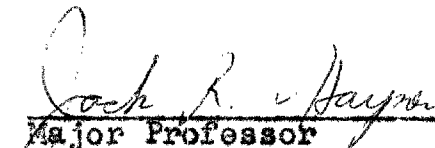


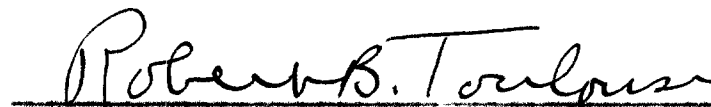
A STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MANIFEST  
RIGIDITY AND ETHNOCENTRIC ATTITUDE

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A STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MANIFEST  
RIGIDITY AND ETHNOCENTRIC ATTITUDE

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Since very early times men have asked themselves questions about what makes man think and behave as he does, and what is there that governs a man's social relationships with another person.

For quite some time now psychologists have been concerned about rigidity and its relationship to ethnocentrism. Most studies in this area have been done over the last twenty years, and have yielded conflicting results. Many investigators have used the clinical interview to assess rigidity. Some have tried to measure it in terms of ability to handle the Winstellung or Water Jar Problems. Serious difficulties have arisen, however, due to the lack of agreement over what constitutes rigidity, and how it should be defined and assessed in both a literal and an operational sense.

This investigation was designed to add to and clarify, somewhat, the results of previous studies concerning the relationship between rigidity and ethnocentrism. A manifest rigidity scale, based on theory, was utilized to clarify existing confusion over what constitutes rigidity.

### Theoretical Considerations

Gordon Allport (4, p. 6) in a study of the etiology of prejudice, maintained that there is no single adequate theory of prejudice, but that we are confronted with a problem of multiple causation. He maintains that the same thing applies to ethnocentrism in general. Allport lists six different approaches from which to study the problem.

The six approaches are: 1. the stimulus approach, 2. the phenomenological approach, 3. the approach via personality dynamics and structure, 4. the situational approach, 5. the socio-cultural approach and 6. the historical approach.

In the stimulus approach research centers around the nature of the stimulus object itself. It deals with the basic issue in the area of ethnocentrism, that is, the nature of group differences. According to Allport, the idea here is that the closer the facts are to the stereotype, the less irrational is the prejudice (4, p. 7). To Allport, this is the most basic of all study types in the area of social psychology.

The phenomenological approach deals with subjective reality. It is a function of the stimulus situation, the needs and traits of the individual, and the situational context.

The situational approach is the study of outer forces residing, to a greater or lesser degree, beyond the individual and which act upon him (4, p. 8).

The cultural approach stresses the causal dependence upon the folkways of the group, the caste system, or institutionalized outlets of aggression.

The historical approach emphasized the need for historical perspective and background which leads to a fuller understanding of the nature of the problem and how it came about.

The last approach is from the point of view of personality dynamics and structure which involves predispositions of personality and attitudes. This last approach is a relatively recent one, but over the last twenty years it is the approach which has brought forth the greatest amount of research in the area of ethnocentrism.

This investigation was based primarily upon personality dynamics and structure, but the theory on which this study depended could also be used in studies based primarily on one of the other five approaches.

Allport maintains that implicit in a personality dynamics and structure approach is the concept of attitude. Smith (8, p. 516) agrees but goes further by maintaining that one cannot go too far in the study of attitudes without delving into their function in personality. Smith notes several ways in which attitudes are enmeshed in personality:

They may reflect or express the person's central values, (their value function). They may show consistency with his characteristic ways of reacting, (their consistency function), or perhaps gratify, indirectly,

his basic needs, (their gratification function). They may form part of his attempt to construct for himself a stable and meaningful world within which he can order his life, (their meaning function). Finally they may serve to express his identification with and promote his acceptance by his favored social groups, (their conformity function) (8, p.596).

Based on these considerations, then, one would expect to find a difference in ethnocentric attitude between those scoring high and those scoring low on a scale of manifest rigidity.

In considering the history of theory concerning the relationship between rigidity and ethnocentrism, Allport again must be considered. Allport (2) feels that prejudice may sometimes be mildly conformative and unrelated to personality as a whole, but more often it is an inseparable part of the personality and the life process. The personality open to ethnocentrism and ethnocentric attitudes often has at its root an underlying problem of insecurity and anxiety. The person is rigid because he is forced to organize his attitudes and his whole style of living to fit his anxious and insecure condition. Intolerant individuals often repress seemingly unresolvable conflicts and this yields such consequences as rigid moralism, dichotomization, a need for definiteness, externalization of the conflict, and authoritarianism (2, pp. 395-397).

The ethnocentric personality is rigid in his moralism because of unsolved conflicts from within, and having to



fight off impulses in himself. Therefore, he cannot be lenient with others. This moralism, to Allport, is tense, compulsive, and projective.

The rigid person tends to dichotomize because of failure to accept the presence of both good and bad in his own nature. A prime consideration of rigidity is seen in the need for definiteness. These people cling to past solutions and are more given to perseveration which leads to a constriction of cognitive processes. The person looks for a well-defined hierarchy where people are types and where groups are not constantly shifting and dissolving. This rigidity is related to prejudice or ethnocentrism, postulates Allport, because of ego-alienation and projection. The rigid person cannot accept fault in himself nor in the group with which he identifies. Therefore he must externalize the conflict.

Essentially, the rigid person is one who, because of his own needs and structure of character, is prone to develop strong prejudices. "Bigotry is a psychological crutch" (3, p. 209). To Allport, bigotry is a crutch which fulfills a protective and sedative function for the individual. Allport is somewhat confusing, however, in reference to causal inferences. In one work he seems to imply that rigidity causes ethnocentrism. In another, just the opposite appears to be inferred. Probably Allport sees the relationship as a vicious circle in which the presence of one factor

fosters the growth of the other. The interrelationship, of course, is influenced by many other factors which are not germane to this paper.

Adorno (1) found that rigidity is one of the most pervasive personality aspects of the prejudiced individual. He sees this as a consequence of the maintenance of rigid defenses to keep unacceptable impulses out of consciousness. Any loosening of the defenses brings the threat of a breakthrough of repressed tendencies. Basically unmodified instinctual impulses lurk beneath the surface which tend to narrow the content of the ego so that it must be constantly on the lookout. Adorno maintains that rational control extends only to a small sector of the personality (1, pp. 479-480). He stated:

The idea of a sharp ingroup-outgroup dichotomy provided by our culture makes it possible for the high scorer to suppress the feared awareness of his hostility against the prestige figures on which he is dependent by displacing it onto weak groups from whom no retaliation need be feared. This mechanism enables him, furthermore to remain relatively unaware of his own psychological weaknesses since he now may feel superior to the socially weaker groups.... The relative lack of individuation is compensated for by taking over conventional cliches and values. Rigid adherence to crutches and substitutes of this kind is found in various spheres of life.... In order to keep the balance under these conditions, a simple, firm, often stereotyped cognitive structure is required. There is no place for ambivalence or ambiguities (1, p. 480).

It is obvious that the theory of Adorno is very much the same as that of Allport. Basically the rigid person adopts rigid defenses in order to keep out of consciousness

his unacceptable impulses. Our culture allows him to suppress the feared awareness of his hostility by displacing it on weak outgroups. The major difference between Allport and Adorno is Adorno's inference of a causal relationship between rigidity and ethnocentrism. Rigidity is inferred as playing a causal role by Adorno, though he does not consider it an only cause nor even, perhaps, the most important in the development of prejudicial attitudes.

Kurt Lewin (7) considered rigidity in terms of boundaries and barriers (7, p. 123). Boundaries within the person exhibit different degrees of dynamic penetrability, says Lewin, and to these correspond different degrees of interdependency of regions, or different degrees of dynamic unity. The more rigid the boundary, the greater the forces necessary to overcome them. A barrier is a boundary zone which offers resistance to psychological locomotion (7, pp. 118-135). The accessibility of a person can be represented by barriers of different strengths between the environment and certain inner regions of the life space (7, p. 127).

Kounin (6) draws several logical implications from Lewin's theory. First, a more rigid person does not restructure a field so readily as one not so rigid. Secondly, the more rigid individual is less likely to be simultaneously influenced by more than one set of environmental regions at any given moment (6, p. 278).

Braen (5) further developed the theory to show that Lewin's

rigidity construct can be quite useful for investigating individual differences in a normal adult group. Lewin's concept of the life space envelopes the totality of factors which determine the behavior of the individual at a given moment. Rigidity refers to a property of the hypothetical boundary between the inner personal regions of the life space, and consequently, to regions of the psychological environment (5, pp. 75-76). Lewin maintains that in the highly rigid life space the boundaries are highly impermeable so that the inner personal regions are relatively more segregated than in a less rigid life space. Also, the more rigid the boundary, the slower is the rate of tension discharge, and the greater is the force necessary to produce a change.

This theory of boundary rigidity can be most helpful in interpreting the relationship between rigidity and ethnocentrism. In the first place the life space of the individual is a subjective thing. It is the environment, as perceived along with the person, that constitutes the life space.

Fitting the problem of the relationship between rigidity and ethnocentrism into topological terms then, it can be said that the rigid person has built up barriers at certain boundaries of the life space. To locomote through these areas is extremely difficult. The rigidity will also tend to keep the different regions relatively more separate and make any change more difficult. The barrier prevents the release of tension

through locomotion past a particular boundary of the life space because of repression of guilt, hostility, or inadequacy feelings. But society places no barrier against the displacement of these hostilities toward other ethnic groups. Therefore the rigid person can leave the field, as it were. He removes himself from the conflict situation in which he finds it necessary to rid himself of feelings of inferiority, guilt, or hostility, but he cannot rid himself of them through normal channels. Nor can he adapt to them or integrate them into the central region of his life space, so he leaves the field and gains access to equilibrium by taking an alternate route. This alternate route is provided by the society which fails to erect barriers against the discrimination of one ethnic group by another.

#### Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between rigidity and ethnocentrism. Previous studies in this area have tended to yield conflicting results, primarily because of a lack of theory to which results can be related. Another factor contributing to the confusion has been the fact that there has been lack of agreement as to what constitutes rigidity.

Therefore the purpose of this investigation was to add to and clarify somewhat previous studies in this area through the use of a theoretically based scale of manifest rigidity.

It was felt that, although conflict exists, there appeared to be some similarity among behaviors described by various writers as showing rigidity, which the test of behavioral rigidity might be expected to clarify through the use of a consistent theoretical approach.

Hypothesis I Those individuals who are high in ethnocentrism will be found to be significantly higher in manifest rigidity than those individuals who are low in ethnocentrism.

Hypothesis II There will be no significant difference between male and female subjects and their scores of manifest rigidity.

Hypothesis III There will be no significant interaction between the sexes and ethnocentrism.

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## CHAPTER II

### RELATED RESEARCH

The research of Rokeach (13) is probably the best to date which has concerned itself solely with generalized mental rigidity as a factor in ethnocentrism. In one study Rokeach found a significant positive relationship between ethnocentrism and rigidity, as measured by the ability to handle the Einstellung, or Water Jar Problems, which he describes as an experiment with arithmetic problems. He found that those high on ethnocentrism continued to use the rigid method of solution on four out of five critical problems. Another measure of rigidity was concreteness, as measured by use of scratch paper and verbalization of responses. Here, too, significant differences were found which supported the hypothesis. No sex differences were found (13, pp. 259-268).

In another experiment in which subjects were to get from one location to another on maps, five problems were devised in which a set was to be established which would not allow the use of diagonal pathways. These were followed by five critical problems solvable by using or not using diagonal shortcuts. Again Rokeach found that those scoring high on ethnocentrism tended to be more rigid by not using the diagonal shortcut, i.e., not changing their set as often



as those scoring low on ethnocentrism. Mookaich concluded that rigidity in ethnocentrism is simply one aspect of a general rigidity factor. He also concluded that the mode of thought of the ethnocentric person is more concrete, and the mode of the non-ethnocentric person is more abstract in nature. (13, pp. 259-268).

In The Authoritarian Personality the major hypothesis was that the political, economic, and social convictions of the individual form a broad and coherent pattern, and that this pattern is an expression of deep lying trends in the personality. This hypothesis was generally supported, especially in the area of rigidity, through the use of blind ratings of interviews and questionnaires, the California E Scale and the California F Scale. It was concluded that the high scorers on the scale of ethnocentrism also tended to repress more (1, p. 473).

The rigid break between the conscious and the unconscious layers of the personality of the high scorers, as compared with the greater fluidity of transition and of intercommunication between the different personality strata in the low scorers, appears to have the greatest implications for their respective personality patterns (1, p. 479).

It was also found that rigid defenses were built up against tendencies toward fear, weaknesses, passivity, sex impulses, and aggressive feeling against authoritarian figures. The most important of the rigid defenses was the mechanism of projection through which the individual externalized what could not be accepted as part of the ego.

The high ethnocentric person was found to possess a rigid, simple, stereotyped, cognitive structure in which there was no place for ambivalence or ambiguity. Strong evidence of the rigidity of mental set was found, and this seemed to pervade throughout the personality.

It was noted that whereas the extremely prejudiced individual often exhibits a rigid form of superficial adjustment, interspersed with some measure of psychotic mechanisms due to the necessity of distorting reality, the extremely unprejudiced individual gives evidence of a more flexible kind of adjustment (1, pp. 480-481).

The highly ethnocentric person also tends to develop highly restrictive and conventionalized conceptions of parents, social status, sex roles, religion, and so forth. These ideas are rigid and not open to change (1, p. 475).

It was concluded that ethnic prejudice and its opposite emerged as two distinct patterns of life. These were the flexible and the authoritarian, overrun with rigidity.

In a study of Harvard, Radcliffe, and Dartmouth students, Allport and Kramer (2) found a rather large difference between the sexes and their degree of prejudice. Males were notably more ethnocentric in attitude than were females. It was also found that the more prejudiced person tended to view the world as a jungle, had a fear of swindlers, and tended to be authoritarian in his outlook (2, p. 30). He is unable or

unwilling to sympathize with the underdog, rejects legislative attempts to protect minority groups, and is not ashamed of his own prejudice (2, p. 34).

In a study on the roots of prejudice patterned after that of Allport, Rosenblith (14) attempted to strengthen the feasibility of generalizing Allport's results by a replication of the study in a strikingly different subculture.

She found excellent confirmation of most of the Allport and Kramer findings. Essentially, results showed that the prejudiced person tended to think of the world as basically evil. There was also a tendency to feel that we need rigid discipline, and that there is not enough discipline in our American way of life. Other tendencies of the prejudiced individual were fear of fraud and trickery, an inability to feel shame or sympathize with the underdog, and a strong tendency to stick rigidly to parental teachings (14, pp. 486-489).

Bottleheim and Janowitz (3), in their book, The Dynamics of Prejudice, do not deal with rigidity as such, but they do point out that one of the outstanding characteristics of the prejudiced personality is his tendency to project outward or externalize his own hostility feelings. They pointed out that these are usually externalized or projected upon groups whom society considers inferior (3, pp. 139-140).

Russen (11) measured the racial attitudes of 106 white boys, before and after intimate contact with Negroes at an

interracial camp for a period of four weeks. Mussen felt that the results of the experiment clearly showed that intimate contact with Negroes, in and of itself, did not bring about a decrease in prejudice. Evidence in this study seemed to indicate that an increase or decrease in hostility was related to personality structure, primarily the susceptibility to change. Mussen also found that those high in prejudice had more hostility and more aggression and dominance needs (11, pp. 440-441).

Cowen and Thompson (4), in a study of psychological rigidity and personality structure, using the Einstellung test to assess rigidity and the Rorschach to assess personality, found that the rigid group had a significantly poorer adjustment. Personality factors which seemed to be related to Einstellung rigidity included:

...limited productivity and imagination, diminished resourcefulness, inability to perceive complex relationships and to integrate constructively; a generalized suppression of emotional expression of both rich inner creativity and interaction with the outer environmental reality; an inability and hesitancy to enter psychologically new situations combined with uncertainty and lethargy when actually in such situations; a tendency to leave the field when the going gets difficult; a restricted range of interests and narrower spheres of function; and a poorer adjustment to society (4, p. 175).

In an investigation conducted during World War II and designed to study the relationship between personality traits and National Socialist ideology, Dicks (5) found an extremely high degree of feelings of inferiority and guilt, and strong tendencies to project among Nazi German prisoners of war.

These findings seemed particularly apropos since the Nazi party was one of the more ethnocentric groups of recorded history. According to Dicks:

This trait category, (Projection), included paranoid mechanisms from the upper limit of gross clinical systematized persecution symptoms and suspicion to emotionally charged, extrapunitive scapegoat devices, self-exculpation, bitterness, innuendo, and touchiness (5, p.132).

Dicks concluded that hate and rebellion against the super-ego had to be warded off in order to maintain the self and authority as blameless and lovable. This was done by displacing all negative aspects away from the person and the in-group authority, and attributing it to "...the greedy Jew or the blood thirsty Bolshevik" (5, p.143).

Dicks also found that rigidity, guilt projection, self-justification, and narcissistic bitterness were often necessary to preserve the personality (5, p. 144).

These studies would seem to be rather definitive, but some serious questions have been raised concerning the validity of the aforementioned studies in the area of rigidity and its relationship to ethnocentrism.

In a repeat study of the work of Hekeach, Luchins (10) cast some rather serious doubts on the validity of the Einstellung, or Water Jar Problems, as a measure of rigidity. Luchins found that emotional and social factors influenced the results. He also found that, while some subjects did persevere on the Einstellung problems, other's scores could be attributed to the generalization of a previous

rule or an assumption that the method demonstrated by the experimenter was the one to be used. Other confounding factors could have been that some subjects assumed that all three jars had to be utilized in the solution when, in fact, some solutions required the use of only two jars; some subjects might simply not have suspected tricks or tricky problem. Most importantly, Luchins questions Rokeach's claim that the Einstellung was a particular aspect of a general rigidity factor. He points out that Rokeach has no evidence to back up this claim. Luchins seems to have demonstrated rather clearly that the Einstellung test, as employed by Rokeach, had rather dubious value as a measure of rigidity (10, pp. 436-438).

Levitt and Zelen (7, 8) cast further doubt on the validity of the Einstellung problems as a measure of rigidity in two different experiments. On the basis of their results they concluded that there was no significant relationship between rigidity scores based on behavior with water jar problems and ethnocentrism (8, p. 580). Nor was there any kind of significant relationship between scores on extinction problems and measures of ethnocentrism (7, p.334).

In 1953 Goodstein (6) designed a study to investigate the general hypothesis that rigid people will have more consistent and more extreme social attitudes than people who are not rigid. Three measures of rigidity were used, the Shipley

Hartford Retreat Scale, Anagram Problems, and the Einstellung problems. Social attitudes were measured by the Thurstone Attitude Scales. Goodstein found no statistically significant relationship among the three tests of rigidity and no correlation between rigidity and extremity of social attitudes. He also found no relationship between consistency of social attitude and rigidity (6, p. 352). Goodstein explained that:

After considering the various implications of these results, it was concluded that, at the present time, rigidity does not seem to be a useful intervening variable in discussing the relationships between the antecedent conditions and the consequent behavior of normal individuals. While social attitudes and intellectual rigidity have both been defined in terms of behavioral consistency, this similarity in definitions should not be taken as proof of similarity in process (6, p. 352).

In a 1951-52 study of Catholic college students, O'Reilly (12) failed to confirm nearly all of the studies on personality and ethnocentrism. He found no relationship between ethnocentrism and feeling victimized as a member of a minority group, a jungle philosophy of life, authoritarianism, fear of fraud, or a mirroring of parental attitudes (12, p. 307).

A study by Livson and Nichols (9) on the generalizability of the California E, F, and PEG scales has shown that the validity of these scales can differ depending on the nature of the respondents in the sample (9, p. 417). They have also shown that items of these scales have had different interpretations in different geographical locations and different

sample groups. These were the same scales utilized in the studies on the authoritarian personality by Adorno, and Livson and Nichols maintain that their results should cast some doubt on the generalizability of some of these studies (9, pp. 417-420).



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## CHAPTER III

### PROCEDURE

#### Subjects

The population used in this investigation was selected from a group of white freshmen and sophomore college students enrolled in introductory education and psychology courses at North Texas State University. The population totaled ninety-six subjects of whom forty-eight were women and forty-eight were men.

#### Materials

##### Measures of Ethnocentrism

The scale selected to determine the degree of ethnocentrism in the subjects was the Inventory of Beliefs (1). It was devised under the sponsorship of the American Council on Education by the Cooperative Study of Evaluation in General Education. The inventory is composed of 120 statements to which subjects are asked to respond according to a four point scale: strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree. Ethnocentrism was assessed by giving one point for each agree or strongly agree answer. The inventory was standardized almost entirely on college students, and was therefore thought to be particularly appropriate for this study.

### Measures of Manifest Rigidity

The scale selected to determine the degree of manifest rigidity was the Self Description Inventory (2). This inventory was developed by Braen in 1955 at Syracuse University. It consists of forty-nine true-false items, measuring four item sets derived from the Lewinian rigidity construct. Interspersed among the rigidity items are the fifteen items in the L scale of the MMPI. The higher the score on the test, the more rigid the person is considered to be.

Braen deduced four theoretical statements from the Lewinian topological definition of rigidity. The questions in the inventory were developed from these statements. In order to control for any true-false tendency on the part of the subjects, about one half of the items were keyed true, and about one half were keyed false.

The first theoretical deduction was that the more rigid the person, the slower he would be to change in relation to the goal region. Questions derived from this statement were said to measure Homogeneity-Heterogeneity because they were designed to measure variations in the traits of fixation, endurance, persistence, and consistency. It was postulated that the rigid person would mark the Homogeneity items true and the Heterogeneity items false.

The second deduction inferred that the more rigid the person, the greater would be the stability of the inner personal regions of the life space. Questions devised from

this statement were labelled Coherence-incoherence because they were said to measure a variation in the traits of coordination, organization, and coherence. The rigid person would be expected to answer the Coherence items true and the Incoherence items false.

The third deduction was that the more rigid person would have more highly differentiated stable inner personal regions. Therefore, psychological locomotion toward a goal will take longer since there are a greater number of sub-paths through which the person must progress. Questions deduced here were said to measure variation in the traits of inhibition, reflection, and hesitation, and were, therefore, labelled Deliberation-Impulsivity. The rigid person would be expected to answer the Deliberation items true and the Impulsivity items false.

It was also postulated that the more rigid the person, the greater the relative potency of real and present levels of the life space. Therefore, questions were designed to measure variation in the objectivity-subjectivity dimension and in time perspective. Items keyed true for the rigid person attempted to reflect specificity, objectivity, concreteness, and a time perspective emphasizing the present. Items keyed false emphasized generalization, subjectivity, abstraction, and a time perspective concerned with the future. This category was referred to as Externalization-Internalization.

These four item sets were approximately evenly divided into true and false items, and there was an approximately equal number of questions to measure each item set. The questions were randomly distributed in the test, interspersed with the MMPI L scale.

Though some question might be raised concerning the appropriateness of the names assigned each of the item sets, the trait variations measured seemed to cover very well that which authorities consider to constitute rigidity. The great advantage is that all these traits are measured by one test, and are all based on one theory.

The test was designed to be used to study differences in a normal adult group and was standardized on undergraduate college students.

#### Method

At the first of the class period verbal instructions were given to the subjects, assuring them that they were to be given questionnaires, not tests, and that there were no right or wrong answers. It was explained that the questionnaires, in no way, were to be thought of as an assessment of intelligence, but were designed to assess how different people felt about different things, and how well the subjects could describe themselves. Assurances were also given that scores had nothing to do with course grades.

No time limits were assigned, but subjects were urged to proceed as rapidly as possible on the Inventory of Beliefs by recording their first impressions.

Subjects were presented first with the Self Description Inventory. After all subjects had finished, the Inventory of Beliefs was presented.

#### Statistical Treatment

The relationship between manifest rigidity and ethnocentric attitude, as measured by the Self Description Inventory and the Inventory of Beliefs, was determined by the Pearson Product Moment Correlation.

A two by two factorial design was then set up to test the relationship between manifest rigidity and ethnocentrism, and to test the relationship between the sexes and manifest rigidity. The design was also used to test for interaction between sex and ethnocentrism.

High and low ethnocentric groups were constituted on the basis of a median split.

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## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS

#### Presentation of Data

The Pearson Product Moment of correlation was used to test the relationship between manifest rigidity and ethnocentrism. There was no significant relationship between rigidity, as measured by the Self Description Inventory, and ethnocentrism, as measured by the Inventory of Beliefs. The Pearson Product Moment of correlation was  $r=.17$  and the  $t$  score was  $1.6461$ .

Rigidity scores were then placed in a two by two factorial design. Scores were divided into male and female and high and low ethnocentric groups. The means and standard deviations for each group are presented in Table I.

TABLE I

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR MALES AND FEMALES WITH HIGH AND LOW DEGREES OF ETHNOCENTRISM

Statistic	Male		Female	
	High	Low	High	Low
Means	24.96	24.00	22.79	22.50
Standard Deviations	5.86	9.04	6.92	8.32

All hypotheses were tested by means of an analysis of variance. A significance level of .05 was established as the criterion for accepting Hypothesis I and for rejecting Hypothesis II and Hypothesis III.

A summary of the analysis of variance for the sex-ethnocentrism experiment is shown in Table II.

TABLE II  
SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR THE  
SEX-ETHNOCENTRISM EXPERIMENT

Sources of Variation	Sums of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Level of P.
Between ethnocentrism	12.042	1	12.042	0.284	N.S.
Between sexes	112.666	1	112.666	2.656	N.S.
Interaction	0.000	1	0.000	0.000	N.S.
Within	3902.252	92	42.410	. . .	. . .
Totals	4026.959	95	42.390	. . .	. . .

Table II indicates that there was no significant difference between the means of the upper and lower halves of the population and that the high and low ethnocentric groups did not differ significantly in their degree of manifest rigidity. The first hypothesis that: Those individuals who are high in ethnocentrism will be found to

be significantly higher in manifest rigidity than those individuals who are low in ethnocentrism, is therefore rejected in favor of the null hypothesis.

Table II also shows that no significant differences were evidenced between male and female subjects and their scores of manifest rigidity. The differences did approach statistical significance, however. The level of P was .10. Further study might provide some insight into the meaning and value of the differences measured. Nevertheless, Hypothesis II which states that there will be no significant difference between male and female subjects and their scores of manifest rigidity is accepted.

The last results to be reviewed are those concerning Hypothesis III: There will be no significant interaction between the sexes and ethnocentrism. The results shown in Table II reveal that no interaction existed between ethnocentrism and the sexes, and Hypothesis III is, therefore, accepted.

#### Discussion of Data

The results of this investigation are somewhat unclear and are not entirely consistent with previous studies in the area. Results of investigations of the relationship between rigidity and ethnocentrism in general have failed to show any consistent pattern from social group to social group and from one geographical location to another. The results of

this and other studies might be explained, therefore, by adopting the idea that ethnic attitudes vary in different groups, depending on the context in which they are found. There are different patterns of discrimination and, therefore, patterning of attitudes toward ethnic groups might differ. This can best be explained in this study by suggesting that personality factors do not, in themselves, cause certain attitudes to emerge, but rather it is the personality tendencies, in interaction with the commonly prevailing social norms which cause attitudes to emerge. Ethnocentrism in the East, North, and West can be expected, therefore, to differ somewhat from prejudice in the South and the Southwest.

Hartley and Hartley (1) suggest that what is needed is a social science analysis, an interdisciplinary approach, rather than the analysis of a single discipline. They suggest that the anthropologist, the sociologist, the economist, and the political scientist work together with the psychologist to find the nature of these differences (1, p. 717).

McCandless (2) suggests that there are two types of prejudice, both having the same troublesome effects, but differing in origin. The first type is the pathological type of prejudice discussed in this paper. In this type the individual displaces aggressive feelings and projects his own hostile feelings and attitudes onto minority groups or scapegoats (2, p.356). This type of ethnocentrism would

be expected to correlate rather highly with rigidity. The other type of prejudice is the type which might be called a more normal type of prejudice as opposed to the more pathological variety. If a person grows up in a culture that views some ethnic groups with great disdain, even though he may be happy and comparatively well adjusted, he learns the negative aspects of his culture as well as the positive ones. This person can be described, therefore, as normally prejudiced.

It was felt that it was prejudice of the latter variety which confused the results of this investigation and other investigations like it. It would seem that pathological prejudice and normal prejudice, though they are of different origins, would yield relatively equivalent results on present day scales of ethnocentrism.

It can also be postulated that the more the culture and the geographical location foster the growth of ethnocentric attitudes, the more complex the factors related to ethnocentrism would be. Thus it would become more difficult to establish that rigidity is related to ethnocentrism as such because not only will one find rigid people in his prejudiced group, but also those individuals whose prejudice might be termed normal. This prejudice is usually related more to outer forces residing beyond the individual which act upon him. In this case we find that situational contexts, dependence upon the folkways of the group, and cultural factors

are more important in the development of prejudice than are personality factors.

Thus, it can be said that the greater the degree of non-personality factors affecting the prejudice, the more difficult it will become to isolate the personality variables, such as rigidity, which affect ethnocentric attitude.

A question might also be raised concerning the value of the measure of ethnocentric attitudes used in this study. The Inventory of Beliefs was employed in this study because it seemed to be the best questionnaire available. The validity of self-report questionnaires might be seriously questioned when what is being measured is so obvious and controversial a topic. The validity of this scale may have had an effect on the results obtained, but the scale seemed to be the best available at the time.

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## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This research was undertaken to investigate the relationship between manifest rigidity and ethnocentrism. The purpose of the investigation was to add to and clarify somewhat previous studies in this area through the use of a theoretically based scale of manifest rigidity. A two by two factorial design and a Pearson Product Moment of Correlation were used to analyze the data. The following hypotheses were investigated:

Hypothesis I Those individuals who are high in ethnocentrism will be found to be significantly higher in manifest rigidity than those individuals who are low in ethnocentrism.

Hypothesis II There will be no significant difference between male and female subjects and their scores of manifest rigidity.

Hypothesis III There will be no significant interaction between the sexes and ethnocentrism.

Subjects were ninety-six freshmen and sophomore college students, enrolled in introductory education and psychology courses at North Texas State University. There were forty-eight men and forty-eight women in the population.

The Self Description Inventory was administered to subjects as a measure of rigidity and the Inventory of Beliefs



was used to assess ethnocentrism. Scores were divided into male and female and high and low ethnocentric groups. A two by two factorial design was used to investigate the hypotheses, and the Pearson Product Moment of Correlation was also computed to test the relationship between manifest rigidity and ethnocentric attitude.

It was found that there was no significant relationship between rigidity and ethnocentrism in the population used. No significant differences were found between males and females and scores of manifest rigidity nor was there any interaction between the sexes and ethnocentrism. The null hypotheses were accepted in all cases.

From the results of this study it was postulated that the relationship of a personality variable such as rigidity to ethnocentric attitude differs in different cultural settings and in different geographical locations. In addition, it was postulated that the more the culture and geographical location induced ethnocentric attitude, the more complex the factors related to ethnocentrism would become. Therefore, it would be more difficult to find significant relationships between a personality variable and ethnocentrism since the pathological prejudice and the normal prejudice, though they are of different origins, yield equivalent scores on present scales of ethnocentrism.

It was concluded that studies of the relationship between personality factors and ethnocentrism should be broad comprehensive studies utilizing large groups from different sub-cultural areas. Studies should use the clinical interview as much as possible to try to determine the interaction of factors influencing the individual to adopt ethnocentric attitudes. As many of Allport's six approaches as possible should be utilized to determine relationships.

Further investigations of this type might utilize different measures of ethnocentrism to determine whether the results of this investigation could be duplicated. Perhaps some method other than self-report could be devised to measure ethnocentrism. Future studies might also concern themselves with trying to find differences between normal prejudice and prejudice of the pathological variety. If differences could be found, the relationship between ethnocentrism and personality factors could be more easily and accurately assessed.

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