

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

A CONSIDERATION OF THE CONCEPT OF "ACQUIESCENT  
PERSONALITY" IN A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY

by

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A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

OCTOBER, 1971



## ABSTRACT

In the current literature on conformity there is a dispute concerning the viability of the acquiescent personality approach. Furthermore, it is assumed by some theorists that acquiescent personalities are characteristic of individuals reared in gemeinschaftlich societies. It is the development of such personalities, they maintain, which accounts for the conventionality characteristic of such societies. Boldt (1968) tested this assumption and found no support for the assumed one to one relationship between acquiescence and conventionality. In view of his findings Boldt suggested an alternative approach combining a consideration of gemeinschaftlich-gesellschaftlich characteristics with Gouldner's (1959) typology of "tight" and "loose" societies.

Using a modified version of Crutchfield's (1955) test procedure, this study tests experimentally the alternative approach suggested by Boldt, as well as the viability of the acquiescent personality concept. One hundred treaty Indian subjects were compared to one hundred White urban students in a standardized group-pressure setting.

The findings indicate that distinctive patterns in acquiescence do emerge, suggesting the possibility of an acquiescent personality type. However, these patterns cut across cultural, racial and societal lines in contradiction to Gouldner's theory as well as previous cross-cultural studies. Alternate hypotheses and implications are suggested.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation for the advise and assistance I received from my committee.

In particular I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Edward Boldt, for his guidance and encouragement and Mr. Walter Hlady for his generosity in allowing me access to his private library.

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## CHAPTER I

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE: Part I

Conformity behavior has been of central concern to sociologists and social psychologists for several decades and an extensive literature exists. Moreover, interest in the process of conformity extends beyond the fact that conformity is an interesting social phenomenon. The significance of conformity to the sociologist lies in the extent to which this phenomenon accounts for the relatively smooth functioning of societies. Orderly societies are presumably societies marked by a high degree of "conforming" or "conformist" behavior.

The term "conformity", however, has been defined and used in a number of different ways. Since the theoretical implications and generalizations are dependent upon which definition is being used, we will first summarize the major distinctions drawn in the conformity literature and then elaborate on that particular mode of conformity (i.e., acquiescence) with which this study is concerned.

The major distinction to be noted is between "conventionality" and "acquiescence". Halla Beloff (1958) was the first investigator to make this differentiation explicit using this particular terminology, although other writers have since made very similar distinctions. Acquiescence is defined by Halla Beloff as: "The agreement with expressed group opinion in a particular experimental situation involving pressure from others." While conventionality is defined as: "The concurrence of the tenets, attitudes and mores of a subject's culture or subculture."

(Beloff, 1958 :102). Willis (1963), meanwhile, acknowledges the importance of Beloff's distinction, but prefers a different terminology to make essentially the same point. "Congruence conformity" is his equivalent of conventionality, while "movement conformity" corresponds to acquiescence.

Thus "conformity" becomes the more generic term, with conventionality and acquiescence subsumed under it as two specific expressions of the general process. The current distinctions made in the conformity literature are outlined in Figure 1. (1)

Like the general concept of conformity, acquiescence can be divided into two categories also. Beginning with an initial disagreement between the individual and the group, "true" acquiescence results in public and private acceptance of the group norm, while in the case of "expedient" acquiescence the individual publicly indicates agreement with the group, but privately continues to disagree. It is generally assumed that whether or not (and the extent to which) acquiescence (either "expedient" or "true") occurs, depends upon; 1. situational factors, 2. personality factors, and 3. the nature of the interaction

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- (1). The diagram represents a compilation of excerpts made by E. Boldt "Acquiescence and Conventionality in a Communal Society" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation) from the following sources: H. Beloff op. cit. :99-104; D. Kretch, R. Crutchfield, and E. Ballachey, Individual in Society, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962, :505-507; E. Hollander and R. Willis, "Some Current Issues in the Psychology of Conformity and Nonconformity", Psychological Bulletin, 68 (1967) :62-76; L. Festinger, "An Analysis of Compliant Behavior", in M. Sherif and W. O. Wilson (eds), Group Relations at the Cross Roads, New York: Harper and Bros., 1953, :232-256; H. Kelman, "Compliance, Identification, and Internalization", Journal of Conflict Resolution, 12 (1959), :99-120.



FIGURE I

DIAGRAMMATIC REPRESENTATION OF VARIOUS MODES OF CONFORMITYCONVENTIONALITY

(Congruence Conformity)

- Static, descriptive of a given state of affairs.
- The non-conventional individual is "deviant".
- Operationally defined as the amount of agreement between an individual's response and the mean or modal response of the group.

NOTE: Conventionality results partly from acquiescence. The acquiescent tends to hold more conventional views. But the converse does not necessarily hold. A highly conventional individual may be quite able to resist group pressure to acquiesce.

ACQUIESCENCE

(Movement Conformity)

- Dynamic or processual
- The non-acquiescent individual is "independent", \* and this independence may or may not represent "deviance".
- Operationally defined as the amount of shift or change from an individual's initial private response to his subsequent group-conditioned response.

For there to be acquiescence there must be conflict... conflict between individual and group opinion. The essence of acquiescence is the yielding to group pressure. Such yielding results in greater congruence between the individual's opinions and/or behavior, and the normative ideal. Hence two types of acquiescence are possible.

True Acquiescence

- public compliance with private acceptance.

Expedient Acquiescence

- Public compliance without private acceptance.

\* Except in the case of the "anti-conformist" (or counterformist), who is non-acquiescent, but not independent in that his negativistic responses are just as predictably being determined by the group as are the positive responses of the acquiescent. (Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey, 1962 and Hollander, and Willis, 1967).

between situational and personality factors.

"True" acquiescence is largely the concern of attitude change experiments and studies focussing on "persuasibility", whereas the work of such investigators as Asch (1951) and Crutchfield (1956) is directed mainly toward the explication of "expedient" acquiescence. The focus of this study is to test out a number of hypotheses made about acquiescence which were developed through testing procedures designed to measure "expedient" acquiescence.

#### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE: PART II

One of the first and most frequently debated hypotheses concerning acquiescence is that of the acquiescent personality. While it is generally recognized that personality and situational factors are both involved as determinants of acquiescent behavior, there is much less agreement as to which of these factors is predominant. Certain researchers, such as Kiesler (1966), and Hollander (1960), reject the concept of an acquiescent personality.

"For the sake of emphasis, let me say that I at once reject the view that conformity is a persisting personal attribute like being lame or even a passing state, like having a rash." (Hollander, 1960 :211)

Meanwhile, Kretch and Crutchfield (1962) and Crowne (1957) to name a few, feel that they have found sufficient evidence to support the existence of acquiescence as an enduring personality trait. Support for the acquiescent personality approach derives from a number of major findings in this areas of research, as follows:

1. Subjects in a situation that is essentially the same for everyone (2)  
 have been observed to show consistent individual differences in tendency to acquiesce, and such differences have been attributed to differences in personality. Furthermore, this consistent difference of individual response has been found by all investigators regardless of the experimental procedure employed. In his study "Conformity and Character", Crutchfield reports:

"Considering that we are dealing with a fairly homogeneous sample of limited size, the range of individual differences that we obtain is astonishingly large.... and there appears to be a considerable generality of this conformity behavior with respect to widely varied judgment materials." (Crutchfield, 1955 :197)

2. It has also been found that an individual's tendency to yield or acquiesce remains consistent between two or more situations. Blake, Helson, and Mouton (1956) used a simulated group pressure method to test the generality of conforming behavior over a wide variety of situations. From their results they were able to conclude that:

"Individual differences in conformity behavior are sufficiently consistent from task to task to support the hypothesis that conforming responses are general and hence depend on personality factors as well as on properties of particular situations confronting the individual." (Hollander, 1960 :215)

Similar studies have also been reported by Wiener et.al. (1956-57),

- 
- (2). We recognize, of course, that "situations are never identical for different people... The best we can do is to find situations that are as objectively similar as possible. And even when we do, the meaning of these objectively similar situations may differ for different people." (Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey, 1962 :522.)

Quinn and Lichenstein (1962), and Vaughan (1964).

3. A number of investigators have reported positive correlations of personality characteristics with acquiescence. Researchers have compared "Independents" to "Yielders" on several personality measures. Both Barron (1953), and Crutchfield, (1955) found that although "Independents" and "Yielders" were found to be equally stable in personality, they differed widely in their values and in their self-descriptions. A more recent study by McDavid, (1964) is consistent with the above findings.
4. The limited cross-cultural data available indicates that there are pronounced inter-cultural differences in tendency to acquiesce. In a simulated group pressure situation Stanley Milgram, (1966) found French subjects to be consistently more independent in their judgments than Norwegian subjects. A similar study by G. Chu, (1966) compared Chinese high school students to American high school students. The testing procedure consisted of a persuasibility test and personality measures, administered at different times by different persons. The data revealed that Chinese students were significantly more persuasible than American students. Chu interpreted these results in terms of a modal personality of culturally distinct groups. He states that:

"This difference is consistent with the Chinese core value of authoritarian submission and the corresponding stress on self-reliance in the American culture, and represents an effect of predominant cultural norms on personality functioning." (Chu, 1966 :171)

Both Milgram and Chu imply that the more orderly and rule-oriented a society the greater tendency of the members of that society toward acquiescence. This interpretation closely parallels a well established socio-anthropological tradition which views isolated homogeneous societies as relatively immune to nonconventional behavior when compared to more complex, heterogeneous societies. Moreover, this conception of Gemeinschaft often assumes that resistance to deviance is achieved through development of acquiescent personalities. Riesman, (1961) for example, holds that a Gemeinschaft is characterized by individuals who are predominantly "tradition-directed", such individuals ".....live in a group milieu, and lack the inner-directed person's capacity to go it alone". (Riesman, D., 1961 :11-12)

Mead (1932) and other anthropologists have ranked primitive societies according to the degree to which individuals acquiesce to the demands of the group. In short, sociologists and anthropologists frequently assume, explicitly or implicitly, the viability of the acquiescent personality approach and tend to attribute (at least in part) the orderliness of societies to the existence of such personality traits. Furthermore, they frequently assume that differences between Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft societies are reflected in differential tendencies toward acquiescence.

This assumption, however, has not been born out by more recent research. In a comparative study of three distinct cultural groups, Boldt (1968) tested for the relationship between acquiescence of members of a group and the degree of orderliness or conventionality of that group. For his study he used subjects from Hutterite and Mennonite communities

(as example of Gemeinschaft) and compared them to a control group of urban "worldly" subjects.

The original hypothesis stated that the Hutterites and Mennonite subjects, being from more conventional gemeinschaftlich societies would have a greater tendency toward acquiescence than subjects from a more gesellschaftlich, urban society. The findings indicated, however, that while the Mennonite subjects were characterized by a significantly greater tendency to acquiesce than the urban subjects, this was not true of the Hutterites. While these findings provided some support for the acquiescent-personality approach, they failed to support the assumed one-to-one relationship between acquiescence and Gemeinschaft (and hence social orderliness or conventionality), which exists in the literature.

#### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE: Part III

Such results necessitated the development of an alternative hypothesis. Boldt examined the possibility of applying Gouldner's (1959) typology of "tight" and "loose" societies as a possible alternative interpretation of the data. The key to Gouldner's theory is the concept of "functional autonomy of system parts." Gouldner states:

"Operationally speaking, we might say that the functional autonomy of a system part is the probability that it can survive separation from the system." Moreover, "parts in a social system with most functional autonomy become loci of organized deviance and of effective resistance to system controls. Consequently, if we think of the 'socialized individual' as in some sense a 'part' and not merely as the raw material of social systems..." (Gouldner, 1959 :245)

it follows that individuals with high functional autonomy are more likely to engage in deviant or non-conventional behavior than are individuals with low functional autonomy because they can safely defy the group's directives.

A social system characterized by low functional autonomy of its individual parts would therefore be expected to be more orderly than a social system characterized by high functional autonomy of its parts. Thus, we would conclude that a highly conventional, orderly society would have a "closely geared social structure" that effectively reduces individual autonomy.

Gouldner states that there are at least four strategies which a system can adopt to reduce the functional autonomy of its members, thereby insuring the tightness of the community. These strategies can also be considered as criteria for judging the relative tightness of looseness of a society.

1. The first of these is "selective recruitment", which involves refusing to admit to the system "those elements that promise to be recalcitrant". (Gouldner, 1959 :258) This strategy can be carried out in a number of ways, (lengthy initiation rites, exclusive memberships, etc.) all of which are means of assuring high commitment on the part of the members of the system.

2. A second strategy that a system can adopt "is to insulate itself and withdraw its parts from the environing system". (Gouldner, 1959 :260) This strategy is effective for social as well as geographic isolation.

3. A third strategy is that of "selective risk". That is, the system will maximize its security by delegating its basic metabolic needs to structures within it which have minimal functional autonomy". (Gouldner, 1959 :261). According to Gouldner (1959 :261) "not all the parts of a system have an equal 'vested interest' in its maintenance", and "those parts with least functional autonomy, those which cannot survive separation from a social system, are more likely to be implicated in its conservation than those which can". The elevated status of old people can be considered an example of this strategy.

4. The final strategy is that of "expansion, in which the system attempts to engulf others which share its parts and thereby tighten control over them". (Gouldner, 1959 :263). An example of this can be taken from the Kibbutzim in Isreal in which the position of the nuclear family has been functionally eroded, to prevent the development of a situation in which family loyalties would come in conflict with community loyalties.

Gouldner's theory, therefore, can be viewed as an addition, or perhaps, an alternative to previous traditional explanations of social orderliness. In place of "acquiescent personality", a more economical explanation reduces lack of deviance to lack of functional autonomy; that is, lack of opportunity to defy the system and survive.

#### SUMMARY AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Having reviewed the major disputes which exist in the conformity literature, the specific problems of concern in this study can be outlined



in the following manner:

1. Although the question of "acquiescent personality" is still very much unsettled, the results of all cross cultural studies tend to support this approach. In order to re-examine this issue, a cross cultural sample of Indian and White school students have been tested using a well-established acquiescence-inducing technique.
2. The assumption that a one-to-one relation exists between orderliness of a society and acquiescence of its members has been questioned in a recent study, (Boldt, 1968). In answer to this problem, Boldt proposed a speculative alternative in Gouldner's theory of functional autonomy. It is the concern of this study to test the validity of Gouldner's theory in an extended cross cultural setting.
3. Finally, it is the purpose of this study to attempt to identify what structural factors are operative in a society to encourage or discourage the development of an acquiescent personality.

## CHAPTER II

PART I: The Manitoba Indian --- A brief history and description

Manitoba's native population consists of four different tribes: The Cree, the Chipewyan, the Saulteaux, and the Sioux. In pre-European times the Plains Cree comprised small bands in Northern Saskatchewan and Manitoba. However, with the introduction of horses and firearms their numbers swelled and their territory came to include most of South and mid-Western Manitoba. The Chipewyan tribes roamed in Northern Canada, ranging from the Peace River District to the Hudson's Bay area. The Saulteaux and the Sioux originated outside the province of Manitoba. The ancestors of the Saulteaux were the Ojibway of North-eastern Ontario who migrated to the Lake Winnipeg and Berens River District, while the Sioux originated from the Dakota tribe of Northern United States, who came to settle in the inter-lake region.

The life style of the Plains Indians was primarily determined by their subsistence hunting and gathering economy. A number of families would group together in bands (usually along extended kinship lines) to hunt and camp together. For economic and political (threat of attack from enemy tribes) reasons an individual or a single family could not survive without joining a band. All bands of a tribe amalgamated for several weeks or months during the summer when the driving of buffalo into pounds required the co-operation of many people.

This subsistence pattern along with the interaction of related

extended families nurtured a strict inter-dependent, non-aggressive social group. Aggression between members of such social groups was taboo. In a study of the Saulteaux tribe who lived in the Lake Winnipeg region, Hallowell states:

"The pattern of emotional restraint not only implies that the individual restrain his own anger, it also requires that he suppress open criticism of his fellows in face to face relations and avoid disputation of a personal kind in order to avoid arousing their anger." (Hallowell, 1955 :134)

In discussing the permissive attitude of the Saulteaux toward child rearing, Hallowell (1955), feels this permissiveness is just another manifestation of disdain for aggression in interpersonal relations of all kinds. As a result of this strong taboo, an act of overt aggression would likely be followed by extreme anxiety on the part of the aggressor. As Hallowell explains: "The only way to avoid anxiety is to restrain oneself and comply with the demands of the others." (Hallowell, 1955 :136) This statement seems indicative of a tradition of acquiescence to group expectations.

Similar reports of co-operation and disdain for aggression have been made by Mirsky (1937) in her study of the Dakota Indians. She describes the social structure of the Dakota tribes as resting on an active co-operation among the members of an extended family;

"The Dakota feel that property is of no importance when compared with human relations. Property achieves importance only when it is used to bring out and emphasize one's relationship to another human being." (Mirsky, 1937 :259)

As a result of these values an elaborate system of gift giving and property sharing was developed.

Of all the tribes inhabiting the Manitoba area, "The Chipewyan seem to have possessed the weakest culture". (Jenness, 1960 :388) This, probably, reflects the hard and uncertain conditions of northern life where the struggle for survival takes precedence over all other activities. The Chipewyan society functioned in terms of primary group relations with the extended family forming the basic social unit of a band. The kinship structure, and in part, "a superstitious horror of bloodshed" (Jenness, 1960 :386) served to check overt aggression within the tribe. While the struggle to make a living was responsible for food sharing and outward co-operation in economic tasks.

The Cree life style was similar to the other tribes of Manitoba in terms of a co-operative, non-aggressive tradition. In describing the pervasive attitudes and values in Cree society Chance states:

"The non-assertive interpersonal aspects of this cognitive patterning are reflected in deep internal control over the expression of aggression... an inward rather than achievement oriented personality, lack of competitive boasting or any form of self-aggrandizement... and a general hesitancy to intervene in the lives of others." (Chance, 1970 :11)

The strict taboo against overt aggression necessitated the development of culturally sanctioned channels for hostility. These institutionalized outlets took the following forms:

1. Indirect discharge of aggression through gossip.
2. Magic and sorcery.

"These Indians (Saulteaux) will not only name individuals who have met their death by sorcery, they will also name their reputed murderers and they will go on to mention an even larger number of cases in

which illness and failure in hunting have been caused by the malevolent action of human beings." (Hallowell, 1955, :282)

3. Masochistic religious ceremonies (e.g. the Sun Dance which was a ritual of many Plains Indians involving self torture).
4. Cruel and ruthless inter-group conflict.

In cases in which an individual or family were a source of serious conflict, transferring to another band was not unusual. Through these methods, the Plains Indians were able to maintain a high degree of harmony and conformity to group expectations which were necessary for the survival of the band.

The tradition of co-operation and communality is reflected in their politics as well. In a study of Plains Indians, Miller states:

"The apparent lack of leadership in this group is due more to a difference in the conceptualization of leadership than to its absence. The kind of authority structure found among Europeans would be regarded as aggressive and intolerable." (Miller, 1955, :278)

Miller describes European authority relations as "vertical authority relationship". This vertical component was absent among the Indians. Decision making was based on consensus rather than authority. This lack of an established hierarchical order is consistent with the Indian communal life style and disdain for self-aggrandizement.

Despite the variety of tribes inhabiting the Manitoba area, their responses to the rigors of a subsistence economy were very similar. Communal co-operative band societies were developed through a complex system of values and norms which strictly tabooed in-group conflict and

tension. As a result, self-restraint and compliance with the demands of others was a necessary part of band life. Furthermore, individual autonomy or survival outside of the group was a physical impossibility for both economic and political reasons. Therefore, we can characterize traditional Indian society as tightly organized folk societies meeting the criteria laid down by Redfield (1947), and Gouldner (1959).

## PART II: Manitoba Indians Today

Although there is a high degree of consensus in the literature concerning traditional Indian society, a study of contemporary reserve communities reveals a major area of dispute among researchers. On the one hand, certain researchers express the view that Indian communities have managed to maintain enough of their cultural heritage and tradition to identify themselves as a distinctly different cultural group, while other researchers state that the White influence has been so disruptive that reserve communities have lost their cultural identity and are characterized by anomie.

The dispute in the literature is not whether or not Indian life style has changed but rather to what degree. The imposition of the reservation system created a unique social situation distinguished by the following characteristics:

- "1. an underlying residue of an essentially hunting and gathering type of culture with its characteristic value and organizational configuration.
2. an overlay consisting of a thin veneer of disparate ideological, technological and organizational elements which have been

borrowed (Where they have not been arbitrarily imposed) on an ad hoc basis from post-industrial culture of the dominant containing society;

3. and with all meaningful political authority and decision making powers being held throughout the period of reservation status by the Federal Government." (Zentner, 1967 :112)

Zentner states that the imposition of this system has destroyed Indian identity and traditions. He cites child neglect, marriage breakdown and drinking as indications of the generally anomic conditions on reserves. However, Zentner's criterion of social disorganization may well reflect the bias of a white middle class perspective.

Theorists advocating the other position in the dispute (Hallowell, 1955 and Rogers, 1950) point out that what may be viewed as symptoms of social disorganization by white society may well be behavior consistent with traditional Indian society. Incidences of child neglect on the part of the nuclear family may be reinterpreted as evidence of extended family involvement. Children raised by aunts, uncles or grandparents are not necessarily neglected by their parents. With reference to marriage breakdown, it has been pointed out by many anthropologists that pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relations were common.

"High frequency of intercourse is expected nightly by the younger men. Since women are realistic about sex, if a man does not have intercourse with his wife, she may suspect him of other affairs." (Hallowell, 1950, :300)

Traditional Plains Indians attached little significance to marriage rites and marriage was less restrictive.

"In earlier days, there seems to have been no marriage ceremony; the suitor made his offer through the medium of an old man, the girl

moved over to his lodge at night." (Jenness, 1960, :312)

Polygamy was practiced also.

"One selective factor in polygamy was still in hunting. Only very good hunters could support several wives and their children."  
(Hallowell, 1955, :300)

With reference to drinking as a symptom of social breakdown, a number of anthropologists have come up with an interesting alternative theory. (Hamer, 1965, Holloway, 1966, and Honigmann, 1945). As mentioned earlier, the strict taboo on overt aggression necessitated the development of culturally sanctioned outlets for aggression. These were listed as: 1. gossip, 2. sorcery, 3. inter-group wars, 4. religious rituals. Of these traditional outlets, gossip remains as the only possible alternative. The conversion of Indians to Christianity all but eliminated traditional religious rituals and the practice of sorcery, while Canadian laws prohibit intergroup fighting and bloodshed.

As a result of these developments, we see gossip assuming greater importance in reservation life (Robertson, 1967, Hallowell, 1955, and Hlady, 1960) and drinking has emerged as the major institutionalized channel for the expression of hostility. Therefore, drinking may be viewed as indirectly contributing to the tradition of co-operation and communality by providing a culturally acceptable outlet for hostility and frustration.

In keeping with the argument that Indians have been able to maintain a culturally distinct identity inspite of, and at times because of, White influence, the following points must be made:



1. The development of a reservation system served to isolate the Indian and prevent them from being completely engulfed by white society.
2. "The more extensive the contact between Indians and Whites, the greater the inflow of White intermediaries... Desiring to be of assistance, many of these contact agents, nevertheless continue to insulate the Indian from the outside world." (Chance, 1970 :12)
3. The concentration of decision making and power in the hands of the Federal Government has led to the development of an "extremely strong, though carefully masked, out-group antipathy directed against all non-Indians and a corresponding in-group solidarity... In practice this has meant a strong negative attitude toward non-Indian cultural traits and standards in the non-material aspect of cultural borrowing and a concomitant effort to maintain traditional Indian practices where possible." (Zentner, 1969 :118)

The above points suggest an effort on the part of the Indians to maintain their cultural identity. This effort has been unintentionally aided by the reserve system and spurred on by in-group--out-group hostilities which have resulted from government manipulation and White discrimination and bigotry.

That native Canadians are increasingly having to act in terms of the non-Indian world does not imply that they readily adopt Euro-Canadian values. Evidence of this fact is the high return rate of Indians who leave the reserve for purposes of work or education. It has been recently discovered that even Indians who have been quite successful in obtaining work within the cities, have chosen to return to the reserve. As Lurie (1967 :40) puts it:

"I feel that Indian people commute rather than migrate to the cities, that Indian people undergo a process of urbanization rather than become urbanites."

Lurie describes the reserve as a refuge for Indians in a basically foreign and often hostile society.

This need to return to the reserve and the attempt to revive and maintain Indian traditions seems to imply that the Indian community has been able to create some form of order out of the chaos of the reserve system and preserve the values and attitudes characteristic of their traditional communal, co-operative society.

### PART III: Statement of Problem and Hypotheses:

Native Canadians have been chosen for comparison to White suburban subjects on the basis of two considerations. First, they are a culturally distinct group within the larger white society. This factor facilitates testing of the acquiescent personality concept on a cross cultural basis. Secondly, the reserve community can be distinguished from the urban community on the basis of certain Gemeinschaftlich characteristics. It is expected that this distinction will identify what, if any, are the social structural correlates of acquiescent personality.

In order to develop some predictive hypotheses, the Indian and White-urban communities have been analyzed in conjunction with Boldt's study of Hutterite and Mennonite communities. Applying Gouldner's four criteria, Hutterite, Mennonite, Indian and White urban communities have been arranged on a continuum according to the relative "tightness" or "looseness" of their social structural environment.

Applying Gouldner's four strategies for limiting functional autonomy, the white urban community can be characterized as follows: It is not isolated, does not practice selective recruitment, is tolerant of co-existent institutions and leadership is diffuse and usually characterized by high functional autonomy. Therefore, the urban community will be considered as the closest approximation to Gouldner's ideal-type "loose" society.

The position of the Indian community is determined according to its adherence to each of Gouldner's four criteria:

1. In terms of the first criterion (i.e., "selective recruitment"), the Indian Reserve can be considered the "tightest" of the four groups. The only way that it is possible to qualify as a treaty Indian, is to be born of Indian parents, either the mother or both parents must be treaty Indians.

2. The second criterion - isolation-necessitates the division of the Indian community into two categories. In the current literature on Manitoba Indian Reserves, a distinction is made between "Isolated" and "Transitional" reserves. Deprez and Sigurdson (1969) were the first to make this distinction (based on geographic location), in order to facilitate their study of Manitoba Indians. They define the distinction as follows:

"The first category comprise all reserves accessible by rail and/or road but outside the dominant agricultural areas; designating them as 'Transitional'. In the second category, we included all reserves accessible only by air and/or water; designating them as 'Isolated'." (Deprez and Sigurdson, 1969, :17)

At present, there is an on-going study in the Economics Department at the University of Manitoba to determine the significance of this distinction. To date, their findings support the validity of such a distinction in terms of education, employment, mobility and exposure to white society (e.g. 54% of the members of Isolated Reserves have never been to Winnipeg as opposed to 39% of the members of the Transitional Reserves). These differences seem to reflect the different degrees of dependency upon the reserve between the two categories:

"Although lack of employment opportunities pushed greater numbers of persons with training off the isolated reserves, the attraction of the reserve was also greater: 43% isolated Reserve Indians returned to the reserve while only 30% of the transitional reserve Indians returned." (Braun, 1971)

From the above statements, we can conclude that isolated reserves are characterized by a higher degree of "tightness" and less autonomy of its members than the transitional reserves. However, all Indian children who go beyond elementary school usually continue their education in large composite high schools, where they are exposed to the larger societies' culture and influence. Furthermore, all Indian children must overcome obstacles (e.g. racial prejudice, language barriers, etc.) which serve to accentuate their social isolation.

3. Selective risk -- a strategy the system utilizes to maximize its security by delegating authority and leadership to members who have minimal functional autonomy. In the past, the chiefs and members of the band council were the traditional oriented members of the

reserve. They were the leaders who achieved their status by achievement in traditional occupations (i.e. successful hunter or trapper). Such persons could be considered to have low functional autonomy, because of their reliance on the system status quo ante. However, social and political conditions on reserves today are undergoing some radical changes. The trend today in electing leaders of the Indian community is toward those persons who are most capable of manipulating the White bureaucratic establishment. These persons are usually better educated, more articulate and more familiar with White society. In short, the new breed of leaders in the Indian community have a higher degree of functional autonomy (i.e. a greater potential for survival in the White community than the traditional leaders of the past).

It is important to note, however, that the "Transitional" - "Isolated" distinction has implications in this area as well. This trend to more autonomous leadership is most characteristic of the Transitional Reserve community while the Isolated Reserves seem slower to adopt this change.

4. The final strategy is that of "expansion in which the system attempts to engulf others which share its parts and thereby tighten control over them". (Gouldner, 1959) An example of this can be taken from Hutterite communities in which the position of the nuclear family has been functionally eroded to prevent the development of a situation in which family loyalties would come in conflict with community loyalties.

When applying this criterion to the Indian community, we can readily discern erosion of the functions of a number of institutions.

The functions of the family have been weakened by the fact that, in most cases, in order to secure adequate education, employment or hospitalization, one must leave one's home and family for extended periods of time. This factor is particularly critical for the Isolated reserve communities. It is not unusual for Transitional reserves to have access to schools and hospitals of neighboring White communities. However, members of Isolated communities are often required to travel hundreds of miles for such necessities. Also, the economic system in both Transitional and Isolated communities has been all but destroyed by the Federal Government's paternalistic welfare policy.

The causes and effects of this strategy differ widely from the Hutterite situation to that of the Indian situation. In the case of the Hutterites, this policy (of expansion) was self-imposed and it functions to preserve the cohesion of the community. In the case of the Indians, the policy was externally imposed and the outcome seems to have been a disintegration and disorganization of community activities.

Combining our analysis of Indian and White social systems with Boldt's (1968) study of Hutterites and Old Colony Mennonites, we may now posit a hypothetical continuum based on the tightness and looseness of the respective societies. As mentioned previously, the White urban society will be considered as the closest approximation to Gouldner's ideal-type "loose" society. The comparison of Hutterite, Old Colony Mennonite and Indian social systems suggests that Old Colony Mennonites and Transitional Indian systems are relatively less "tight" than Hutterite or Isolated Indian societies. Therefore, the Old Colony

Mennonite and Transitional Indian systems cannot, to the same extent as the Hutterite or Isolated Reserve system, rely on situational restrictions of functional autonomy to keep their members "on the straight and narrow".

Individual Mennonites and Transitional Indians may be better able to survive separation from their system and are consequently in a better position to defy the directives of the group. In these circumstances, it becomes necessary for the system to develop and utilize alternate techniques for maintaining orderliness, and on the basis of Boldt's findings with Mennonite subjects, we would suggest that this alternative may well involve the production of acquiescent personality.

In order to predict differential rates of acquiescence we have combined the gemeinschaft-gesellschaft distinction with Gouldner's typology and categorized our samples and the populations which they represent in the following manner:

<u>POPULATION</u>	<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>TENDANCY TO ACQUIESCE</u>
White Urban	"loose" gesellschaft	moderate
Indian	gemeinschaftlich	
1. Transitional Reserve	"loose" gemeinschaft	high
2. Isolated Reserve	"tight" gemeinschaft	moderate

In view of the above characteristics of our samples we hypothesize:

1. There will be a differential in acquiescence rates between White urban subjects and the Indian subjects with the Indian sample having an overall higher score than the White sample.

2. There will be a differential in acquiescence rates between Isolated Reserve Indians and Transitional Reserve Indians with the Transitional Reserve Indians having a higher score than the Isolated Reserve Indians.



## CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGYTesting Procedure:

The two best known techniques utilized in the experimental study of acquiescence to group pressure have been developed by Asch (1951) and Crutchfield, (1956-57) although a number of investigators have employed variants of these two basic types.

In his widely known experiments Asch would set up small groups of seven to nine persons. Actually, all but one member of the group were confederates of the experimenter, who had been instructed beforehand to give unanimously incorrect responses on certain of the line judgment trials. It was so arranged that the one naive subject sat near the end of the row, so that he gave his judgment following most of the group. The naive subject thus found himself in a situation where the correct answers on certain critical trials would be in opposition to those given by an unanimous majority. The subject's response to this situation (either yielding or remaining independent) provided Asch with a measure of the subject's vulnerability to group pressure.

The major advantage of the Asch technique lies in the fact that it "engages the subject in an interpersonal behavior event with face to face oral communication among members", (Asch, 1951 :179) thereby approximating more closely a "real life" setting. On the other hand, this method is very time consuming and uneconomical when testing large samples

because it is limited to testing one subject at a time.

In order to overcome this limitation Crutchfield devised a "simulated group pressure" technique, utilizing electrical equipment, which permits the testing of five or more subjects simultaneously. A brief description of this technique follows:

"Five subjects at a time are seated side by side in individual booths, screened from one another. Each booth has a panel with a row of numbered switches which the person uses to signal his judgments on items presented on slides projected on the wall in front of the group. Also displayed on his panel are signal lights which indicate what judgments the other four members are giving to the item. The booths are designated by the letters A,B,C,D, and E and the subjects are instructed to respond in that order. They are not permitted to talk during the session.

Although this is the way the subjects are led to understand the situation, they are in fact being grossly deceived by the experimenter. ...all five booths are labelled E, so that each subject sees the sequence of judgments allegedly emanating from persons A,B,C, and D before he makes his own judgment. On those critical items where the experimenter wishes to impose group pressure, he makes it appear that all five subjects are confronted with the same conflict between their own judgment and the bogus consensus. They may resolve the conflict either by giving the same judgment as the group's thus conforming, or by giving their own answer, thus remaining independent." (Kretch, Crutchfield and Ballachey, 1962 :509)

The equipment used for this study was a modified version of Crutchfield's technique. Each test group was given a "sample question" during which the inter-panel connection was turned on. The subjects, therefore, saw the responses of the other members of the group as they were made. When the real testing began, the inter-panel connection was switched off without the subject's knowledge. We then proceeded to deceive the subjects on all of the critical or "fixed" items.

The experimental procedure employed by Crutchfield and utilized in this study constitutes what has been referred to as a "one-shot" case study, in that scores are based on a single observation with no provision for determining how subjects might have responded when not under group pressure. In order to maximize the benefits of this technique and minimize the limitations, the experimenter must use the least ambiguous stimuli possible and be aware of the type of responses (other than acquiescence) which are possible. The particular stimuli used in this study will be discussed later in a description of the test items.

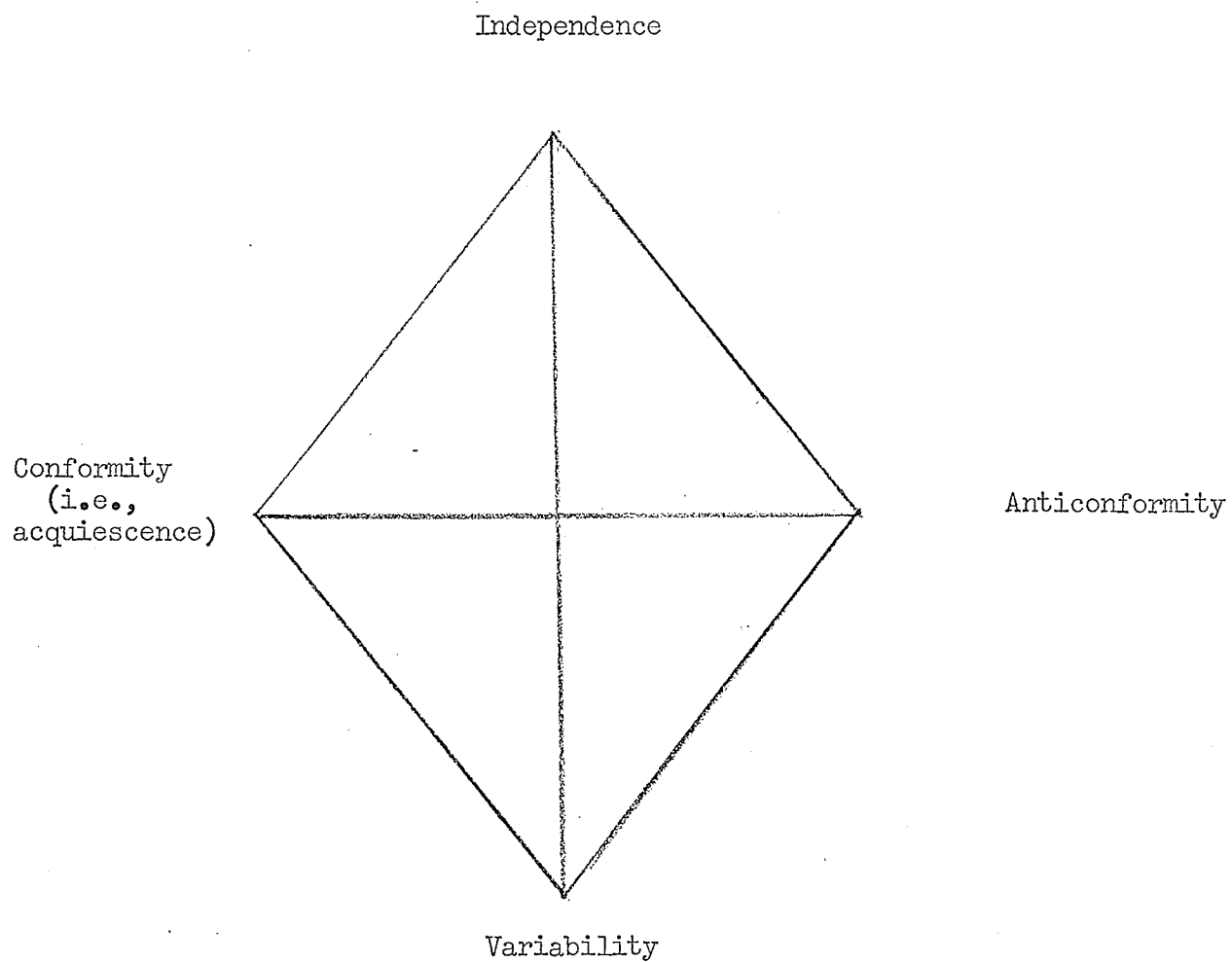
The number and type of responses possible in a testing procedure such as this have been enumerated and analysed by Willis. Until recently, most research in the area of acquiescence employed a uni-dimensional approach, "in which conformity (i.e. acquiescence) and non-conformity are represented as opposite poles of a single dimension with perfectly discrepancy located at increasing distances beyond". (Willis and Hollander, 1964 :153)

Such an approach allows for only two possible responses (acquiescence or independence) in an experimental situation as described above. This approach, according to Willis is not valid in that it fails to distinguish between several possible modes of non-conformity. In his revised two dimensional response model Willis outlines four possible modes of behavior which are illustrated in Figure 2.

Willis defines the four modes of responding represented in Figure 2 as follows:

FIGURE 2

REVISED VERSION OF WILLIS' TWO-DIMENSIONAL  
RESPONSE MODEL (THE "DIAMOND MODEL") (1)



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(1). Adapted with modifications from Willis and Hollander, (1964).

1. "Conformity" --- In its pure form, it consists of a completely consistent attempt to behave in accordance with normative expectations as perceived.
2. Independence --- Pure independence behavior occurs whenever the individual perceives relevant normative expectations, but gives zero weight to those perceived expectations in formulating his decisions --- the independent person is one capable of resisting social pressures, rather than one who is unaware of them or who merely ignores them. He 'sticks to his guns' so to speak.
3. Anticonformity --- In pure anticonformity behavior, the response is directly antithetical to the norm prescription. Pure anticonformity like pure conformity is pure dependence behavior. Anticonformity rarely, if ever, occurs in undiluted form but as a limiting case, it is of considerable theoretical importance.
4. Variability --- Variability represents a second kind of independence from the social environment --- because the completely variable person changes his mind incessantly without giving any consideration to one's guns' variety of independence --- but it does represent, nevertheless, the assignment zero weight to the normative expectations of the group." (Willis and Hollander, 69, 1964 :379)

Awareness of the differential modes of response leads to a more accurate analysis of the data received. The procedure by which acquiescence and independence can be distinguished from anticonformity and variability will be discussed under scoring of the data.

The most obvious advantage of the "one-shot" testing procedure is that it is more economical in terms of time and money. However, a main significant advantage of this method is the enhanced credibility of the experimental procedure. In a pre-test situation where subjects are exposed to the same stimuli without pressure and then later with pressure, the credibility of the experiment may come into question, especially when more sophisticated subjects are used. Because the success of the experiment is dependent upon the deception of the subjects and because the subjects used in this particular study varied widely in sophistication, the "one-shot" case study was considered most appropriate.

#### TEST ITEMS:

Because of the nature of this study (i.e. a one-shot case study, with a cross-cultural sample), it is crucial to select items that are unambiguous and not open to contradictory interpretation. In a cross-cultural study, this requires choosing tasks that are as "culture-free" as possible.

In order to accommodate these considerations, the stimuli in the present study were limited to "visual perception items". Twenty such items were prepared on slides <sup>(2)</sup> consisting of a single line on the right (each

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(2). The same slides were used in Boldt's study (1968) and were found to be quite successful in distinguishing acquiescent tendencies cross-culturally.

of different length), or vice versa, and projected on a screen twelve feet in front of the subjects. The subjects' task was to choose from among the three comparison lines the one equal in length to the single line.

Five of the twenty items were selected as "critical items", that is, to be "fixed" by the experimenter. In deciding how many of the items to "fix", the major concern was to set a small enough ratio of "fixed" to "non-fixed" items to safeguard the credibility of the experimental procedure. Obviously, if all or most of the items are "fixed", subjects might well become suspicious as to the real purpose of the test. On the other hand, a sufficient number of "fixed" items are necessary to allow for a reasonable range of possible scores. Asch (1951) and Goldberg (1954) both reported that increasing the number of exposures to group pressure does not significantly effect the degree of acquiescence elicited and hence it was decided to "fix" only five of the twenty items, interspersed at irregular intervals with the "non-fixed" items.

#### SCORING:

The scoring of the subjects' responses is very straightforward. If a subject acquiesces on all five of the "fixed" items, he is given the maximum score of five, if a subject acquiesces on three of the "fixed" items, his score is three, etc. The major complication with this simple scoring technique was to distinguish an acquiescent response from the other modes of response outlined by Willis.

For a particular "fixed" question A is the correct response, but the panel indicates that everyone in the group has answered C. In

such a case, if a subject answers A, his score on that item is obviously zero. If the subject answers C, this is interpreted as a yielding response and he obtains a score of one. Such an error is here termed a "predicted error". The subject, however, may also answer B and such a response can be interpreted in three possible ways.

First, it may be a simple error without any recurring pattern which does not have a significant effect on further analysis of the data. Secondly, it may indicate that the subject has not been influenced by the group and represents simply the subject's tendency to be inconsistent... an expression of what Willis has termed "variability". Thirdly, such a response may also indicate that the subject is being negatively influenced by the group, in which case his response is an expression of "anticonformity". Unfortunately, in the present circumstances, it is only indirectly possible to determine which of these two modes of non-conformity a particular response represents.

A tendency toward "variability" on the part of the subject would result in responses that at times coincided with the group response (whether false or authentic), while at other times was at variance with the group response. Such a response pattern would be indicated by an extremely high error rate relative to the other subjects. A tendency toward "anticonformity", on the other hand, would by definition result in a response pattern more consistently at variance with that of the group. A careful examination of each subject's response pattern can, therefore, reveal whether there were any subjects who might be suspected of the above two response modes. The first indication of such variant responses would be high error relative to the other subjects. Such an examination of the data was made, revealing generally low error rates (ranging from



1% to 6%) and lacking any positive signs of "anticonformity" or "variability".

SAMPLES:

Indian Sample: An experimental group of one hundred Indian students aged thirteen to twenty-one was selected from the Assiniboia Residential School in Winnipeg, Powerview High School in Pine Falls, and Sagkeeng Consolidated Junior High School on the Fort Alexander Reserve. Due to the fact that classes were not to be disturbed subjects were chosen on the basis of availability (i.e. during a spare or a study period). Fifty five students were tested at the Assiniboia Residential School, thirty students were tested at Powerview and the remaining fifteen were taken from Sagkeeng Consolidated School. Although there is a fairly wide range in age, the bulk of the sample falls in the fifteen to eighteen year old group with the average age being 15.7 years. As with the rest of the samples, males and females were tested independently and in equal numbers. In order to avoid confusion resulting from the distinction between Transitional and Isolated reserves, the Indian sample is divided into two equal groups of fifty according to the geographical location of their reserve.

Due to the limitations of time and money, the above sample is a selective sample which cannot be considered statistically representative of the Indian population of Manitoba. The greatest problem was in testing subjects from Isolated reserves. The only subjects available to us were High School students who had come to Winnipeg to complete their studies. Because of this fact, these subjects, no doubt, had experienced greater exposure to white culture and life-styles than the average Indian from an Isolated reserve.

White Sample: A selective sample of one hundred white subjects aged fourteen to eighteen was chosen from schools in the Greater Winnipeg area. The selectiveness of this sample is due to the fact that a number of principals in the larger high schools in the centre of Winnipeg felt that the number of activities in which their schools were involved made it impossible to set aside a period for testing. Consequently, the sample of White students comes exclusively from the suburban areas of Winnipeg. Four high schools and one junior high school were used in the recruitment of subjects. Twenty students from each school were tested. As in the case of the Indian sample, selection of subjects was based on availability.

Use of Deception:

The use of deception in social research involves two areas of debate. First, the empirical consequences of deception; that is, do the subjects "catch on" to the deception and if so, how does this effect their performance? Secondly, the moral or ethical question of deception.

In response to the first issue, it has been shown in recent studies (Allen, 69, 1966 :101-106) that suspicion of deception is more common than researchers realize and suspicion can seriously influence the subject's performance. In order to keep suspicion to a minimum, the "one-shot" case study was chosen and the subjects were questioned after the experiment in order to determine if the deception was successful. From the answers we received, there was no reason to believe that any of the subjects were aware of the deception involved.

In response to the moral or ethical question of deception,  
Crutchfield states:

"My view is that such deception methods require  
that great care be taken immediately afterwards  
to explain the situation fully to the subjects."  
(Crutchfield, 10, 1956, :294)

This advice was followed by sending a letter (see appendix) to all the  
subjects after testing, explaining the use of deception and the real  
purpose of the experiment.

## CHAPTER IV

## THE FINDINGS

In testing out our hypothesis the following four independent variables were controlled for, in order to determine their effect upon acquiescence:

1. Race---the key variable in testing out cross cultural effects upon acquiescence.
2. Sex---previous research <sup>(1)</sup> has consistently shown sex as having a definite influence upon tendency to acquiesce.
3. Age and 4. grade---were controlled in an attempt to define trends in the development of acquiescent personalities.

Two forms of analysis were applied to the data---simple percentage tables, and analysis of covariance. <sup>(2)</sup> Although analysis of covariance revealed the predictive limitations of the chosen independent variables, it tended to obscure trends and relationships within the data. This problem reflects the fact that analysis of covariance assumes independence between the factors and the covariates, while analysis of our data revealed a high degree of interaction between the factors (race and sex), and the covariates (age and grade). Due to the number of restrictions upon our sampling procedure <sup>(3)</sup> we were unable to obtain a probability sample and therefore all statistical tests of significance were excluded.

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(1). Asch, (1956); Crutchfield, (1955); and Applezweig and Moeller, (1958).

(2). "Multicovariate Factorial Analysis" was the program utilized for analysis of our data. See Appendix C, pp. 85

(3). For a discussion of these limitation see Chapter 3 :10.

## PERCENTAGE ANALYSIS

Initial analysis of the data consisted of the calculation of scores and error<sup>(4)</sup> rates for all subjects. The results of this tabulation are summarized in Table I. The following points are noteworthy.

1. As the table indicates, Column II reports the overall error rate for all questions. Subjects, with only minor variations, answered questions correctly 97% of the time. This would indicate that on the whole questions were perceived as relatively unambiguous.
2. In columns III and IV the error rate has been broken down and reported separately for "fixed" and "non-fixed" items. Subjects in all categories made a higher percentage of errors on "fixed" (4.6%) than on "non-fixed" (2.05%) questions, indicating that the former were more ambiguous than the latter. This is understandable and reflects "a conscious effort on the part of the experimenter to design 'fixed' questions that were not too 'obvious' while at the same time not too ambiguous". (Boldt, 1968 :97)

If the contrived group consensus on "fixed" items were too obviously at variance with perceived reality, subjects might well become suspicious of the real purpose of the experiment. On the other hand, questions needed to be sufficiently unambiguous to insure that subjects were, in fact, yielding to group pressure rather than simply "guessing" at the right answer. The results suggest that our "fixed" questions succeeded in avoiding both extremes.

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(4). Error is defined as all incorrect answers excluding errors in the predicted direction on "fixed" items.

TABLE I  
GENERAL TABLE OF MEAN SCORES AND ERRORS

	I	II		III		IV	
	MEAN SCORE	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
White N=100	1.7	47/2000	2.3	27/1500	1.8	20/500	4
Indian N=100	2.3	57/2000	2.8	39/1500	2.6	18/500	3.6
Transitional N=50	3.3	27/1000	2.7	12/750	1.6	15/250	6
Isolated N=50	2.25	29/1000	2.9	17/750	2.2	12/250	5

- I = mean acquiescence score.  
 II = total number of errors.  
 III = number of errors on "nonfixed" items.  
 IV = number of errors on "fixed" items.

3. The overall low error rate (approximately 3%), recorded in column II gives a fairly good indication of the type of response which we were measuring. The low error rate in both "fixed" and "nonfixed" categories implies that the probability of "variability" occurring as a significant response mode was negligible. Despite the higher rate of errors on "fixed" items than on "nonfixed" items we find that the subjects answered in the correct or predicted direction 95% of the time. The 5% margin of unexplained error is not a sufficient indication of "anticonformity" particularly when no consistent pattern has emerged in error rates. From this indirect process of elimination we can conclude that we were, in fact, measuring acquiescence and that the occurrence of alternative modes of response was negligible.

4. The first column records the mean acquiescence scores for all racial categories of our sample. This column gives the first indication of the accuracy of our two major hypotheses. Our first hypothesis predicted a differential rate of acquiescence between the White and Indian sample, with the Indian samples scoring higher than the Whites. The initial analysis of mean scores for the two sample seems to support the hypothesis.

Our second hypothesis, predicting a differential rate of acquiescence between Transitional Reserve Indians and Isolated Reserve Indians, receives no support from initial analysis. Further analysis confirms this finding.

TABLE II  
COMPARISON OF INITIAL MEAN SCORES WITH  
ADJUSTED MEAN SCORES BY RESERVE AND SEX.

RESERVE	SEX	INITIAL MEAN	ADJUSTED MEAN
Isolated	F	2.250	2.306
Isolated	M	2.400	2.580
Transitional	F	2.200	2.128
Transitional	M	2.300	2.136

The Adjusted Mean is the mean which results when age and grade have been held constant. When we consider both initial and adjusted means across race and sex categories we see little variation in scores. Furthermore,

when we compare the initial means and the adjusted means we see that control of age and grade has little effect upon the acquiescence scores. In view of these observations we conclude that no significant difference exists between the Transitional and Isolated Reserve Indians regarding tendency to acquiesce, and therefore all further analysis will be concerned solely with the Indian-White distinction.

We group all persons who have acquiesced on one or more "fixed" items into three categories of high, medium and low acquiescence, the difference between White and Indian samples is emphasized, as indicated in Table III.

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF ACQUIESCERS IN HIGH, MEDIUM AND LOW CATEGORIES

SCORE	INDIAN	WHITE
	NO.	NO.
High (4-5)	29	15
Medium (3)	15	14
Low (1-2)	38	41
Non-Acquiescers	18	30
TOTAL	100	100

44% of the Indian sample lies in the medium and high categories while only 29% of the White sample are found in these categories.

In order to understand the effect of a number of variables upon the responses of our sample a series of tables will follow measuring the effects of age, sex, and grade on the responses of the two sample groups. Table IV illustrates that age has no consistent effect on the acquiescence rates of the two groups.



TABLE IV  
MEAN ACQUIESCENCE RATES ACCORDING TO AGE AND RACE

AGE	INDIAN		WHITE	
	MEAN SCORE	NO.	MEAN SCORE	NO.
14 & under	2.15	20	1.27	18
15	2.30	13	2.01	26
16	1.79	36	1.73	40
17 & over	2.95	31	1.68	16
TOTAL	2.30	100	1.71	100

Table V reports mean acquiescence scores for the two samples tested broken down by sex. The significant feature of this table is that it shows sex as an important factor for the White sample (females more highly acquiescent than males), while it exercises no effect upon the Indian sample. Conversely Table VI shows grade as an important factor for the Indian sample (acquiescence scores decline with an increase in grade) while it has no consistent effect upon the White sample. This interaction between sex and race and grade and race is illustrated in the following tables.

TABLE V  
MEAN ACQUIESCENCE RATES ACCORDING TO RACE AND SEX

SEX	INDIAN		WHITE	
	MEAN SCORE	NO.	MEAN SCORE	NO.
Female	2.30	50	2.04	50
Male	2.30	50	1.38	50
TOTAL	2.30	100	1.71	100

TABLE VI  
MEAN ACQUIESCENCE RATES ACCORDING TO GRADE AND RACE

GRADE	INDIAN		WHITE	
	MEAN SCORE	NO.	MEAN SCORE	NO.
7 & under	3.3	10	---	---
8	2.64	11	---	---
9	2.05	52	1.73	25
10	1.90	27	1.65	51
11	---	---	1.70	24
TOTAL	2.3	100	1.71	100

#### ANALYSIS OF COVARIANCE

An analysis of covariance was applied to the data in order to determine how effective the independent variables were in explaining the differential rates of acquiescence. The results of this analysis indicate that race and sex and the interaction between race and sex account for only 5% of the variance, while age and grade and their interaction account for only 4% of the variance. This illustrates the inadequate predictive value of the independent variables. Interpretation of the data was further complicated by the interaction between the factors (race and sex), and the covariates (age and grade) which has been outlined in Tables V and VI.

In Table VII we broke down the data into cells consisting of all

possible combinations of factors with the covariate  $X_1$  (grade). (5) In doing so, we have attempted to point out the limitations of our data and our method of analysis, as well as discover any trends which may have been obscured by interactions between the covariates and the factors. From Table VII the following observations can be made:

1. Cross racial correlations are extremely difficult because of the fact that 73% of the Indian subjects fall in the grade 9 or lower category, while 75% of the White subjects fall in the grade 10 or higher category. This reflects the fact that sampling was designed to control for age (e.g. average age for Indian sample, 15.89; for White sample 15.59) rather than grade. Both variables could not be controlled because of the interaction between age, grade and race (i.e. Indians are characteristically older than Whites in a given grade). To control for both variables would be to eliminate one of the important characteristics of the Indian group.
2. As an indirect result of the above problem we find that 87% of the Indian subjects lie in a grade range from eight to ten, while 100% of the White subjects lie in a grade range from nine to eleven. This limited range of grades makes it extremely difficult to determine any trend in the effect of grade upon acquiescence. However, there seems to be an inverse relation between grade and acquiescence for the Indian sample while no consistent effect is found within the White sample.

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(5). Age has been ignored as it has been shown earlier to have no effect upon acquiescence scores, (see Table IV).

TABLE VII

A GENERAL TABLE OF ACQUIESCENCE SCORES AND VARIANCE  
 ACCORDING TO RACE, SEX AND GRADE CATEGORIES

GRADE		INDIAN FEMALE	INDIAN MALE	WHITE FEMALE	WHITE MALE
		Y=2.300	Y=2.300	Y=2.040	Y=1.380
6	NO.	1	3	-	-
	MEAN SCORE	4.00	4.67	-	-
	VARIANCE	0	.67	-	-
7	NO.	6	-	-	-
	MEAN SCORE	2.50	-	-	-
	VARIANCE	4.70	-	-	-
8	NO.	3	8	-	-
	MEAN SCORE	3.00	2.50	-	-
	VARIANCE	7.00	4.29	-	-
9	NO.	24	28	10	15
	MEAN SCORE	2.33	2.04	2.50	1.27
	VARIANCE	3.53	2.94	1.72	2.21
10	NO.	15	9	26	25
	MEAN SCORE	1.93	1.55	1.88	1.40
	VARIANCE	1.06	3.02	3.06	2.42
11	NO.	1	1	14	10
	MEAN SCORE	2.00	5.00	2.00	1.50
	VARIANCE	0	0	2.31	2.27
12	NO.	-	1	-	-
	MEAN SCORE	-	3.00	-	-
	VARIANCE	-	0	-	-

3. The average within cell variance is as great and in many cases greater than between cell variance illustrating the inadequacies of the independent variables chosen. The racial categories are particularly ineffectual as is evidenced in the fact that the White female response patterns are more similar to those of the Indian categories than to the response patterns of the White male.

## CHAPTER V

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to test the viability of the acquiescent personality concept and to attempt to identify what structural factors operate in a society to encourage or discourage the development of such a personality. In order to do so, a cross cultural sample was selected and analyzed according to Gouldner's theory of "tight" and "loose" societies. It was hypothesized that the Indian subjects would acquiesce to a greater degree than the White subjects. Furthermore, it was expected that a distinction would occur within the Indian sample with Transitional Reserve Indians more highly acquiescent than Isolated Reserve Indians.

The predicted difference between Indian and White responses was based on previous findings of cross cultural studies (Milgram, 1961; Chu, 1966) which indicate that there are consistent inter-cultural differences in tendency to acquiesce. The hypothesized direction in which this difference would occur was determined by consideration of the gemeinschaft-gesellschaft distinction. Through application of Gouldner's typology we predicted differential rates of acquiescence between Transitional and Isolated Reserve Indians.

Results of the analysis of the data can be summarized in the following three points:

1. Although the predicted difference between Indian and White acquiescence rates appears initially, further analysis reveals this as a spurious distinction.
2. No difference in response rates between Transitional and Isolated Reserve Indians is indicated at any level of analysis.

3. Analysis of the data has indicated that differential response patterns are most clearly identified when we group Indians (male and female) with White females in one category and White males in another. In this way we can distinguish between one category (Indians and White females) who consistently score in the medium and high range from the other category (White males) who consistently score in the low range.

The results, therefore, lend no support to either hypothesis. In direct contradiction to all previous cross cultural studies, the results of this study show no consistent inter-cultural differences in tendency to acquiesce. The inadequate predictive value of the Indian---White, and Transitional---Isolated categories calls into question the viability of Gouldner's typology, as well as the cross cultural distinction. Nevertheless, the emergence of distinct response patterns does suggest the possibility of an acquiescent personality type.

However, the failure to support our hypotheses may reflect certain distinct characteristics of the Indian population, as well as the limitations involved in sampling from that population. In the selection of the Indian sample for this cross cultural study we encounter two possible problem areas which were discussed in greater detail in Chapter II. To summarize them briefly, they are as follows:

1. The dispute existing in the literature concerning whether Canadian Indians can be considered as having a distinct cultural identity or are best characterized as anomic and lacking in a coherent cultural identity. For the purposes of this study we assumed a fairly stable cultural identity among the Indians. If, however,

the latter argument is a better reflection of reality, the failure of our first hypothesis may well be accounted for by the incorrect assumption of Indian identity.

2. The application of Gouldner's typology in Boldt's study was limited to communities whose adoption of strategies for "tightness" or "looseness" were clearly self imposed. However, in the case of the Indian community certain critical strategies (1) operating on the reserves were externally imposed and have had disruptive effects upon the community. The application of Gouldner's typology to an externally imposed system of "tightness" may well go beyond the intention of his theory.

The limitations in the sampling procedure, discussed in Chapter III, resulted in a sample that was not clearly representative of the population studied. The greatest distortion occurred in the sampling of Isolated Reserve Indians, where the only subjects available for testing were students whose exposure to White urban society far exceeded that of the average resident on an Isolated Reserve. This may explain in part, our failure to support the second hypothesis.

The above limitations, particularly the sampling bias, may well explain the unpredicted nature of our results. Nevertheless, the findings of this study do point out some interesting relationships within the sample,

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(1). Isolation and selective recruitment are controlled by Federal policy while expansion can be viewed as an indirect result of such policies, (see Chapter II, :11-13).



as well as possible shortcomings in the present approach. If our findings are in fact valid (i.e. not distorted by the above mentioned limitations), the need for an alternative approach in future studies becomes evident.

The major shortcoming in the approach of this study has been the reliance upon Gouldner's theory to explain or account for differential rates of acquiescence. Assuming the subjects have been correctly categorized, the data indicates that the use of Gouldner's typology failed to predict the response rates of the subjects in all categories. A serious inadequacy lies in the fact that a clear distinction between male and female is found in the White urban sample which is in no way predicted or accounted for. Within Gouldner's framework, this differentiation between the sexes can only be understood if we postulate the existence of a distinct female social system within the larger White urban society. The deviation of half the population (2) from the expected response pattern calls into question the usefulness of such a category. Further evidence of the predictive failure of Gouldner's typology is seen in the lack of differentiation in the response rates of Transitional and Isolated Reserve Indians.

In view of the fact that some clear patterns in acquiescence rates did emerge and that Gouldner's theory was unable to account for these patterns, an alternative approach seems necessary. In order to arrive at an appropriate alternative a review of the results was made to determine any underlying relationships which existed within our sample to account for the particular patterns of response. The following observations are noteworthy:

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(2). This distinction between the sexes is not unique to this study alone but has been documented in numerous earlier studies: Asch, (1956); and Applezweig and Moeller, (1958).

1. The differential between male and female acquiescence rates was pronounced in the White urban sample and nonexistent in the Indian sample.
2. White female responses follow the same pattern as Indian (both male and female) responses.

The first observation merits some discussion due to the fact that women in both societies are subject to the traditional division of labour based upon sex. The lack of differentiation on the basis of sex for the Indian sample may reflect the fact that their racial identity and the status accorded such an identity may well override the effects of status distinctions within the community. A second point upon which they may differ is that within White society division of labor is associated with differential status and prestige, while the literature (Miller 1955 and Chance 1970) suggests that such an association seemed to be lacking in traditional Indian communities (3) The work of women in White urban society is associated with low status and prestige. The production of goods and services within the home does not even merit economic recognition and this bias is carried into the work world where the average salary of women in all occupations is substantially lower than that of men. Thus women in White urban society (and more generally women in Western society), have been relegated to a subordinate position. The Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (1970 :10) states:

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(3). See discussion of decision making and hierarchical organization in Indian Communities, (Chapter II, :4).

"The three principal influences which have shaped Western society---Greek philosophy, Roman law and Judeo-Christian theology---have each held almost axiomatically, that woman is inferior and subordinate to man and requires his domination."

The effects of such stereotyping upon women can best be understood in terms of the "psychological minority" concept.

"According to some writers, a psychological minority group is an aggregation whose collective destiny depends on the good will or is at the mercy of another group. They---the members of a psychological minority---feel and know that they live in a state of dependency, no matter what percentage they may be of the total population." (Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, 1970 :14).

In order to exist in such a system with a minimum of conflict, women in general have accepted as truths the social constraints and mental images that society has prescribed. In accepting the definition of their inferiority, the development of an acquiescent personality becomes an integral part of the feminine psyche.

"This theory could partly explain why some women are little inclined to identify themselves with the collective problems of their sex and tend to share the conventional opinions of society. Social scientists (4) have noted a similar phenomenon in their study of certain minority groups, or people treated as inferior." (Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, 1970 :14).

If we considered the parallel between the position of women and the position of Indians in our society, we see a possible explanation for the similarities in their acquiescence rates. In both cases these people have been dependent upon the good will of the White male establishment. The custodial attitude of men toward women in our society is closely

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(4). For a comparison of Negroes and women in the U.S. see Myrdal, (1944; 1077).

is closely paralleled by the paternalistic policy of the Indian Affairs Department towards native people.

Like all minority <sup>(5)</sup> groups women and Indians are characteristically underrepresented at all levels of government. Out of a possible two hundred and sixty four seats in the Federal House of Commons, women and Indians each have one representative. In the Senate women are represented by four members out of a possible one hundred and two seats and Indians, until the recent death of Senator Gladstone, had one representative. The situation in Provincial Legislatures is equally dismal.

Within the Canadian economy women and Indians predominate in the lower eschelons of the employment hierarchy, and are particularly concentrated in part time and seasonal employment fields. Furthermore, the resignation of these groups to society's stereotype is manifest in distinctly lower aspirations for both women and Indians in occupational and educational plans. <sup>(6)</sup>

Discrimination against both women and Indians is evidenced in everyday social activities. The existence of clubs, professional associations and bars which exclude people on the basis of race and sex are not uncommon in Canadian society.

The situation of women differs from that of Indians in that women "...are not one of a number of isolatable units, but half a totality". (Mitchell, 1966 :1). Therefore, the suppression of women is more subtle

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(5). The term "minority" in application to women is used in the non-statistical sense, for discussion of this term see Chapter V, :6.

(6). For a detailed discussion of Indians and women in Canadian society we refer the reader to Hawthorne (1967) and the Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, (1970).

and less severe than it is in the case of the Indians. Nevertheless, both women and Indians have been awarded their "place" in society based upon an underlying assumption of inferiority. We propose, as an alternative explanation, that it is the acceptance of this definition (selffulfilling prophecy), characterized by a lack of self confidence (7), which results in the development of an acquiescent personality.

In summary, Gouldner's approach attempts to predict acquiescent tendencies from knowledge of individuals' autonomy as determined by the "tightness" or "looseness" of a society in connection with its Gemeinschaftlich or Gesellschaftlich characteristics. However, results of this study indicate that the use of Gouldner's typology failed in predicting such tendencies. We suggest, therefore, that it is not the "tightness" or "looseness" of a given society per se, but rather the status distinctions based upon subordinate superordinate relationships (and their effect upon character development) (8) within or between any given society or societies which affect definitions of peoples worth and consequently encourage or discourage the development of acquiescent personalities.

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(7). For studies showing a high relationship between low self confidence and high acquiescence see Applezweig and Moeller, (1958); Couch and Keniston, (1960).

(8). See Gerth and Mills, (1953).

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APPENDIX A.  
LETTER TO SUBJECTS.

UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

Dear Student:

I would like to thank you for your co-operation on the visual perception test which you have recently taken. Because you have expressed an interest in the results of your test I would like to explain the nature of the test to you more fully.

Although you were asked to judge the lengths of lines and sizes of squares and triangles, we were not really interested in the "right" answer. The test was designed primarily to see how you would answer certain questions when it appeared that everyone else in the group had given the wrong answer. Five of the problems which you were asked to answer were "fixed": that is, I fed an incorrect answer to the lights on your panel through the master control at which I was seated. I was then interested to see if this would have any effect upon your own answer.

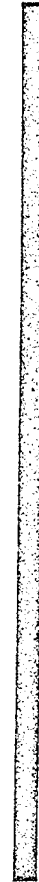
This is really what the test was all about, and consequently we do not have scores for individual subjects, but only an overall impression of how the students reacted to the test.

Thank you, again for your co-operation. We hope you enjoyed participating in our research project.

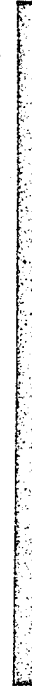
Yours sincerely,

E. J. Ursel

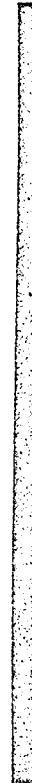
APPENDIX B  
TEST QUESTIONS



A



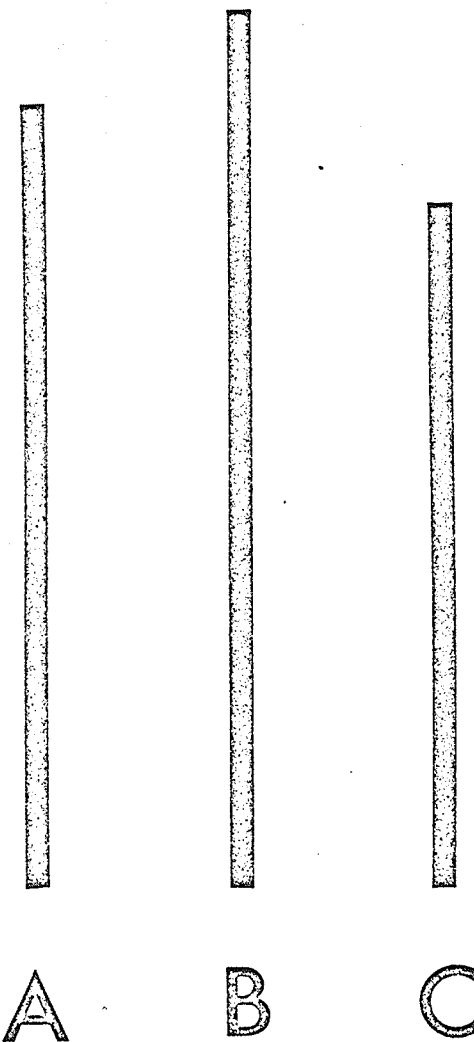
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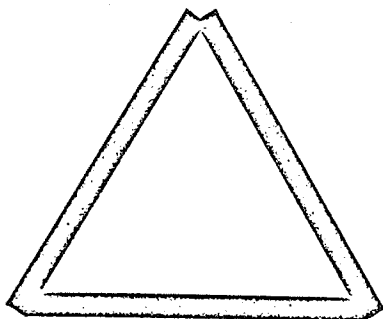
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QUESTION NO.1

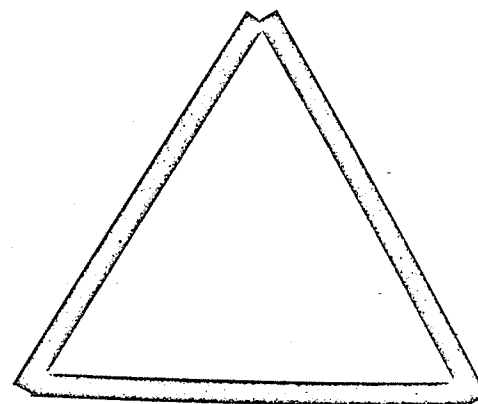




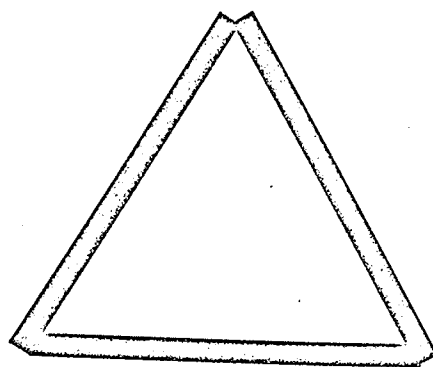
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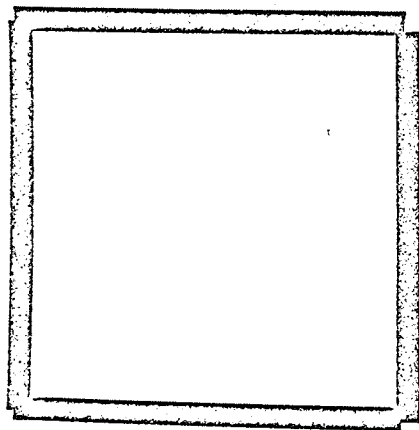


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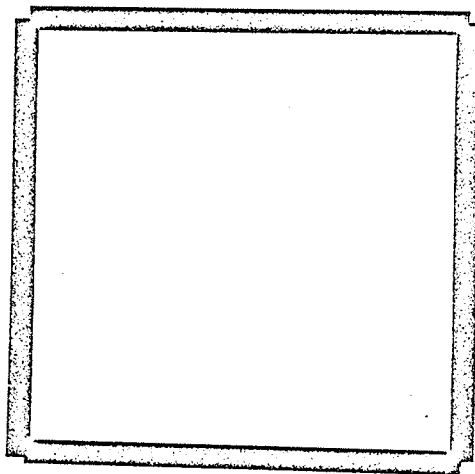


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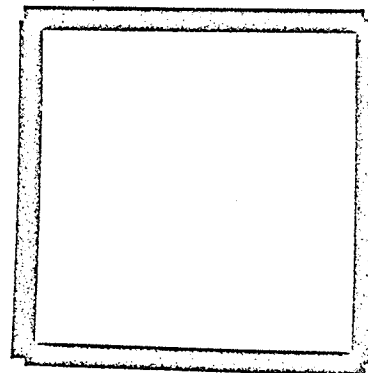
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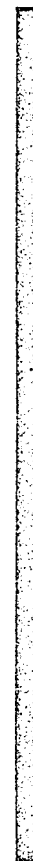


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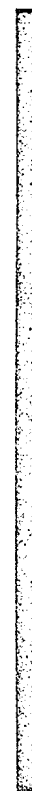


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QUESTION NO.4



A



B



C

QUESTION NO.5 (FIXED)



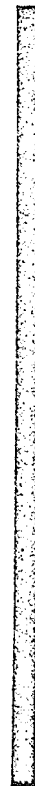
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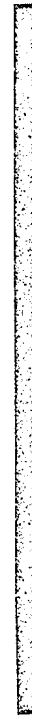
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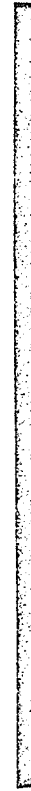
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QUESTION NO.6



A

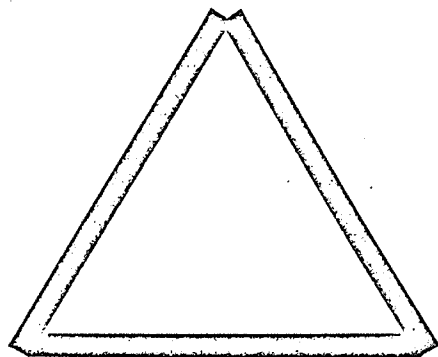


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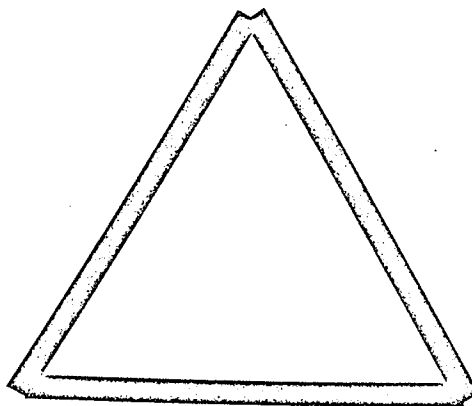


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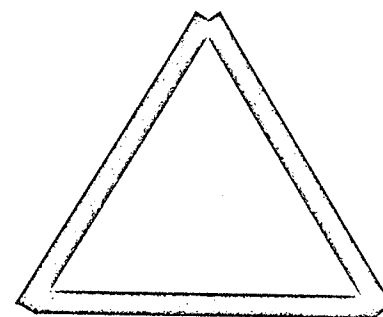
QUESTION NO.7



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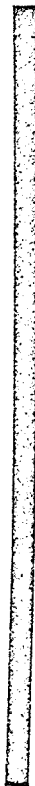


B



C

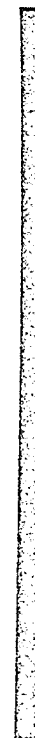
QUESTION NO.8



A



B



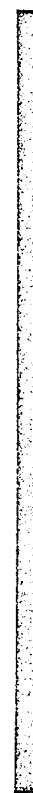
C

QUESTION NO.9 (FIXED)





A

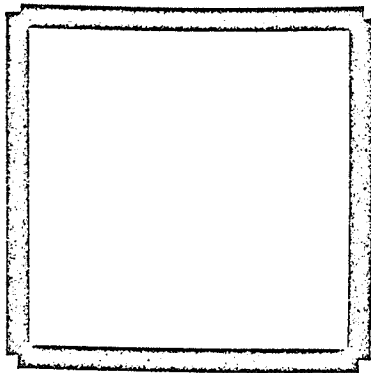


B

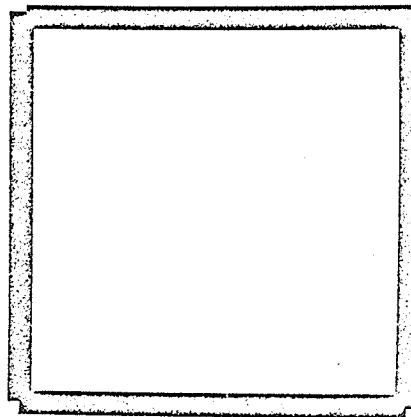


C

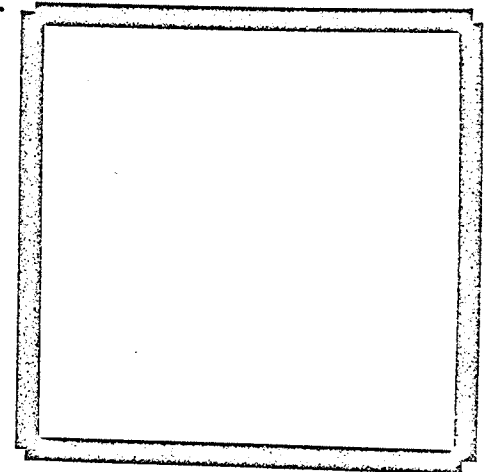
QUESTION NO.10



A

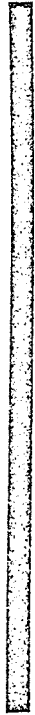


B



C

QUESTION NO.11



A



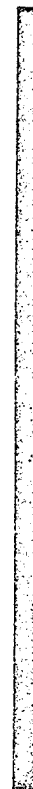
B



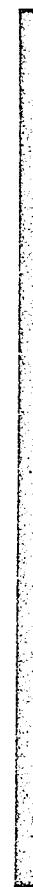
C



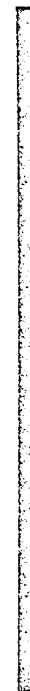
QUESTION NO.12 (FIXED)



A

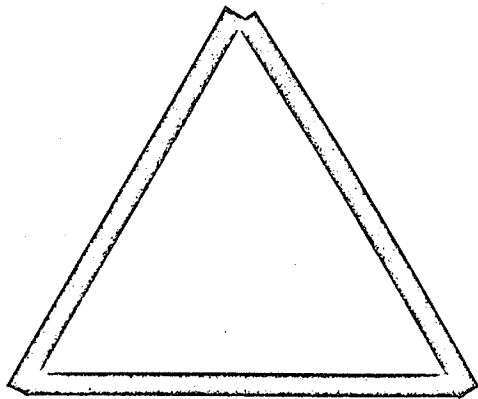


B

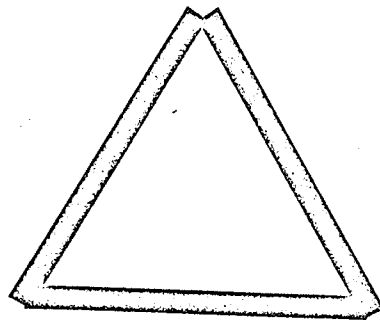


C

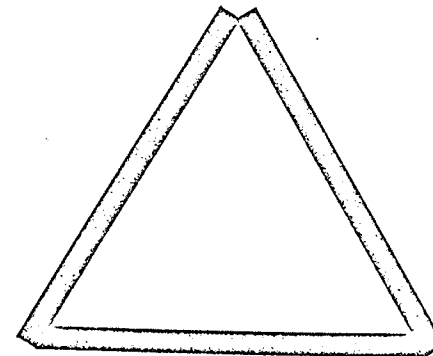
QUESTION- NO.13



A

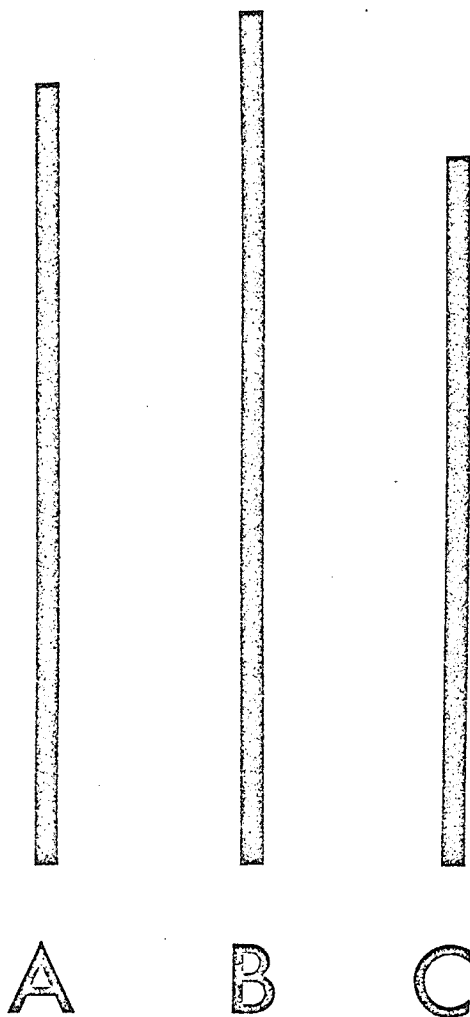


B

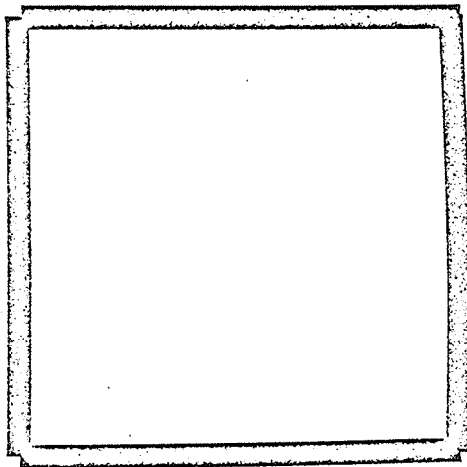


C

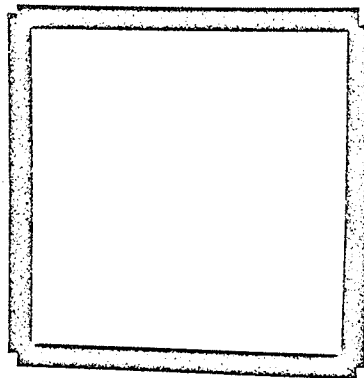
QUESTION NO.14



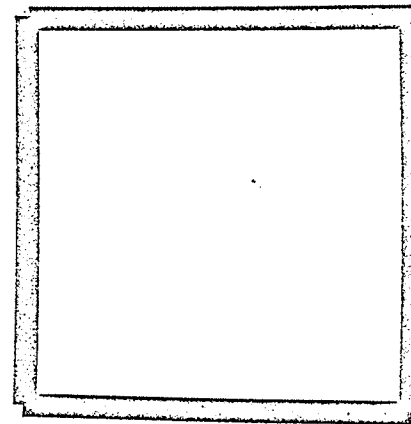
QUESTION NO.15



A

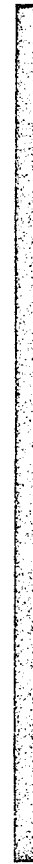


B

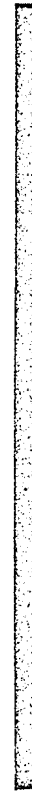


C

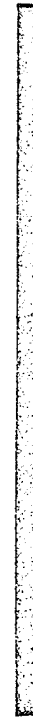
QUESTION NO.16



A



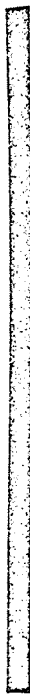
B



C

QUESTION NO.17 (FIXED)





A



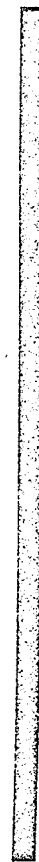
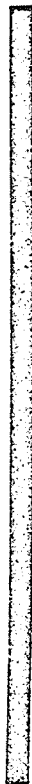
B



C



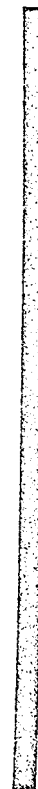
QUESTION NO.18



A

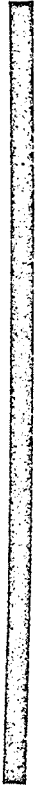


B



C

QUESTION NO.19



A



B



C

QUESTION NO.20 (FIXED)

APPENDIX C  
Multi-covariate Factorial Analysis

# AQUIENCE

NUMBER OF COVARIATES = 2

NUMBER OF FACTORS = 2

RACE AT 2 LEVELS

SEX AT 2 LEVELS

## PART I INPUT DATA

RACE	SEX	N	Y VAR.	X COVARIATES 1 2
1	1	1	50	
			1.00	17.00 10.00
			0.0	14.00 9.00
			3.00	14.00 9.00
			4.00	14.00 9.00
			3.00	16.00 9.00
			0.0	18.00 9.00
			3.00	18.00 9.00
			4.00	18.00 9.00
			5.00	18.00 9.00
			5.00	17.00 9.00
			4.00	16.00 9.00
			1.00	15.00 9.00
			0.0	16.00 9.00
			2.00	16.00 10.00
			2.00	17.00 9.00
			5.00	16.00 9.00
			0.0	16.00 9.00
			3.00	16.00 9.00
			1.00	16.00 10.00
			0.0	16.00 10.00
			2.00	17.00 10.00
			1.00	16.00 9.00
			5.00	16.00 9.00
			0.0	16.00 9.00
			1.00	16.00 9.00
			2.00	16.00 10.00
			3.00	16.00 10.00
			3.00	17.00 10.00
			4.00	16.00 10.00
			4.00	16.00 9.00
			1.00	16.00 9.00
			0.0	14.00 9.00
			2.00	18.00 11.00
			1.00	13.00 10.00
			2.00	15.00 10.00
			2.00	17.00 10.00
			1.00	17.00 10.00
			2.00	16.00 9.00
			2.00	15.00 10.00
			3.00	15.00 10.00
			0.0	14.00 8.00
			5.00	16.00 8.00
			4.00	14.00 8.00
			3.00	14.00 7.00
			0.0	14.00 7.00
			1.00	14.00 7.00
			4.00	14.00 6.00
			1.00	14.00 7.00
			5.00	14.00 7.00

5.00 14.00 7.00

1 2 1 50

3.00	17.00	9.00
3.00	18.00	10.00
0.0	16.00	10.00
3.00	16.00	9.00
1.00	17.00	10.00
0.0	16.00	9.00
1.00	16.00	10.00
2.00	16.00	9.00
4.00	17.00	9.00
4.00	17.00	9.00
3.00	16.00	9.00
2.00	14.00	9.00
0.0	15.00	9.00
1.00	16.00	9.00
5.00	16.00	8.00
1.00	13.00	8.00
1.00	13.00	8.00
5.00	13.00	8.00
5.00	15.00	8.00
1.00	15.00	8.00
4.00	18.00	9.00
5.00	17.00	9.00
1.00	17.00	10.00
1.00	15.00	9.00
0.0	17.00	10.00
2.00	15.00	9.00
3.00	14.00	9.00
2.00	17.00	9.00
1.00	16.00	9.00
1.00	16.00	9.00
5.00	19.00	11.00
3.00	21.00	12.00
3.00	18.00	10.00
0.0	17.00	10.00
5.00	18.00	10.00
4.00	17.00	9.00
0.0	16.00	9.00
4.00	17.00	9.00
2.00	14.00	9.00
5.00	15.00	9.00
2.00	15.00	9.00
0.0	16.00	9.00
0.0	17.00	9.00
0.0	16.00	9.00
1.00	15.00	9.00
1.00	16.00	8.00
1.00	16.00	8.00
4.00	14.00	6.00
5.00	14.00	6.00
5.00	15.00	6.00

2 1 1 50

1.00	15.00	10.00
2.00	16.00	10.00
0.0	16.00	10.00
0.0	16.00	10.00
5.00	16.00	10.00
3.00	16.00	10.00
2.00	15.00	10.00
5.00	15.00	10.00
2.00	16.00	10.00
1.00	16.00	10.00

5.00	15.00	10.00
1.00	15.00	10.00
1.00	15.00	10.00
0.0	15.00	10.00
5.00	15.00	10.00
1.00	16.00	10.00
2.00	15.00	10.00
4.00	15.00	10.00
3.00	16.00	11.00
2.00	17.00	11.00
1.00	16.00	11.00
0.0	16.00	11.00
0.0	16.00	11.00
3.00	17.00	11.00
5.00	16.00	11.00
2.00	17.00	11.00
1.00	15.00	10.00
1.00	15.00	10.00
3.00	16.00	11.00
2.00	16.00	10.00
0.0	15.00	10.00
3.00	16.00	10.00
2.00	15.00	10.00
0.0	15.00	10.00
0.0	17.00	11.00
2.00	18.00	11.00
2.00	16.00	11.00
4.00	17.00	11.00
1.00	16.00	11.00
0.0	14.00	9.00
5.00	16.00	9.00
1.00	14.00	9.00
2.00	15.00	9.00
2.00	14.00	9.00
3.00	14.00	9.00
4.00	14.00	9.00
5.00	16.00	9.00
1.00	14.00	9.00
2.00	14.00	9.00

2 2 1 50

2.00	15.00	10.00
1.00	16.00	10.00
2.00	16.00	10.00
0.0	16.00	10.00
4.00	17.00	10.00
0.0	18.00	10.00
0.0	17.00	10.00
2.00	16.00	10.00
0.0	16.00	10.00
1.00	18.00	10.00
3.00	16.00	11.00
1.00	16.00	11.00
2.00	16.00	11.00
0.0	16.00	11.00
0.0	19.00	11.00
1.00	16.00	10.00
3.00	15.00	10.00
1.00	15.00	10.00
2.00	15.00	10.00
1.00	16.00	10.00
5.00	15.00	10.00
0.0	16.00	10.00
0.0	16.00	10.00
0.0	16.00	10.00

1.00	19.00	10.00
3.00	16.00	10.00
5.00	16.00	10.00
1.00	14.00	10.00
0.0	16.00	10.00
0.0	17.00	11.00
0.0	17.00	11.00
2.00	17.00	11.00
4.00	17.00	11.00
3.00	17.00	11.00
1.00	14.00	9.00
3.00	14.00	9.00
0.0	16.00	9.00
1.00	14.00	9.00
0.0	14.00	9.00
0.0	14.00	9.00
3.00	14.00	9.00
0.0	14.00	9.00
0.0	14.00	9.00
3.00	15.00	9.00
4.00	15.00	9.00
0.0	15.00	9.00
0.0	14.00	9.00
3.00	16.00	9.00
1.00	14.00	9.00



## PART II MATRICES OF REDUCED SUMS OF SQUARES AND PRODUCTS

\*\*\*\*\* UNIVERSITY OF MANITABA \*\*\*\*\*

## AQUIENCE

## MATRIX TYPE

## TOTAL

Y  
VAR.X COVARIATES  
1 2

0	566.97	27.26	-67.47
1	27.26	322.47	135.70
2	-67.47	135.70	213.87

## RACE

0	17.40	8.85	-30.38
1	8.85	4.50	-15.45
2	-30.38	-15.45	53.04

## SEX

0	5.44	-2.97	1.81
1	-2.97	1.62	-0.99
2	1.81	-0.99	0.61

## RACE

## SEX

0	5.45	0.66	1.15
1	0.66	0.08	0.14
2	1.15	0.14	0.25

## WITHIN

0	538.68	20.72	-40.06
1	20.72	316.27	152.00
2	-40.06	152.00	159.98

## PART III MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS

\*\*\*\*\* UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA \*\*\*\*\*

## AQUIENCE

EFFECT	WITHIN PLUS RESID	B1	PARTIAL REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS	
			B2	B
RACE	508.850	0.3204	-0.5360	
SEX	518.613	0.3054	-0.5253	
RACE	SEX	514.891	0.3393	-0.5650
ERROR	508.544	0.3420	-0.5754	

## ANALYSIS OF COVARIANCE

SOURCE	DF	SS	MS	F
RACE	1	0.306	0.306	0.11
SEX	1	10.069	10.069	3.63
RACE	SEX	1	6.347	2.29
ERROR	194	538.680	2.777	
TOTAL	197	566.975		

## STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF THE UNGROUPED DATA

1.688      1.273      1.037

## PART IV CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS

\*\*\*\*\* UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA \*\*\*\*\*

## AQUINCE

## WITHIN

	Y	X COVARIATES	
		1	2
0	1.000000	0.050197	-0.136460
1	0.050197	1.000000	0.675739
2	-0.136460	0.675739	1.000000

## TOTAL

	Y	X COVARIATES	
		1	2
0	1.000000	0.063751	-0.193765
1	0.063751	1.000000	0.516716
2	-0.193765	0.516716	1.000000

## PART V MEANS AND ADJUSTED MEANS

\*\*\*\*\* UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA \*\*\*\*\*

## AQUIENCE

		Y MEAN	ADJ. Y MEAN	X COVARIATES	
				1	2
GRAND		2.005	2.005	15.74	9.48
RACE					
	1	2.300	1.976	15.89	8.96
	2	1.710	2.034	15.59	9.99
SEX					
	1	2.170	2.226	15.65	9.53
	2	1.840	1.784	15.83	9.42
RACE	SEX				
1	1	2.300	2.007	15.78	8.98
1	2	2.300	1.910	16.00	8.94
2	1	2.040	2.456	15.52	10.08
2	2	1.380	1.647	15.66	9.90