develops toward those who rank lower in social class. Although there were no significant differences in attitudes expressed toward Jews or Negroes according to the social class of the respondents, the attitudes toward Jews expressed by the respondents are considerably more favorable than the attitudes expressed toward Negroes.

Since all the respondents participating in the study were secondary school teachers, the vast majority had experienced upward social mobility. Perhaps then one might attribute the relatively favorable attitudes expressed toward Jews as an indication that Jews were not perceived by the respondents as ranking lower in social class. Conversely, the unfavorable attitudes expressed toward Negroes may be attributed to the fact that Negroes were perceived by the respondents as ranking lower in social class.

Implications for Future Research

Perhaps further research should take place concerning the implication that the layman's attitudes toward the Church may have a significant bearing on the capacity of Catholic secondary education to transmit positive values to its students. It has been suggested that the alleged failure of Catholic secondary education to transmit positive social attitudes may be attributable in part to tensions between the lay faculty and religious faculty.  

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56 Bettelheim, op. cit., p. 217.
administration in Catholic secondary schools.

Further research is also needed regarding the differences in attitudes expressed by the various socio-economic categories. It is questionable whether the socio-economic characteristics of the groups that were controlled in the study are relevant to ascertaining meaningful differences in attitudes. Perhaps additional research on the influence on such variables as social class and age might reveal larger differences in attitudes than might be expected. However, as has been suggested by Gordon Allport, additional exploratory research may reveal that much prejudice is attributed to the impersonal and mechanical culture of our large cities where the lack of interpersonal contacts arouses insecurity and uncertainty in the minds of men. Furthermore, the strengths of advertising in attempting to create material needs possibly promotes standards which call for contempt of people who are poor and do not reach the prescribed level of material existence within the class system.

57 Allport, op. cit., p. 8.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

BOOKS


ARTICLES AND PERIODICALS


Marciniak, Edward A. "The Racial Attitudes of Students in the Catholic Colleges of the Chicago Area" (unpublished Master's dissertation, Department of Sociology, Loyola University, Chicago).

Schindler, Paul Thomas. "Factors Related to The Internalization of Catholic Values" (unpublished Master's dissertation, Department of Sociology, Loyola University, Chicago, 1963).

Dear Member of the Lay Faculty:

A questionnaire has been distributed to you as a participant in a survey of lay teachers in the Catholic High Schools throughout the Chicago area. The survey is being conducted as a part of the degree requirements for the Master of Arts.

Being a lay teacher myself, I know that your time is precious. However, I will be most grateful if you could help me out by taking a few minutes to fill out your copy of the questionnaire. After completing the questionnaire, please seal it in the envelope provided and return it to your Principal.

Please do not sign your name to the questionnaire for all information is confidential and anonymous.

Should you be interested in the results of the survey, I would be happy to provide that information.

Thanking you in advance for your cooperation, I am

Sincerely,

Thomas G. Schackmuth
Notre Dame High School for Boys
This is an anonymous study; please do not sign your name. Please check items where appropriate. Please give specific answers where they are to be filled in by you.

1. If you presently teach, check the appropriate line.
   a. Grammar School
   b. High School
   c. College

2. If you teach in high school or college, list the subjects you are teaching this semester.

3. How many years have you been teaching at this school?
   a. 1 year or less
   b. 2-4 years
   c. 5-9 years
   d. 10 or more years

4. How many years have you been teaching?
   a. 0-4 years
   b. 5-9 years
   c. 10-14 years
   d. 15-19 years
   e. 20-24 years
   f. 25-29 years
   g. 30-34 years
   h. 35-39 years
   i. 40-44 years
   j. 45 or more

5. What is your age now?
   a. 20-24 years
   b. 25-29 years
   c. 30-34 years
   d. 35-39 years
   e. 40-44 years
   f. 45-49 years
   g. 50-54 years
   h. 55-59 years
   i. 60 or more

6. Give the race to which you belong.

7. What is the country of birth of:
   a. You
   b. Father
   c. Mother
   d. Grandparents
8. How would you describe your family's national descent?

(Irish, Polish, etc.)

9. In what kind of community have you resided most of your life?

a. Rural farm area
b. Rural non-farm area
c. Small town, less than 10,000
d. City, 10,000 - 99,999
e. Large city 100,000 or over
f. Suburb near large city

10. Circle the number in each group which indicates approximately how many years of schooling each of your parents completed. (If you cannot give an exact number, try to give an approximate answer.)

FOR YOUR FATHER GRADE SCHOOL HIGH SCHOOL COLLEGE POST GRAD
PUBLIC SCHOOL 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8 1,2,3,4 1,2,3,4
CATHOLIC SCHOOL 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8 1,2,3,4 1,2,3,4

FOR YOUR MOTHER GRADE SCHOOL HIGH SCHOOL COLLEGE POST GRAD
PUBLIC SCHOOL 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8 1,2,3,4 1,2,3,4
CATHOLIC SCHOOL 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8 1,2,3,4 1,2,3,4

11. The following questions pertain to your father's major occupation. If your father is retired or not living, tell what his occupation was. What is your father's occupation? (Please specify his particular job, e.g., auto mechanic, railroad conductor, baker, baker self-employed)

12. What is the estimated annual income of your father?

a. $4,000 or less
b. More than $4,000 but less than $7,000
c. $7,000 to $10,000
d. $10,000 to $15,000
e. $15,000 and above

13. If you have brothers, please list their occupations on the following lines. Be specific.
14. Number of brothers and sisters who are 25 years or older

15. Number of brothers and sisters 25 years or older who have completed the following levels of education: (List each brother and sister only once; e.g., if he completed grammar school and high school, list him only as having completed high school.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Brothers</th>
<th>Sisters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grammar School</td>
<td>a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>b.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate Work (specify)</td>
<td>d.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16. Professional School (specify)

|                     | g.       |         |
|                     | h.       |         |
|                     | i.       |         |

17. To which social class do you think your family belonged?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>When you were 15</th>
<th>Today</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Upper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Middle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Working</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Lower</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18. Please indicate the years you attended public or Catholic schools by circling the grades. Use a checkmark under Graduate Work.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GRAMMAR SCHOOL</th>
<th>HIGH SCHOOL</th>
<th>COLLEGE</th>
<th>GRADUATE WORK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PUBLIC SCHOOL</td>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8</td>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4</td>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CATHOLIC SCHOOL</td>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8</td>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4</td>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19. Did you receive a college degree? Yes ________ No ________

20. What college did you attend?

21. Are you now working toward a college degree? Yes ________ No ________

Do you have a Master's degree? Yes ________ No ________
If no, are you now doing graduate work toward a Master's degree? Yes ________ No ________

Do you have a Doctor's Degree? Yes ________ No ________
If no, are you now doing graduate work toward a Doctor's degree? Yes ________ No ________
What is (was) your major field? In college
In graduate work toward a Master's degree
In graduate work toward a Doctor's degree

22. Approximately how many semester hours (college level or higher) do you have in the following?
   a. Economics  
   b. History  
   c. Philosophy  
   d. Political Science  
   e. Psychology  
   f. Sociology  
   g. Theology  
   h. Education  

23. Have you ever taken a specific course in papal social thought or papal social encyclicals?  Yes  No

24. Would you describe the handling and coverage of the social encyclicals in classes other than specifically social encyclical classes as:
   (Check more than one if necessary.)
   a. Done with depth
   b. Done superficially
   c. Not done at all

25. Check the encyclicals you have read from start to finish, if any:
   a. Quadragesimo Anno  
   b. Rerum Novarum  
   c. Mystici Corporis  
   d. Mater et Magistra  
   e. Pacem in Terris

26. Which subject do you feel most prepared to teach?

27. Are you teaching this subject?  Yes  No

28. Which subject do you feel least prepared to teach (of the subjects you are teaching now)?

29. At what year of the Catholic student's education, if any, do you think we should start teaching Christian Social Principles?
   Circle one.  1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10  11  12  Should not.

30. What subjects, in your opinion, if any, lend themselves to the teaching of Christian Social Principles?
31. Have you ever had any unpleasant personal experience in regard to the colored?
   Yes ___________ No ___________

32. If yes, please explain.
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________

33. Have you ever had any pleasant personal experience in regard to the colored?
   Yes ___________ No ___________

34. If yes, please explain.
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________

35. Your religion is ________________________________

The following statements refer to opinions regarding a number of social groups and issues, about which some people agree and others disagree. Please mark each statement in the left-hand margin according to your agreement or disagreement, as follows:

1. It is wrong for Negroes and whites to intermarry.  ___
2. Negroes seem to have an aversion to plain hard work; they tend to be a parasitic element in society by finding easy, nonproductive jobs.  ___
3. Negroes should be more concerned with their personal appearance, and not be so dirty and smelly and unkempt.  ___
4. There is little hope of correcting the racial defects of the Negroes since these defects are simply in their blood.  ___
5. It would be to the best interests of all if the Negroes would form their own nation and keep more to themselves.  ___
6. On the whole, the Negroes have probably contributed less to American life than any other group. ___
7. It would be a mistake to have Negroes for foremen and leaders over whites.
8. Negroes may have a part to play in white civilization, but it is best to keep them in their own districts and schools and to prevent too much intermixing with whites.
9. The people who raise all the talk about putting Negroes on the same level as whites and giving them the same privileges are mostly radical agitators trying to stir up conflicts.
10. Middle class colored people should be allowed to buy or rent homes in middle class white neighborhoods.
11. Colored people are by nature prone to crime, illegitimacy, poverty and ignorance.
12. Most colored persons are treated fairly in the U. S. most of the time.
13. Colored people have a body odor because of the pigment of their skin.
14. If a colored family buys a home in an all-white neighborhood, the property values of all other residences drop inevitably.
15. The most prevalent and fundamental cause of blighted neighborhoods is negligence and destruction on the part of the inhabitants.
16. Certain religious sects whose beliefs do not permit them to salute the flag should be forced to conform to such a patriotic action, or else be abolished.
17. Any group or social movement which contains many foreigners should be watched with suspicion and, whenever possible, be investigated by the FBI.
18. One main difficulty with allowing the entire population to participate fully in government affairs (voting, jobs, etc.) is that such a large percentage is innately deficient and incapable.
19. The most vicious, irresponsible, and racketeering unions are, in most cases, those having largely foreigners for leaders.
20. We are spending too much money for the pampering of criminals and the insane, and for the education of inherently incapable people.
21. Minor forms of military training, obedience and discipline, such as drill, marching and simple commands, should be made a part of the elementary school educational program.
22. The main threat to basic American institutions during this century has come from the infiltration of foreign ideas, doctrines and agitators.
23. Present treatment of conscientious objectors, draft evaders, and enemy aliens is too lenient and mollycoddling. If a person won't fight for this country, he deserves a lot worse than just prison or a work camp.
24. European refugees may be in need, but it would be a big mistake to lower our immigration quotas and allow more to enter the country.
25. People who break the law should be punished no matter how good their excuse is.
26. I approve of the church because I know that church attendance is a good index of the nation's morality.

27. I have convinced myself that the teaching of the church is altogether too superficial to be of interest to me.

28. My emotional reaction toward the church is negative due to lack of interest.

29. I am convinced that the church is shackled with monied interests and does not practice its ideals.

30. I have concluded that a man cannot be honest in his thinking and endorse what the church teaches.

31. I have a feeling that the church furnishes the stimulus for the best leadership of our country.

32. I am afraid that the church is non-scientific and emotional depending for its influence upon fear of God and of hell.

33. I am certain that the church has a most important influence in the development of moral habits and attitudes.

34. I am convinced that the church is a divine institution, and that it should command my highest loyalty and respect.

35. I think the church is moving ahead too fast in the area of race relations.

36. To end prejudice against Jews, the first step is for the Jews to try sincerely to get rid of their harmful and irritating faults.

37. The Jews must be considered a bad influence on Christian culture and civilization.

38. Jewish power and control in money matters is far out of proportion to the number of Jews in the total population.

39. Much resentment against Jews stems from their tending to keep apart and to exclude Gentiles from Jewish social life.

40. The Jews should give up their un-Christian religion with all its strange customs (kosher diet, special holidays, etc.) and participate actively and sincerely in the Christian religion.

41. There seems to be some revolutionary streak in the Jewish make-up as shown by the fact that there are so many Jewish Communists and agitators.

42. Jews tend to remain a foreign element in American society, to preserve their old social standards and to resist the American way of life.

43. Most hotels should deny admittance to Jews, as a general rule.

44. The true Christian can never forgive the Jews for their crucifixion of Christ.

45. When Jews create large funds for educational or scientific research (Rosenwald, Heller, etc.) it is mainly due to a desire for fame and public notice rather than a really sincere and scientific interest.
APPORVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Thomas G. Schackmuth has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Sociology.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

1-4-67
Date

Signature of Adviser