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A STUDY OF THE RELATIVE CONTRIBUTION  
OF SELECTED SOCIOCULTURAL AND PERSONALITY  
VARIABLES TO THE EXPLORATION OF PREJUDICE  
AND DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTH DAKOTA

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INTRODUCTION

An extensive amount of scholarly research has been done on the subjects of prejudice and discrimination. The vast majority of this research in the United States has focused on Blacks and Jews and very little on the American Indian.

The general public had very little knowledge of the situation on Indian reservations or the relationship that existed between the Indians and Whites until the early 1970s when American Indian activists began to engage in protests. What emerged from these protests were images of white racism and bigotry, separatist movements and a general climate of hostility in those areas where protests occurred.

Against this background, it is surprising that so little research has been done regarding prejudice toward American Indians, and still more surprising that in states such as South Dakota which has experienced social conflict and charges of extreme racism, very little has been done to examine prejudice and discrimination. The only known research dealing with prejudice in South Dakota is a public opinion poll conducted by mail at the University of South Dakota. This 1983 effort was an attempt to gauge the status of Indians in South Dakota. Of the 600 surveys mailed, 200 were returned. From this study, the researchers concluded that the majority of people in South Dakota are prejudiced (Sioux Falls Argus Leader, November 25, 1983). However, nothing has been done to determine if there are socio-geographic differences in norms or what the important variables are that may contribute to an understanding of this prejudice. Therefore, the objectives of this study are to determine: (1) the degree of prejudice in a sample of South Dakota respondents; (2) where, in a socio-geographic sense, prejudice is concentrated; (3) what percentage of the exhibited prejudice can be explained by personality factors and by sociocultural factors; and, (4) what are the behavioral implications of the observed prejudice.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

The two theoretical perspectives this research employs are those of the authoritarian personality and the sociocultural perspective emphasizing socialization and conformity. Review of the research literature suggests that both of these are major and contrasting perspectives.

Key Concepts

Three key concepts used in both perspectives are attitude, prejudice, and discrimination.

**Attitude** - The concept of attitude is perhaps the most distinctive and indispensable concept in contemporary American social psychology, but it is a very elastic and broad concept. Allport (1954) pointed out that almost all definitions of attitude cohere around one common feature, that of a preparation or a readiness for response. This insight implies that attitudes are residues of previous experience and are correlated with present as well as future behavior. For definitional purposes, this researcher will utilize Ehrlich's (1973:4) definition of an attitude as a relatively enduring set of propositions about an object or situation which is organized around cognitive, affective, and behavioral dimensions.

**Prejudice** - Hraba (1979:123-125) best summarizes that which all of the various definitions of prejudice have in common. He notes that prejudice is always an attitude or an internal state, a set of beliefs and feelings, about some ethnic or racial group. Prejudice is, by its very definition, an attitude and not an act. Hraba (1979:123-124) points out that "prejudice is a set of rather rigid beliefs, often involving stereotypes and relatively strong emotions, typically negative, about a perceived group of people, which predisposes one to act in a certain way toward that group."

Since prejudice is an attitude, the three dimensions of an attitude are also part of prejudice, i.e., prejudice involves cognitive, affective, and behavioral dimensions. The cognitive dimension of prejudice involves a simplicity of belief usually based on stereotypes. Rigidity or inflexibility further characterizes this cognitive dimension. Prejudice also involves varying degrees of feeling or sentiment toward a group of people. These feelings or sentiments comprise the affective dimension of prejudice. Lastly, beliefs and feelings are coupled with a predisposition to act toward that group. This reflects the behavioral dimension of prejudice.

**Discrimination** - Although the meaning of the term discrimination is in a state of flux, Hraba again provides the researcher with insight into the common theme running through the variety of definitions of discrimination. He notes that all theorists and researchers agree that discrimination is an act and it is directed toward a group of people although a single individual, generally as a member of some group, may also be the object of discrimination. Discrimination results in intergroup exclusion. It is an action which limits a group's access to opportunities available in the larger society (Hraba, 1979:126).

Yetman and Steel (1975:382) comment that:

...As Merton has pointed out, it (discrimination) may occur without personal malice from the discriminating individual merely because he may conform to existing cultural patterns or acquiesce to the dictates of others who are prejudiced. Adaptive discrimination involves action that can be attributed to the actor's conscious or unconscious perception of the negative effects nondiscriminatory behavior will have for him.

The point is that although attitudes (hence prejudice) have behavioral dimension, individuals may sometimes act in ways that differ from their attitudes. Thus, discriminatory behavior does not necessarily reflect prejudicial attitudes. Merton's typology made it clear that there can be prejudice without discrimination and there can be discrimination without prejudice (Merton, 1949).

Early definitions of the term usually included meanings of intent on the part of the actor (individual discrimination), but later definitions took into account unintended aspects (institutional discrimination). This trend signifies that social scientists were paying attention to the claim that prejudice may not be the sole cause of discrimination.

This research focuses on individual discrimination rather than institutional discrimination. The position taken here and supported by considerable research is that attitudes influence behavior, that an individual's beliefs and attitudes are not entirely independent of behavior. It should be apparent then, that there should be a correspondence or consistency between attitudes and behavior, although it is recognized that other situational variables must also be considered.

Authoritarian Personality Perspective - Proponents of the personality theories, such as that of authoritarian personality locate prejudice in the individual's personality. Marger (1985:57) notes that these theories have focused "on the manner in which antipathy toward out-groups either satisfies certain psychic needs or complements the general personality structure of certain people. In each case, the source of prejudice is traced primarily to individuals rather than to the social forces weighing upon them or the groups within which they interact." Hraba (1979:127) concurs when he concludes that "what all of the psychological theories share is the conviction that the prejudice of individuals causes intergroup discrimination in society," and the idea that prejudice comes from internal psychological processes as they affect beliefs and feelings about ethnic and racial groups." Hraba goes on to point out that this theoretical perspective is characterized by the assumption that prejudice can be traced to some intrapsychic or personality conflict.

The most important of these personality theories and the one that has received the most attention in relation to the phenomenon of prejudice is that of the authoritarian personality. This theoretical perspective can best be summed up in three assertions: (a) intergroup attitudes are part of ideologies (organized systems of beliefs, attitudes, and values), (b) ideologies are determined by deep-lying trends in personality, and (c) the personality sources of ideologies (and, by implication, of prejudice) are the result of parental child-rearing practices (Ashmore and Del Boca, 1978:81). The basic proposition in this perspective is that prejudice is rooted in character structure.

Out of Adorno's work came the F scale which was designed to measure the basic personality traits which presumably cause and support prejudice: conventionalism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, anti-interception, superstition and stereotype, power and toughness, destructiveness and cynicism, projectivity and sex (Adorno, 1950). The explanation of prejudice and discrimination in this perspective can be conceptualized as follows:



According to this model, child-rearing practices and family structure affect the personality structure and characteristics of the individual which in turn is reflected in the attitudes of prejudice that the individual possesses which then influences the behavior toward individuals or groups. In terms of Merton's typology, authoritarians are consistent (active bigots) in their attitudes (prejudice) and behavior (discrimination).

From the authoritarian personality perspective, the following propositions can be drawn:

1. Early childhood experiences of harsh parental discipline are associated with the development of authoritarian personalities in adulthood.
2. Authoritarian personalities are characterized by rigidity of viewpoints, dislike for ambiguity, strict obedience to leaders, and intolerance of weakness in themselves and others.
3. Personality traits associated with authoritarianism are conducive to prejudice.
4. The cognitive style of authoritarians (rigidity) results in a strong association between attitude (prejudice) and behavior (discrimination).

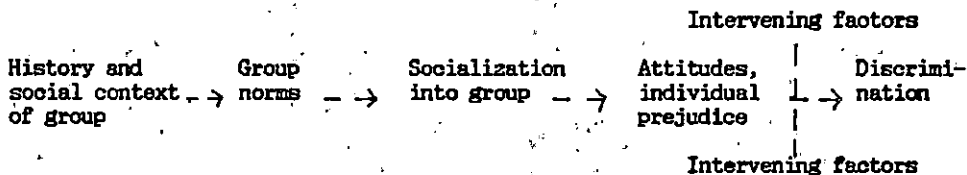
If one accepts these propositions as true, then the following hypotheses for testing can be derived:

1. If authoritarianism is indeed conducive to prejudice, then it follows that:
  - H1: the more authoritarian the individual, the more prejudice he/she will display.
2. If prejudice is associated with discriminatory behavior, then it follows that:
  - H2: the more authoritarian the individual, the more likely he or she will engage in discriminatory behavior.

#### Sociocultural Theoretical Perspectives

Sociocultural explanations account for prejudice in terms of non-personality determinants which are derived through social role learning without ego motivation. Prejudice is a feature which becomes a part of the individual's personality through the socialization process. Prejudice is an attitude which is learned as a person interacts with the social environment. It follows therefore that prejudice and discrimination can be explained within the framework of social norms.

From this perspective, key social processes in the acquisition of prejudice are socialization and conformity. Within this framework the transmission of ethnic prejudices occurs primarily through the socialization process and in social situations in which the individual perceives that group norms support prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behavior. This sociocultural explanation of prejudice and discrimination can be conceptualized as follows:



In summary then, this model depicts the following relationship: The history and social context of a group produce the normative order into which an individual is socialized. Allport agrees that one can hardly comprehend the pattern of prejudice against a group without historical knowledge. He points out that

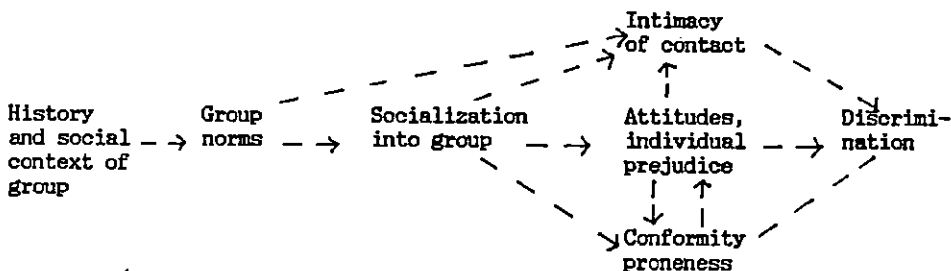
historical patterns form an essential ground work for research in prejudice. ". . . It is the historical process that establishes the Jew rather than the redhead as an object of prejudice" (Allport, 1962). Essentially, Allport agrees that the history of group relations establishes the situational fields to which the individual is forced to respond and within which the socialization process takes place. Simply put, these attitudes, beliefs, and values with which one is socialized predispose an individual to behave in certain ways towards various objects.

Research employing the sociocultural perspective makes it clear that there are many situational factors that impinge upon the relationships between attitude and behavior thus giving rise to inconsistency, depending upon the situation (for example, see Katz and Gurin, 1969; Ajzen and Fishbein, 1977; and Wicker, 1969). Merton's typology suggests and research has supported that attitudes and actions toward members of particular ethnic groups may fluctuate within different social contexts and according to an individual's compulsion to conform to societal and reference group norms.

Although it is recognized that a vast number of variables may intrude upon the attitudes/behavior relationships, this researcher has identified several situational and dispositional factors that have received the most attention in the literature.

A review of the literature made it clear that the situational variable of normative support and intimacy of contact and the dispositional variable of conformity proneness are important variables in understanding the linkage between prejudice and discrimination.

The model can now be conceptualized as follows:



In summary, this model depicts the following relationship: The history of group relations establishes the situational fields to which the individual is forced to respond and within which the socialization process takes place. But it is to group norms that permit or discourage intimacy of contact, and to the socialization experience in general that researchers must look for explanation of acceptable social distance. This model also suggests that it is to the socialization process that researchers must look for explanations regarding the dispositional variable of conformity proneness. And, as noted, the variable of intimacy of contact can be an important intervening variable between attitudes and behavior. Also, conformity proneness may affect attitudes held as well as intervene between attitudes and behavior.

From the research literature and the preceding sociocultural model, the following propositions can be drawn:

1. Attitudes influence behavior but do not completely determine behavior.
2. An individual's social attitudes will tend to reflect the perceived norm of his/her normative reference group.
3. Intimacy of contact is an important variable that influences behavior, regardless of attitude.
4. Conformity proneness is an important dispositional variable that influences prejudice and discrimination.

If one accepts these propositions, then the following hypotheses for testing can be derived:

1. If it is true that attitudes are associated with behavior, then it follows that:  
H3: There will be a significant relationship between initial attitudes (prejudice) and overt behavior (discrimination).
2. If an individual's social attitude is a reflection of the perceived norm of his/her normative reference group, then it follows that:  
H4: A significant relationship will exist between attitudes of those sampled and the perceived average prejudice of the residents of their community.
3. If intimacy of contact considerations are significantly related to discrimination regardless of attitude, then it follows that:  
H5: There will be a significant positive relationship between intimacy of contact considerations and discrimination.
4. If conformity proneness does influence prejudice and discrimination, then it follows that:  
H6: The more conformity prone the individual, the greater will be the relationship between perceived community norms and the individual's prejudicial attitudes.

#### RESEARCH DESIGN

This research involved a sample survey employing a random sample of 25 percent of all new, non-Indian college freshmen students entering a South Dakota state college in the fall semester of the 1985-1986 school year. Every effort was made to ensure that the respondent's answers would be completely anonymous. The rationale for focusing on new entering freshmen is based upon earlier studies that indicate that when students enter as freshmen, they tend to turn to parents and people from their home communities as their primary normative reference group (Newcomb, 1947, Pearlin, 1954). Since interest here is in examining

the students' attitudes and their relation to perceived community norms, this sampling technique was employed to minimize the "contaminating" effect of education and changes in reference groups.

Once the sample had been drawn, the students were located in their classes, and the survey was administered to them. This procedure was adopted in order to assure a high rate of return. Of the 101 (out of a total of 407 new freshmen) sampled, this researcher was able to achieve a 79 percent return rate (80 out of the 101 surveys were returned).

#### The Questionnaire

The questionnaire was pretested on an upper-division sociology class for readability and clarity. After clarifying a few of the questions, the survey was administered to the sample of students drawn at random from the college's computer files. This was accomplished by the director of the computer center who administered a SAS random numbers program to a list of all new entering non-Indian freshmen. The survey instrument included the following scales and measures:

1. A seventeen item scale measuring attitudes toward Indians. This is a scale developed to measure attitudes toward defined groups (Shaw, 1987). It was found that the equivalent-forms reliability of this scale is .81, when used to test attitudes toward Blacks.
2. A thirteen item scale to measure authoritarianism drawn from Pettigrew's 1959 study. To assemble his authoritarian scale, Pettigrew extracted items from the original California Study on authoritarianism. This scale produced a Spearman-Brown corrected split half reliability of +.86.
3. A sixteen item scale of social conformity. This scale was also drawn from Pettigrew's 1959 study entitled "Regional Differences in Anti-negro Prejudice." In assembling this scale Pettigrew combined new items as well as adaptations from the conformity measure of Hoffman's 1953 study entitled "Some Psychodynamic Factors in Compulsive Conformity" and MacCrane's 1953 study entitled "Ethnocentric Ideology and Ethnocentrism." Pettigrew found that this "C scale" predicted very well and found it to be significant at the 0.0001 level.
4. A measure of perceived community norms. This was produced by asking the respondents to rate each of the statements on the prejudice scale (Table 3) as to how they believed most people in their local community would answer them. The mean score of these items serves as an assessment of the perceived community norms for that community or area.
5. A modified behavioral contacts scale was adopted from Goldstein and Davis's study (1972) of the social determinants of behavioral intentions. In developing this three item scale Goldstein and Davis did a factorial analysis on behavioral differential scales. From this analysis they drew three clearly interpretable factors. The first factor was called "acquaintance acceptance-rejection," the second factor was called "friendship acceptance-rejection," and the third factor was called the "social distance" factor. These three factors formed a continuum along the dimension of intimacy with the friendship factor being intermediate in intimacy and the social distance factor being most intimate. The three items



on their scale were representative of each of these behavioral differential factors. This scale was used to determine the effect that social distance would have on the prejudice and discrimination relationship.

6. As a further measure of behavior in relation to American Indians, a series of items asked about students' behavioral intentions in relation to American Indian social events on campus was included.
7. A number of background and general informational items were included in the questionnaire. They include: age, sex, marital status, education of father and mother, occupation of father and mother, political party preference, church attendance, region or place of birth, current residence of parents, and area of intended major.

Likert scaling was used with the anti-Indian attitudes scale (P scale), conformity scale (C scale), authoritarianism scale (F scale), and behavioral scale (D scale). Each of these Likert scales had a five item response: +5 for agree strongly, +4 for agree, +3 for undecided, +2 for disagree, and +1 for disagree strongly.

In summary, the statistical analysis involved the following:

1. A descriptive analysis of occurrence of prejudice - its extent, its regional variability.
2. A comparison of amount of explained variance in prejudice from each of the two theoretical perspectives - which does the better job.
3. An assessment of the predictive power of each of the two theoretical perspectives in relation to discriminatory behavior.
4. Inferential tests of the hypotheses, i.e., the significance of relationships between variables.

#### HYPOTHESIZED FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The first two hypotheses to be tested were derived from the authoritarian personality theory. The first hypothesis posited a relationship between authoritarianism and prejudice while the second hypothesis posited a relationship between authoritarianism and discrimination.

To test the relationship between authoritarianism and prejudice, means were found for both variables, and those who scored below the means were considered to be low in that attribute while those who scored above the mean were considered to be high in that attribute. The results can be summarized as follows:

1. The relationship between authoritarianism and prejudice is not statistically significant. (See Table 1.)
2. The relationship between authoritarianism and discrimination is not statistically significant. (See Table 2.)
3. The relationship between discrimination and prejudice is statistically significant. (See Table 3.)
4. The relationship between individual prejudice and perceived community prejudice (norm) is statistically significant. (See Table 4.)
5. The relationship between intimacy of contact and discrimination is statistically significant. (See Table 5.)

To test the effect of intimacy of contact on the prejudice-discrimination relationship a Partial Correlation was performed. The Partial Correlation Coefficient before controlling for intimacy (zero order partial) was .253 with  $p = .014$ . When intimacy was controlled for (1st order partial) the Partial Correlation Coefficient was .149 with  $p = .102$ .

Tables 6 and 7 provide the reader with crosstabulations of individual prejudice and norm prejudice while controlling for both low conformity proneness (those who scored below the mean of the C Scale) and for high conformity proneness (those who scored above the mean on the C Scale).

6. The crosstab between individual prejudice and community prejudice is statistically significant when controlling for those low in conformity proneness. The crosstab between individual prejudice and community prejudice is also statistically significant when controlling for high conformity proneness. Therefore, the relationship between individual prejudice and community prejudice is not affected in a statistically significant way when conformity proneness is controlled.

To test the mediating role that conformity proneness may play between prejudice and discrimination, a Partial Correlation was performed. The Partial Correlation Coefficient for the prejudice and discrimination relationship before conformity was partialled out was .253 with  $p = .014$ . When conformity was partialled out, the coefficient became .249 with  $p = .018$ .

The following discussion will relate the findings to the stated objectives of this research.

A. Objective 1. The degree and pattern of prejudice in a sample of South Dakota respondents.

It was expected by this researcher, because of the 1983 University of South Dakota study and personal experience, that a large number of those surveyed in this study would exhibit moderate to high degrees of prejudice against Indian people. The research data provided only moderate support for this expectation in that the mean for the individual prejudice scale was 3.28. (A 1 indicates high prejudice while a 5 indicates lower prejudice.) Further, the frequency responses on the P Scale items generally indicate moderate hostility toward Indian people. Given beliefs expressed by researchers in the field that racist attitudes are not as readily or explicitly expressed today because of acceptability and "societal" pressure and that more subtle tests of racism may be in order, this researcher's mean of 3.26 may very well underestimate the degree of prejudice in South Dakota.

The conclusion regarding the pattern of prejudice is that the degree of prejudice is fairly evenly spread among the population of South Dakota. (See Table 10.) The data may also argue against a simplistic view of the contact hypothesis that maintains that increased interaction between members of the majority and any minority group makes for more favorable attitudes on the part of the majority (Hraba, 1979). The reader will note that as the mean prejudice scores become higher (but the difference, again, is not statistically significant) the further one moves from contact and interaction (from reservation counties to other counties) with native peoples.

Further, the data indicates that the sample identified with their community's attitude toward Indian people.

B. Objective 2. Sources of prejudice and the possible functions served by prejudice.

Does the revealed prejudice stem from externalization factors (authoritarianism), from learned and situational factors (sociocultural), or from both of these?

First, the examination of the findings that are related to authoritarianism and prejudice is in order. This researcher failed to find any statistically significant relationship between authoritarianism and prejudice. Table 1 revealed the findings of the Chi-square test for authoritarianism and prejudice. It was revealing to discover that there were almost as many low authoritarians who were highly prejudiced (14) as there were high authoritarians that were highly prejudiced (17).

Also, one would assume that in areas where there were higher prejudice scores there would also exist higher authoritarianism scores. This was not the case. The F Scale means by region were very similar while there was some difference in P Scale means by region. This would lead the researcher to look for other reasons than authoritarianism as sources of prejudicial attitudes.

Although a product moment correlation (Pearson r) between authoritarianism and prejudice produces a coefficient of .27, the detailed analyses of the F scale's relationship with anti-Indian prejudice (See Table 8) revealed that there is little reason to believe that authoritarianism contributes very much to the prejudicial attitudes displayed. It is of some interest to note that Lindsey (1950) and McCardless (1981) reported a belief that personality factors (high authoritarianism) were important factors in prejudice in that they heightened the need to conform. With that in mind, an examination of Table 9 (prejudice and conformity scale items) reveals some interesting results. Items number three and thirteen produce the greatest difference between the high prejudice respondents and the less prejudiced respondents. Each of these items is very clear as to the need to "adhere to convention" and to "conform to the passing demands of the world," but it was the "low prejudiced" respondent who more often agreed to these items.

Given the very limited evidence that there may be some psychological factors at work in explaining the level of prejudice of individuals, it is clear to this researcher that one must turn to sociocultural and situational factors in order to explain the prejudice demonstrated.

If most prejudice is acquired much as any other aspect of culture, by learning group norms and values, then there should be a relationship between normative prejudice and individual prejudice. Table 4 demonstrates that such a relationship does exist and the relationship is significant at even the .01 level. This relationship also exists when the researcher controls for conformity proneness. (See Tables 6 and 7.)

It should also be pointed out that the degree of consistency in the pattern of prejudice in South Dakota (See Table 10) may lend support to the sociocultural explanation for prejudice. What may have been revealed in this relative consistency is a cultural pattern of prejudice that is shared by almost all members of a South Dakota culture.

#### Demographic Variables

This researcher has provided the reader with a summary of the demographic variables and their relationship to prejudice in Table 12. Some of these variables (sex, residency, church attendance, and political party) are of special interest because they are among the variables that Pettigrew (1959) found to be relevant in his study of South African and American prejudice. These variables were found to be of interest to Pettigrew because they "reflected the dominant

norms" and were therefore useful in explaining the importance of the cultural milieu in shaping attitudes. His reasoning in general was that residents, the native born, the dominant political party, the upwardly mobile, and women (because they are the "carriers of culture") would be particularly responsive to the prevailing norms regardless of their basic personality structure.

In line with Pettigrew's findings, respondents in this study produced similar responses but in a rather convoluted manner. With the mean prejudice scores by region in mind (See Table 10), it is of some interest that residents of South Dakota had more high prejudice scores than nonresidents, that frequent church attenders revealed less prejudice than others, and females also had fewer high prejudice scores than males. Of all these variables, perhaps sex is the most interesting. This particular variable is of some interest because when a cross tabulation was run on conformity proneness with males and females, it was discovered that males were also more conformity prone than females. (See Table 14.)

Thus it appears that it is possible that the higher prejudice scores that males produced were perhaps because they were more conformist. When the reader examines the demographic variables and their relationship with authoritarianism (Table 130), it is discovered that generally females scored in the high authoritarian category (57%) more often than males (43%). Although there is no statistically significant relationship, what can be tentatively concluded from this examination is that it is possible that the women surveyed who scored in the high prejudice category may have more of an authoritarian personality structure.

#### Functions Served by Prejudice

The functions that prejudicial attitudes may serve for the individual include: (1) object appraisal, (2) social adjustment, and (3) externalization. The object appraisal function refers to the role that prejudice plays in helping to organize and understand reality as defined by one's culture. The social adjustment function serves to aid the individual by contributing to one's identification or differentiation from reference groups. And the externalization function serves to protect the individual's ego from their own unacceptable impulses. Since the externalization function is most closely tied to the psychological school of research while the other two functions are more closely tied to the sociocultural school, the researcher can gain some insight into the relative importance of these functions by determining which school best explains the prejudice displayed by the respondents. This would lead the researcher to conclude that it is probable that the two functions of object appraisal and social adjustment are most often served by the existing prejudice. This conclusion can be reached because of the preceding discussion regarding relations of prejudice and authoritarianism. It is also likely that of the two functions (object appraisal and social adjustment) the one that is most important is object appraisal. This conclusion can be reached after one examines the minute change in the Partial Correlation Coefficient for norm prejudice and individual prejudice when conformity proneness is "partialled out" (from .253 to .249). Additional evidence that the object appraisal function may be served is that the geographical mean scores of individual prejudice were higher than the geographical mean scores of normative prejudice. Also the externalization function is minimal at best since there is very little evidence for a relationship between prejudice and authoritarianism.

In summary, it is the belief of this researcher that the order of importance of the attitude functions are: (1) object appraisal, (2) social adjustment, and (3) externalization.

C. Objective 3. The role of prejudice in discrimination.

Table 3 makes it clear that there is a statistically significant relationship between prejudice and discrimination. Although this relationship exists, the strength of the relationship is not great ( $\Phi = .25$ ). It is the data and statistics presented in Table 3 that allows this researcher to conclude that there is a basic consistency between attitudes and behavior and that attitudes give direction and consistency to behavior but need not predict any given action. It is here that Robert Merton's typology becomes useful. Merton's model suggests that prejudice and discrimination are not always correlated and that the correlation one does get may indicate support for the psychological perspective; that there are prejudiced people or tolerant people, who may be expected to act in accordance with their attitudes and it may also provide evidence for situated prejudice; that nonconsonant attitudes and behaviors are the result of social situational pressures brought to bear on the individual. This researcher's results provide some evidence for Merton (1949) and Kelman's (1958) insights in that a crosstabulation revealed twenty-three active bigots and twenty-three all-weather liberals. When high authoritarianism was controlled for, it was discovered that thirteen of the twenty-three active bigots and fifteen of the twenty-three all-weather liberals remained. (See Table 15.) Also, of the twenty fair-weather liberals and the nine timid bigots, when high conformity was controlled for, nine fair-weather liberals and five timid bigots remained. (See Table 16.)

Warner and Dennis (1970, 492) believed that the prejudiced non-discriminators (timid bigots) were conforming, through the process of compliance and identification, to group norms. It was Kelman's contention that this type of conformity was in the service of the social adjustment or object appraisal functions of prejudice (1961, 63). Kelman also believed that those Merton would classify as active bigots may be conforming because the behavior is congruent with his value system that this may be typical of the authoritarian individual (1961: 65-66). This type of behavior is probably in service of the externalization function.

This research also confirmed the importance of intimacy of contact with a minority group and discrimination. The Chi-square for these variables revealed a statistically significant relationship at the .008 level, and it also produced a  $\Phi$  of .33. This relationship can also be demonstrated with Table 17. This indicates the frequency and percentage of the respondent that would be willing, unwilling or undecided about engaging in the three activities listed. Additional support for the importance of intimacy of contact comes from the Partial Correlation Coefficients. The reader will recall that the zero order partial was .253 and the first order partial was .149 indicating that intimacy of contact does intervene in a meaningful way.

It is clear from Table 5, Table 17, and the Partial Correlation Coefficients that intimacy of contact is positively related to the degree to which a person will be willing to engage in a stated activity.

#### CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The results from testing the hypotheses in this study provides evidence for the sociocultural explanation of prejudice and discrimination.

Externalized factors were shown to be only mildly associated with prejudice while the sociocultural and situational factors were shown to be significant in explaining prejudice and discrimination.

Similar factors appear to predispose people to accept prejudiced beliefs, norms, and values in the various regions of the state.

This research provides support primarily for the sociocultural explanations of prejudice and by doing so implies that regions or people with heightened prejudice against Indian people cannot necessarily be thought of as harboring more authoritarianism; but instead they probably are reflecting the opinion of historical, cultural, and social factors. This can be seen as encouragement to those who are interested in combating racism in that the discriminatory actions of individuals are less dependent on prejudicial attitudes and more dependent on the prevailing norms. It seems to this researcher that it would be easier to restructure cultural norms than basic personality structures.

Of the object appraisal and social adjustment functions of prejudice, this study provided limited evidence for prejudice (in South Dakota) providing primarily for the object appraisal function. If this is true, then more effort should be made to examine the role that cognitive structures may play in the development of our conceptions of social groups and interpersonal behavior.

**Table 1.** Crosstabulation between anti-Indian prejudice (P Scale) and authoritarian (F Scale).

Cell N Row % Column %	Low Authoritarianism	High Authoritarianism
High Prejudice	14 45.18 40	17 54.83 35.58
Low Prejudice	21 48.83 60	22 51.18 58.41
Chi square = .005	df = 1	p = .939
		Phi = .036

**Table 2.** Crosstabulation between discrimination (D Scale) and authoritarianism (F Scale).

Cell N Row % Column %	Low Authoritarianism	High Authoritarianism
High Discrimination	22 51.16 61.11	21 48.83 51.21
Low Discrimination	14 41.17 38.88	20 58.82 48.78
Chi square = .412	df = 1	p = .520
		Phi = .098

**Table 3.** Crosstabulation between discrimination (D Scale) and prejudice (P Scale).

Cell N Row % Column %	High Prejudice	Low Prejudice
High Discrimination	23 53.49 71.88	20 48.51 48.51
Low Discrimination	9 28.12 28.12	23 71.87 53.49
Chi square = 3.843	df = 1	p = .048
		Phi = .253

**Table 4.** Crosstabulation between individual prejudice (P Scale) and perceived community prejudice (N Scale).

Cell N Row % Column %	High Norm Prejudice	Low Norm Prejudice
High Individual Prejudice	25 78.13 67.57	7 21.87 16.42
Low Individual Prejudice	12 27.81 32.43	31 72.09 81.57
Chi square = 16.555	df = 1	p = .000
		Phi = .496



**Table 5.** Crosstabulation between intimacy of contact (I Scale) and discrimination (D Scale).

Cell N Row % Column %	Below Mean Intimacy	Above Mean Intimacy
High Discrimination	25 56.81 75.75	19 43.18 42.22
Low Discrimination	8 23.52 24.24	26 76.47 57.77
Chi square = 7.397	df = 1	p = .006
		Phi = .334

**Table 6.** Crosstabulation between individual prejudice (P Scale) and community prejudice (N Scale) when controlling for low conformity proneness (high conformers remain).

Cell N Row % Column %	High Norm Prejudice	Low Norm Prejudice
High Individual Prejudice	11 73.33 57.89	4 26.67 19.05
Low Individual Prejudice	8 32.0 42.10	17 68.0 80.95
Chi square = 4.872	df = 1	p = .027
		Phi = .400

**Table 7.** Crosstabulation between individual prejudice (P Scale) and community prejudice (N Scale) when controlling for high conformity proneness (low conformers remain).

Cell N Row % Column %	High Norm Prejudice	Low Norm Prejudice
High Individual Prejudice	14 82.35 77.77	3 17.85 17.85
Low Individual Prejudice	4 22.22 22.22	14 77.77 82.35
Chi square = 10.362	df = 1	p = .001
		Phi = .601

**Table 8.** Prejudice and F Scale Items

F Scale Items:	Percentage Agreement	
	High Prejudice	Low Prejudice
1. Nowadays when so many different kinds of people move around and mix together so much, a person has to be especially careful not to catch an infection or disease from them.	20.2	23.0
2. There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love and respect for his parents.	22.6	40.0
3. People can be put into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong.	17.3	18.0
4. Most of our social problems would be solved if we could somehow get rid of the immoral, crooked and feebleminded people.	13.3	14.6
5. The most important thing a child should learn is obedience to his/her parents.	28.0	42.7
6. Every person should have faith in some supernatural power whose decisions he/she obeys without question.	8.6	13.3
7. When a person has a problem or worry, it is best for him/her to think about it, but to keep busy with more cheerful things.	32.0	33.3

8. Nowadays more and more people are prying into matters that should remain private and personal.	29.3	40.0
9. If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off.	18.6	18.0
10. An insult to our honor should always be punished.	2.6	9.3
11. No sane, normal person would ever think of hurting a close friend or relative.	20.0	34.7
12. Science has its place, but there are many important things that can never possibly be understood by the human mind.	25.3	33.3
13. Some day it will probably be shown that astrology can explain a lot of things.	18.6	29.3

\*Agree strongly and agree were combined to form agree while disagree strongly and disagree were combined into disagree.

Table 9. Prejudice and C Scale Items

<u>C Scale Items:</u>	<u>Percentage Agreement</u>	
	<u>High Prejudice</u>	<u>Low Prejudice</u>
1. It's better to go along with the crowd than to be a martyr.	6.6	10.6
2. When almost everyone agrees on something, there is little reason to oppose it.	10.6	6.6
3. Adherence to convention (following the accepted way of doing things) produces the best kind of citizen.	18.6	33.3
4. To be successful, a group's members must act and think alike.	12.0	12.0
5. It is important for friends to have similar opinions.	17.3	17.3
6. It is more important to be loyal and conform to our own group than to try to cooperate with other groups.	13.3	10.7

7. We should alter our needs to fit society's demands rather than change society to fit our needs.	20.0	16.0
8. A good group member should agree with the other members.	9.3	10.7
9. It is best not to express your views when in the company of friends who disagree with you.	10.6	5.3
10. Before a person does something, he/she should try to consider how his/her friends will react to it.	33.3	38.7
11. To become a success these days, a person has to act in the way that others expect him/her to act.	14.6	17.3
12. A group cannot expect to maintain its identity unless its members all think and feel in very much the same way.	13.3	18.7
13. It is one's duty to conform to the passing demands of the world and to suppress those personal desires that do not fit these demands.	18.6	25.3
14. A person should adapt his/her ideas and behavior to the group that happens to be with him/her at the time.	9.3	13.3
15. It is extremely uncomfortable to go accidentally to a formal party in street clothes.	9.3	16.0
16. To get along well in a group, you have to follow the lead of others.	14.8	18.8

**Table 10. Individual Prejudice by Geographical Location**

	N	X	sd	Range
Entire Population	79	3.26	.627	1.47-4.29
Reservation Counties	9	3.06	.680	1.52-3.94
Contiguous Counties	41	3.21	.620	1.70-4.17
Other In-State Counties	11	3.50	.335	2.05-3.82
Out of State	18	3.32	.631	1.47-4.29

**Analysis of Variance for Individual Prejudice and Geography**

Source	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Squares	F	P	Eta
Between Groups	1.181	3	.387	.984	.404	
Within Groups	29.508	75	.393			.037

\*Reservation Counties include: Dewey, Tripp, Hyde, Stanley, Lieback, Lyman, Mellette, and Todd.

\*Contiguous Counties include: Pennington, Meade, Lawrence, Butte, Perkins, Shannon, Bennett, Fall River, and Custer.

\*Other In-State Counties include: Brookings, Marshall, Edmunds, Beadle, Brown, Yankton, Charles Mix, Union, and Minnehaha.

**Table 11: Authoritarianism by Geographical Location**

	N	X	sd	Range
Entire Population	79	3.13	.426	1.92-4.15
Reservation Counties	9	3.17	.297	2.77-3.82
Contiguous Counties	41	3.13	.466	1.92-4.15
Other In-State Counties	11	3.06	.487	2.83-4.08
Out of State	18	3.17	.366	2.54-4.00

**Analysis of Variance for Authoritarianism and Geography**

Source	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Squares	F	P	Eta
Between Groups	.0950	3	.0317	.188	.917	
Within Groups	14.069	75	.1876			.008

Table 12. Prejudice with Demographic Variables

	N	% High Prejudice	% Low Prejudice
1. Major			
Education	8	50	50
Business	32	44	58
Communications	6	17	83
Industrial Arts	2	50	50
Science and Math	7	43	57
Social Science	4	50	50
Fine Arts	1		
Physical Education	4	75	25
Other	11	38	64
2. Size of Community			
City (10,000 or more)	17	47	53
Town (2,500 to 9,999)	28	46	54
Town (less than 2,500)	19	53	47
Farm (outside city limits)	10	10	90
Non-farm (outside city limits)	1		
3. Father's Occupation			
Blue Collar	22	41	59
Professional	11	27	73
Clerical	1		
Sales	8	50	50
Other	33	48	52
4. Mother's Occupation			
Blue Collar	12	58	42
Professional	10	20	80
Clerical	14	64	38
Sales	3	33	67
Housewife	27	41	59
Other	9	22	78
5. Age Category			
18-20	86	44	58
21-25	3	33	67
26-30	5	20	80
31-35	1		
6. Sex			
Male	30	57	43
Female	44	34	66
7. Marital Status			
Single	67	43	57
Married	8	50	50
Other	2		100

8.	Resident of South Dakota			
	Yes	58	45	55
	No	17	35	65
9.	Place of Birth			
	South Dakota	45	42	58
	Outside South Dakota	30	43	57
10.	Highest Grade Father Completed			
	Less than 8th grade	3		100
	8th grade	7	43	57
	Some high school	11	55	45
	4 years of high school	28	50	50
	Some college	13	38	62
	Bachelor's degree	10	30	70
	Graduate studies	3	33	67
11.	Highest Grade Mother Completed			
	Less than 8th grade	None		
	8th grade	3	33	67
	Some high school	7	29	71
	4 years of high school	33	55	45
	Some college	23	39	61
	Bachelor's degree	6	17	83
	Graduate studies	3	33	67
12.	Political Party Preference			
	Republican	38	48	54
	Democrat	23	48	52
	Other	13	23	77
13.	Church Affiliation			
	Catholic	29	34	66
	Protestant	36	53	47
	Other	3	33	67
	None	7	28	71
14.	Protestant Denomination			
	Lutheran	17	59	41
	Presbyterian	2	50	50
	Baptist	5	20	80
	Episcopal	1		
	Christian Science			
	Church of Christ	1		
	Methodist	10	50	50
	Assembly of God	1		
15.	Often Attended Church			
	Weekly	25	28	72
	Monthly	8	50	50
	Seldom	35	49	51
	Never	7	57	43

Table 13. Authoritarianism with Demographic Variables

	N	% Low Authorit- arianism	% High Authorit- arianism
1. Major			
Education	8	63	37
Business	35	29	71
Communications	8	83	17
Industrial Arts	3	100	
Science & Math	7	88	14
Social Science	4		100
Fine Arts	1		
Physical Education	4	50	50
Other	10	50	50
2. Size of Community			
City (10,000 or more)	18	50	50
Town (2,500 to 9,999)	30	50	50
Town (less than 2,500)	21	48	52
Farm (outside city limits)	10	40	60
Non-farm (outside city limits)	1		
3. Father's Occupation			
Blue Collar	25	52	48
Professional	11	45	55
Clerical	1		
Sales	8	83	37
Other	33	39	61
4. Mother's Occupation			
Blue Collar	12	50	50
Professional	10	60	40
Clerical	14	29	71
Sales	3	33	67
Housewife	30	60	40
Other	8	22	78
5. Age Category			
18-20	87	48	52
21-25	3	33	67
26-30	7	43	57
31-35	1		
6. Sex			
Male	30	57	43
Female	47	43	57
7. Marital Status			
Single	68	46	54
Married	7	43	57
Other	2	100	



8.	Resident of South Dakota			
	Yes	61	49	51
	No	17	41	59
9.	Place of Birth			
	South Dakota	48	44	56
	Outside South Dakota	30	53	47
10.	Highest Grade Father Completed			
	Less than 8th grade	3	67	33
	8th grade	9	44	58
	Some high school	12	75	25
	4 years of high school	29	41	59
	Some college	12	25	75
	Bachelor's degree	10	40	60
	Graduate studies	3	100	
11.	Highest Grade Mother Completed			
	Less than 8th grade	None		
	8th grade	3	67	33
	Some high school	8	63	27
	4 years of high school	32	44	56
	Some college	26	46	54
	Bachelor's degree	6	50	50
	Graduate studies	3	33	67
12.	Political Party Preference			
	Republican	39	48	54
	Democrat	26	48	54
	Other	13	54	46
13.	Church Affiliation			
	Catholic	30	57	43
	Protestant	38	39	61
	Other	3	33	67
	None	7	57	43
14.	Protestant Denomination			
	Lutheran	18	33	67
	Presbyterian	2	50	50
	Baptist	6	33	67
	Episcopal	1		
	Christian Science	1		
	Church of Christ			
	Methodist	10	50	50
	Assembly of God	1		
15.	Often Attended Church			
	Weekly	26	54	46
	Monthly	8	50	50
	Seldom	37	41	59
	Never	7	57	43

**Table 14.** Crosstabulation between conformity proneness and sex.

Cell N Row % Column %	Male	Female	
Below Mean Conformity	10 23.3 32.3	33 78.7 70.2	
Above Mean Conformity	21 60 67.7	14 40 29.8	
Chi Square =	12.05	df = 2	p = .002

**Table 15.** Crosstabulation between discrimination and prejudice when controlling for high authoritarianism.

Cell N Row % Column %	High Prejudice	Low Prejudice	
High Discrimination	13 65 78.5	7 35 31.8	
Low Discrimination	4 21 23.5	15 79 68.2	
Chi Square = 5.970	df = 1	p = .014	Phi = .442

**Table 16.** Crosstabulation between discrimination and prejudice when controlling for high conformity proneness.

Cell N Row % Column %	High Prejudice	Low Prejudice	
High Discrimination	12 57.1 70.6	9 42.9 50	
Low Discrimination	5 35.7 29.4	9 64.3 50	
Chi Square = .805	df = 1	p = .38	Phi = .21

**Table 17.** Response to Intimacy Scale Items

	Willing	Undecided	Unwilling
1. Eat with an Indian. (Least Intimate)	63 (79.7%)	8 (10.1%)	8 (10.1%)
2. Take a trip with an Indian.	48 (59.2%)	17 (21.5%)	16 (20.3%)
3. Introduce an Indian to a relative on a blind date. (Most Intimate)	34 (43.0%)	20 (25.3%)	25 (31.6%)

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