

A SOCIOMETRIC STUDY OF RACIAL CLEAVAGE
IN INDIAN - WHITE GROUPS

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

The present study was prompted by the realization that few of the many reported studies on racial prejudice have dealt specifically with prejudice towards North American Indians. Many studies have investigated the interrelations of Whites and Negroes or Whites and Jews, but not of Whites and Indians. The purpose of this study was to investigate the interracial relationships existing in groups comprised of Indians and Whites.

The subjects used in this study were 682 Manitoba public school children and 139 male adult construction workers. The children comprised twenty classrooms drawn from grades 2, 4, 6, 8, and 10. Each grade level was represented by four groups differing in degree of minority concentration as follows: (a) 1 or 2, (b) 3 or 4, (c) from 5 to 7, (d) 8 or more Indian and Metis members in a group. Similarly, the adult level was represented by four groups differing in degree of minority concentration.

The sociometric test was administered to the members of each group. Two criteria were used and three choices were requested for each criterion.

The results were appraised in two major ways: first, the effect of age on racial self-preference, and second, the effect of minority group concentration on racial self-preference.

Cleavage between Whites and Indians was found in both school and adult groups. Young White children exhibited high self-preference which decreased as grade level increased. Young Indian children showed very little self-preference, but self-preference was found to increase

gradually as the grade level of the Indian subjects increased. The highest degree of self-preference was exhibited by White girls, whereas Indian girls showed the lowest self-preference. White boys and Indian boys both showed self-preference of a degree intermediate between that shown by the White and Indian girls. Both Whites and Indians showed greater willingness to work with, than to sit near, members of the other race.

White children showed increasing self-preference as the concentration of Indian children in the groups increased. Although self-preference was absent in Indian children constituting only one or two members of a classroom, it was present when their numbers increased to three or four. It reached its highest degree at the five to seven concentration level and fell off somewhat in classrooms containing eight or more Indian children.

Racial self-preference was clearly evidenced at the adult level. Both Whites and Indians showed increasing self-preference as the concentration of Indians increased. Both showed greater willingness to work with than to room with members of the other race.

Group differences in White self-preference ratios were believed to reflect differences in age, minority group concentration, educational and occupational levels. In the case of the Indian subjects, group differences in self-preference ratios were considered primarily attributable to the degree of minority group concentration and to the amount of awareness of their position as minority group members.

It was concluded that the self-preference of the White subjects reflected cultural stereotyping, while that of the Indians was due primarily to the direct experience of being rejected by White persons.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND THE INTRODUCTION

I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study attempts to ascertain the influence of two variables, age and degree of minority concentration, on measures of racial cleavage in Indian - White groups in the Canadian Province of Manitoba.

Therefore, the study will investigate the following questions:

1. Does the age of the group members influence the relationship between majority (Whites) and minority (Indian or Metis¹)?
2. Does the degree of minority concentration influence the relationship between majority and minority?
3. Is there an interaction between age and minority concentration that influences the relationship between majority and minority? If so, what is the nature of this interaction?
4. Do girls show sharper cleavages from the other racial group than do boys?
5. Does the Indian - Metis minority show more intense withdrawal into itself than does the White majority?
6. Are there any factors tending to lessen majority-minority cleavages? If so, what are some of these factors?

II. INTRODUCTION

The necessity for a study of the kind here proposed was realized when a review of the bibliography of the Economic and Social research Branch of the Canadian Department of Citizenship and Immigration revealed a considerable number of historical and fictional accounts

¹ Metis - a person one of whose parents is White and the other Indian.

of the Canadian Indian, but only a meager smattering of scientific studies dealing with the Indian and Metis and their present day problems and status. These scientific studies dealt with such topics as anatomical differences, economic problems, housing and sanitation problems on reserves and academic achievement of Indians and Metis. It was felt that a study that investigated the extent to which Indian and White members of a group are accepted by each other would be of considerable value.

Within the last few years, mining, forestry, hydroelectric developments and military establishments in the Canadian North have brought an increasing number of Indians into close contact with the White man and his "civilization". Many Indians have obtained laboring jobs in these Northern developments, while others, forsaking the old ways completely, have moved into the cities and towns to seek a new life. These circumstances have effected a heightening of the Canadian public's interest in the Indian and his welfare. Churches, social welfare agencies and other interested groups have assisted the Indian Affairs Branch in helping Indian and Metis to become oriented to their new environment.

However, all Whites have not welcomed the Indian. Derogatory epithets similar to those applied to the American Negro have been used with reference to the Indian. He has been accused of being lazy, stupid, irresponsible, filthy, drunken, given to violence, immoral, and so on. "Indian ghettos" have been exposed, "good, solid citizens" have loudly protested when Indians or Metis wished to move into their residential areas; economic exploitations and discriminatory employment

practices have been hinted at. These publicized events have prompted various disciplines to investigate, as fully as possible, all aspects of the situation of the Indian and Metis.

The thesis commences with the historical view of racial and ethnic prejudices. It also discusses the various ways in which prejudices are acted out. Some of the more significant racial prejudice studies are next examined. Then follows a discussion of studies pertaining directly to the North American Indian. This historical review of the literature is concluded with an examination of research on specific factors influencing racial prejudice: the effect of age, the effect of minority concentration, boys' and girls' self-preferences, the effect of contact with minority group members.

The introduction is followed by a description of the subjects involved in this study, the test used and the procedure followed. The results are then presented and discussed. The concluding chapter summarizes the results and implications of the previous chapters.

III. THE NATURE OF RACIAL PREJUDICE

Definition of Racial Prejudice

English and English(27) define prejudice as the "failure or refusal to consider a person's own individual qualities, reacting to him instead as if he possessed the qualities (especially the unfavorable ones) that rightly or wrongly are attributed to his social group".

In common usage "racial prejudice" refers to an unfavourable attitude towards any religious, racial, national or cultural group. This is the sense in which the term "racial prejudice" will be used by the author.

Classification of Racial Prejudice

Gordon Allport (2) lists five degrees of the acting out of our prejudices.

1. Antilocution - This is just the "talking prejudice" that at times seems to be almost idle chatter. Usually, this antagonism is expressed rather freely. Many people, Allport contends, never go beyond this stage.

2. Avoidance - The burden of inconvenience by avoiding the disliked group is, of course, borne by the prejudiced person himself.

3. Discrimination - The prejudiced person here takes action to exclude the disliked group from certain jobs, clubs, educational facilities, residential areas and so on. Segregation is discrimination that has become institutionalized through custom or legal force.

4. Physical attack - This may take the form of violence, race riots, desecration, forcible ejection, etc.

5. Extermination - This, the ultimate expression of prejudice, takes the form of pogroms, lynchings, and genocide on the scale carried out by Hitler.

Allport (2 p.15) illustrates the ease of transition from one level to the next level by this illustration:

"It was Hitler's antilocution that led Germans to avoid their Jewish neighbours and erstwhile friends. This preparation made it easier to enact the Nurnberg laws of discrimination which, in turn, made the subsequent burning of synagogues and street attacks upon Jews seem natural. The final step in the macabre progression was the ovens at Auschwitz."

The present study, as it is dealing with racial cleavages, is actually investigating an example of Allport's second level of acting out prejudice - that of "Avoidance".

IV. FACTORS INFLUENCING RACIAL PREJUDICE AND CLEAVAGE.

The earliest historical annals often mention the prejudices and discriminations that one ethnic group, society or sect practised against another. At present, in many parts of the world, certain religious groups and coloured persons are victims of prejudice. The majority groups concerned have exhibited their prejudices by behaviour ranging from silent disapproval to massive exterminations on the scale carried out by Hitler's Nazis.

The determination of the factors causing racial and ethnic prejudice has for many years been the prime concern of a large number of American sociologists and social psychologists. In particular, the problems experienced by the American Negro have received attention. If prejudice could be thoroughly understood, it follows that an effective program might then be implemented to alleviate the existing conditions.

Valid scientific devices had to be developed in order to measure the presence of prejudice, its direction, strength, intensity and rigidity. Foremost among such devices was the attitude scale. The most suitable of these scales (46) are the following:

Thurstone attitude scale (introduced in 1929) - Each person being studied is asked to agree or disagree with each of a number of statements pertaining to the attitude under consideration. Each of the statements has been assigned a scale value derived from the judgements of a large number of experts.

Likert attitude scale (introduced in 1932) - Each person in this case is asked to strongly agree, agree, indicate indecision, disagree, or strongly disagree with statements dealing with the object in question. The five degrees of agreement are assigned the values 1 to 5 and thus a total score can be calculated for each person in the survey.

Guttman attitude scale (introduced in 1941) - This scale requires that the attitude under study be "scalable" for it relies on assigning a prejudice value at the point at which every statement less extreme is endorsed, while all statements more extreme are rejected.

Bogardus Social Distance Scale (introduced in 1925) - The persons in the study are asked if they are willing to accept persons of a specific racial group, at seven different degrees of intimacy - kinship, friends, neighbours, in their own occupation, citizenship, visitor to the country and total exclusion from the country. A variation of this scale is the Social Rejection scale.

Rank ordering and paired comparison methods are also used to establish racial and ethnic preferences. Poll questions, open-end questioning and combinations of the two approaches are used in some instances to establish the nature of an individual's feelings.

Deeper probing of attitudes has met with varying success through ratings from verbal statements, non-verbal behaviour towards the object, secondary expressive cues, personal documents, clinical interviews, projective testing, and immediate experience.

Indirect methods of investigation have been especially necessary for studying changes in attitudes. Projective tests, sociometry

and correlations between attitudes and other known measures have all been used for this purpose.

Allport (2 p.204) believes that all the theories that have been put forward, to date, to explain prejudice, derive from some one, or a combination of a six major theoretical approaches. These approaches, working from the most remote in time and least specifiable in operation, are:

1. Historical - This is the most general of all the classifications, for it includes all explanations that utilize the past in order to explain today's prejudices. P. W. Massing's Rehearsal for Destruction (59) contends that Hitler's rise and genocide policies, can be understood only by an historical tracing of events.

2. Sociocultural - Here the total social environment in which prejudice develops is studied. Socioeconomic, urban, rural, community and class beliefs, all historically derived, are included under this approach. A. Rose (73 ch.49) uses this approach to explain anti-Semitism in the big city.

3. Situational - Theories reflecting this approach take into account all of the current forces, such as: necessity to conform, employment situation, social mobility, density of minority groups and type of contact with them, acting upon the individual. L. Smith's Killers of the Dream (78) utilizes this approach when it explains the Southern White's prejudice as the product of learning the need to conform when he was a child.

4. Psychodynamics - These theoretical approaches stress factors

in human nature. Chief among them are the frustration-aggressive hypothesis and theories concerning the personality structure of the prejudiced individual. Social scientists often use Boston's 1942 Coconut Grove fire, (83) which prompted the public to successively blame the bus-boy, the "unknown prankster", the fire commissioner, police commissioner and fire inspector, to illustrate the frustration-aggression hypothesis.

5. Phenomenological - Theorists adopting this approach attempt to understand prejudice through the eyes of the prejudiced individual. This clinical approach, which is nearly always combined with others, must "make a detailed and specific analysis of the need structure of the particular person concerned. (or) deal only with general classes of demand and needs." (46 p.447) when concerned with large groups.

6. Stimulus object itself - Theories that embody this approach stress the importance, as causal factors, of observed undesirable qualities of the victims of prejudice. Such explanations, often known as "well-deserved reputation" theories, would utilize, for example, the fact that many Negroes are actually slum-dwelling persons. Many contemporary social scientists, such as Zawadshi (90) and Ichheiser(38) point out that minority groups are often not blameless, but that their plight is not helped by stereotypes, traditions, and scapegoating.

The tendency of most contemporary social scientists is to stress a multiplicity of causal factors underlying the creating of prejudice.

Although a mass of literature dealing with race prejudice and relations has appeared over the years, only a few works have become classics in the field.

The most comprehensive of all is Gordon W. Allport's The Nature of Prejudice (2). In this work, Allport has produced a thorough and penetrating study of prejudice by calling upon the theories and experimental studies of many psychologists, sociologists, social workers and anthropologists.

Adorno et al's The Authoritarian Personality (1) is a massive study seeking, through the use of many scientific methods, to delve into the personality of the prejudiced person. Intensive clinical interviews were found to be the most useful tools. The anti-democratic or authoritarian personality was exposed as being the most prejudiced.

Rose and Rose's American Divided (74) deals with the position of the various minority groups in American life. The history, present problems and situations of all the major American minority groups are discussed by the authors.

Gunnar Myrdal (65) has produced an objective study of the Negro problem, in his An American Dilemma. Dr. Myrdal, a Swedish economist, was brought to America specifically to undertake the investigation. His penetrating work is one of the few undertaken in America by an outsider.

The North American Indian: A Minority Group

The vast majority of studies pertaining to North American Indians has been of a sociological or anthropological nature, studies of child rearing, habits, family structure, tribal customs and anatomical characteristics of various Indian tribes.

However, only a few studies have dealt with the relationship of White and Indian.

E. S. Bogardus (5) using his Social Distance scale, included the American Indian in several of his studies. In one study, 110 Pacific Coast businessmen and teachers were asked to rate 23 ethnic groups by the Bogardus Social Distance Scale. These subjects ranked the Indian as the 19th most popular. In a much larger study, Bogardus used 1725 native-born Americans as subjects. They ranked the Indian as 25th among 40 ethnic groups.

Havighurst and Neugarten (35) used a battery composed of Piaget type tests of Moral Judgement, Free Drawings Test, the Emotional Response Test and the Moral Ideology Test to study about a thousand children, six to eighteen years of age, from five Southwestern Indian tribes and one Plains tribe. For the purpose of comparison and contrast they carried out a similar study in typical Midwest communities. They report the common values and aversions, moral attitudes and basic emotional relationships of the children in each of these groups.

Rose and Rose (74 p.163) report that although four states prohibit marriage between Indians and Whites, and one prohibits marriage between Indians and Negroes, Indians experience less social discrimination and segregation in the United States than do Negroes and Orientals. They go on to say "....when they (Indians and Mexicans) have learned general American cultural forms, (they) tend to be accepted almost as much as descendants of immigrants from Europe."

However, Marden (58 p.332) points out that the attitude towards Indians ranges from that of the "noble savage" to that of the "savage beast". Often Whites consider them to be "lazy, dirty, immoral drunks".

Even the well-educated Indian, who attempts to live in the White man's world encounters remarks such as "Educated Indians are neither fish nor fowl. They give me the creeps". Marden goes on to say "In the case of those Indians either working off the reservations or residing in white communities, discrimination against them as Indians, aggravates still further personality maladjustments." (58 p.341). Therefore, the Indian tends to remain Indian socially and culturally, making little or no effort to "pass" into the majority society.

The Canadian Indian

Dallyn and Earle used a Likert type scale, composed of sixteen items, to evaluate intensity and direction of attitudes towards Indians and people of Indian descent. The studies were carried out in three Manitoba towns, Selkirk (21), Portage la Prairie (22), and The Pas (23). In each of the studies, prejudice was found to exist to some degree. Especially prominent were stereotypes concerning the dirtiness, laziness, irresponsibility and lack of skills of Indians. However, there was a general willingness to allow the Indian equal education and job opportunities, and to admit the Indian's ability to progress in school.

All three studies indicate that the educational level of the non-Indian population influenced the amount of prejudice towards Indians. Persons with only elementary school education objected to their children playing with Indians, to having Indians at a party, to hiring Indians as teachers. These objections decreased as the education level increased, until no objections of this sort were shown by university graduates. Persons who have to compete economically

with Indians are reported by the authors to exhibit the most prejudice.

With the exception of The Pas study (23) that showed some contradictory results, the amount of contact with Indians was observed to have little effect on the amount of prejudice. Little or no contact was associated with approximately the same amount of prejudice as close contact.

These three studies, the only ones that come close to the present study are well summarized by the authors with (22 p.22):

"The conclusion is that there is not a wide-spread incidence of extreme prejudice towards Indians and persons of Indian descent, but, enough prejudice exists in significant areas of contact that its effect will be felt by the Indians. The persons he is most likely to work with and have social contact with in the urban centre, are the people who seem to be more highly prejudiced towards him.

.... It may also be concluded that more education makes people more tolerant of the Indian's need to be accepted and recognized in the community."

Due to the scarcity of scientific studies of prejudice against Indians, it is necessary to survey the American studies of anti-Negro and anti-Semitic feeling. In the following section, some of these investigations of factors influencing prejudice towards minorities are discussed.

Age Changes in Race Awareness

Awareness of, and prejudice towards, other races seem to develop to various degrees in different cultures with the maturation and socialization of the individual.

Criswell (18) in a large sociometric study of Negro and White classrooms in New York City reports self-preference in Whites from kindergarten onwards. The Negroes did not show a self-preference until grade five. Young minority group children often gave choices to very popular majority group members. But by grade six, both majority and minority groups showed preference for their own members.

In one study (31) Goodman reports that Negro preschool children prefer White dolls, people and fictional heroes, while her study of 100 four-year-old nursery children (32) reveals that the Negro children were much more sensitive to race than were White children. This awareness of racial differences is reported to increase in older and brighter children.

Allport (2 ch.18) believes that the young child, at first, is just curious about racial differences. He cites examples of children verbalizing prejudices against Negroes and Japanese when they themselves are of these racial origins. Later, as they straighten out the facts, they find that by keeping to their own racial and ethnic group they are assured of friends. They therefore have no need to learn new habits of social intercourse.

Lambert and Taguchi (47) contend that racial and ethnic prejudice is exhibited in even quite young children. They used a sociometric variation, utilizing the giving away of candy and having one's picture taken with another, in order to get very meaningful criteria for pre-school children. They report significant cleavage between Oriental and Accidental children under these conditions.

At the high school level, several studies report quite pronounced cleavages between races. Loomis (52) reports cleavages between American and Spanish-American high school students in the Southwest. Lundberg and Dickson (53) found greater self-preference among Jewish high school students than among Protestant or Roman Catholic students.

Mann (57) studied college and adult groups through the use of the sociometric technique. He found that graduate students, both Negro and White, tend to prefer their own race. Older White graduate students exhibit greater self-preference than do older Negro graduates. These same Whites appear to be more aware of the element of prejudice embodied in their self-preferences than do the Negroes. However, with regard to the degree of awareness of the other group's tendency toward self-preference, the author notes that Negroes seem superior.

It would appear that, as age increases, minority group members tend to bank together. They can live their lives together, ignoring to some extent their rejection by the majority. There is safety in the in-group and from this develops a prejudice in favour of their own group.

Self-preferences of Boys and of Girls

The Griswell study (18 p.80) provides one of the best analyses of the racial preferences of boys and of girls. She concludes that "Girls accept small minorities more readily than large minorities, while conversely boys more easily adjust to large minorities than to small ones."

Influence of Concentration of Minority Groups

Williams (86 p.57) stated the following sociocultural law: "Migration of a visibly different group into a given area increases the likelihood of conflict; the probability of conflict is the greater (a) the larger the ratio of the incoming minority to the resident population and (b) the more rapid the influx". This hypothesis has been shown to hold up in general. For example, introduce one Negro, Jewish or immigrant child into a classroom and he will likely become the pet of the classroom. But increase the number of these children and they will likely be considered by the majority group as a threat. In some cases they become the group's scapegoats.

Usually, there is greater intensity of prejudiced feeling as the minority density increases. However, the rate of increase is found to be just as important as the ratio per se of minority members. Boston's 1832 Broad Street Riot was precipitated by a very rapid influx of Irish immigrants, the 1943 Detroit riot by the invasion of Negro war production workers, and the 1943 Los Angeles zoot-suit riot by the arrival of Mexican labourers. The greatest unrest in Chicago has occurred in densely populated Negro areas (90,000 persons per square mile in one area). Rapid influx of Puerto Ricans, Cubans, or Negroes into New York has periodically started trouble in that city.

Weaver (84) points out that individual Negro families have been accepted when they entered upper or middle income residential areas. However, most minority groups tend to congregate in one area, making for less communication with the majority group. When

the minority group is visibly identifiable, this tendency to congregate is increased.

These studies, while not postulating the factors of density of minority concentration as direct causes of prejudice, suggest that they often affect existing prejudices.

The Effect of Contact on Racial Prejudice

Studies investigating the effect of contact between persons of different racial and ethnic groups have revealed that the deciding factor in determining whether prejudice will be reduced is not the amount of contact, nor contact per se, but the nature of the contact.

Casual contact has generally been found to increase prejudice. This is easily explained by the fact that with casual contact one perceives only those signs that tend to confirm established stereotypes. Enduring and effective communication does not come about by casual contact.

F. T. Smith (77) was one of the first to investigate the effect of contact on attitudes towards minority groups. Forty-six graduate students in education visited prominent Negroes in Harlem on two consecutive weekends. Smith reports a marked improvement in attitudes towards Negroes registered by these graduate students. He further reports that this improvement had persisted upon retesting a year later.

Stouffer's studies (79 vol. II p.570) of the United States Army of Occupation in Germany point out that with greater personal contact the Americans had more favourable attitudes towards Germans.

An investigation by Kramer (45) of the attitudes of White persons living at varying distances from the Negro community revealed attitudes varying considerably in content. He reports that close to the Negro community there was less stereotyping on the subject of the uncleanness, smell, and disease of the Negroes, but much more concern about social mixing, White and Negro children playing together, and intermarriage than there was in communities situated further from the Negro community.

White persons in the Deutsch and Collins study (25 p.82) who lived in integrated housing units perceived fewer differences between Whites and Negroes than did those living in segregated housing units.

B. K. MacKenzie's study (56) of the effect of contact on prejudice testifies to the importance of underlying economic factors. He found that Whites exhibited less prejudice towards skilled and professional Negroes than towards unskilled Negro labourers.

The very vigorous antidiscrimination policy of the National Maritime Union has resulted in much more favourable attitudes of White seamen towards their Negro shipmates (46 p.514-515).

During World War II, White American soldiers displayed more favourable attitudes towards Negroes when in close combat association with them, than when in segregated combat units. Stouffer's account The American Soldier cites several examples of this (79 Vol. I CH.10).

Works (87) in a study from the point of view of the Negro minority, concludes that integrated housing also helps to diminish anti-White feeling in the Negro.

Yarrow et al (88) studied a two-week integrated children's camp. They report that the children selected both White and Negro children as desirable friends by the end of the camping period.

One can sum up the effect of contact on prejudice by citing Allport (2 p.264) - "Only the type of contact that leads people to do things together is likely to result in changed attitudes".

Critique of Previous Investigations

The preceding review of the literature dealing with racial and ethnic prejudice has shown the scarcity of research investigating prejudice towards Indian and Metis. Studies of the effects of contact, age, sex, concentration and personality, on prejudiced attitudes and practices have been concerned primarily with anti-Semitism and anti-Negro feeling.

No studies which have attempted to investigate groups comprised of both Canadian Indians and White Canadians were located. The present study will attempt to examine a cross section (in terms of age, sex and minority concentration) of such groups. Through the use of the sociometric technique, it is hoped that meaningful interpersonal relations between Indian and White members will be revealed.

CHAPTER II

THE INVESTIGATION: MATERIAL, SUBJECTS AND PROCEDURE

I. THE PROBLEM

The previous discussion revealed that research dealing with the relations between Whites and Canadian Indians and Metis is almost non-existent. This scarcity of scientific data coupled with recent interracial disputes prompted the execution of this study. Its aim is to investigate the extent to which age and minority concentration affect racial cleavage in Indian - White groups. The sociometric technique will be used to measure the cleavages, if any, that exist in Indian - White groups.

II. THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN

The American Indian is the aboriginal race of the Americas. Anthropologists classify both the Americal Indians and the Eskimos as Arctic Mongol racial groups (subraces of the Mongoloid race) (36 p.64). When Columbus arrived in America, it is believed that most of the American Indians were living in Stone Age cultures. The most advanced tribes at that time were located in Central America and the middle Andean country of South America. Those living in territory now constituting Canada and the United States were much more primitive.

Most modern anthropologists recognize nine cultural groups among the North American Indians. These groups are classified with respect to rather generalized geographical areas and to typical customs and habits. The nine cultural groups are the Plains, Eastern Woodland, Southeastern, Southwest, California, North Pacific Coast, Mackenzie and Arctic.

The Canadian Indian

In Canada six of the nine cultural groups are represented.

These tribes are as follows:

1. Plains: Blackfoot (Blackfoot, Piegan and Blood), Sarcee, Assiniboine (Stonies) and a branch of Cree.
2. Eastern Woodlands: the migratory Micmaes, Maleciti, Montagnais, Naskapi, Algonkins, Ojibwa, Cree and the extinct Beothuk and the agricultural Iroquois (Seneca, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Mohawk), Hurons and the extinct Tobaccos and Neutrals.
3. Pacific Coast: Tlinkit, Tsimshian, Haida, Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, Nootka and Salishan.
4. Cordillera (Plateau): Salishan, Kootenay, Chilcotin, Carriers, Tsetsaut, Tahltan and Tagish.
5. Mackenzie and Yukon River Basins: Sekani, Beaver, Chipewyan, Yellowknives, Dogribs, Slaves, Hare, Nakani and Kutchin.
6. Arctic: Eskimos on the shores of the Arctic Ocean, Hudson Bay and Labrador peninsula.

As of March 31, 1960 Canadian Indians (excluding Eskimos) numbered over 180,000 persons. They were grouped into 562 bands on 2,217 reserves and occupied 6,022,795 acres of land (26). Of Canada's eighteen million persons, this once dying race is now the country's fastest growing ethnic group.

The Canadian Government's treatment of the Indian has been entirely different from that meted out to their Indians by any other North or South American government. Collier says of Canada -

"But it means much that there is one Commonwealth in the Western world - there is only one - which from beginning to end has shown moral integrity in dealing with Indians and has kept the faith." (14 p.176). Collier points out that Canada has respected the Indian landholdings, made fair treaties and never broken them, and has developed a flexible Canadian Indian law which is known for its fairness and common sense. The tribes were never turned one against another, nor were they oppressed by military forces. Land allotments were never forced upon Indians, band funds were not appropriated nor diverted, nor was corruption tolerated in the Indian Affairs Branch. The Canadian picture is even more remarkable when one considers that south of the Canadian border, during the 1870's and 1880's, branches of the same tribes were locked in bloody battle with the United States Army after having been victimized by the American Government.

On May 26th, 1874, the Canadian Government passed An Act providing for the organization of the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, and for the Management of Indian and Ordnance Lands, which became Chapter 42 of the Statutes of 1868. At this time the Indian was given land and many of the privileges that he still enjoys. In 1951, An Act Respecting Indians (commonly known as the Indian Act) became Chapter 149 of the 1868 statutes. This act carefully delineated the Canadian Indian's position and rights. The two acts can be summarized as follows: all band members were to be joint owners of their land; the reserves were to have schools, health projects, medical treatment, roads, bridges, etc; the Indian,

his wife and family were to have most of the usual rights of a Canadian citizen; bands could make loans in order to finance the purchase of livestock, seed, vehicles, farm machinery, cooperative projects, etc., and instruction was to be provided for any of these enterprises.

The Indian Act also outlines the manner in which the bands govern themselves. Each band was to elect a chief and also one councillor for each 100 band members. There was to be a minimum of two councillors and a maximum of twelve. All officials were to serve two year terms. Any by-law that was not inconsistent with the Indian Act could be passed by these Councils.

Family Allowances, Old Age Security, Old Age Assistance, Blind Persons' Allowances, Disabled Persons' Allowances and other social welfare assistance plans were all made available to Canadian Indians.

Up until quite recently liquor was forbidden on the reserves. However, each reserve is now like any other community in this respect - it may call for a referendum to express its wishes on the liquor question.

The final right given to the Canadian Indian was the enfranchisement. This 1960 Legislation gave the franchise to all Indian adults. The first to exercise their new privilege were those of the Hiawatha Reserve at Rice Lake, Ontario, when they voted in an Ontario federal by-election on October 31, 1960. All adult Canadian Indians have the privilege of casting their ballots for the first time in a federal election on June 18th, 1962.

Several Indians have become well-known Canadian figures.

Among these are the valiant warrior chief Joseph Brant; Peguis, the Saulteaux chief who made the land treaty with Lord Selkirk; Crowfoot, the Blackfoot chief who kept the peace on the prairies; the poetess Pauline Johnson; the great Indian athlete, Tom Longboat, and the Honorable James Gladstone, the first and only Treaty Indian to be appointed, to date, to the Canadian Senate.

The Indians of Manitoba

The Indian Affairs Branch of the federal government which has its Manitoba Regional Office in Winnipeg has eight Indian Agencies located throughout the province. Within the Branch's jurisdiction are slightly more than 24,000 Manitoban Indian persons (23,658 as of December 31, 1959.) (11). These people are grouped in fifty bands on 107 reserves and occupy 524,241.11 acres of land. (11). There are also many other persons of mixed (Indian and White) blood. These persons, known as half-breeds or Metis are not included in the above total, nor do they usually enjoy the privileges and rights of treaty Indians.

The bands in the northern and north-western parts of the province are from the Chipewyan tribe. The widespread Cree tribe occupies a huge wedge of forest-covered land that commences along the full extent of the Manitoba-Ontario border, sweeps across central Manitoba and terminates in the Flin Flon - The Pas area. A few of the Ojibwa tribe occupy the southeastern portion of the province. The Assiniboine tribe ranges over the prairie sections of Manitoba. A small pocket of Pipestone Sioux, for the most part a United States tribe,

is found in the extreme south-west corner of Manitoba. This is the²⁴ geographic distribution of Manitoban Indian bands (40).

Many of Manitoba's Indians still follow the traditional occupations of hunting, trapping and fishing. This is especially true in the forest lands of eastern and northern Manitoba. In some of the new northern inland lake commercial fishing areas, fish filleting plants have been established by the Indians. In some areas, the harvesting of seneca root, frogs, and wild rice, the selling of handicrafts, the guiding of fishing and hunting parties, and other minor traditional occupations supplement the incomes of the bands.

Many Indians are also engaged in non-traditional occupations. These include mining, logging, microwave construction; pipe line work, hydro construction and seasonal occupations such as sugar beet harvesting, road construction, and land clearing. In a few areas of Manitoba, bands have embarked upon agriculture and stock raising. At present 152 Indians farm their own holdings (11). Livestock raising is becoming increasingly more popular among Manitoba bands. The Civil Service also hires Indians as fire wardens, guides, and Indian and Northern Health Services employees.

Living standards are being improved on most reserves. This is being accomplished by the provision of new and multiple-roomed houses, better sanitary facilities, sewage disposals, water supplies, bridges, roads, and schools. There is also a growing participation by the Indians in solving their own community problems. One of the most remarkable achievements is the very successful cooperative store at Norway House. Half the shareholders and directors of this venture are Indians.

In addition to supplying welfare assistance, many agencies are participating in the provision of community leadership training programs. The famous community action program of St. Francis Xavier University (91) has been closely followed by a number of bands. Adult Education courses in such areas as child care, home-making, carpentry, various trades, handicrafts, and literature have proven their worth. Most bands have formed their own Homemaker's Clubs, 4-H Clubs, young people's groups, health and welfare action committees, and children's clubs.

In Winnipeg, the Community Development Services, the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, Indian and Metis Friendship Center, Welfare Council and churches assist Manitoban Indians in entering urban life.

Educational facilities are made available to the Indians in accordance with the Indian Act - Indian schools are established, operated, and maintained by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, provincial governments, local public school boards or religious groups. These schools are provided with buildings, all standard classroom supplies, texts, references, teaching aids, library facilities, residences, sports equipment, transportation and many other educational facilities. All Indian children from 7 to 16 years of age are required to attend school.

Indian day and residential schools have the same curriculum as other public schools in the same province. In addition, they have special athletic, interest and club groups - 4-H, Scouts, Guides, Junior Red Cross, hockey, and basketball. Special guidance

programs are provided for the teachers, principals, supervisors and other staff members.

In 1957, the band councils were empowered by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration to appoint school committees to advise and assist the local school and school board. This liason helps the school to meet specific needs of the individual Indian and band.

The Indian Affairs Branch will provide for the Indian's education, even to the extent of a university education for hard working, capable students. Noreover, each year forty scholarships are made available to outstanding Canadian Indian students. Young people with low academic standing, who are not in a position to follow the traditional pursuits, are now being provided with rehabilitation training. In Manitoba, the Sanatorium Board assists in the rehabilitation of physically handicapped Indians.

A program of integrating Indian children into public schools was introduced several years ago in Manitoba. This integration program is being expanded each year. Even high schools in certain parts of the province now have quite high enrolments of Indian students.

More qualified Indian students are now entering high school, professional and vocational training schools. The number of dropouts is steadily decreasing.

Improved facilities, winter transportation and greater parental interest are bringing about this change.

In Manitoba, there are 89 government-owned Indian Schools and 11 residential schools. As of January 1, 1960, there were 1,435 Indian pupils in Manitoba residential schools, 480 in provincial, private and territorial schools and 212 residential school boarders in non-Indian schools. (11).

III. THE TEST: THE SOCIOMETRIC TECHNIQUE

The Nature and Purpose of the Test

The sociometric technique was introduced by J. L. Morneo in Who Shall Survive? (61) in 1934. According to Northway (68) "A Sociometric test is a means for determining the degree to which individuals are accepted in a group, for discovering the relationships which exist among these individuals, and for disclosing the structure of the group itself."

The test constitutes asking each member of a group, which other members of the group he would like to have join him in a certain activity. From the answers received, the total number of choices received is calculated for each individual, giving him his "sociometric status" score, or "choice-status" or "social acceptance" score.

His "social receptiveness" score is constituted of the number of different individuals who have chosen him. For many studies it is quite important to note the particular individuals constituting the "social receptiveness" score for the individual in question.

His "emotional expansion" score is constituted of the number of different individuals who he has chosen.

The sociometric questions asked are always stated in the conditional case, enquiring, "if all things were possible and if you had absolutely free choice, with whom would you wish to participate?"

The areas for participation, the so-called "criteria", must be chosen by the investigator so that they are suitable and meaningful to the particular group being investigated.

Since its introduction, sociometry has often been used to study groups for cleavages along minority groups lines. In some ways, it has proven to be more valuable than questionnaires and surveys in studying prejudice. Lindzey and Borgatta (51 p. 426) explain, as follows, its value for this purpose:

"Where the sociometric technique is administered to groups containing appreciable numbers of one or more minority groups, a much more direct and satisfactory measure of prejudice can be obtained. Various ratios or indices representing the relative choice by each individual of minority and majority group members can be obtained. Such a measure possesses obvious advantages because it gets away from the abstract, class notion of the minority group member. Instead of asking the respondent to verbalize his attitudes toward the Protestant, Jew, Catholic or Negro, he is asked to select those individuals with whom he would like to associate in various activities, and perhaps those with whom he would not like to associate. A measure based on this kind of evidence represents not the subject's generalization concerning his relations with minority group members, when they have been identified as minority group members, but rather an indication of whether this person actually uses minority labels as criteria in the process of determining with whom he will interact."

Reliability of the Sociometric Test.

The term reliability, in the sense of consistency of test

results, can not be applied as directly to sociometric measures as it can to intelligence tests, aptitude tests and interest inventories. Lindzey and Borgatta (51 p. 420-422) point out that the sociometric test would be inadequate if it did not indicate variation due to actual changes in group structure and to the passage of time. As human groups are constantly changing, a test which showed great consistency over time, would actually be revealing its own insensitivity. It is therefore very important when reporting sociometric reliabilities, to specify the nature of the group, the questions used, the number of choices allowed and the test-retest period.

In spite of these problems, many reliability studies have been carried out. These studies have provided us with certain generalizations on the reliability of sociometric measures.

Mouton, Blake and Fruchter (62) analyzed 53 different studies dealing with the reliability of sociometric measures either given or received. These test-retest studies with various sized groups utilized time intervals between test and retest of one day to one year. The reported correlation coefficients, ranging from .50 to .95, suggest that group members are capable of making consistent sociometric choices; but these investigators note that the degree of reliability of the choices is influenced by certain factors. For example, they found evidence that the more relevant the criteria were to the group, the more consistent the sociometric choices. Moreover, the choices were found to be more stable in the case of adults than with children. The retest correlation increased as the degree of acquaintance between the subjects increased. Greater consistency in the measures also was found when more choices were to be made. Lastly,

the retest correlation became lower as the time interval between test and retest increased.

Validity of the Sociometric Test

Lindzey and Borgatta (51 p.422-424) point out that with sociometric devices, the testing of validity - "whether the test measures what it purports to measure" - is fraught with difficulty. If the test claims to measure no more than verbal choice behaviour, then no demonstration of validity is required. Moreover, differences between choice behaviour as revealed by sociometry and overt choice behaviour do not necessarily prove that one measure is invalid.

In order to make sociometric responses most valid, it has been emphasized by Moreno (61) and others that the criteria used must be meaningful to the individuals and if at all possible restructuring of the group must follow the sociometric test. Careful consideration of these factors has resulted in studies that have shown moderately high correlations between sociometric choices and overt behaviour.

In evaluating the validity of sociometric studies, Mouton et al (63) examined 34 industrial, military and educational situations validity studies. Evaluations against a criterion measure were made either for individual members of the group or for the group on a "team basis". They found that sociometric studies were able to predict the performance criteria of morale, cooperation, cohesiveness, productivity, leadership and combat effectiveness. It is this "predictive validity" that has proven sociometry's worth as a research tool.

IV. THE SUBJECTS

The subjects used in this investigation were 682 students from twenty classrooms in various public schools of the Portage la Prairie, Rosburn, Elphinstone, and Erickson districts of Manitoba. The classrooms tested were drawn from grades 2, 4, 6, 8, 10. Each of these levels was represented by four groups differing in degree of minority concentrations as follows: (a) 1 or 2, (b) 3 or 4, (c) 5 to 7, (d) 8 or more Indian and Metis members in an average classroom of thirty to forty students.

The primary and elementary classrooms were from the Rosburn, Elphinstone and Erickson schools. The Indian children live on nearby reserves and are brought by bus or car to school each day. Several of these children are believed by school officials to be Metis (of mixed blood). For the purposes of this study they were classified as Indian. The White children came from nearby farms or from homes in the towns that service the surrounding agricultural areas.

The junior and senior high school classrooms were drawn from the Portage la Prairie schools. The Indian students come from various reserves in the province and during the school year reside in the Portage la Prairie Residential School. Some of these children board in White homes due to the shortage of bed space in the Residential School. A few of the Indian children live on a nearby reserve. Many of the White children come from the surrounding grain and dairy farms. The remaining White children come from Portage la Prairie, the dairy, marketing and manufacturing center for the district.

The test was also administered to additional classrooms of grades 6 to 8 inclusive, in the Portage la Prairie district. The purpose

of this testing was to investigate the interrelationships of White and Indians as a function of the Indian children living in the residential school as opposed to boarding in white homes. During the school year 1961 - 1962 there were 63 students of the above mentioned grades in the residential school and 8 boarding in White homes. Boarding out was necessitated when the enrolment in September, 1961 exceeded the bed space of the Residential School. Children in grades 6, 7, and 8 were randomly assigned to either the residential school or the White homes.

All of the classrooms had been in operation since September, 1961. Thus the members had been together, as a group, for a period of seven months.

The adult subjects were 139 unskilled, semiskilled and skilled male workers in four Manitoba lumber and construction camps. The four groups ranging in size from twenty-five to forty-four, differed in degree of minority concentration as follows: (a) 1 or 2, (b) 3 or 4, (c) 5 to 7) (d) 8 or more Indian and Metis members.

The White workers came primarily from the larger towns and cities of the more densely populated areas of Canada. Many of the unskilled White workers were very recent immigrants to Canada. The majority of Whites considered their jobs to be somewhat temporary, and hoped to find employment further south in the future. The Indians and Metis in the groups usually came from the bands close to the work project.

Accurate records of the educational level of the workers were not available. However, casual conversations and discussions revealed educational levels ranging from no formal education to high school education or the completion of tradesmen's courses. The three

groups with the largest concentrations of minority group members were all composed of unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled workmen. The group with only two Indians in it was composed of skilled workmen and tradesmen, a few semi-skilled workers, and no unskilled laborers.

Although there is always some changing of personnel in these work groups, most of the men in these four groups had been working together on the same project since the onset of winter (November, 1961). Thus, most of the members had been together, as a group, for about six months.

Table I below summarizes the average ages and numbers of White and Indian subjects at each grade level.

TABLE I
AVERAGE AGE (IN YEARS) AND NUMBER OF SUBJECTS BY GRADES

Grades	2		4		6		8		10		Adult	
	Age	N	Age	N	Age	N	Age	N	Age	N	Age	N
Whites	7.9	109	9.4	111	11.6	105	13.9	121	15.8	126	#	113
Indians	8.6	24	10.9	22	13.4	23	16.2	23	17.2	18	#	26

figures not available

V. THE PROCEDURE

The procedure used in this study was the sociometric test as described by Moreno (6) and Northway (68). The criteria used were two in number - "If you had your choice of all the boys and girls in this class, whom would you like to have sit near you?" and "If you had your choice of all the boys and girls in this class, whom would you like to

have work with you on a class project?" Three choices were allowed for each criterion.

In order to establish the greatest degree of rapport and to help make the criteria most meaningful to the subjects, it was decided that the class teachers should administer the test to their own groups. However, all scoring and drawing of target sociograms were carried out by the author.

The test was administered in group form to each of the classes of children. The teachers of each of the experimental classes were interviewed by the writer before the administration of the tests. Each teacher was provided with a class list blank, forty-five blank test sheets and a sheet of instructions. The author went over the instructions point by point, answered teachers' questions and clarified any ambiguities. Any modifications needed to ensure the meaningfulness of the questions to children of different ages were discussed and approved by the author. Teachers were encouraged by the author to restructure their classrooms if at all possible, according to their students' choices, but no promises of actual change were made to the students by the teachers. Restructuring of seating arrangements would have been impossible to carry out in some classrooms because of seating according to academic achievement, special facilities for handicapped children, special desks for left-handers and similar factors. It was assumed that the intrinsic interest of the sociometric questions would elicit valid responses from the subjects.

The instructions as given to the teachers were as follows:

TEACHER'S INSTRUCTIONS

1. You should have 1 Teacher's Instruction sheet, 1 Class List blank and 45 test blanks, all enclosed in a brown paper envelope.
2. Please read the following instructions carefully.
3. On the Class List blank, fill in the grade of your class. Then list the full name and age of each child in your class. If the child is either Indian or Metis, put a (✓) mark beside his name under the column headed I/M.
4. TO ADMINISTER THE TEST. Pass out one test blank to each child in your class. Then instruct as follows:

"Write your name in the proper space at the top of the page.

This is not a test, but we would like to know with whom you would like to do certain things at school.

1. Now, if you had your choice of all the boys and girls in this class whom would you like to have sit near you?

Name three people.

Decide by yourself and do not point or talk while you are thinking. When you have decided write the three names in the spaces below "SIT NEAR ME".

2. If you had your choice of all the boys and girls in this class, whom would you like to have work with you on a class project? Name three people.

Decide by yourself and do not point or talk while you are thinking. When you have decided write the three names in the spaces below "WORK WITH ME".

In reading the instructions be informal and use your own discretion in modifying the wording so as to be appropriate for your class' age and understanding.

The children may ask if they can choose children in another classroom. NO, they can not, only children in their own room may be chosen.

After all children have finished, collect all of the sheets.

5. Enclose all test sheets, the class list in the brown envelope and return it to the principal.
6. If some children are absent when the test is administered, keep the instruction sheet and enough test blanks for each absentee. As soon as these children return to school administer the test to them. Then return these completed test sheets to the principal also.
7. Thank you very much for your cooperation in this project.

Absentees were dealt with as outlined in No. 6 in the above instructions.

The procedure used for the adult group was the same as for the children with the following exceptions. The criteria, again two in number, were - "If you had your choice of all the men in this work group, whom would you like to have share a room with you?" and "If you had your choice of all the men in this work group, whom would you like to have work with you on your daily job?" Three choices were again allowed for each criterion.

In this case the author administered the test to each of the groups. As the groups had to be gathered together in the men's free

time, a small remuneration was paid to each individual for his participation. Those who could not write were assisted by the author or by friends.

There were no absentees in any of the adult groups.

The criteria used for the children's and the adult groups were chosen for their meaningfulness to individuals in the groups. Both adults and children were asked with whom they would like to work and with whom they would like to associate on a basis of even greater proximity - sharing a room or sitting near.

CHAPTER III

THE RESULTS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Target sociograms for each group, student and adult, along with the various self-preference ratios and other pertinent information on each group, are presented in Appendix "A".

The total, first and second criteria, and the male and female sums for each student group are reported in Appendix "B".

The total, first and second criteria, and the male and female sums for the five student age levels are presented in Appendix "C".

In Appendix "D" are the sums of each of the four student concentration levels.

In Appendix "E" are the sums for each of the four adult groups.

I. THE RESULTS

The results of the study will now be presented in two main divisions - first, the effect of age on racial cleavage and secondly, the effect of minority group concentration on racial cleavage. In each of these divisions the self-preference displayed by White and Indian students will be categorized as follows: total, "sit near", "work with", boys', girls', boys' "sit near", boys' "work with", girls' "sit near", and girls' "work with". The self-preferences of the adult groups will be similarly categorized. The chapter will conclude with the results and discussion of the sociometric testing of the grade six to eight Indian children living in residential school and in White homes.

Self-preference ratios (SPR) as devised by Criswell (18 p.21) were calculated for the analysis. This ratio expresses a "given racial group's preference for itself over another racial group" (51 p.416).

For example, a White SPR of 3.25 would indicate that Whites' preference for Whites was 3.25 times as great as their preference for Indians.

Throughout the discussion the following adjectives will be used with reference to various degrees of self-preference:

"statistically insignificant"	- usually SPR less than 2.00
"Moderate" self-preference	- SPR = 2.00 to 2.99
"high" self-preference	- SPR = 3.00 to 4.99
"very high" self-preference	- SPR = 5.00 to 9.99
"extreme" self-preference	- SPR = 10.00 and over

In order to establish the probability of the observed self-preference occurring by chance, chi-square tests were applied to each self-preference ratio. Yates's correction for continuity (55 p.230-231) was applied when one or more of the expected frequencies were less than ten.

Summary tables and graphs are provided to supplement the discussion of results.

Analysis of the School Classrooms

As shown in Table II, the 682 students in the study exhibited a preference for their own race 2.26 times as great as their preference for the other race. As this preference was statistically dependable ($P < .001$), it is concluded that racial cleavage existed in the sample drawn. The White children expressed a self-preference ratio of 3.77 and the Indian children a ratio of 2.83. Both of these ratios were statistically significant at the .001 level.

TABLE II

TOTAL SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS OF WHITE AND INDIAN CHILDREN
(ALL GRADE AND CONCENTRATION LEVELS INCLUDED)

	SPR	χ^2	P
Grand Total	2.26	331.12	.001
Whites	3.77	305.25	.001
Indians	2.83	187.68	.001

White and Indian Boys' and Girls' Self-Preference

In Table III are presented the SPRs, Chi-squares and levels of significance of the White and Indian boys and girls. All four groups exhibited statistically significant ($p < .001$) racial self-preferences. It can be seen that the White girls had the highest self-preference ratio (4.67). White boys and Indian boys had nearly identical self-preference ratios of 3.17 and 3.29, respectively. The lowest self-preference ratio, that of 2.43, was shown by the Indian girls.

TABLE III

WHITE AND INDIAN BOYS' AND GIRLS' SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS
(ALL GRADE AND CONCENTRATION LEVELS INCLUDED)

	Whites			Indians		
	SPR	χ^2	p	SPR	χ^2	p
Boys	3.17	129.15	.001	3.29	128.48	.001
Girls	4.67	180.54	.001	2.43	65.13	.001

Age (or Grade Level) Results

Total Self-Preference Ratio Changes as a Function of Grade Level

Self-preference ratios, chi-square values and levels of significance for both Whites and Indians at each of the five grade levels tested are shown in Table IV. These self-preference ratios are plotted in Figure I.

TABLE IV

TOTAL RACIAL SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS
AS A FUNCTION OF GRADE LEVEL

Grades	Whites			Indians		
	SPR	X ²	p	SPR	X ²	p
2	5.39	79.811	.001	1.45	4.261	.05
4	5.77	80.214	.001	4.73	135.837	.001
6	4.67	74.593	.001	2.56	31.699	.001
8	2.93	50.242	.001	3.49	58.773	.001
10	2.28	29.890	.001	3.36	40.628	.001

The White self-preference ratios were ~~dependable~~ at the .001 level at each of the five grade levels. The youngest grades (2 and 4) exhibited the greatest self-preference, but the ratios then progressively decreased to a low of 2.28 at the grade 10 level.

The Indian children, however, showed the opposite trend - that of self-preference increasing with advancing grade level. All self-preference ratios (except grade 2, $p < .05$) were statistically ~~dependable~~ at the .001 level. A gradual increase in the size of the self-preference



IF SHEET IS READ THIS WAY (HORIZONTALLY), THIS MUST BE TOP.

IF SHEET IS READ THE OTHER WAY (VERTICALLY), THIS MUST BE LEFT-HAND SIDE.

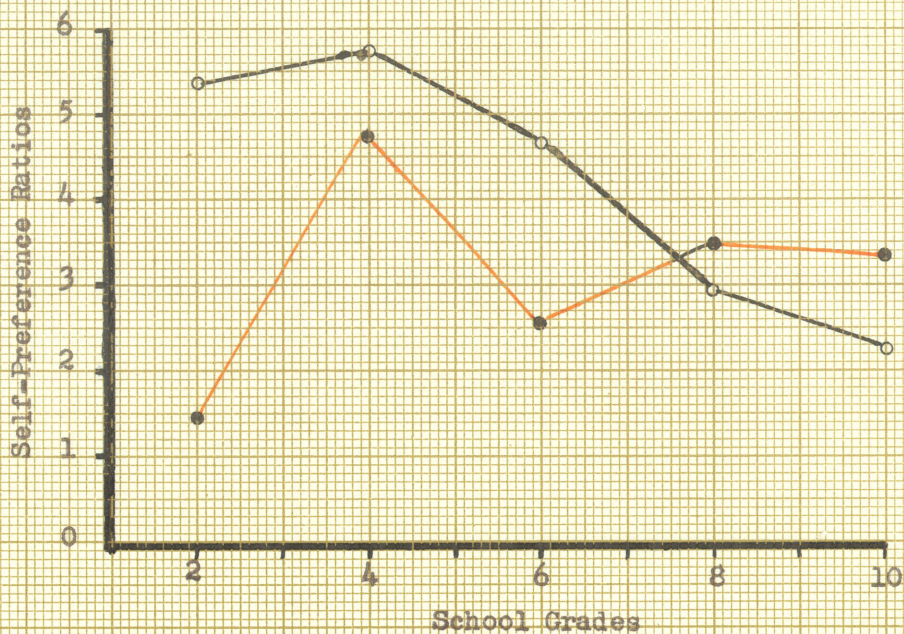


Figure 1. Grade Level Changes in Total Self-Preference Ratios.

—○— Whites

—●— Indians

THIS MARGIN RESERVED FOR BINDING.

ratios was contradicted by the Grade 4 ratio of 4.73, the highest exhibited at any level.

"Sit near" and "work with" Self-preference Ratio changes as a Function of Grade Level.

The total self-preference ratios were broken down into their criteria components - "sit near" and "work with". These ratios and levels of significance are presented in Table V and VI. The graphic representations of these ratios are presented in Figures 2 and 3.

TABLE V
"SIT NEAR" RACIAL SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS
AS A FUNCTION OF GRADE LEVEL

Grades	Whites			Indians		
	SPR	X ²	p	SPR	X ²	p
2	7.79	46.212	.001	1.70	4.732	.05
4	5.50	39.161	.001	5.69	62.323	.001
6	8.03	47.975	.001	3.25	26.739	.001
8	2.15	15.928	.001	4.02	38.321	.001
10	1.89	10.143	.01	3.82	24.246	.001

The White children showed very high self-preference ratios in Grades 2, 4 and 6 and much lower ratios in Grades 8 and 10 for the "sit near" criterion. However, except for the Grade 10's SPR of 1.89 ($p < .01$), all of these SPRs were dependable at .001 level.

For this criterion the Indian children showed dependable ($p < .001$) SPRs at all grade levels except grade 2 ($p < .05$). Their SPRs, slowly and irregularly, increased with age.

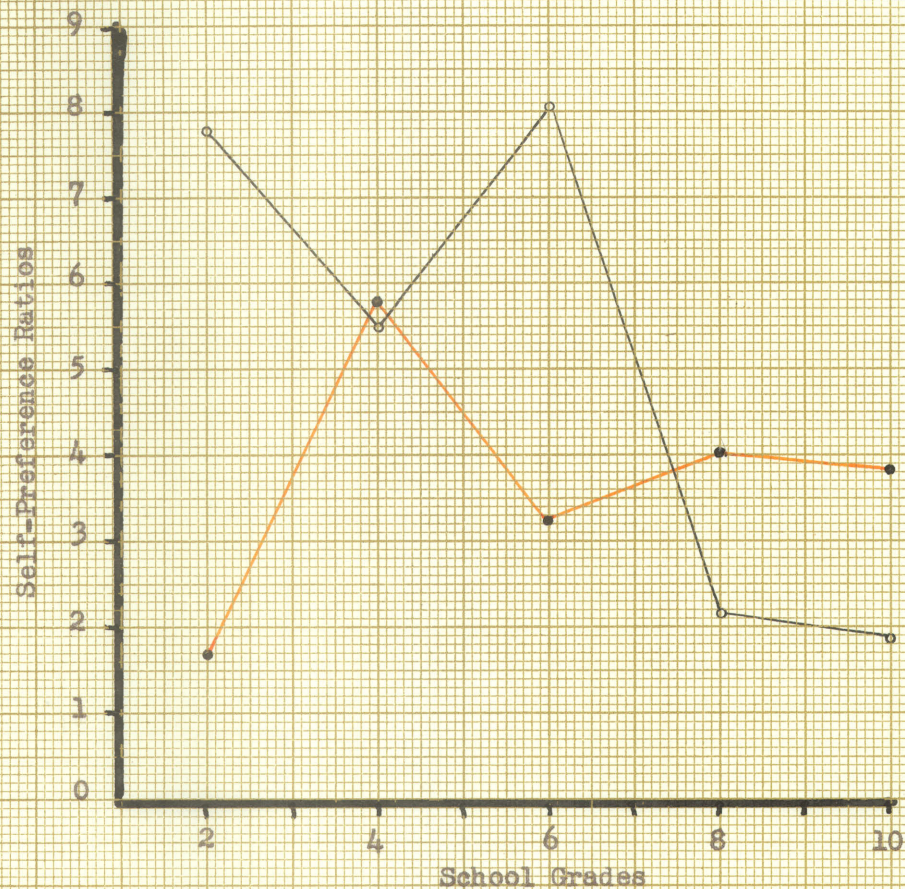


Figure 2. Grade Level Changes in "sit near" Self-Preference Ratios.

Whites Indians

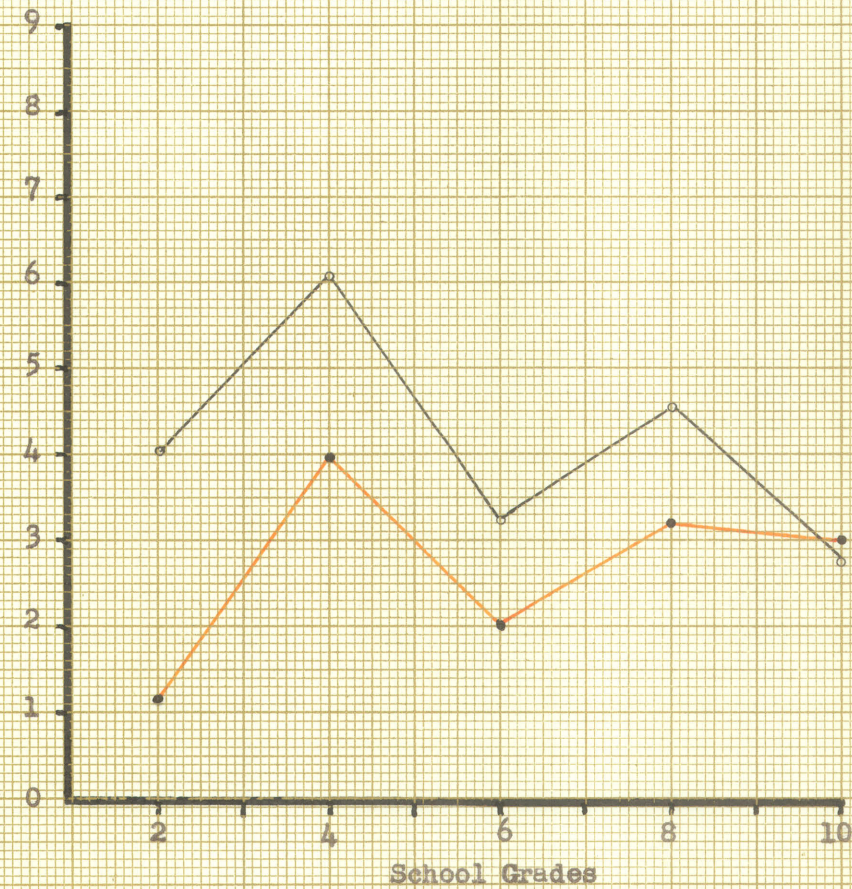


Figure 3. Grade Level Changes in "work with" Self-Preference Ratios.

Whites Indians

TABLE VI
 "WORK WITH" RACIAL SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS
 AS A FUNCTION OF GRADE LEVEL

Grades	Whites			Indians		
	SPR	X ²	p	SPR	X ²	p
2	4.07	33.136	.001	1.15	0.285	- -
4	6.07	41.064	.001	3.95	36.259	.001
6	3.26	27.999	.001	2.00	7.880	.01
8	4.57	37.597	.001	3.23	25.631	.001
10	2.73	18.727	.001	2.99	13.861	.001

At all grade levels the White students showed statistically dependable ($p < .001$) SPRs for the "work with" criterion. These ratios did show a very slight downward trend with age.

On the same criterion, the Indian children showed SPRs significant at .001 level at grades 4, 8 and 10. The grade 2 SPR was statistically insignificant and grade 6 SPR dependable at the .01 level.

The two curves closely parallel each other, (see Figure 3) with the Indians' SPRs being less than the Whites' except at grade 10. In general, the Whites' SPRs showed a slight downward trend and the Indians' SPRs a slight upward trend with age increase.

Boys' and Girls' Self-preference Ratio Changes as a Function of Grade Levels

The total self-preference ratios were broken down into boys' and girls' ratios for each grade level. These ratios and levels of significance

are presented in Tables VII and VIII. The graphic representations of these ratios are presented in Figures 4 and 5.

TABLE VII
BOYS' RACIAL SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS
AS A FUNCTION OF GRADE LEVEL

Grades	Whites			Indians		
	SPR	X ²	p	SPR	X ²	p
2	5.68	44.642	.001	2.83	7.632	.01
4	4.43	33.128	.001	3.62	20.694	.001
6	2.90	24.539	.001	3.91	23.621	.001
8	2.37	17.405	.001	4.51	14.194	.001
10	2.23	14.050	.001	4.81	33.214	.001

White boys' ratios were statistically dependable ($p < .001$), at each grade level. Their ratios began with a very high 5.68 at the grade 2 level and decreased with increasing grade level to the lowest ratio of 2.23 for grade 10 boys.

The Indian boys showed the opposite trend - that of increasing SPRs with increased grade level. The grade 2 SPR of 2.83 ($p < .01$) was the lowest shown by Indian boys. From grade 4 on, all SPRs were significant at the .001 level and increased to a high of 4.81 at grade 10.

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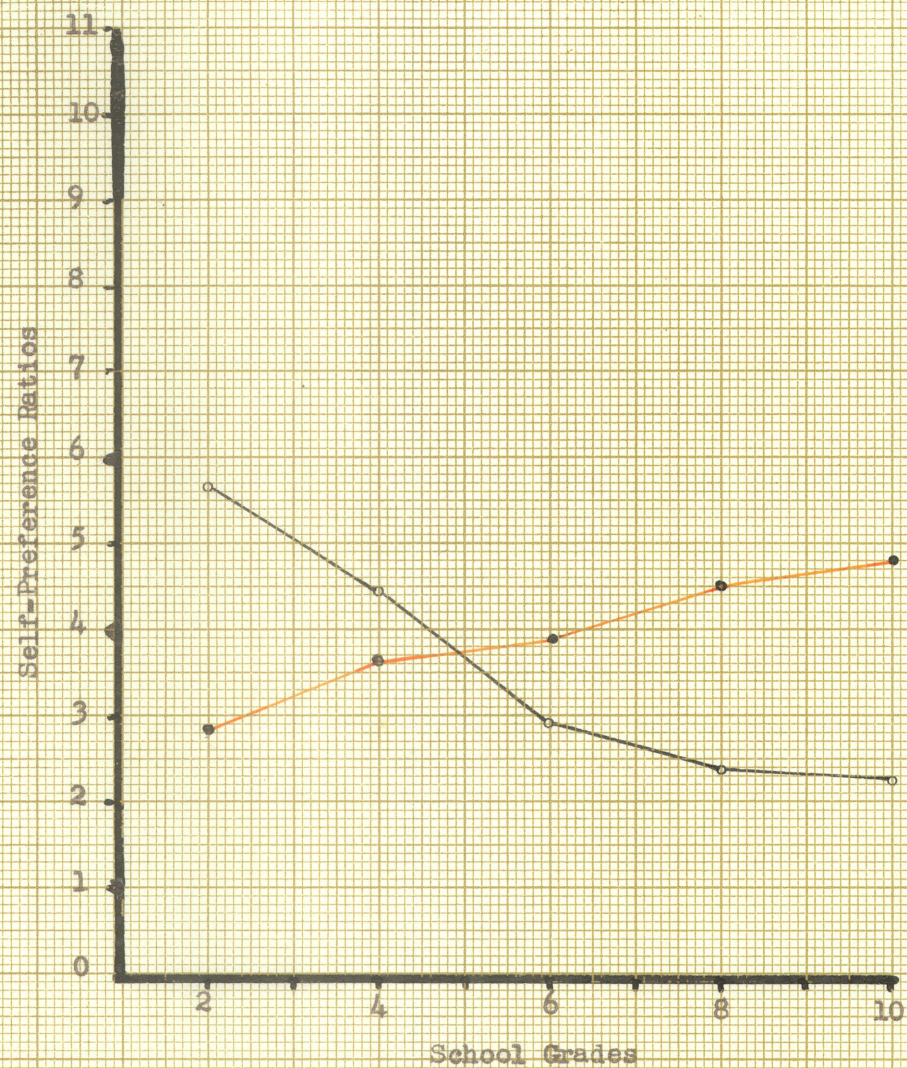


Figure 4. Grade Level Changes in Boys' Self-Preference Ratios.

— Whites — Indians

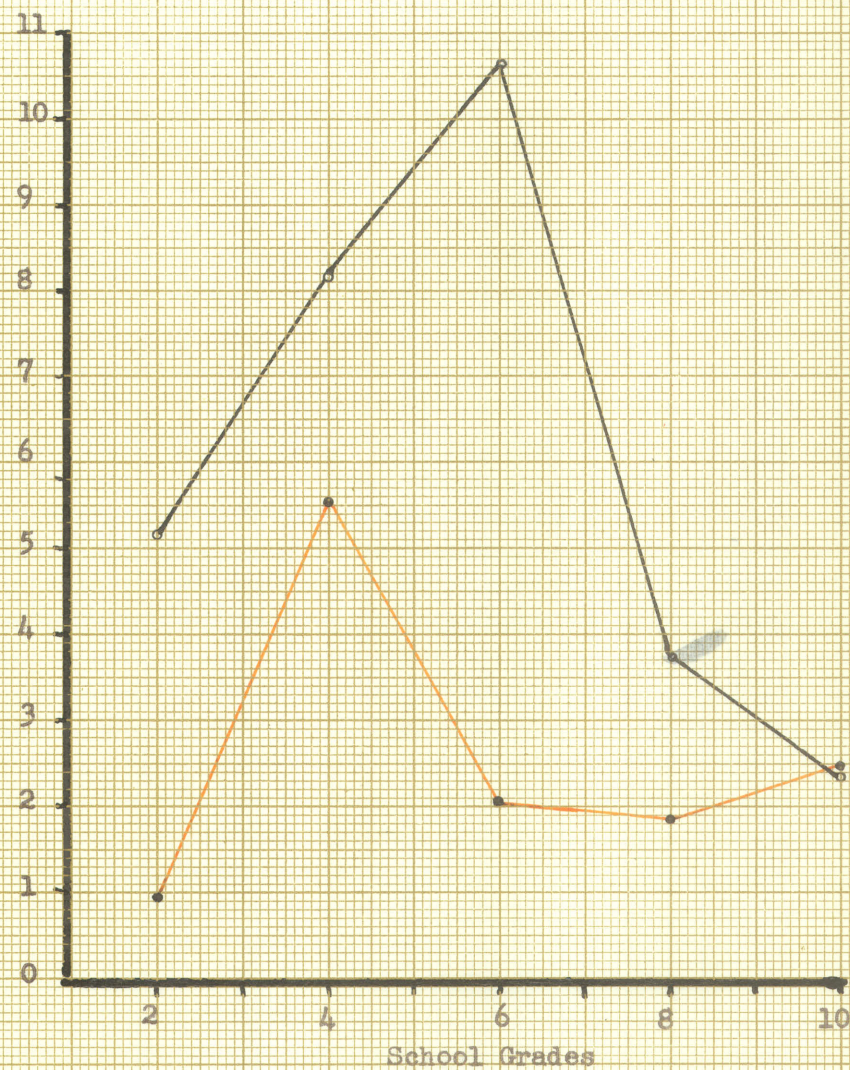


Figure 5. Grade Level Changes in Girls' Self-Preference Ratios.

— Whites — Indians

TABLE VIII
GIRLS' RACIAL SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS
AS A FUNCTION OF GRADE LEVEL

Grades	Whites			Indians		
	SPR	χ^2	p	SPR	χ^2	p
2	5.15	35.482	.001	.93	0.043	--
4	8.16	49.127	.001	5.54	76.003	.001
6	10.66	51.453	.001	2.08	11.982	.001
8	3.75	34.777	.001	1.84	2.924	.10
10	2.35	16.007	.001	2.47	9.031	.01

White girls exhibited high SPRs ($p < .001$) at all grade levels. A very high grade 2 SPR of 5.15 increased to an extremely high SPR of 10.66 at the grade 6 level and then rapidly decreased to 3.75 at grade 8 and 2.35 at grade 10.

The Indian girls showed relatively low SPRs at all levels, except at grade 4. The ratio was insignificant at grade 2, high (SPR 5.54, $p < .001$) at grade 4, and between 1.84 and 2.47 at the three most advanced grade levels.

Boys' "Sit near" and "Work with" Self-preference Ratio Changes as a Function of Grade Levels.

The boys' choices were broken down into their criteria components - "sit near" and "work with", at each grade level. Their ratios and levels of significance are presented in Tables IX and X. The graphic representations of these ratios are presented in Figures 6 and 7.

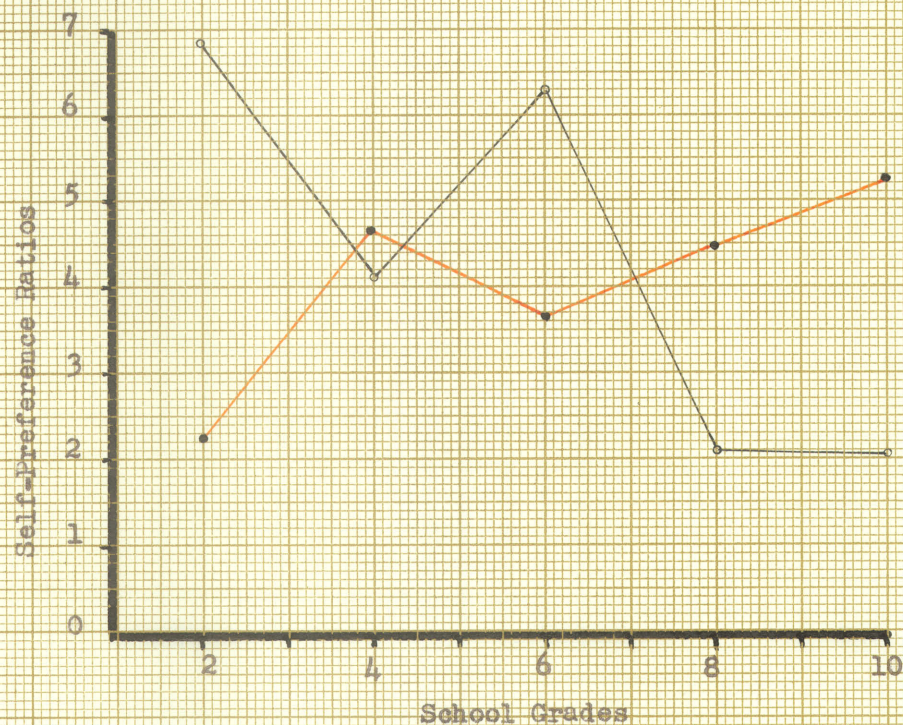


Figure 6. Grade Level Changes in Boys' "sit near" Self-Preference Ratios.

—○— Whites —●— Indians

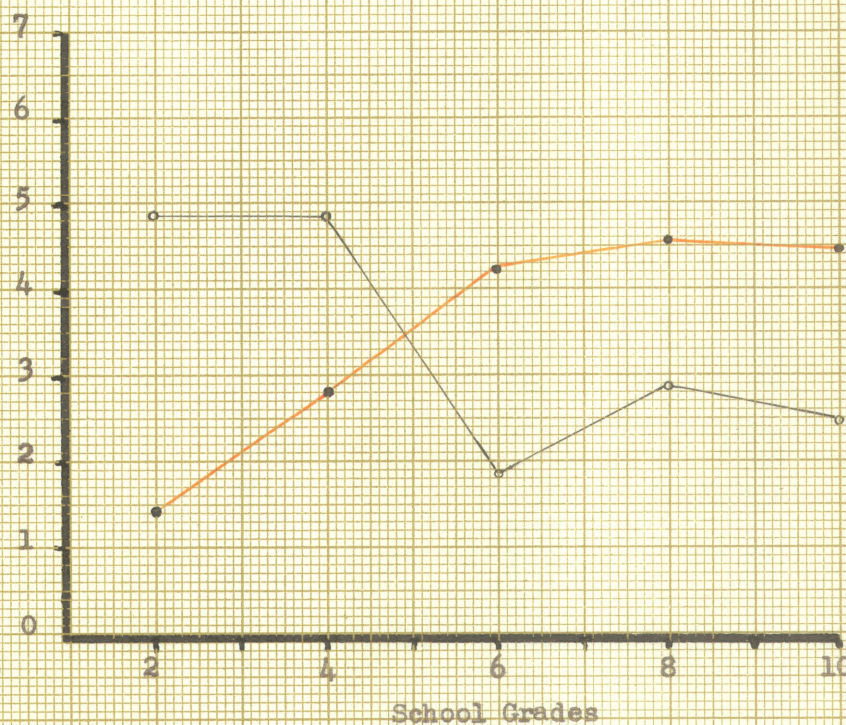


Figure 7. Grade Level Changes in Boys' "work with" Self-Preference Ratios.

—○— Whites —●— Indians

TABLE IX

BOYS' "SIT NEAR" RACIAL SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS
AS A FUNCTION OF GRADE LEVEL

Grades	Whites			Indians		
	SPR	χ^2	p	SPR	χ^2	p
2	6.85	24.253	.001	2.26	7.839	.01
4	4.10	15.693	.001	4.66	15.135	.001
6	6.31	21.669	.001	3.58	9.126	.01
8	2.10	7.278	.01	4.47	29.358	.001
10	2.03	5.887	.02	5.25	17.925	.001

On the "sit near" criterion, White boys showed very high SPRs ($p < .001$) at grades 2, 4 and 6. These ratios dropped sharply to 2.10 ($p < .01$) at grade 8 and 2.03 ($p < .02$) at grade 10.

On the same criterion, Indian boys showed increasing SPRs with increasing grade level. The grade 2 SPR of 2.26 ($p < .01$) increased sharply to 4.66 ($p < .001$) at grade 4, decreased to 3.58 ($p < .01$) at grade 6 and then steadily increased to a high of 5.25 ($p < .001$) at grade 10.

TABLE X

BOYS' "WORK WITH" RACIAL SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS
AS A FUNCTION OF GRADE LEVEL

Grades	Whites			Indians		
	SPR	X ²	p	SPR	X ²	p
2	4.84	20.443	.001	1.41	1.217	- -
4	4.82	17.459	.001	2.80	5.198	.05
6	1.84	5.519	.02	4.24	12.739	.001
8	2.87	10.420	.01	4.57	30.689	.001
10	2.47	8.264	.01	4.43	13.274	.001

The White boys' "work with" SPRs were high (4.84 and 4.82, $p < .001$ for both) at grades 2 and 4, decreasing to a low of 1.84 ($p < .02$) at grade 6. They then increased slightly to 2.87 ($p < .01$) and 2.47 ($p < .01$) at grades 8 and 10 respectively.

The Indian boys' "work with" SPRs increased with advancing grade level. Their insignificant SPR of 1.41 at grade 2 increased to 4.24 ($p < .001$) at grade 6 and stayed in that vicinity for the remaining grades.

Girls' "sit near" and "work with" Self-preference Ratio Changes as a Function of Grade Level.

The girls' choices were broken down into their criteria components - "sit near" and "work with" at each grade level. Their ratios and levels of significance are presented in Tables XI and XII. The graphic representations of these ratios are presented in Figures 8 and 9.

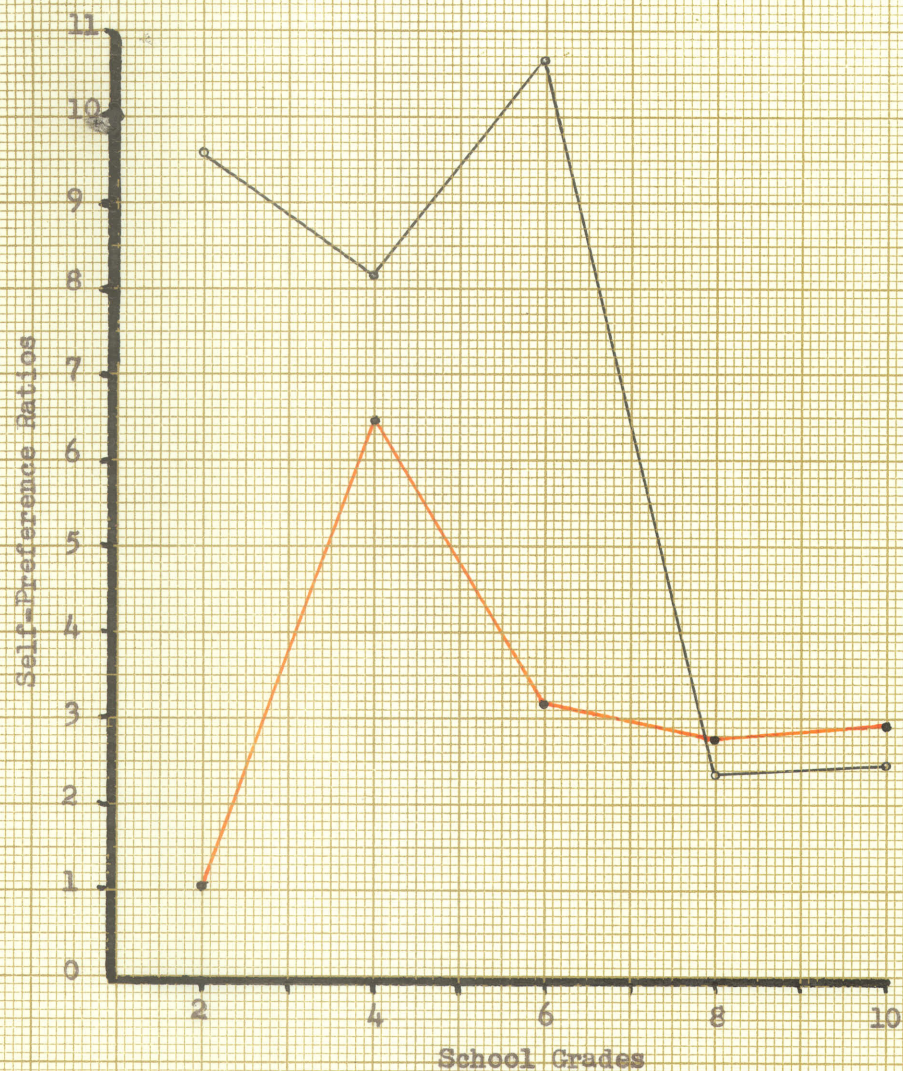


Figure 8. Grade Level Changes in Girls' "sit near" Self-Preference Ratios.

—○— Whites —●— Indians

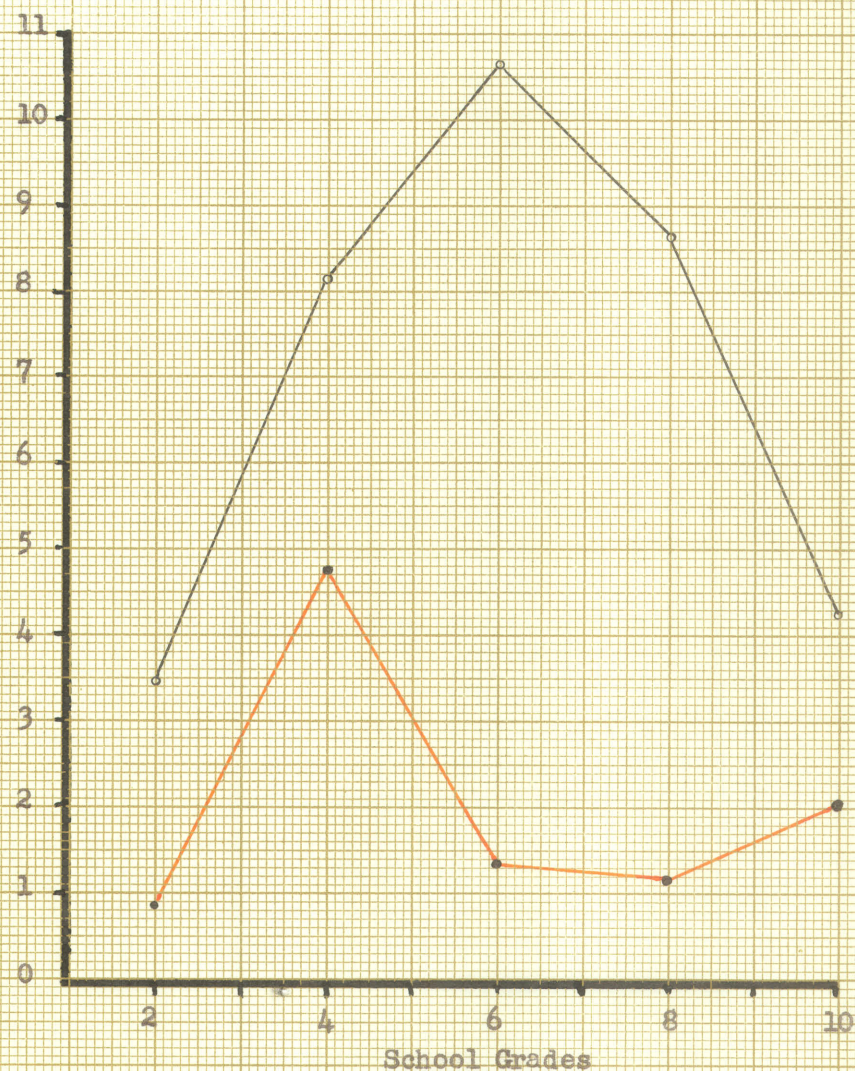


Figure 9. Grade Level Changes in Girls' "work with" Self-Preference Ratios.

—○— Whites —●— Indians

TABLE XI

GIRLS' "SIT NEAR" RACIAL SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS
AS A FUNCTION OF GRADE LEVEL

Grades	Whites			Indians		
	SPR	χ^2	p	SPR	χ^2	p
2	9.60	22.665	.001	1.04	0.008	- -
4	8.16	24.324	.001	6.42	42.802	.001
6	10.65	25.719	.001	3.13	16.271	.001
8	2.35	10.166	.01	2.77	4.585	.05
10	2.42	10.832	.001	2.91	6.443	.01

White girls' "sit near" SPRs were very high - 9.60, 8.16 and 10.65 (all with $p < .001$) at grades 2, 4 and 6. They then dropped sharply to 2.35 ($p < .01$) and 2.42 ($p < .001$) at grades 8 and 10 respectively.

On the "sit near" criterion, Indian girls showed an insignificant SPR at grade 2, a very high 6.42 SPR ($p < .001$) at grade 4, then moderately high SPRs of 3.13 ($p < .001$), 2.77 ($p < .05$) and 2.81 ($p < .01$) at grades 6, 8 and 10 respectively.

TABLE XII

GIRLS' "WORK WITH" RACIAL SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS
AS A FUNCTION OF GRADE LEVEL

Grades	Whites			Indians		
	SPR	X ²	p	SPR	X ²	p
2	3.48	13.419	.001	.83	0.021	- -
4	8.16	24.557	.001	4.79	29.043	.001
6	10.65	25.719	.001	1.33	0.749	- -
8	8.64	26.526	.001	1.15	0.000	- -
10	4.22	18.835	.001	2.07	2.093	- -

White girls exhibited high "work with" SPRs ($p < .001$) at all grade levels. These SPRs began at 3.48 for the grade 2's, rose to 10.65 at grade 6 and then decreased to 4.22 at grade 10.

The Indian girls showed insignificant SPRs at all grade levels except grade 4. The grade 4 SPR was a high 4.79 ($p < .001$).

CONCENTRATION OF MINORITY GROUP RESULTS

Total Self-preference Ratio Changes as a Function of Concentration of Minority Group Level.

Self-preference ratios, chi-square values and levels of significance for both Whites and Indians at each of the four concentration levels are shown in Table XIII. These self-preference ratios are plotted in Figure 10.

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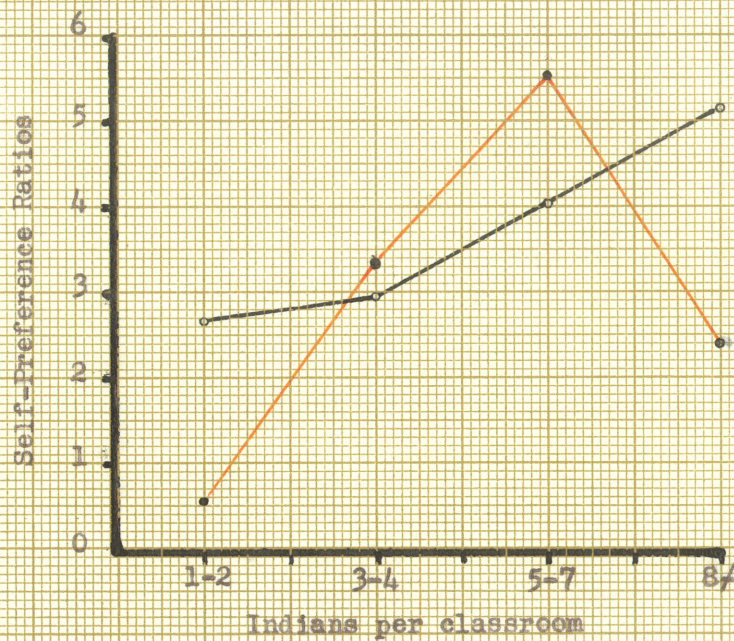


Figure 10. The Effect of Minority Group Concentration on Total Self-Preference Ratios.

—○— Whites —●— Indians

XIII

TOTAL RACIAL SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS
AS A FUNCTION OF MINORITY GROUP CONCENTRATION

Concentration of Indians	Whites			Indians		
	SPR	χ^2	p	SPR	χ^2	p
(a) 1-2	2.64	21.873	.001	0.55	0.055	- -
(b) 3-4	2.98	42.990	.001	3.35	28.207	.001
(c) 5-7	4.03	90.646	.001	5.59	163.163	.001
(d) 8 +	5.15	181.746	.001	2.40	65.769	.001

The Whites showed moderate and high SPRs ($p < .001$) for all concentration levels of Indians and Metis. Their SPR when 1 or 2 Indians were in the groups was 2.64 and steadily rose to 5.15 for groups with 8 or more Indians and Metis members.

The Indians showed an insignificant SPR of 0.55 when they numbered 1 or 2 in a group of Whites. Their SPR increased from 3.35 ($p < .001$) in groups with 3 or 4 Indians, to a very high 5.59 ($p < .001$) in groups with 5 to 7 Indians and then decreased to 2.40 ($p < .001$) in groups with 8 or more Indians and Metis.

"Sit near" and "work with" Self-preference Ratio Changes as a Function of Minority Group Concentration.

The total choices were broken down into their criteria components "sit near" and "work with" for each of the four concentration levels. These SPRs and levels of significance are presented in TABLES XIV and XV. The graphic representations of these ratios are presented in Figures 11 and 12.

TABLE XIV
 "SIT NEAR" RACIAL SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS
 AS A FUNCTION OF MINORITY GROUP CONCENTRATION

Concentration of Indians	Whites			Indians		
	SPR	X ²	p	SPR	X ²	p
(a) 1-2	3.24	13.660	.001	1.10	0.009	- -
(b) 3-4	5.08	32.062	.001	2.97	10.424	.01
(c) 5-7	2.85	32.428	.001	5.37	76.239	.001
(d) 8 +	4.57	83.772	.001	3.48	69.469	.001

For the "sit near" criterion, White children showed significantly high SPRs ($p < .001$) at all four minority groups concentration levels. These SPRs were fairly constant, ranging from 2.85 to 5.08.

The Indian children on the same criterion showed an insignificant SPR at the lowest concentration level, then rose steadily to a very high 5.37 ($p < .001$) at the third concentration level (5 to 7 Indians) and dropped to 3.48 ($p < .001$) in groups with 8 or more Indians and Metis.

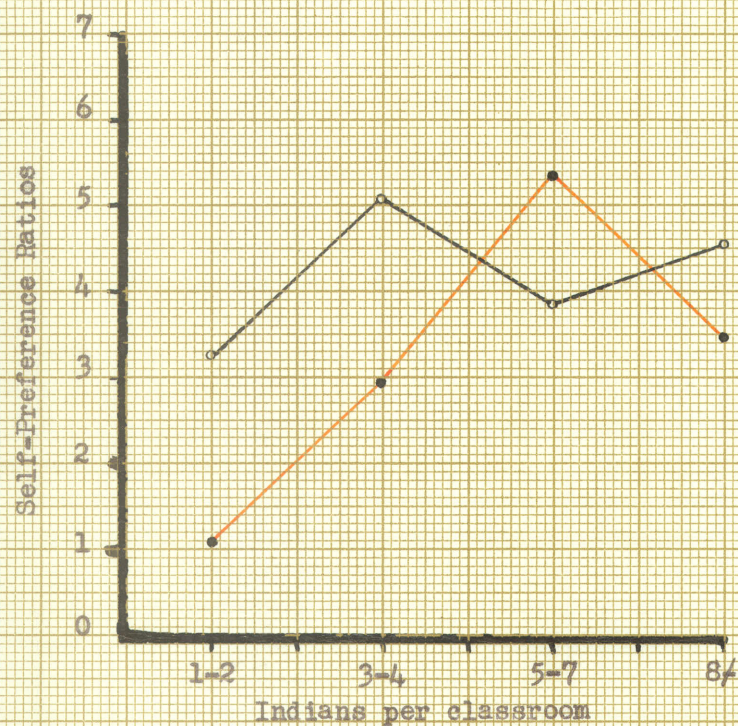


Figure 11. The Effect of Minority Group Concentration on "sit near" Self-Preference Ratios.

—○— Whites —●— Indians

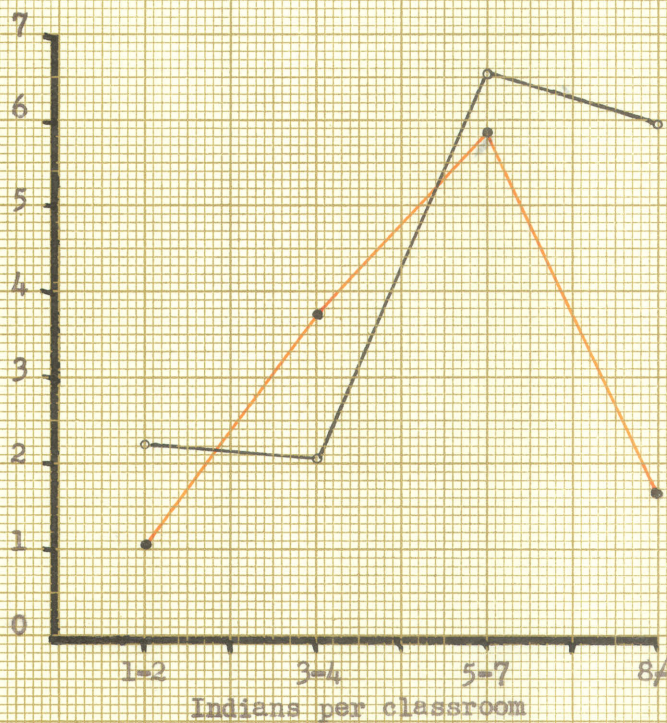


Figure 12. The Effect of Minority Group Concentration on "work with" Self-Preference Ratios.

—○— Whites —●— Indians

TABLE XV

"WORK WITH" RACIAL SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS
AS A FUNCTION OF MINORITY GROUP CONCENTRATION

Concentration of Indians	Whites			Indians		
	SPR	χ^2	p	SPR	χ^2	p
1 - 2	2.22	8.507	.01	1.07	0.190	- -
3 - 4	2.05	12.241	.001	3.74	18.334	.001
5 - 7	6.54	59.052	.001	5.84	87.216	.001
8 +	5.96	100.043	.001	1.65	9.869	.01

At the two lowest concentration levels of Indians and Metis, Whites showed moderate, although significant SPRs (2.22, $p < .01$ and 2.05, $p < .001$) on the "work with" criterion. However, at the two highest concentrations, the SPRs rose very sharply to 6.54 and 5.96 (both with $p < .001$).

The Indian children on the same criterion showed an insignificant SPR at the lowest concentration level, then rose steadily to a very high 5.84 ($p < .001$) at the third concentration level (5 to 7 Indians) and dropped to 1.65 ($p < .01$) in groups with 8 or more Indians and Metis.

Boys' and Girls' Self-preference Ratio Changes as a Function of Minority Group Concentration.

The total choices were broken down for boys and girls at each of the four concentration levels. These SPRs and levels of significance are presented in Tables XVI and XVII. The graphic representations of these ratios are presented in Figures 13 and 14.

TABLE XVI
BOYS' RACIAL SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS
AS A FUNCTION OF MINORITY GROUP CONCENTRATION

Concentration of Indians	Whites			Indians		
	SPR	X ²	p	SPR	X ²	p
(a) 1 - 2	1.62	3.893	.05	1.07	0.000	- -
(b) 3 - 4	1.84	9.453	.01	4.99	36.962	.001
(c) 5 - 7	3.91	40.941	.001	5.38	84.647	.001
(d) 8 /	5.52	99.419	.001	2.85	42.811	.001

White boys showed increasing SPRs with increased concentration of Indians and Metis. Their SPRs were 1.62 ($p \leq .05$) at the lowest concentration level, increased to 1.84 ($p \leq .01$), 3.91 ($p \leq .001$) and finally to 5.52 ($p \leq .001$) through the three remaining concentration levels.

The Indian boys' SPR of 1.07 which was insignificant at the lowest concentration level, rose sharply to 4.99 and 5.38 (both with ($p \leq .001$) at the second and third concentration levels, respectively, and dropped to 2.85 ($p \leq .001$) at the highest concentration level.

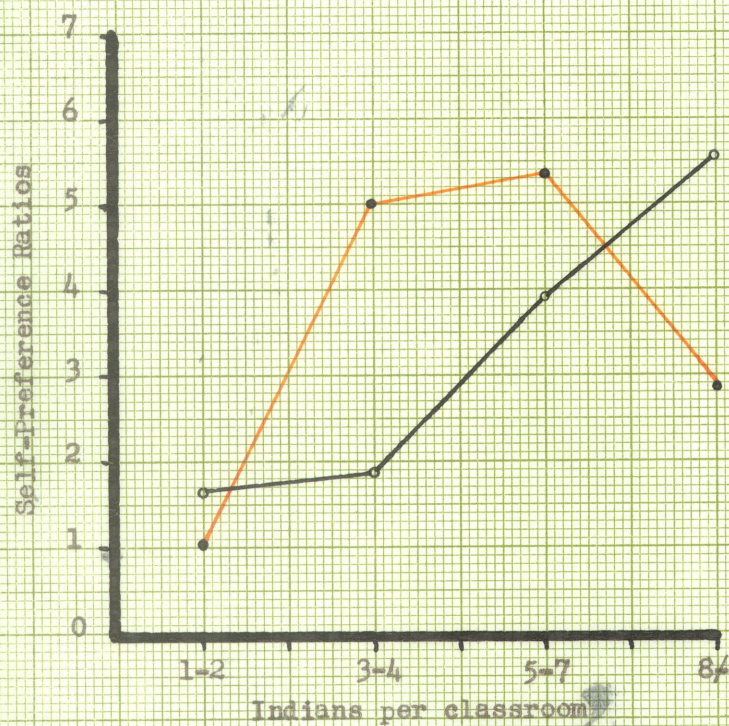


Figure 13. The Effect of Minority Group Concentration on Boys' Self-Preference Ratios.

—○— Whites —●— Indians

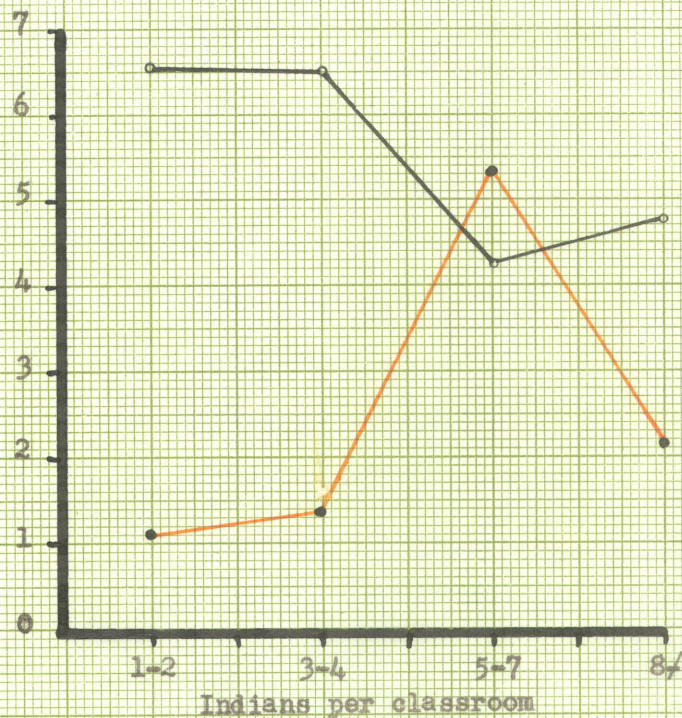


Figure 14. The Effect of Minority Group Concentration on Girls' Self-Preference Ratios.

—○— Whites —●— Indians

TABLE XVII
GIRLS' RACIAL SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS
AS A FUNCTION OF MINORITY GROUP CONCENTRATION

Concentration of Indians	Whites			Indians		
	SPR	χ^2	p	SPR	χ^2	p
(a) 1 - 2	6.59	23.489	.001	1.10	0.190	- -
(b) 3 - 4	6.52	36.70	.001	1.36	0.082	- -
(c) 5 - 7	4.21	51.023	.001	5.32	68.342	.001
(d) 8 +	4.79	82.436	.001	2.15	27.226	.001

The White girls' SPRs were high ($p < .001$) at each of the four concentration levels. The SPRs of 6.59 and 6.52 at the two lowest concentration levels decreased slightly to 4.21 and 4.79 at the two highest concentration levels.

The Indian girls showed insignificant SPRs at the two lowest levels. At the third level (5-7 Indians) they exhibited a high SPR of 5.32 ($p < .001$) but decreased to 2.15 ($p < .001$) at the highest concentration level.

Boys' "sit near" and "work with" Self-preference Ratio Changes as a Function of Minority Group Concentration

The boys' choices were broken down into their criteria components "sit near" and "work with" at each of the four concentration levels. These ratios and levels of significance are presented in Tables XVIII and XIX. The graphic representations of these ratios are presented in Figures 15 and 16.

XVIII

BOYS "SIT NEAR" RACIAL SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS
AS A FUNCTION OF MINORITY GROUP CONCENTRATION

Concentration of Indians	Whites			Indians		
	SPR	X ²	p	SPR	X ²	p
1 - 2	1.98	3.301	.10	.97	0.004	- -
3 - 4	3.07	10.753	.01	4.97	17.093	.001
5 - 7	3.22	17.169	.001	4.55	29.949	.001
8 - /	5.10	48.405	.001	4.02	38.208	.001

On the "sit near" criterion, White boys' SPRs steadily increased as the concentration level of Indians increased. At the lowest level of concentration, their SPR of 1.98 was insignificant; it then increased to 3.07 ($p < .01$) at the second level, leveled off at 3.22 ($p < .001$) at the third level and then rose sharply to 5.10 ($p < .001$) at the highest level of concentration.

The Indian boys showed an insignificant "sit near" SPR of 0.97 at the lowest concentration level, but then registered high SPRs of 4.97, 4.55 and 4.02 (each with $p < .001$) at the three higher concentration levels.

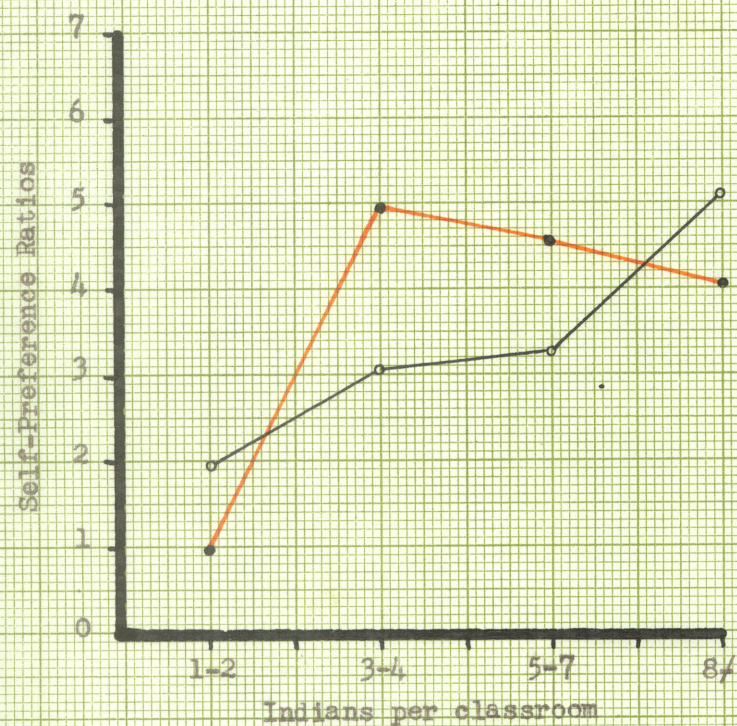


Figure 15. The Effect of Minority Group Concentration on Boys' "sit near" Self-Preference Ratios.

—○— Whites —●— Indians

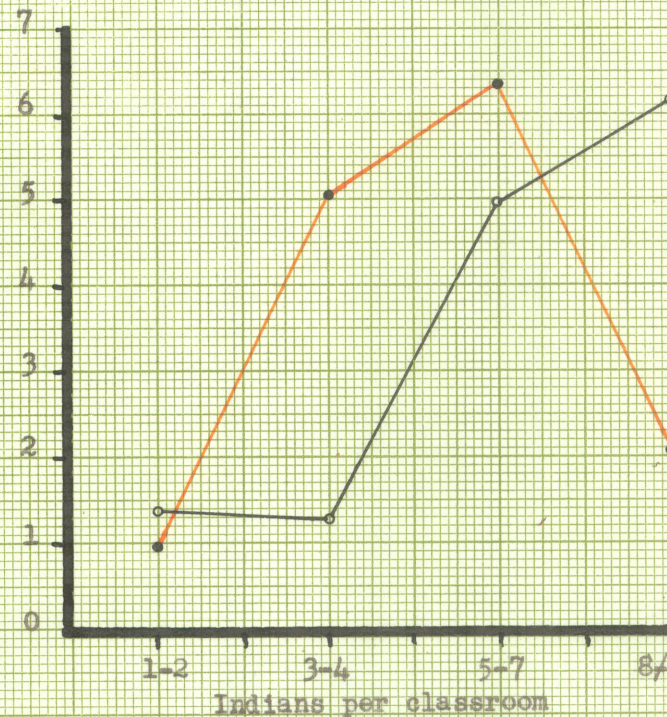


Figure 16. The Effect of Minority Group Concentration on Boys' "work with" Self-Preference Ratios.

—○— Whites —●— Indians

XIX

BOYS "WORK WITH" RACIAL SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS
AS A FUNCTION OF MINORITY GROUP CONCENTRATION

Concentration of Indians	Whites			Indians		
	SPR	χ^2	p	SPR	χ^2	p
1 - 2	1.37	0.947	- -	.97	0.004	- -
3 - 4	1.30	1.145	- -	5.03	17.144	.001
5 - 7	4.93	24.035	.001	6.35	50.492	.001
8 +	6.19	52.806	.001	2.04	9.456	.01

On the "work with" criterion, White boys showed insignificant SPRs at the two lowest levels of concentration, but then registered high SPRs ($p < .001$) of 4.93, and 6.19 at the two highest concentration levels.

On the same criterion, Indian boys showed an insignificant SPR of 0.97 at the lowest concentration level, but then increased to high SPRs of 5.03 ($p < .001$) and 6.35 ($p < .001$) at the second and third concentration levels. Their SPR decreased to 2.04 ($p < .01$) at the highest concentration level (8 or more Indians).

Girls' "sit near" and "work with" Self-preference Ratio Changes as a
Function of Minority Group Concentration

The girls' choices were broken down into their criteria components - "sit near" and "work with" at each of the four concentration levels. These ratios and levels of significance are presented in Tables XX and XXI. The graphic representations of these ratios are presented in Figures 17 and 18.

TABLE XX

GIRLS "SIT NEAR" RACIAL SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS
AS A FUNCTION OF MINORITY GROUP CONCENTRATION

Concentration of Indians	Whites			Indians		
	SPR	X ²	p	SPR	X ²	p
1 - 2	8.26	12.660	.001	1.04	0.004	- -
3 - 4	13.15	22.249	.001	.97	0.000	- -
5 - 7	3.22	23.879	.001	5.89	36.831	.001
8 /	4.17	37.151	.001	3.20	33.614	.001

On the "sit near" criterion, the White girls exhibited high ($p < .001$) SPRs at each of the four concentration levels. The SPR was a very high 8.26 at the lowest level, increased to an extremely high 13.15 at the second level, decreased to 3.22 at the third and rose slightly to 4.17 at the highest concentration level.

The Indian girls on the "sit near" criterion showed insignificant SPRs at the two lowest levels, a very high 5.89 ($p < .001$) at the third level and than a SPR of 3.20 ($p < .001$) at the highest concentration level.

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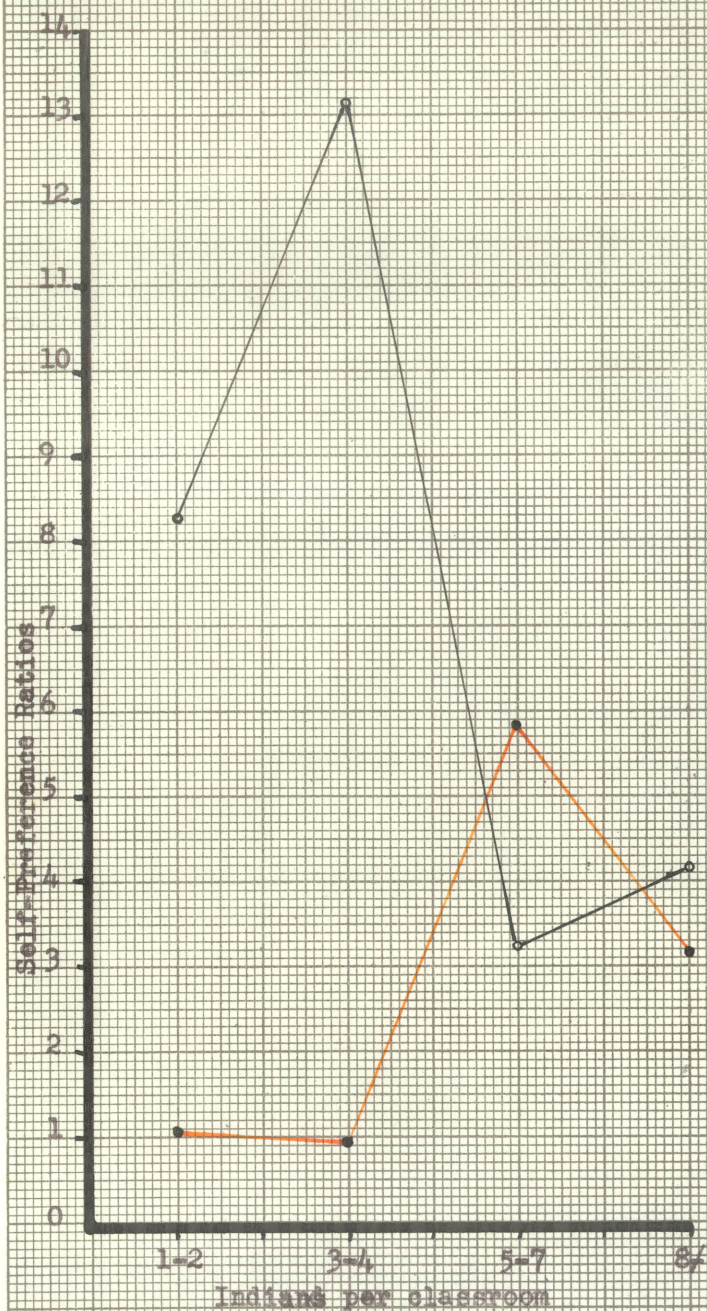


Figure 17. The Effect of Minority Group Concentration on Girls' "sit near" Self-Preference Ratios.

—○— Whites —●— Indians

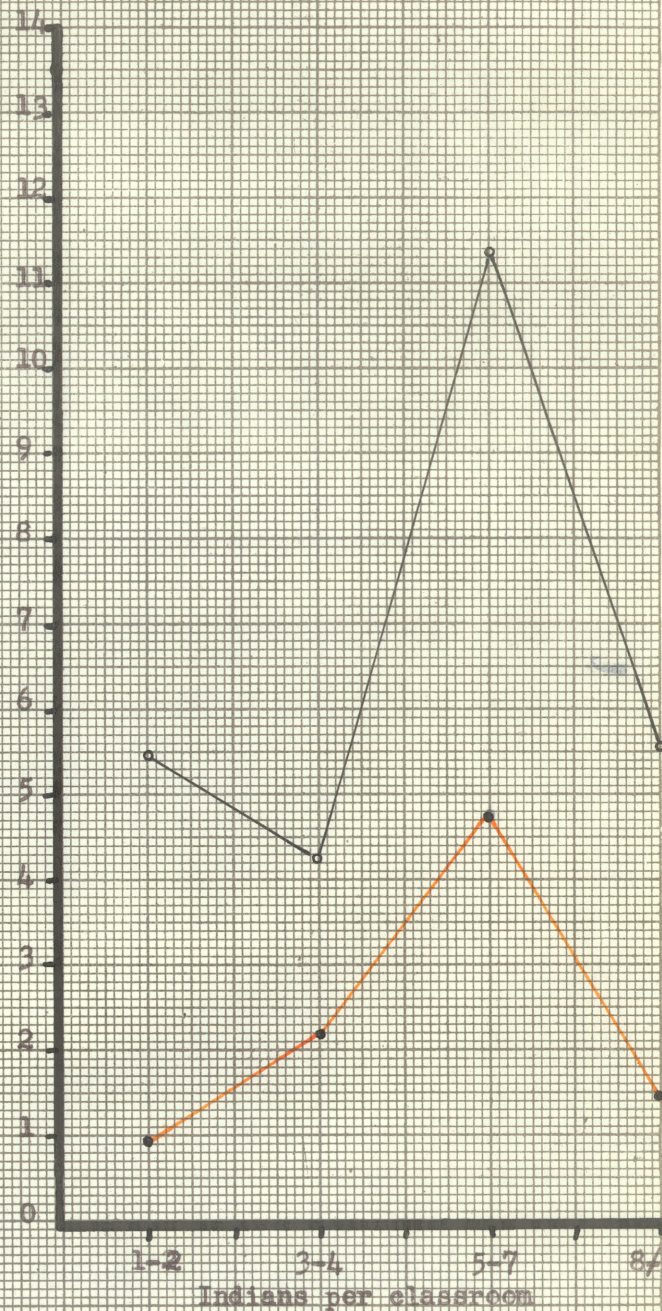


Figure 18. The Effect of Minority Group Concentration on Girls' "work with" Self-Preference Ratios.

—○— Whites —●— Indians

TABLE XXI

GIRLS "WORK WITH" RACIAL SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS
AS A FUNCTION OF MINORITY GROUP CONCENTRATION

Concentration of Indians	Whites			Indians		
	SPR	χ^2	p	SPR	χ^2	p
1 - 2	5.48	10.864	.001	.97	0.004	- -
3 - 4	4.31	14.827	.001	2.15	0.699	- -
5 - 7	11.34	46.004	.001	4.80	26.788	.001
8 /	5.59	45.478	.001	1.42	2.495	- -

On the "work with" criterion, White girls showed high SPRs ($p < .001$) at each of the four concentration levels. These ratios were 5.48 and 4.31 at the first two levels, respectively, 11.34 at the third level, and 5.59 at the highest concentration level.

The Indian Girls showed statistically insignificant SPRs at three of the four concentration levels. The third concentration level was the exception, for here there was a SPR of 4.80 ($p < .001$).

Self-preference Ratio Changes as a Function of Grade level and
Minority Group Concentration

The chi-square values of the SPRs for all of the classrooms were tested for goodness of fit and heterogeneity. These values for the White students' choices are presented in Table XXII and in Table XXIII for the Indian students' choices. The graphic representations of the SPRs from which these Chi-square values are derived are presented in Figures 19 and 20.

At the first three concentrations levels (1-2, 3-4, 5-7 Indians in a classroom), the White SPRs for concentration levels were shown to be independent of grade level. At the highest concentration level, Whites' SPRs were shown generally to decrease as grade level increased.

Whites' SPRs at the various grade levels were found to be dependent upon the number of Indians present in the classroom. In general, at grades 2, 4, and 6, Whites' SPRs increased as the minority concentration increased. At grades 8 and 10, the SPRs were found to be more consistent at the various concentration levels. Slightly larger SPRs were found at these grade levels when three or four Indians were in the classroom.

At the first three concentration levels (1-2, 3-4, 5-7 Indians in a classroom), the Indians' SPRs for concentration levels were shown to be independent of grade level. At the highest concentration level, Indians' SPRs were shown generally to be consistent at each grade, except grade four.

Indians' SPRs at the various grade levels were found in most cases to be independent of the number of Indians present in the classroom. However, at each grade level, there was the tendency for Chi-square to gradually increase up to the third concentration level and then to decrease somewhat at the fourth concentration level.

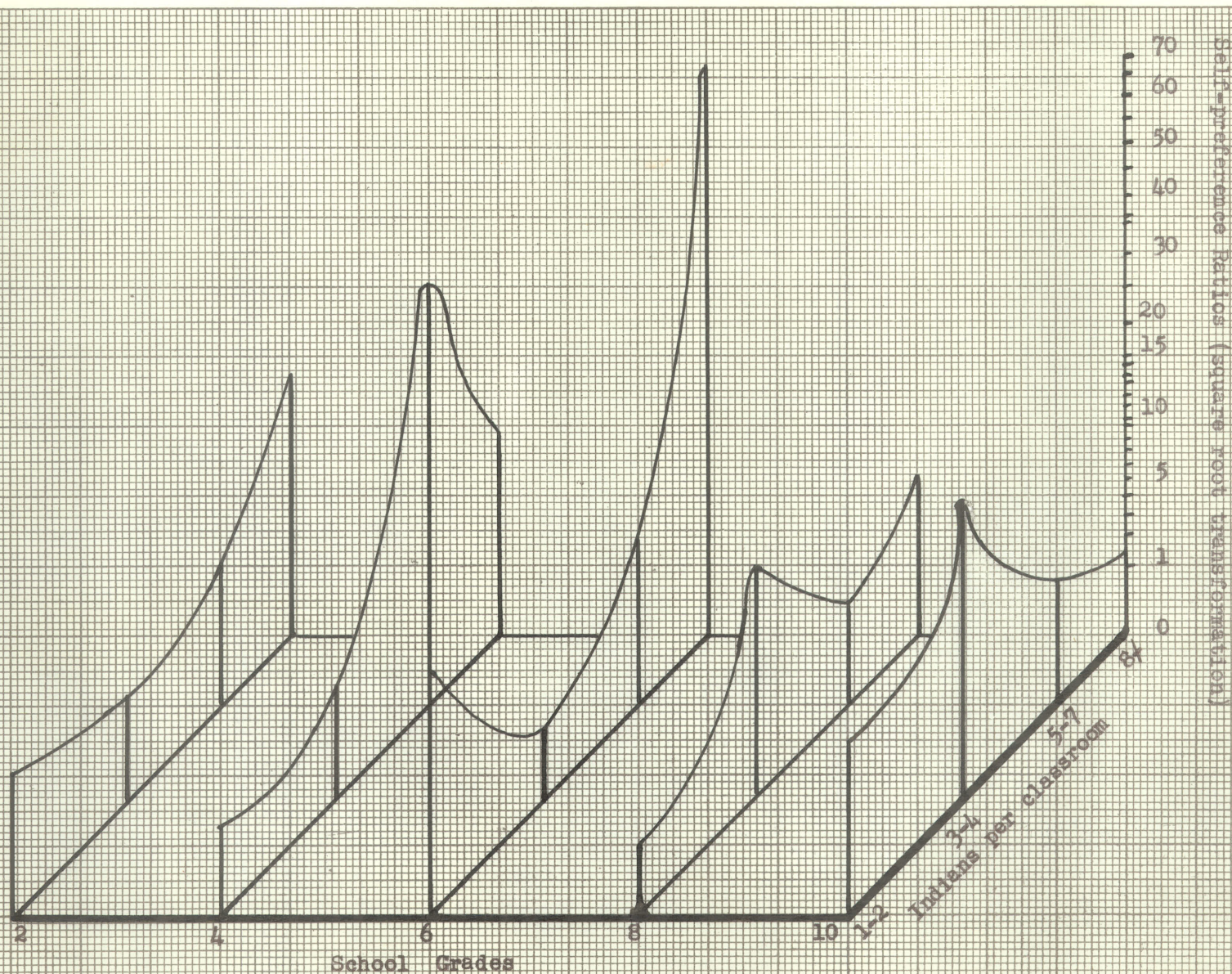


Figure 19. The Effect of Grade Level and Minority Group Concentration on White Students' Self-preference Ratios.

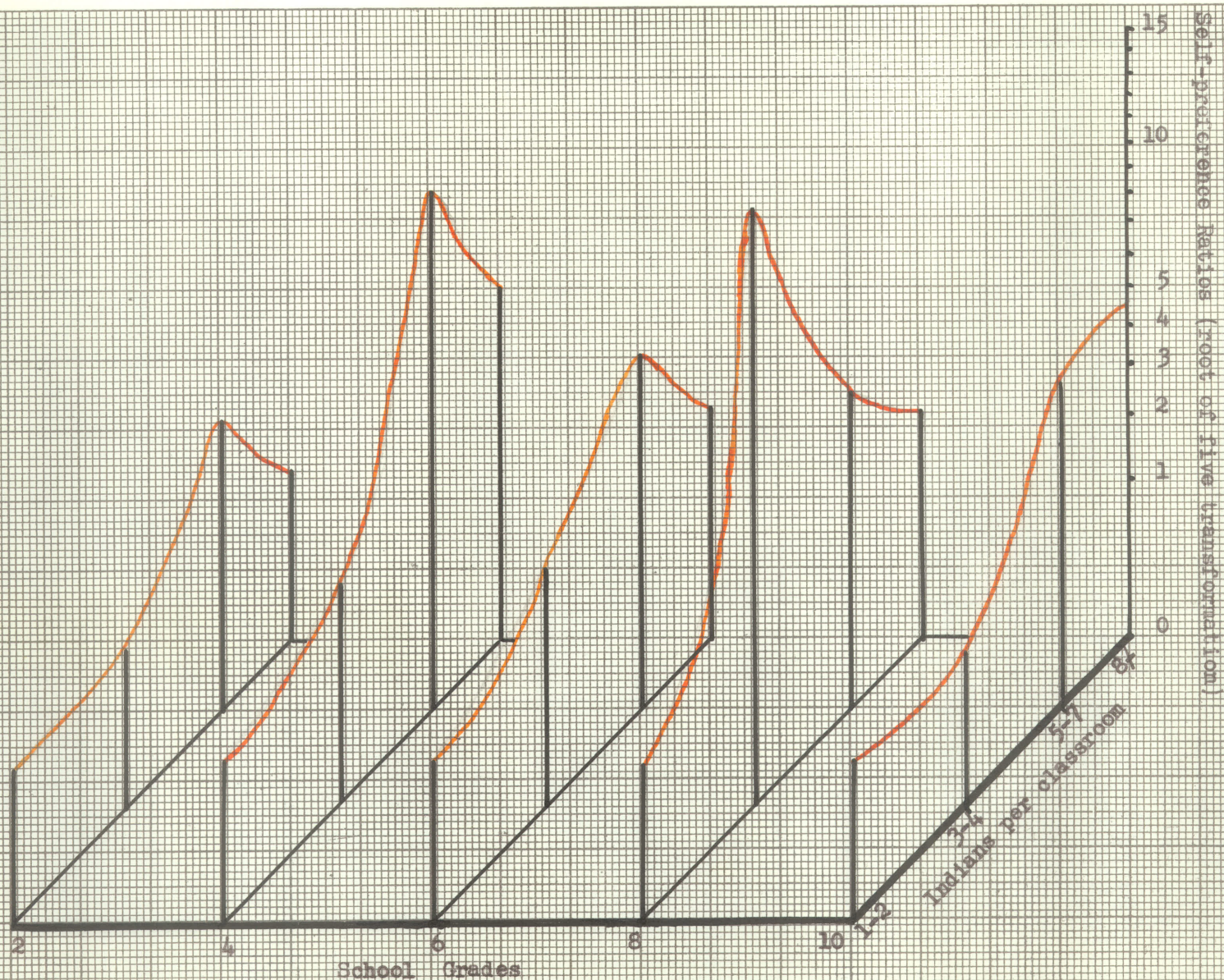


Figure 20. The Effect of Grade Level and Minority Group Concentration on Indian Students' Self-preference Ratios.

TABLE XXII

CHI SQUARE TABLE OF GOODNESS OF FIT AND HETEROGENEITY FOR WHITE STUDENTS' CHOICES

Number of Indians	Grades					sum of X^2 s	X^2	Difference	df	p
	2	4	6	8	10					
1-2	6.8269	1.9574	10.3780	0.0454	8.4957	27.7034	21.87	5.8334	4	--
3-4	5.7000	7.7142	0.3617	20.7159	18.5454	53.0372	42.94	10.0472	4	.10
5-7	16.5878	35.0416	24.0808	8.9798	13.3736	98.0636	90.65	7.4136	4	--
8-	70.7670	47.6563	66.1402	33.4548	0.9843	219.0026	181.75	37.2526	4	.001
sum of X^2 s	99.8817	92.3695	100.9607	63.1959	41.3990					
X^2	79.8110	80.2136	74.5925	50.2422	29.8897					
Difference	20.0707	12.1559	26.3682	12.9537	11.5093					
df	3	3	3	3	3					
p	.001	.01	.001	.01	.01					

TABLE XXIII

CHI SQUARE TABLE OF GOODNESS OF FIT AND HETEROGENEITY FOR INDIAN STUDENTS' CHOICES

Number of Indians	Grades					sum of X^2 s	X^2	Difference	df	p
	2	4	6	8	10					
1-2	0.0895	0.0502	0.0387	0.1099	0.0747	0.3630	0.06	0.3030	4	--
3-4	0.0137	0.1130	2.1504	31.3800	0.0000	33.6571	28.21	5.4471	4	--
5-7	10.7950	69.0749	32.2172	37.0570	16.7295	165.8736	163.16	2.7136	4	--
8+	0.3703	48.6276	10.7898	9.7474	30.8801	100.4152	65.77	34.6452	4	.001
sum of X^2 s	11.2411	135.8370	45.1961	78.2943	47.6843					
X^2	4.2613	117.8657	31.6996	58.7732	40.6282					
Difference	6.9798	17.9713	13.4965	19.5211	7.0561					
df	3	3	3	3	3					
p	.10	.001	.01	.001	.10					

ADULT GROUPS RESULTS

Marked racial cleavage was exhibited in the adult groups (see Table XXIV). As a group, the White men showed a SPR of 5.52 ($p < .001$) and the Indian men showed a SPR of 11.48 ($p < .001$). On the "room with" criterion, the Whites showed a 10.33 ($p < .001$) SPR, and a 3.67 ($p < .001$) SPR on the "work with" criterion. The Indian men's SPR on the "room with" criterion was 19.85 ($p < .001$) and on the "work with" criterion was 6.78 ($p < .001$).

TABLE XXIV
RACIAL SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS
OF WHITE AND INDIAN ADULTS

	Whites			Indians		
	SPR	X ²	p	SPR	X ²	p
Total	5.52	92.307	.001	11.48	264.032	.001
"room with"	10.33	57.739	.001	19.85	180.392	.001
"work with"	3.67	34.695	.001	6.78	77.029	.001

Adult Groups' Self-Preference Ratio Changes as a Function of Minority
Group Concentration Level

The total adult self-preference ratio, Chi-square values and levels of significance for each of the four concentration levels are presented in Table XXV. The graphic representation of these ratios is presented in Figure 21.

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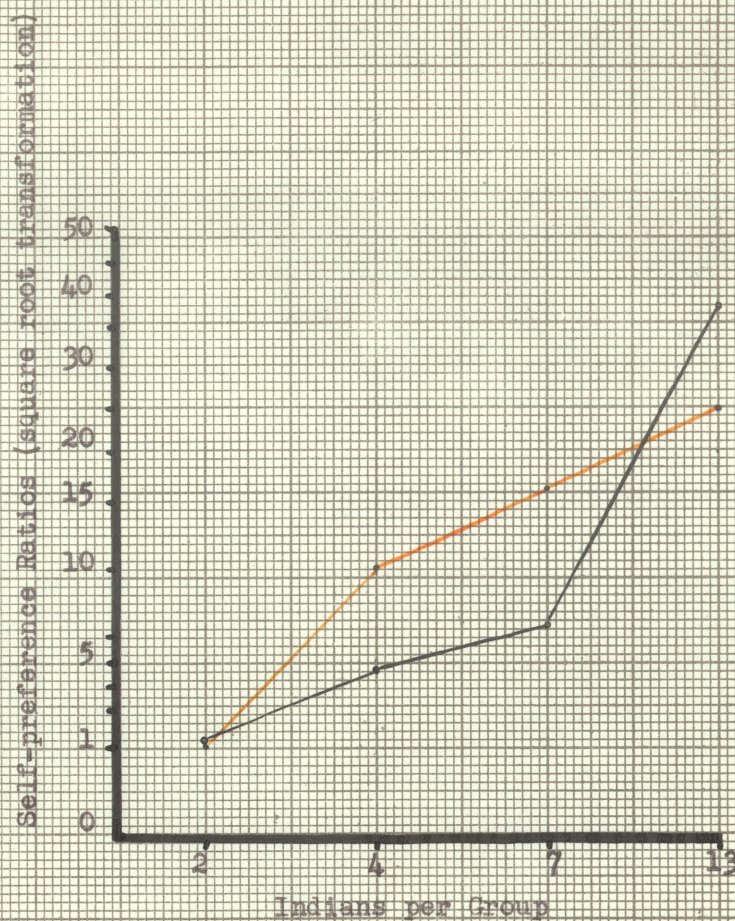


Figure 21. The Effect of Minority Group Concentration on Male Adults' Self-preference Ratios.

— Whites — Indians

TABLE XXV

ADULT GROUPS' TOTAL SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS
AS A FUNCTION OF MINORITY GROUP CONCENTRATION LEVEL

Number of Indians in the Group	Whites			Indians		
	SPR	χ^2	p	SPR	χ^2	p
(a) 2	1.16	0.214	—	1.05	0.022	—
(b) 4	3.42	11.454	.001	10.18	41.086	.001
(c) 7	5.99	28.005	.001	16.70	86.760	.001
(d) 13	37.82	60.878	.001	24.55	143.153	.001

The adult Whites showed increasing self-preference with increasing concentration of Indians and Metis. The group with only two Indians showed an insignificant SPR. The next two concentration groups showed increasing SPRs of 3.42 and 5.99 (both with $p < .001$). At the highest concentration level (13 Indians) the Whites showed an extremely high SPR of 37.82 ($p < .001$).

The adult Indians showed SPRs also that progressively increased with increased concentration level. The two Indians showed an insignificant SPR, but all other Indian groups showed extremely high ($p < .001$) SPRs.

"Room with" and "work with" Self-preference Ratio Changes as a Function of Minority Group Concentration

The total choices for the adults were broken down into their criteria components "room with" and "work with" for each of the four groups. These SPRs and levels of significance are presented in Tables XXVI and XXVII. The graphic representations of these ratios are presented in Figures 22 and 23.

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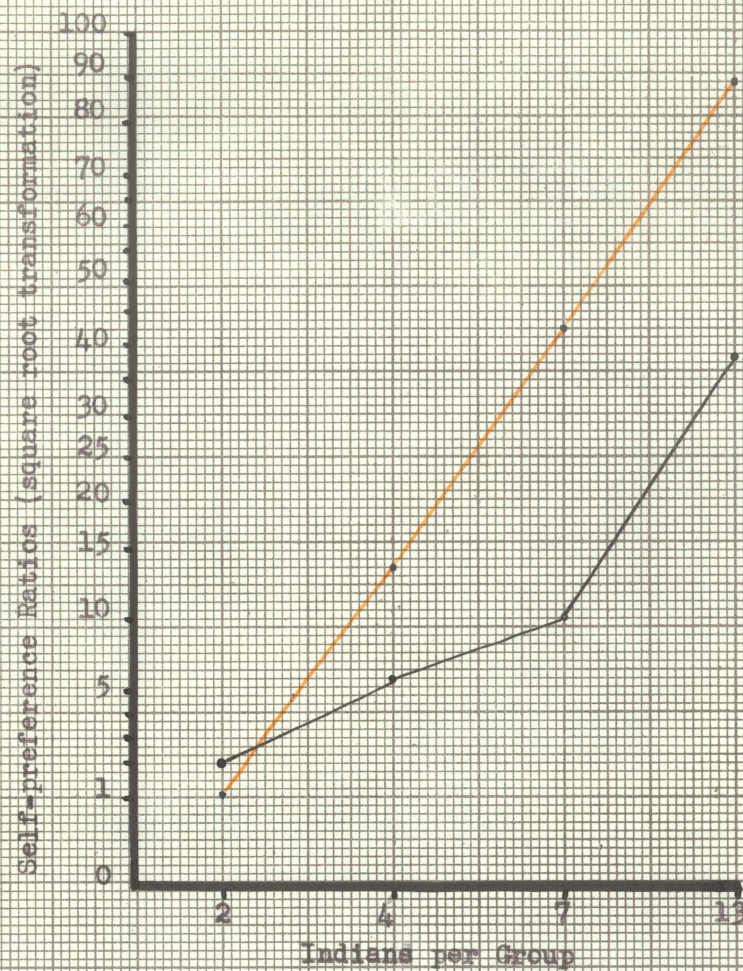


Figure 22. The Effect of Minority Group Concentration on Male Adults' "Room with" Self-preference Ratios.

— Whites — Indians

TABLE XXVI

ADULT GROUPS: "ROOM WITH" SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS
AS A FUNCTION OF MINORITY GROUP CONCENTRATION LEVEL

Number of Indians in the Group	Whites			Indians		
	SPR	χ^2	p	SPR	χ^2	p
(a) 2	2.00	0.395	- -	1.15	0.261	- -
(b) 4	6.09	8.307	.01	13.08	27.729	.001
(c) 7	10.67	17.143	.001	43.94	71.314	.001
(d) 13	37.15	37.145	.001	88.83	88.827	.001

The White men showed progressively higher SPRs on the "room with" criterion, as the concentration of Indians increased. Their SPR was insignificant at the lowest concentration, increased to 6.09 ($p < .01$) at the second level, 10.67 ($p < .001$) at the third and increased to the extremely high 37.15 ($p < .001$) at the highest concentration level (13 Indians).

The Indian men showed even more rapid SPR increases with increased concentration of their own members. These ratios increased from 1.15 (insignificant), to 13.08 ($p < .001$), to 43.94 ($p < .001$), to 88.83 ($p < .001$).

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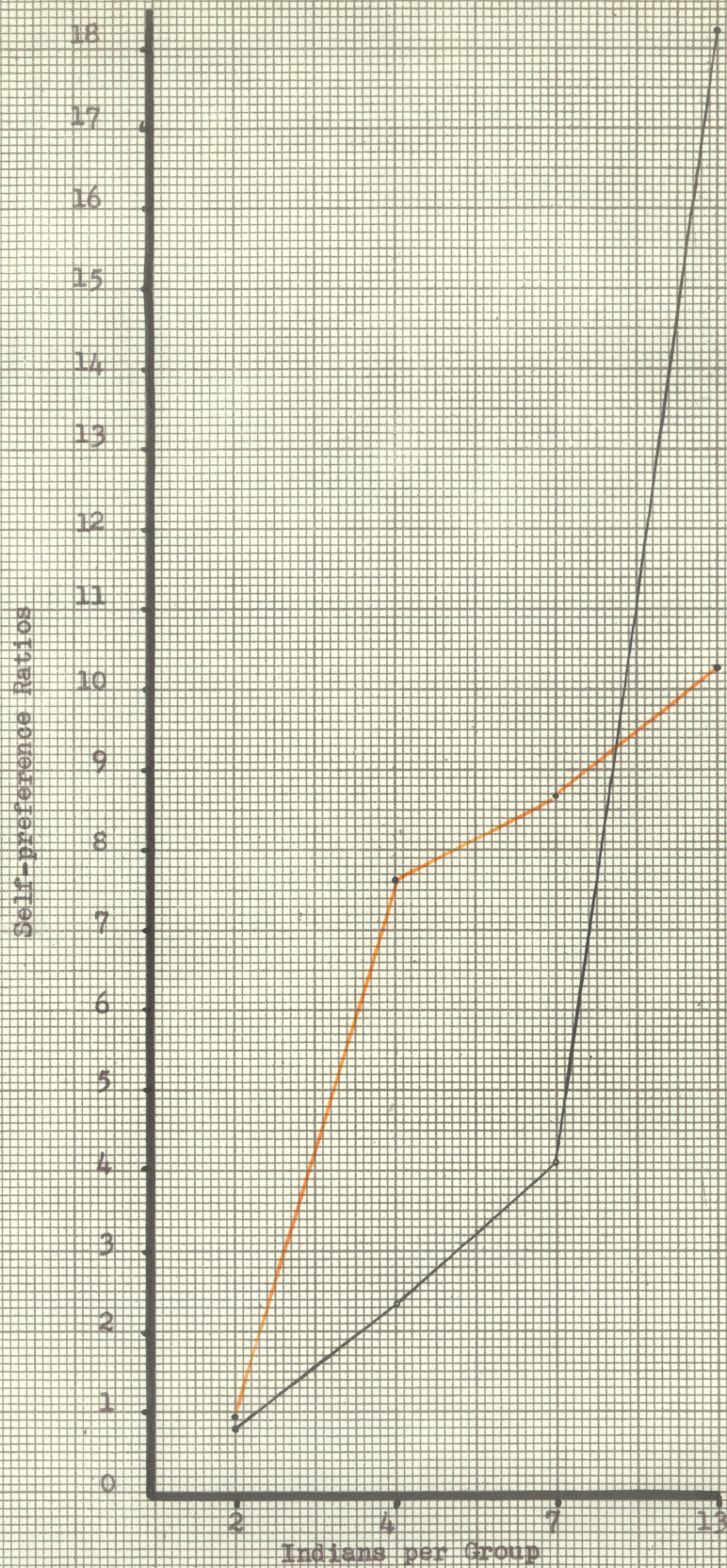


Figure 23. The Effect of Minority Group Concentration on Male Adults' "Work with" Self-preference Ratios.

— Whites — Indians

TABLE XXVII

ADULT GROUPS: "WORK WITH" SELF-PREFERENCE RATIOS
AS A FUNCTION OF MINORITY GROUP CONCENTRATION LEVEL

Number of Indians in the Group	Whites			Indians		
	SPR	χ^2	p	SPR	χ^2	p
(a) 2	.80	0.123	- -	.96	0.261	- -
(b) 4	2.35	3.625	- -	7.62	10.878	.001
(c) 7	4.12	11.183	.001	8.69	24.960	.001
(d) 13	18.23	31.829	.001	10.29	47.596	.001

The White men, on the "work with" criterion, showed increasing SPRs with increasing concentration of Indians. Their SPRs of .80 and 2.35 at the two lowest concentration levels were both statistically insignificant. Their SPR was 4.12 ($p < .001$) at the third level and then rapidly increased to 18.23 ($p < .001$) at the highest concentration level.

The Indian men, on the "work with" criterion, showed no self-preference at the first concentration level. At the three higher concentration levels, their SPRs rose gradually from 7.62 to 10.29 (all three with $p < .001$).

II. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The purpose of this study was to ascertain the influence of the variables, age and degree of minority concentration, on measures of racial cleavage in Indian-White groups. The results just presented will now be discussed and related to previous research findings.

The subjects in the study showed a statistically dependable preference to associate with members of their own racial group. This self-preference was somewhat higher for the White subjects than it was for the Indians.

School Children's Groups.

The greatest amount of preference for members of their own race was shown by the White girls. White boys and Indian boys who showed approximately the same amount of self-preference, displayed greater willingness to accept members of the other race than did the White girls. The least amount of self-preference was shown by the Indian girls. All of the above mentioned self-preferences were found to be statistically dependable. ($p < .001$). It is therefore concluded that racial cleavage did exist in the sample of Indian and White subjects studied.

The present study demonstrated that White children in the primary and elementary school grades show a very high preference for other White children, to the exclusion of the Indian children in their classrooms. However, as grade level and accordingly age increased, the White children were more willing to associate with Indian children. By grade 10 (see Figure I), the Whites' preference for their own race had progressively decreased to only a third of what it was at the grade 2 level (5.39 at Grade 2 to 2.28 at Grade 10).

These findings are in agreement with and are accounted for in the literature. Gesell (29 pp.356-358) contends that at three years of age children are not aware of racial differences, although they may exhibit fear at the sight of a person of a different colour. He goes on to say that in six year olds some awareness is apparent. By eight years, children may even victimize a child of a different race. The nine year olds seem to show much less interest in race and make fewer comments about racial differences.

Jersild (42 pp.467-471) offers a number of explanations for the prejudiced behaviour of children. He points out that at an early age children, all of whom are initially free from prejudice, will have developed quite strong prejudices. Some prejudices result from a child directly experiencing certain unpleasant events at the hands of an individual member of a minority group and then generalizing his negative feeling to all members of the minority group. The kind of direct experience leading to prejudice vary so much among individuals that large scale predictions are unwarranted.

More important, as Jersild points out, a child's affiliation with his own group tends to limit his communication with other groups. Thus a "social distance" develops even though no active prejudice exists. Suspiciousness and distrust will increase, especially when the child sees that others consider him to be an outsider.

To Jersild, the commonest and most important causal factors of prejudice are cultural influences. Prejudices and traditional antipathies are passed on to the child by his elders. Often the group increases its self-esteem by belittling others. Although parents

commonly believe that they are exhibiting no prejudices, children do develop prejudice by perceiving subtly displayed attitudes of adults. Jersild contends that once the child has developed prejudiced attitudes he can find many supports for them. Innocent acts can be misinterpreted or an entire group can be condemned for the rude act of one member.

The observations of both Gesell and Jersild would appear to be quite relevant to the findings of the present study. One plausible explanation is that from preschool days White elementary school children have observed derogatory remarks and attitudes directed by their parents towards Indians. Moreover, radio, newspaper and television accounts of Indians have reinforced their parents' attitudes. The children somewhat blindly accept the viewpoints of these "authorities". Cleavage occurs when the White child avoids his readily identifiable Indian classmate. However, as the White child becomes older and enters junior and then senior high school, he begins to form more of his own attitudes. He sees that his Indian classmates do not all exhibit the undesirable traits that he has learned to associate with the minority group. Some White adolescents, in their effort to show that they are quite independent, may deliberately cultivate the friendship of Indians in order to shock their parents. Therefore, the older White child is likely to be more aware of what Indians are really like and consequently more accepting of them.

This trend was shown for both willingness to sit near and work with Indians. Younger children were slightly less willing to sit near Indians than to work with them. They probably saw sitting near an Indian child as being a more permanent and thus a more threatening

relationship than working with one on a school project. The same explanation might account for the White children being willing to work with Indians from the grade six level on, but being unable to bring themselves to sit near them until about two years later.

The White boys showed less cleavage with increasing age, but the White girls showed cleavage from Indians at all grade levels. (see figures 4 and 5.) The girls' self-preference ratio rose to its greatest height at grade six (about 12 or 13 years of age) and then decreased somewhat after that age. Even at grade eight the White girls showed a great reluctance to sit near Indians, although they were more willing to work with them at that age. These sex differences in the self-preference scores of the White subjects can possibly be accounted for by the fact that White parents typically exercise more protective control over their adolescent daughters than over their sons. The height of cleavage at about 12 or 13 years of age coincides with the onset of adolescence. At this time, parents, with their sights set on the goal of a successful marriage for a daughter, attempt to influence her cultivation of friends. The grade six White girls are thus reflecting parental pressure when they exhibit such a definite avoidance of Indians.

As the classroom concentration of Indians and Metis increased, the younger White children showed statistically dependable and increasingly greater cleavage from them. Likely the cleavage displayed by these Whites increased because they saw larger numbers of Indians as more threatening and more undesirable. Relatively willing to work with them when Indian children constituted a small minority in a classroom, the Whites remained reluctant to sit near them regardless of the degree of

minority concentration. Sitting near an Indian was probably viewed as too intimate an association with an undesirable, while working on a project with one or two members of a small group of Indians was likely seen as a somewhat casual acceptance of academically capable individuals.

However, the older White children, those in grades eight and ten, showed approximately the same degree of self-preference at each minority concentration level (see Table XXII and Figure 19). As was discussed earlier, these older White children are likely to be more aware of what Indians are really like and are consequently more accepting of any Indians present.

When Indians numbered one or two members of a classroom, White boys were relatively willing to accept them as seat mates, but even more willing to work with them. In such small numbers Indians may have been accepted as individuals with their good and bad points. As the number of Indians in the classroom increased, the White boys were progressively less willing to either sit near or work with them. In larger numbers the Indians were likely perceived as a group characterized by all the bad qualities attributed to Indians by a White culture. The positive qualities of individuals within the Indian group would be masked by the White boys' prejudiced set against the group.

The White girls were unwilling to sit near or work with Indians at any minority concentration level. Possibly individual White girls had made friends with certain Indians, but as a group, they reflected the cultural dictum that "good girls associate only with White people."

In both the Criswell study (18) and the present study Whites were found to surpass the minority group (Negroes in the first case,

Indians in the second) in self-preference. The Criswell study, ranging from kindergarten to grade eight, reports self-preference in Whites from kindergarten on; the present study, ranging from grade two to grade ten, also found self-preference in Whites from the lowest grade on. However, where Criswell found that White self-preference increased with age, the present study found that it decreased with age. This discrepancy likely occurred because in Criswell's study of White-Negro groups, young Whites, although having acquired some of their culture's anti-Negro prejudice, were nevertheless quite familiar with Negro children. Negroes had been on the streets, in stores, and on playgrounds since the White child was old enough to notice others. The Whites in Criswell's study were prejudiced against Negroes, but not fearful of them. However, many of the young children in the present study, prior to starting school, had probably never seen an Indian child. These White children, well fortified with parent-bestowed anti-Indian attitudes, were also very uneasy in the presence of strange, dark-skinned children. It is quite understandable, then, that the White children in the Criswell study showed greater self-preference with age, as they more fully assimilated their community's attitudes, while the White children in this study showed less self-preference with age, as the feeling of uneasiness in the presence of Indians diminished.

Criswell reports that boys were better able to adjust to large minorities than to small ones, while girls adjusted better to small minorities than to large ones. In this study White boys showed the opposite trend - that of greater self-preference with larger concentrations of the minority group. The White girls in this study showed

high self-preference at all concentration levels, with, if anything, slightly less self-preference when in the presence of larger concentrations of Indians. However the two studies are not as comparable with respect to the effects of minority group concentration as they are with respect to the role of age. In Criswell's study the classrooms ranged from nine per cent to ninety-five per cent Negro concentration. Thus at times Whites were in the numerical minority in their classrooms. The concentration of Indians in classrooms, in this study, ranged from five per cent to thirty-eight per cent. Thus while Whites were never in the numerical minority in the classroom in this study, they functioned as either majority or minority group members in the Criswell study, depending upon the classroom. This difference in roles played by the Whites in the two studies makes comparison of minority group concentration effects unwarranted.

The Indian children showed no racial self-preference at the youngest grade levels, but preference for their own race gradually increased with age. While a preschool child, the Indian lives on the reserve, a relatively isolated, homogeneous little community. The child and his parents have very little contact with Whites. The adults are concerned with immediate family and reserve problems. Most of them have lived all of their lives on the reserves and therefore have experienced relatively little discrimination at the hands of Whites. Consequently they verbalize or otherwise display very few anti-White attitudes before their children. When a young Indian enters an integrated classroom his main concern is adjusting to a totally new environment - possibly residential school life, or a long bus ride to

school each day, or big buildings and so forth. Because he has seen other children of his own age before, these White children, although much lighter coloured, are much less strange and threatening than the many other unfamiliar objects around him. In fact, other children rank among the most familiar and welcome objects. The young Indian tends to accept his classmate, whether that child be White or Indian.

As the Indian children become older, more familiar with their surroundings and more socially perceptive, they realize that although they may be willing to accept Whites on an equal basis, the Whites will not accept them. Whites, young and old, look down upon them, refer to them as "dirty Indians", and make no effort to accept them as equals. Gradually the Indian child realizes that his friends must be fellow Indians. Thus with increasing age the Indian child shows greater self-preference, not that he necessarily wishes this to be so, but because the Whites won't accept him. By the time that the older White children have become less reluctant towards accepting Indians, the Indian youth, realizing that his position is that of a minority group member, has established himself in a state of semi-isolation.

The grade four Indian children in our study are an exception to our hypothesis of gradual awareness by the Indian of his minority position. Our grade four Indian children showed the highest Indian self-preference ratio (4.73 $p < .001$) of any of the grade levels studied. Inspection of the data revealed that this high ratio was accounted for by the two grade four classes of highest Indian concentration. Information from the schools concerned disclosed that of the seventeen Indian children in these classes three boys and eight girls were undergoing their first experience in integrated classrooms. They had attended

school on their own reserve for the first three grades. Now, as a group, they were being brought each day to the integrated school for their education. These children, ten to twelve years of age, were probably able to perceive that the White children were not accepting them. Quite naturally, they kept to their own group of friends, whom they had known for several years, and ignored this new and socially cool environment.

The marked self-preference displayed by these groups of Indian children prompts the suggestion that when circumstances do not permit their integration at the lowest grades, Indian children should be dispersed in as small numbers as possible, throughout the classrooms. Such a practice would tend to discourage clannishness on the part of either the majority or minority group.

The Indian children showed approximately the same increase in self-preference with age on the two separate criteria, although they were slightly more willing to work with than to sit near Whites at each grade level. Probably working with a White child was seen as a less intimate action, and therefore one that was more acceptable to the majority group than sitting near a White. More than likely, it was also an admission of the leadership ability or academic superiority of certain White classmates.

At grades 6, 8, and 10, Indian boys were showing quite marked cleavage from the Whites. The daily experienced rejection by their White classmates, the knowledge that they would draw the wrath of Whites if they attempted to date a White girl, the negative attitudes displayed by White adults, including their teachers, and the awareness that working

in the White world would mean facing stiff and often prejudiced competition; all these factors forced the Indian students to seek security and acceptance in their own group.

Except for the recently integrated grade four classes that exhibited high self-preference, the Indian girls showed very little, if any, cleavage from the Whites on either criterion at any age level. At all grade levels the self-preference that did exist was slightly greater for sitting near than for working with their own racial members.

Unlike their brothers, the Indian girls on reaching adulthood are very unlikely to have to compete economically with Whites. Following marriage their contact with Whites will likely be slight. As previously discussed, the Indian boy faces hostile White acts, but the Indian girl tends to face White indifference rather than rejection. She usually has very little to lose by attempting to be friendly with her White classmates. If a White boy dates her, there will be less White disapproval than if her brother were to date a White girl. The White boy's parents will very seldom approve of such an action, but with less control over sons than daughters, will probably settle for the hope that their son will tire of the Indian girl. If the Indian girl does marry a White man, her socioeconomic status will likely go up. Although her husband may meet resistance from his people, her move will seldom be resented by her people. At any rate she will probably lose contact with her people and not be affected by their resistance, if any, to her marriage.

The analysis of Indians' self-preference as a function of the number of their members present in a classroom, revealed a very definite

and consistent trend. (see Figure 10). One or two Indian children in a group showed no self-preference. Three or four showed a high preference for their own race. When the number of Indians increased to between five and seven, a very high self-preference ratio occurred. In groups with eight or more Indian members, the Indians showed a lower self-preference, more on the level of that shown in groups containing three or four Indians. This same general trend, with only minor variations, occurred at all grade levels, for both criteria and for both boys and girls (see Figures 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20.).

In spite of the Whites' prejudice, one or two Indian children in a classroom of Whites have to make every effort to make White friends so as not to be left alone. It is also at this concentration level, if any, that the Whites might accept them. (see previous discussion on Whites). Probably in the classroom they can find at least one or two Whites who are friendly. But as the number of his own race increases there is less need for the Indian child to seek friends from the reluctant White ranks. The greatest cleavage from the Whites occurs in classrooms in which the minority is constituted of five to seven Indians. This number, it would appear, can form an extremely cohesive, isolated, almost self-contained group. In a group of this size, each member can have intimate face-to-face contact with each other member. Very strong interpersonal bonds are soon built up and outsiders are excluded. Within this group if an individual dislikes one or two members there are always three or four others with whom to form very close ties before resorting to the hostile Whites. The negative attitudes of Whites help bind the

individuals of this group to one common purpose - self preservation. A strong leader may emerge to further strengthen this group. When the group of Indians increases to eight or more members their self-preference decreases to some extent. With too many people for overall intimate face-to-face contact, this group can not be as cohesive as the slightly smaller one. Interpersonal bonds are not as strong and the extreme cohesiveness of the five to seven member group does not develop. The group often fragments into diads and triads. With less loyalty to the racial group, some Indians will make friends with a few Whites or at least be willing to accept them. Several strong leaders, each with his own followers, may rise to further splinter the already disintegrating minority group.

The Indian boys, who have stronger self-preferences than the girls, even show marked self-preference when numbering only three or four members to a classroom. Their greatest degree of self-preference occurs, of course, when they constitute a minority of five to seven members. When numbering eight or more, they show greater willingness to work with Whites than to sit near them.

The Indian girls, when constituting minority groups of four Indians or less, were willing to accept Whites. But as a minority of five to seven members they showed high self-preference. This self-preference decreased somewhat in minority groups of eight or more Indians. In groups of five or over, the Indian girls were more willing to work with Whites than to sit near them. The girls in the two ~~atypical~~ typical grade four classes undeniably influenced the height of the two self-preference ratios. Under conditions similar to the other classes, the Indian girls'

self-preferences would probably not have been as high for the five to seven and eight and over concentration levels as they were in this study.

The Criswell study (18) and the present study showed similar minority group (Negroes in Criswell's study, Indians in this one) changes with increasing age. Both studies found no racial self-preference in minority group members in the younger grades and then gradual increases in self-preference as grade level increased. Criswell found that the minority group had withdrawn by grade five. Without the somewhat atypical grade four classes, this study would probably have revealed similar results. Certainly it can be said that the Indians had withdrawn from the Whites by grade six.

Again, the concentration levels used in the two studies vary too much to make a valid comparison of the effect of the minority group's numerical strength on its self-preference.

Adult Groups

Very definite racial cleavage existed between Whites (SPR 5.52) and Indians (SPR 11.48) in the adult groups tested. Both Whites and Indians showed more willingness, however, to work with members of the other race than to room with them. Individuals from both races were probably willing to admit the existence of a few good workers from the other race and to acknowledge these as acceptable work associates.

The White adults in our sample likely developed their anti-Indian attitudes as quite young children. As they become older their attitudes were reinforced by cultural stereotypes, "well known facts" about Indians, and directly observed undesirable Indian behaviour.

Such Whites brought their anti-Indian attitudes with them to the job where Indians were now direct economic rivals. The prejudice tended to intensify as Indians received promotions, and as the demand for workers declined. Stereotyped attitudes were reinforced when some Indians were observed to be drunk, lazy and irresponsible on the job. The fact that many White men were guilty of precisely the same faults was overlooked. Probably fear that the Indian would be kept on the job and the White laid off was the chief reason for the Whites' strong anti-Indian prejudice. Undesirable behaviour by a few Indians could be generalized to the whole race and serve as a rationalization for the White man's prejudice.

The adult Indians in this study showed a higher level of self-preference than that displayed by Indian boys in any of the grades tested. Whereas the boys had experienced White rejection, only, the male adult Indians had often been the victims of flagrant prejudice and discrimination. These men had been denied some types of employment, paid lower wages, given poorer tools and facilities, belittled for their accomplishments, blamed whenever errors were made on the job, denied entrance into theatres, bowling alleys, pool halls, hotels, and had even been beaten up on the street. It is not surprising, then, that the adult Indians in this study should show such definite self-preference despite the fact that at that time they were receiving the same wages, working conditions, and accommodation as the Whites. An additional factor tending to increase the Indians' preference for their own race was the tribal fostering of close friendships between relatives.

Neither the White nor the Indian men in the group which included only two Indians showed any racial cleavage. Both races were quite willing to accept members of the other race as work partners or as room mates. It must be pointed out that this group, besides having a low concentration of Indians, was numerically small (only twenty-five men total). Consequently, more intimate contact with a greater number of persons was possible than in numerically larger groups. Moreover, since all of the men in the group were tradesmen or semi-skilled workers, they felt quite secure in the job and knew that upon its completion they would have no difficulty in obtaining work on another project. Thus it was more feasible in this, than in the larger, unskilled groups for the White members to know the two Indians as individuals and to refrain from viewing them as rivals for a few scarce jobs.

In the three remaining groups most of the men were semi-skilled or unskilled labourers. Concern over job security characterized the members of these groups. Self-preference (see Figure 21) of both Whites and Indians were found to increase quite steadily as the number of Indians and Metis in the group increased. Although definite cleavage was in evidence in all cases, both races were slightly more willing to work with members of the other race than to room with them. In the group with four Indians in it, the Whites showed a preference to work with their own members, but the self-preference ratio was not statistically dependable. They did, however, show a very high degree of cleavage from the Indians with respect to the "room with" criterion. The Indians in this group showed cleavage from the Whites on both criteria.

The Indians and Whites in the two highest minority concentration adult groups (7 and 13 Indians) both showed extremely high self-preference (see Tables XXV, XXVI, and XXVII, and Figures 21, 22, and 23). In some cases there were no inter-racial choices. The preference for one's own racial group was again greater in choosing room-mates than work partners.

Possibly in the case of the adult sample, as with the school children, working with a member of the other race was not considered to be as intimate or permanent a relationship as rooming with one (sitting near in the students' case). Thus, "working with" self-preferences were found to be lower in all adult groups than "rooming with" self-preferences.

Our findings seem to agree with Dallyn (22 p 21) when he says "It is apparent then, that the people with whom the Indian must compete are more prejudiced toward him than others,". The present study seems to indicate that cleavage is greatest in groups whose members are insecure regarding the duration of their employment and the possibility of obtaining another job if they are laid off the present one. In these adult groups high concentration of Indians was associated with unskilled occupations. However, this study had no way of determining the extent to which either of these factors, individually, was responsible for the increased racial cleavage.

The present study showed that White students' self-preference decreased with grade level and accordingly with age. The adult Whites, who can be assumed to have had, on the average, only elementary schooling or slightly better, showed very definite racial cleavage. This makes it

rather hard to believe that age, per se, is the crucial factor with respect to race cleavage. Increased educational and economic levels are probably more important. This hypothesis tends to support Dallyn (22 p.22) when he says "It may also be concluded that more education makes people more tolerant of the Indian's need to be accepted and recognized in the community."

Sociometric Choices Received by Indian Children Living in Residential School and in White Homes.

T A B L E XXVIII.

NUMBER OF INDIAN CHILDREN LIVING IN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL AND IN WHITE HOMES
FALLING INTO EACH SOCIOMETRIC QUARTILE

PLACE OF RESIDENCE	<u>Sociometric Quartiles</u>				df	χ^2	P
	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4			
RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL :	4	11	19	29	3	22.0157	.001
WHITE HOMES :	2	3	2	1	3	1.0000	--

It would be expected that on the basis of chance one quarter of the sample of Indian children living in residential school and one quarter of the Indian children boarding in White homes would be found in each of the four sociometric quartile positions.¹

1. The sociometric quartile method involves the division of a group into quarters according to the number of choices the individuals receive. For example, persons falling in Quartile I (Q1) are the one quarter of the group receiving the most choices.

From Table XXVIII it can be seen that the quartile positioning of the eight Indian children living in White homes did not vary significantly from the expected positioning. However, the quartile positions of the children living in residential school did show statistically dependable ($p < .001$) differences from those to be expected by chance. There was a definite trend for these children to fall into the two quartiles of fewest choices received.

Interpretation of these trends is complicated by the fact that the two sample sizes are so different (63 in residential school, 8 in White homes) and that truly unbiased random assignment of children to either residential school or White homes can not be assumed. The trends do seem to indicate that possibly these grade 6, 7 and 8 Indian children living in White homes were accepted by their classmates whereas those children from the residential school were not. It would seem quite plausible that the Indian children in White homes came into more contact with Whites, made more White friends, and consequently received more choices than did residential school children. Conscious or unconscious assignment of better adjusted children to the White homes is also a possible explanation for the greater popularity of these children within their classroom.

A truly random assignment of a larger number of Indian children to White homes would be required before an accurate evaluation of the relative merits to children of residential school life and living in White homes could be ascertained.

Summary of Discussion

A number of general and specific inferences might be drawn from the findings of this study. Probably most important is further support to the hypothesis that higher educational levels are associated with lesser amounts of prejudice and cleavage. Also, as greater self-preference was shown by the culturally dominant White group than by the minority Indian group, at the primary school level, it would appear that it should be made the chief target for remedial measures. As Rose puts it in his The Roots of Prejudice (UNESCO, 1958) -

"A tradition on which prejudice is based can be maintained only by being transmitted to children. If the transmission of prejudice through the home and play group can be counteracted by the school and church while the child's mind is still flexible, prejudice cannot long survive. Also, if the public can be led to consider that manifestations of prejudice are shameful, many parents will refrain from displaying their prejudice in front of their children. Where this happens, children are less likely to acquire prejudice."

In addition, two rather specific suggestions arise out of the present study. Adjustment in integrated classrooms might be facilitated by the placement of Indian children in White homes instead of residential schools. This point needs further investigation as was pointed out earlier. However, the present findings seem to indicate fairly definitely that in integrated groups it is desirable to have the minority group present in numbers either too small or too large to prevent it from forming a cohesive sub-group.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Many sociological investigations of American Indian tribes and customs have been reported, but there has been a scarcity of studies dealing specifically with prejudice towards Indians. Some very recent ones utilizing the Likert attitude scale, have dealt with the attitudes of White persons towards Canadian Indian and Metis. These investigations suggest that the educational levels and occupations of White persons, may have an effect on their attitudes toward Indians and Metis. However, it was felt that a sociometric study of the inter-racial relationships existing in groups composed of Indians and Whites would be useful since it would investigate behaviour involving actual contact between the two racial groups.

The subjects were 682 students in twenty classrooms from various Manitoba public schools and 139 male adults from four different construction units. The classrooms were drawn from grades 2, 4, 6, 8, and 10. Each one of these grade levels and the adult level was represented by four groups varying in concentration of Indian and Metis members as follows: (a) 1 or 2, (b) 3 or 4, (c) 5 to 7, (d) 8 or more Indians and Metis.

The sociometric test, utilizing the criteria "If you had your choice of all the people in this classroom whom would you like to have sit near you?" and "...to have work with you?" for the school children and the criteria "If you had your choice of all the men in this work unit whom would you like to have room with you?" and "...to have work with you?" for the adults, was administered to all groups.

Three choices of persons were allowed with respect to each criterion.

There is some evidence in the literature that age and minority group concentration are factors in the amount of racial cleavage existing in groups. Boys and girls have also shown different reactions to minority group members. These trends have usually been noted in groups composed of Whites and Negroes or Whites and Jews.

This study attempted to investigate the influence of age and minority group concentration on racial cleavage in Indian-White groups.

The main findings of the study were as follows:

1. Both White and Indian children and adults were found to prefer their own racial group.
2. White girls were found to exhibit the greatest amount of racial cleavage. Their withdrawal from Indians was most severe at the grade six level, being less severe before and after this age level.
3. When grade level differences were disregarded, White boys and Indian boys showed approximately the same amount of racial cleavage. However, the racial cleavage of the White boys steadily decreased with increasing grade level while that of the Indian boys increased steadily with increasing grade level.
4. Indian girls were found to exhibit the least amount of racial cleavage. Their low degrees of racial cleavage were found to be fairly constant at all grade levels.
5. Recently-integrated grade four Indian children showed greater self-preference than did other grade four Indian children.

6. It was indicated that boarding Indian children in White homes as opposed to placing them in a Residential School possibly resulted in greater interracial acceptance.

7. Adult male Whites and Indians showed definite racial cleavage. This cleavage was found to increase as the concentration of Indians and Metis in the group increased and possibly as competition for jobs increased.

8. Boys, girls, and adult Whites and Indians generally showed greater willingness to work with members of the other race than to sit near them or to room with them.

9. White children and White male adults were found to exhibit greater self-preference as the concentration of Indians in the group increased. However, grades eight and ten White children were an exception. They showed approximately the same self-preference at all minority concentration levels.

10. White boys showed greater self-preference as the concentration of Indians in the group increased.

11. White girls showed marked cleavage at all minority concentration levels. They showed a slight decrease in self-preference as the concentration of Indians in the group increased.

12. Indian boys and Indian girls showed no self-preference when there were only one or two of them in a classroom, high self-preference when in threes or fours, very high self-preference when constituting a minority of five to seven members, and finally, when numbering eight or more, showed somewhat less self-preference than that

shown by minorities of five to seven children. This general trend was in evidence at all five grade levels tested.

13. Indian adult males showed greater self-preference as their numbers in a group increased.

14. The cleavage shown by the Whites was believed to be attributable to cultural influences in childhood; the gradual decrease in self-preference with age to the growing awareness of the fallibility of cultural stereotypes and prejudices about Indians. The difference in the amount of self-preference shown by White boys and White girls was thought to reflect the differing amounts of control typically exercised by White parents over their sons and daughters.

15. The self-preference of Indian children was believed to increase as a result of their becoming more aware of their position as minority group members. The Indian boys who had probably experienced overt White hostility showed definite self-preference from about grade six on. The Indian girls, on the other hand, encountering only indifference on the part of Whites, showed somewhat less self-preference.

16. The explanation offered for the extreme self-preference displayed by Indian children when constituting a minority of five to seven members of a classroom was the feasibility of forming a cohesive sub-group. When constituting a smaller minority, the Indians tended to seek some friends among the White majority. When numbering more than seven, the cohesiveness of the sub-group suffered.

A P P E N D I C E S

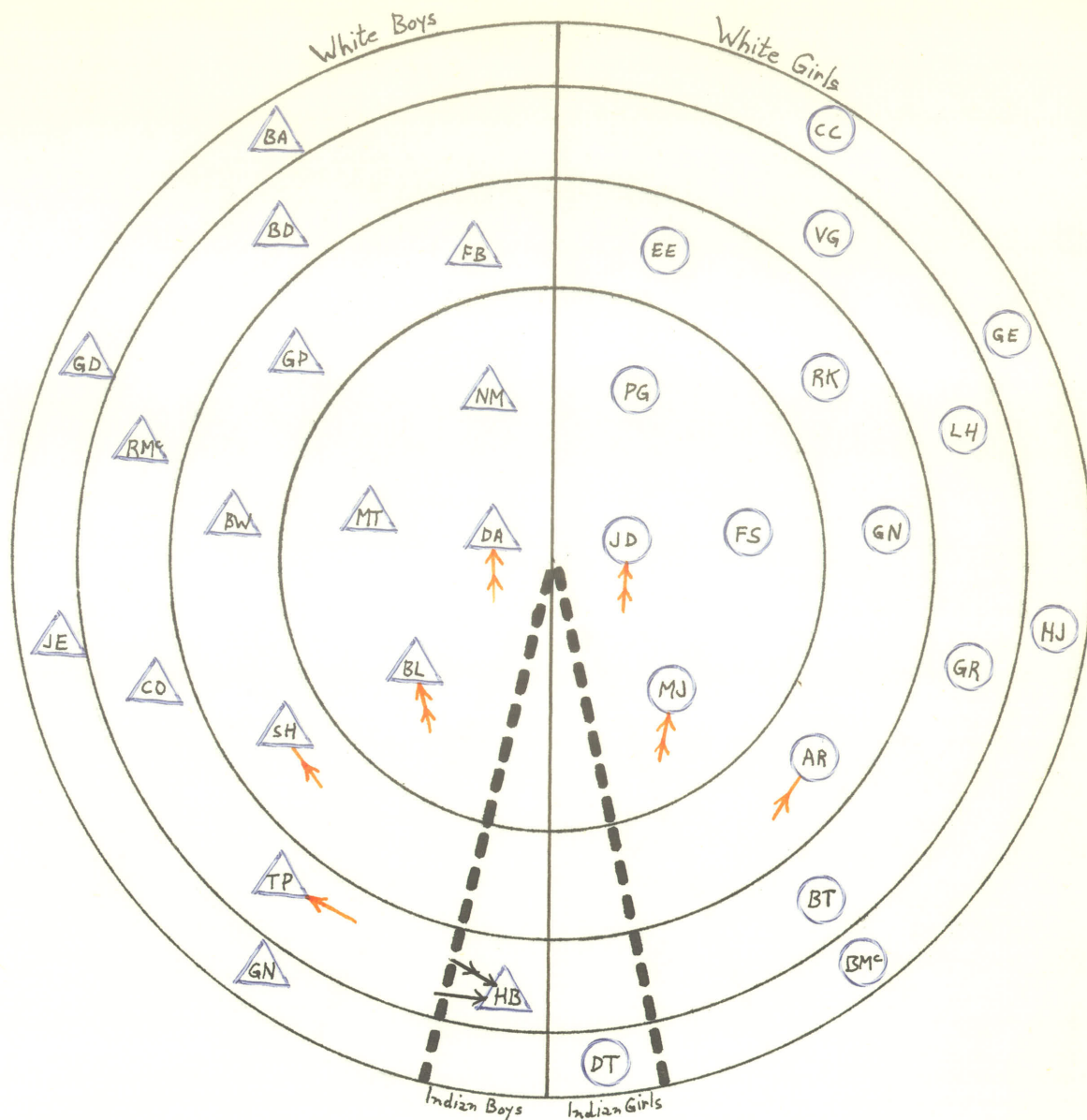
A B B R E V I A T I O N S

and

S Y M B O L S

W - W	White gives choice to White
W - I	White gives choice to Indian
I - I	Indian gives choice to Indian
I - W	Indian gives choice to White
	Male
	Female
	W - I choice, 1st criterion
	W - I choice, 2nd criterion
	W - I choice, both criteria
	I - W choice, 1st criterion
	I - W choice, 2nd criterion
	I - W choice, both criteria

A P P E N D I X "A"



GRADE 2 (a)

32 Whites

2 Indians

Average Ages

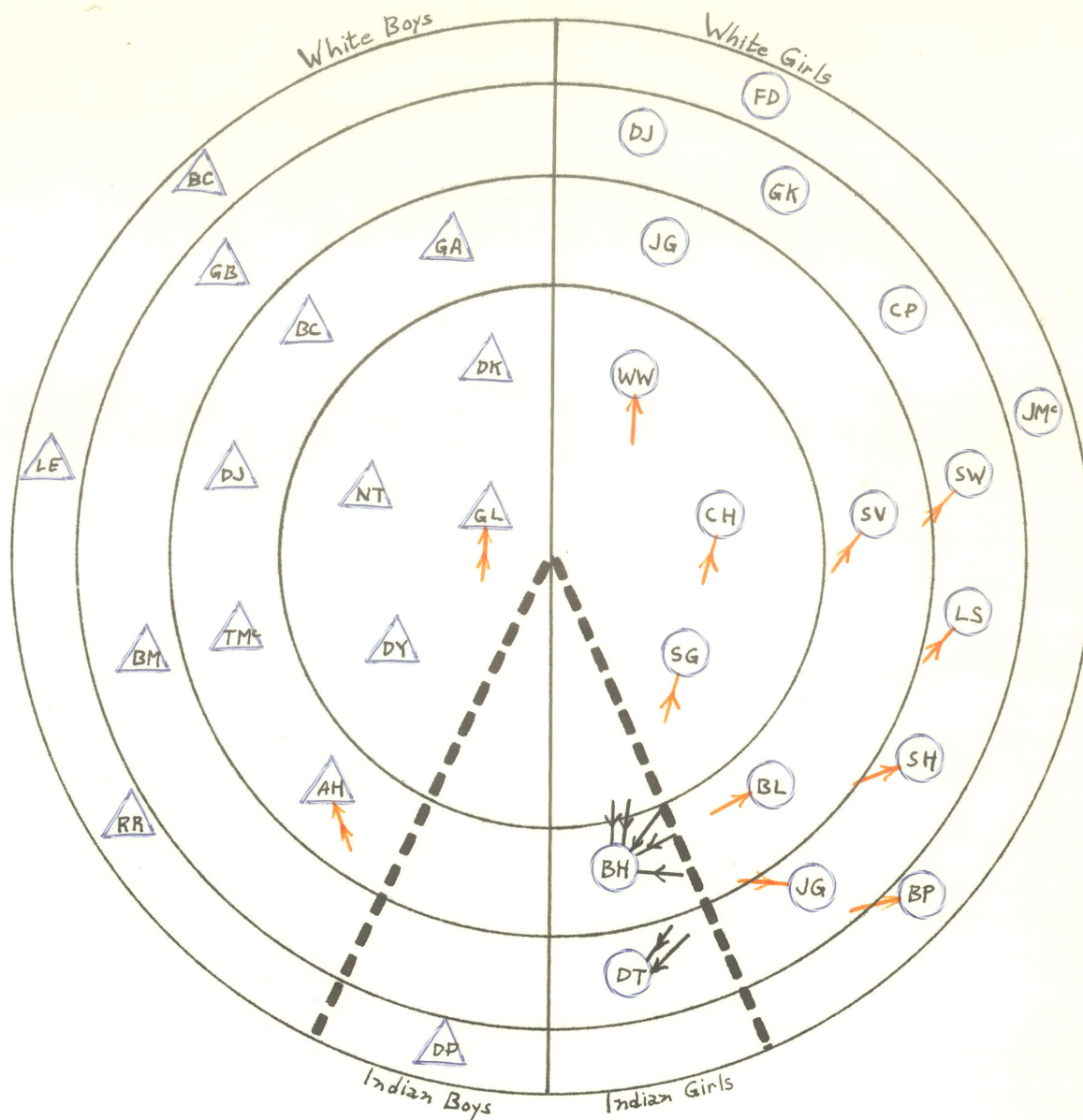
White - 7.9 yrs.

Indian - 8.5 yrs.

Self-preference Ratios

White - 4.07

Indian - 1.06



GRADE 2 (b)

30 Whites

3 Indians

Average Ages

White - 7.4 yrs.

Indian - 8.2 yrs.

Self-preference Ratios

White - 2.42

Indian - 0.94



GRADE 2 (c)

24 Whites

5 Indians

Average Ages

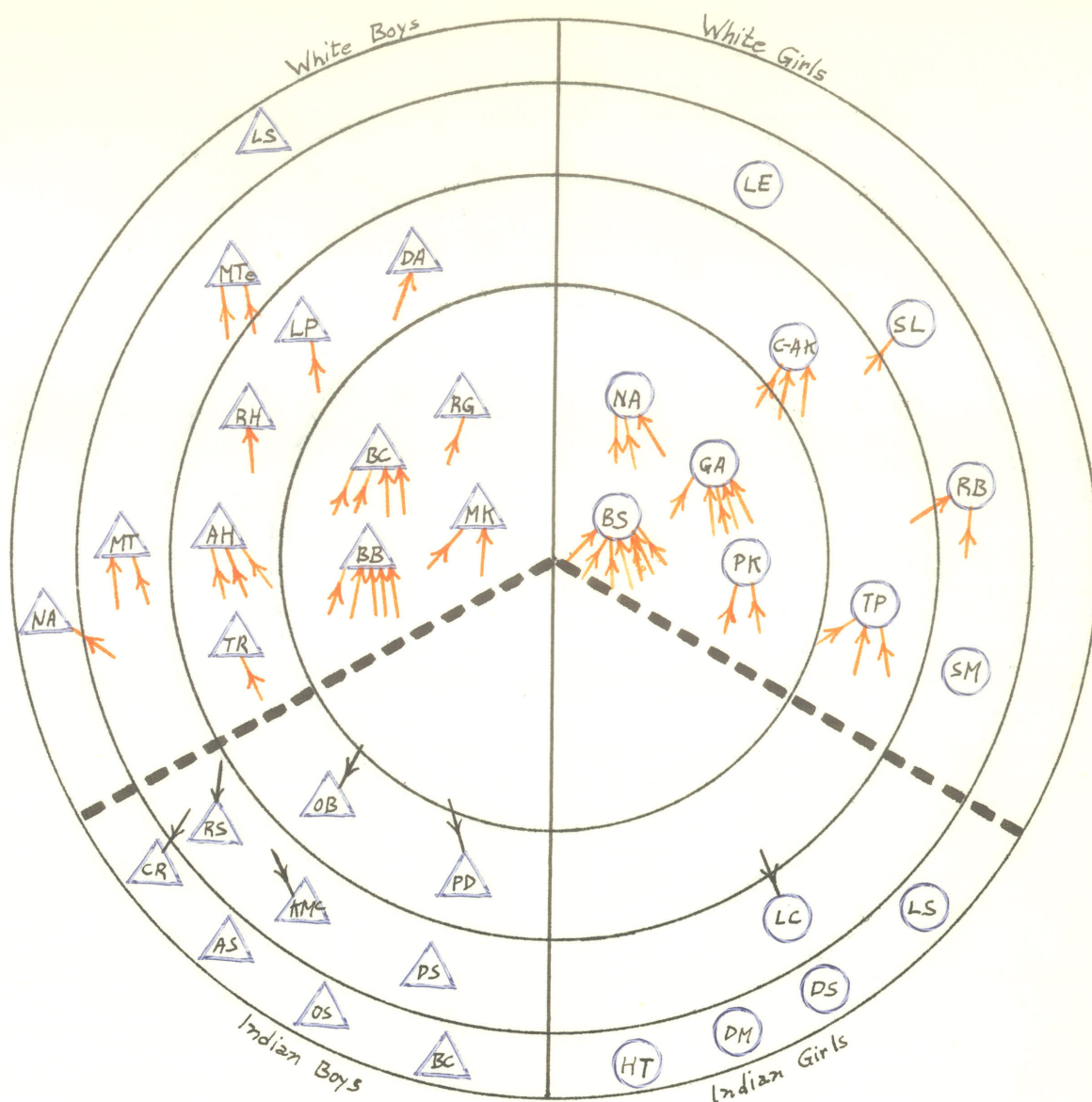
White - 8.4 yrs.

Indian - 10.4 yrs.

Self-preference Ratios

White - 4.26

Indian - 3.48



GRADE 2 (d)

23 Whites

14 Indians

Average Ages

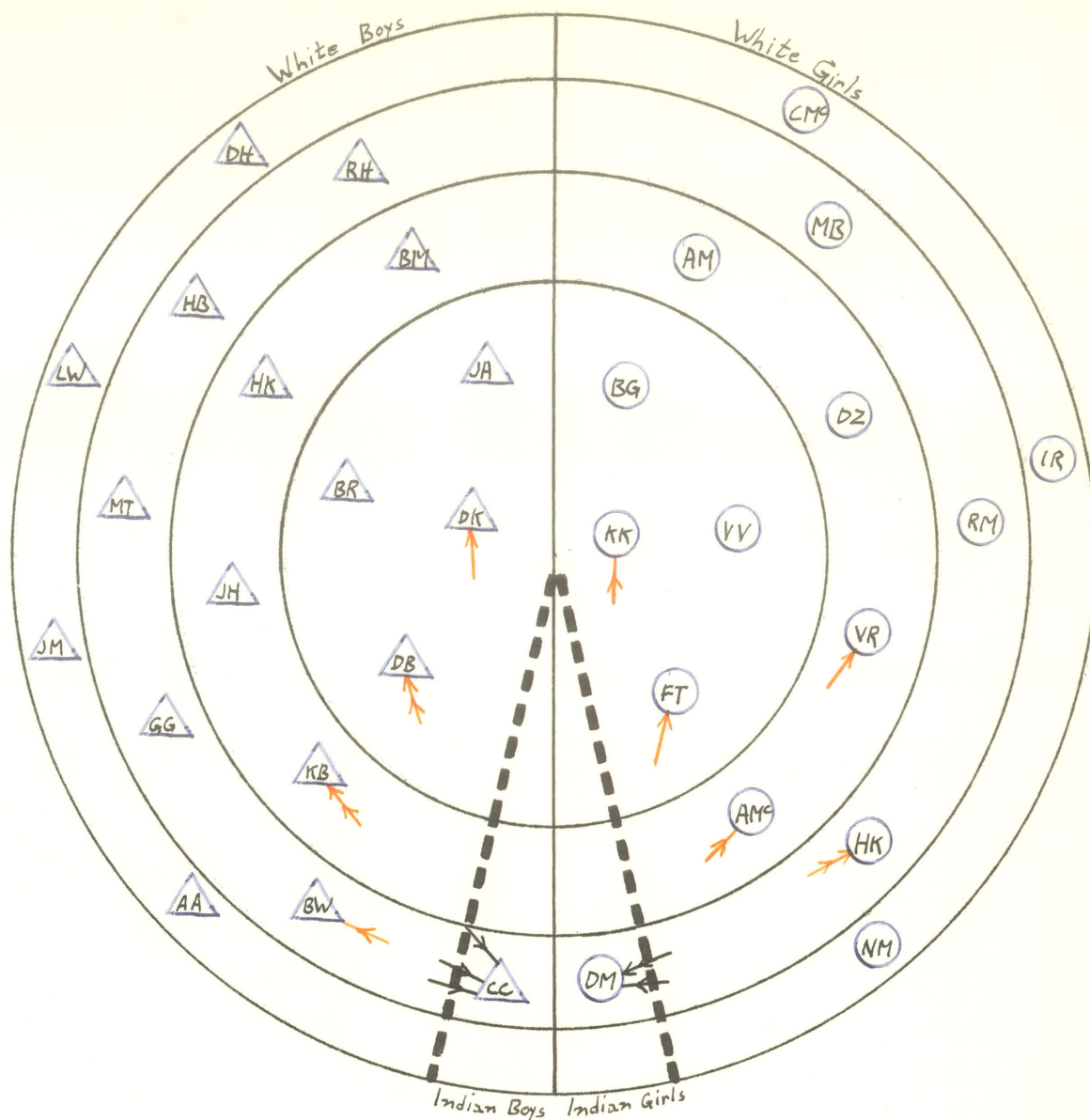
White - 7.4 years

Indian - 8.0 years

Self-preference Ratios

White - 14.17

Indian - 1.11



GRADE 4 (a)

31 Whites

2 Indians

Average Ages

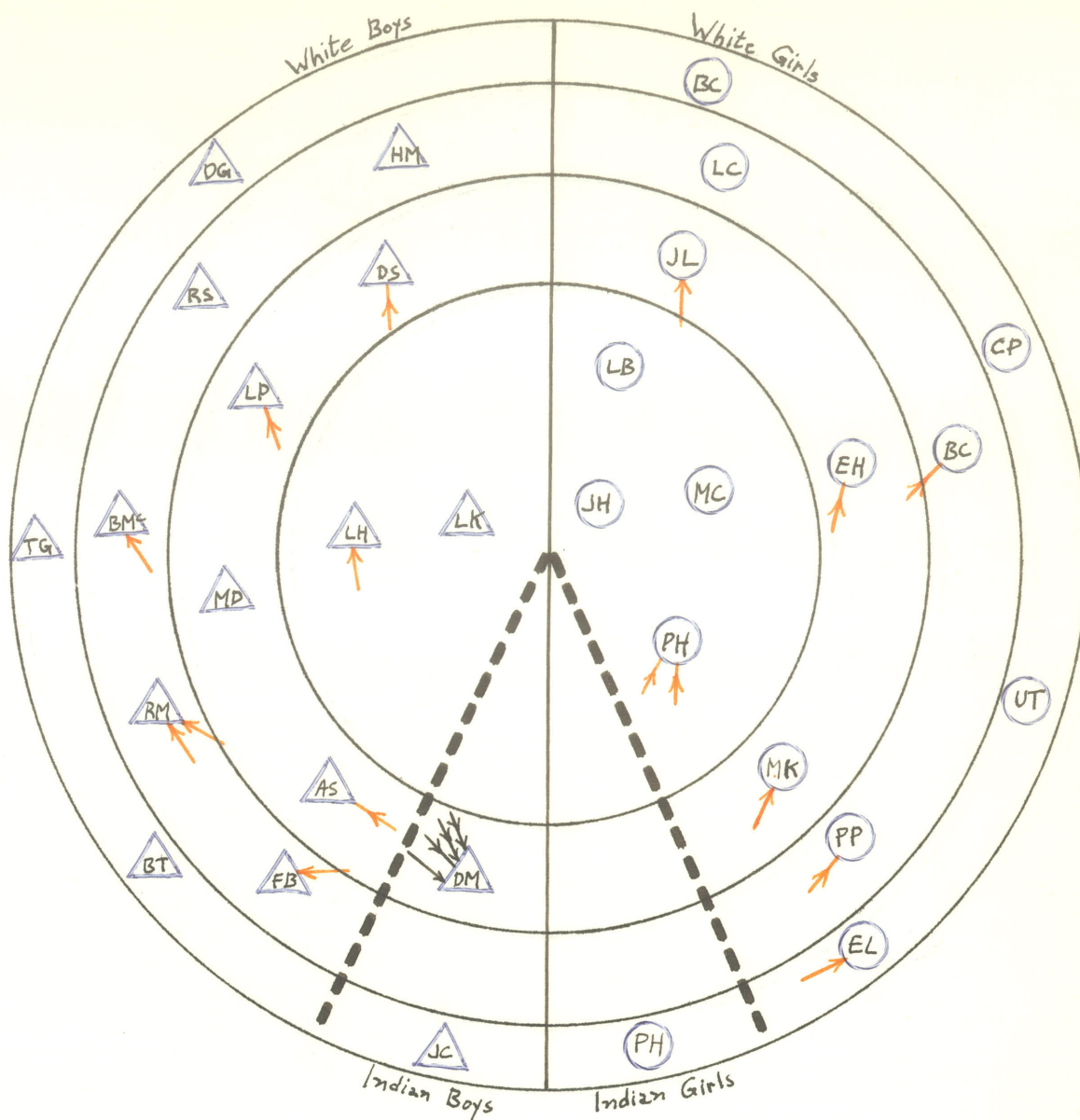
White - 9.6 yrs.

Indian - 11.0 yrs.

Self-preference Ratios

White - 1.77

Indian - 0.97



GRADE 4 (b)

28 Whites

3 Indians

Average Ages

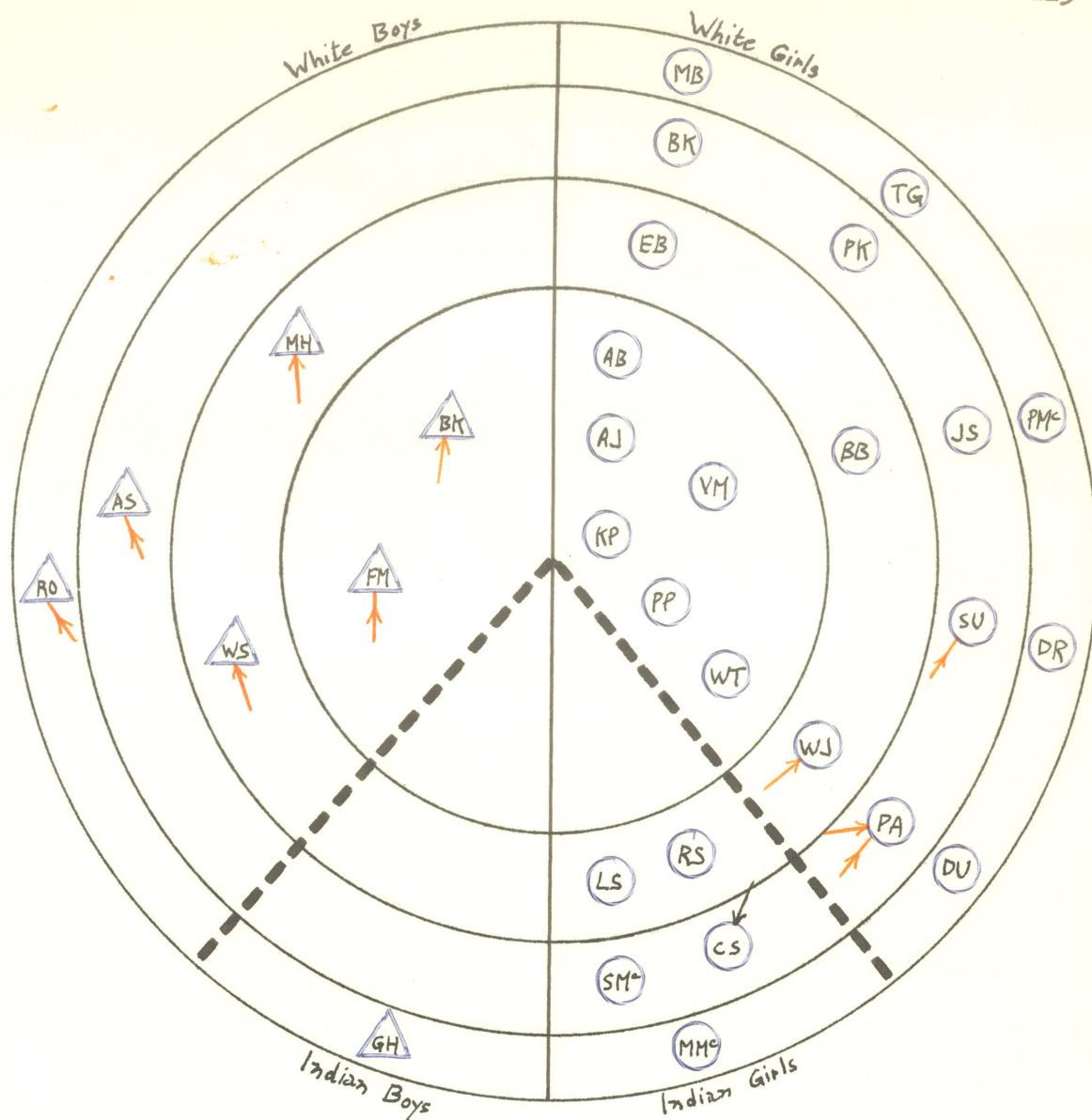
White - 9.8 yrs.

Indian - 11.0 yrs.

Self-preference Ratios

White - 3.00

Indian - 1.75



GRADE 4 (c)

25 Whites

6 Indians

Average Ages

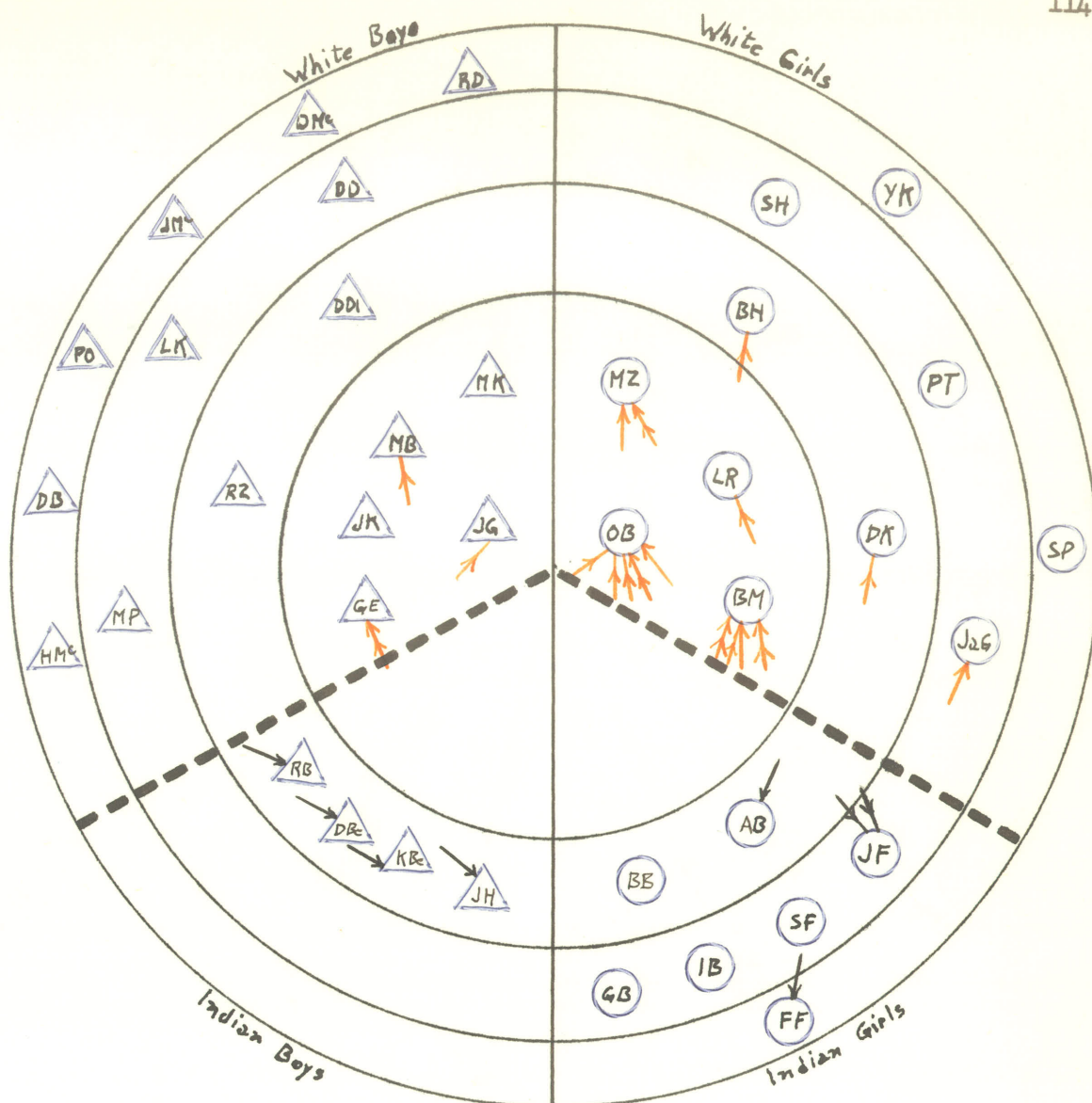
White - 9.24 yrs.

Indian - 11.67 yrs.

Self-preference Ratios

White - 37.25

Indian - 11.36



GRADE 4 (d)

27 Whites

11 Indians

Average Ages

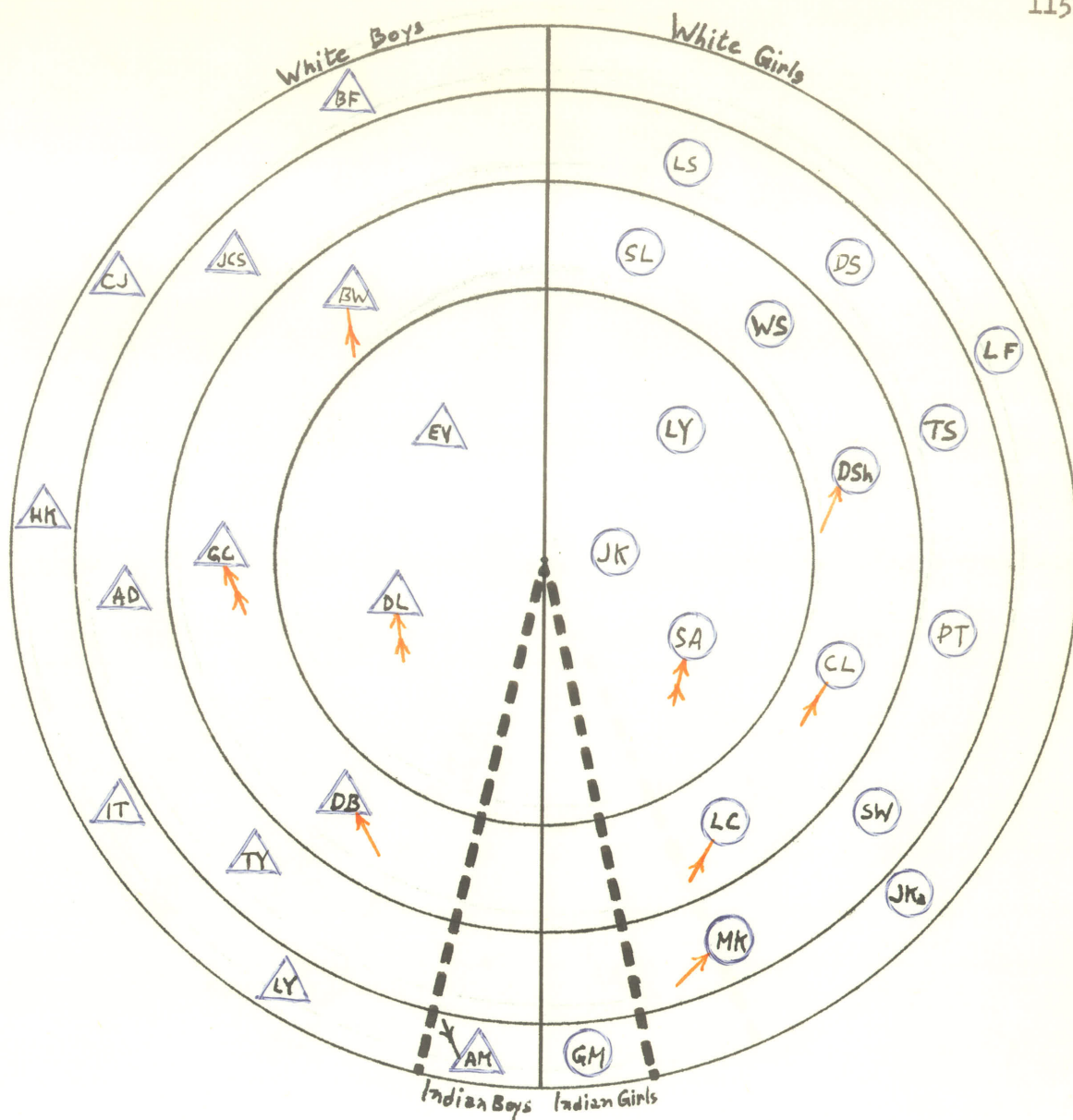
White - 9.55 yrs.

Indian - 10.45 yrs.

Self-preference Ratios

White - 8.14

Indian - 5.05



GRADE 6 (a)

29 Whites

2 Indians

Average Ages

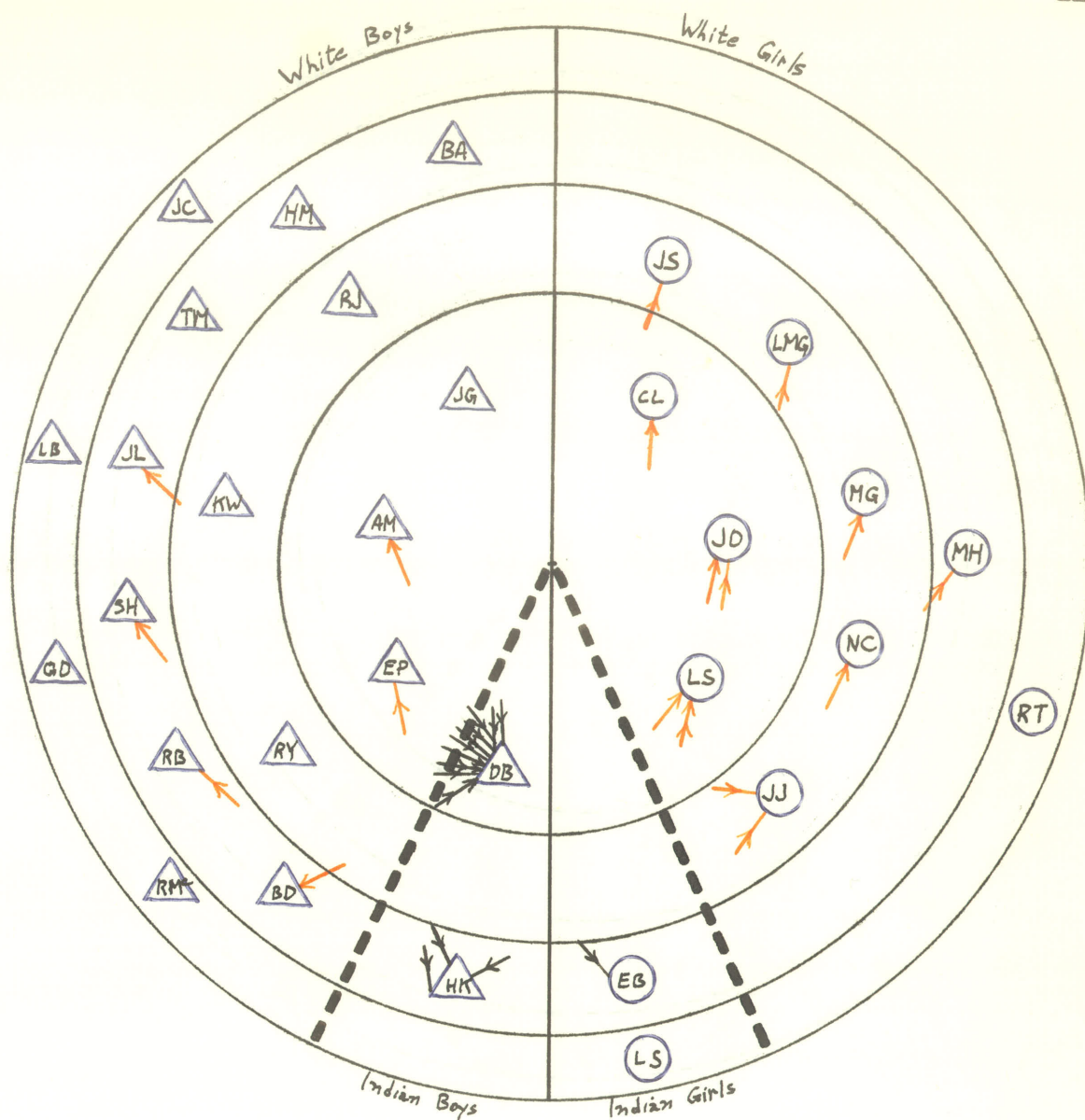
White - 11.9 yrs.

Indian - 14.0 yrs.

Self-preference Ratios

White - 12.36

Indian - 0.97



GRADE 6 (b)

27 Whites

4 Indians

Average Ages

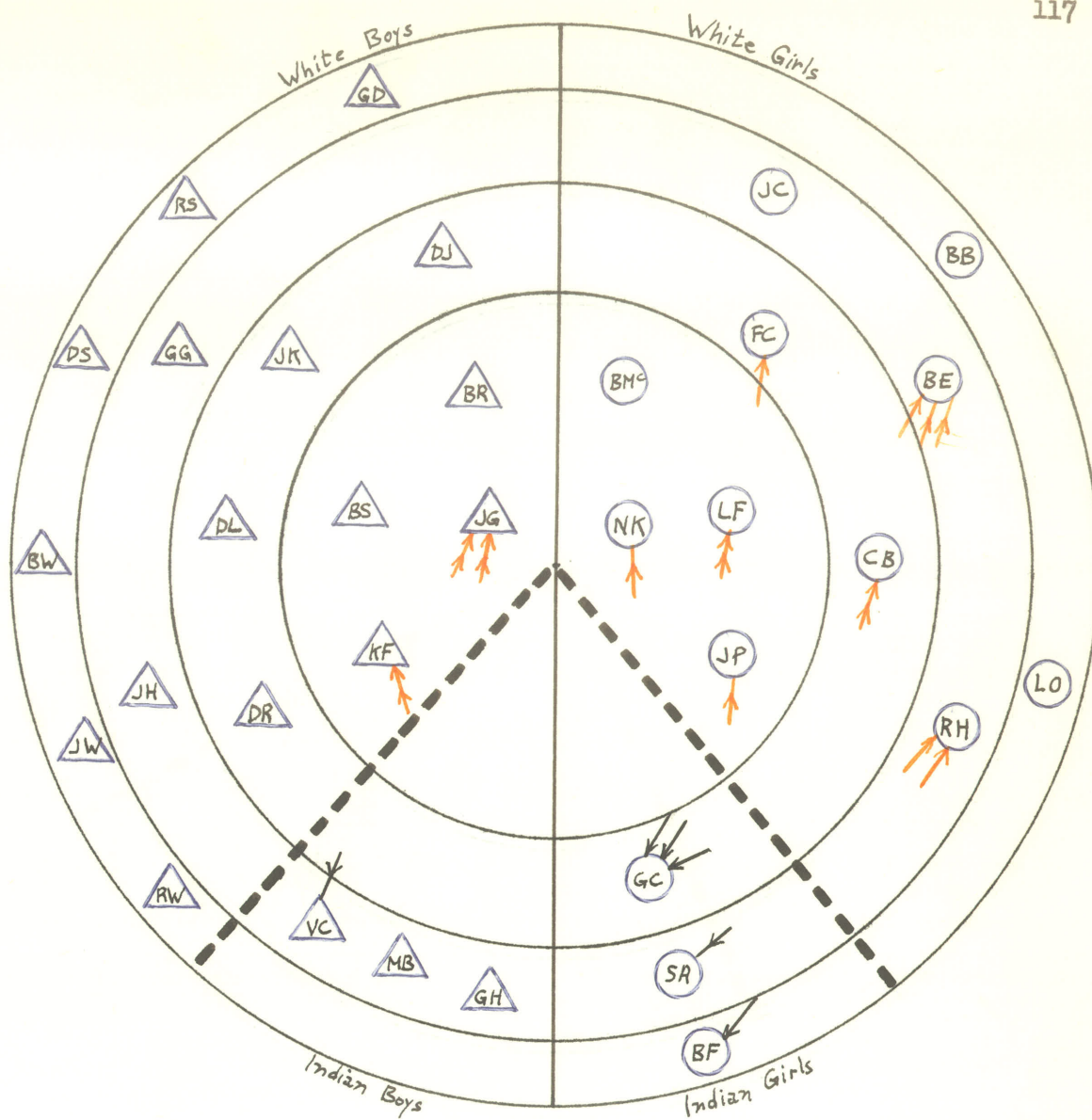
White - 11.6 yrs.

Indian - 15.0 yrs.

Self-preference Ratios

White - 1.16

Indian - 2.37



GRADE 6 (c)

27 Whites

6 Indians

Average Ages

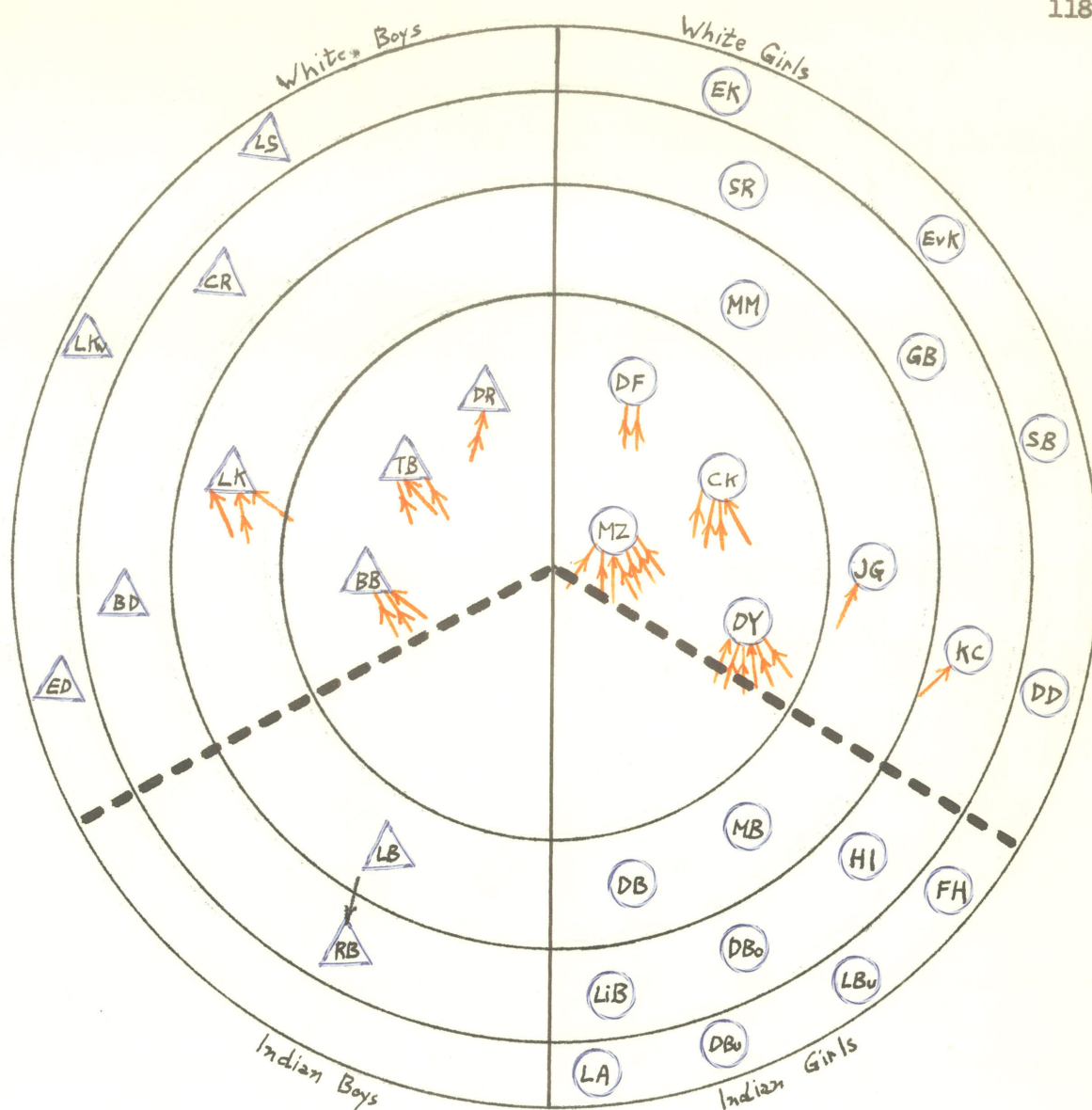
White - 11.5 yrs.

Indian - 14.0 yrs.

Self-preference Ratios

White - 5.99

Indian - 5.39



GRADE 6 (d)

22 Whites

11 Indians

Average Ages

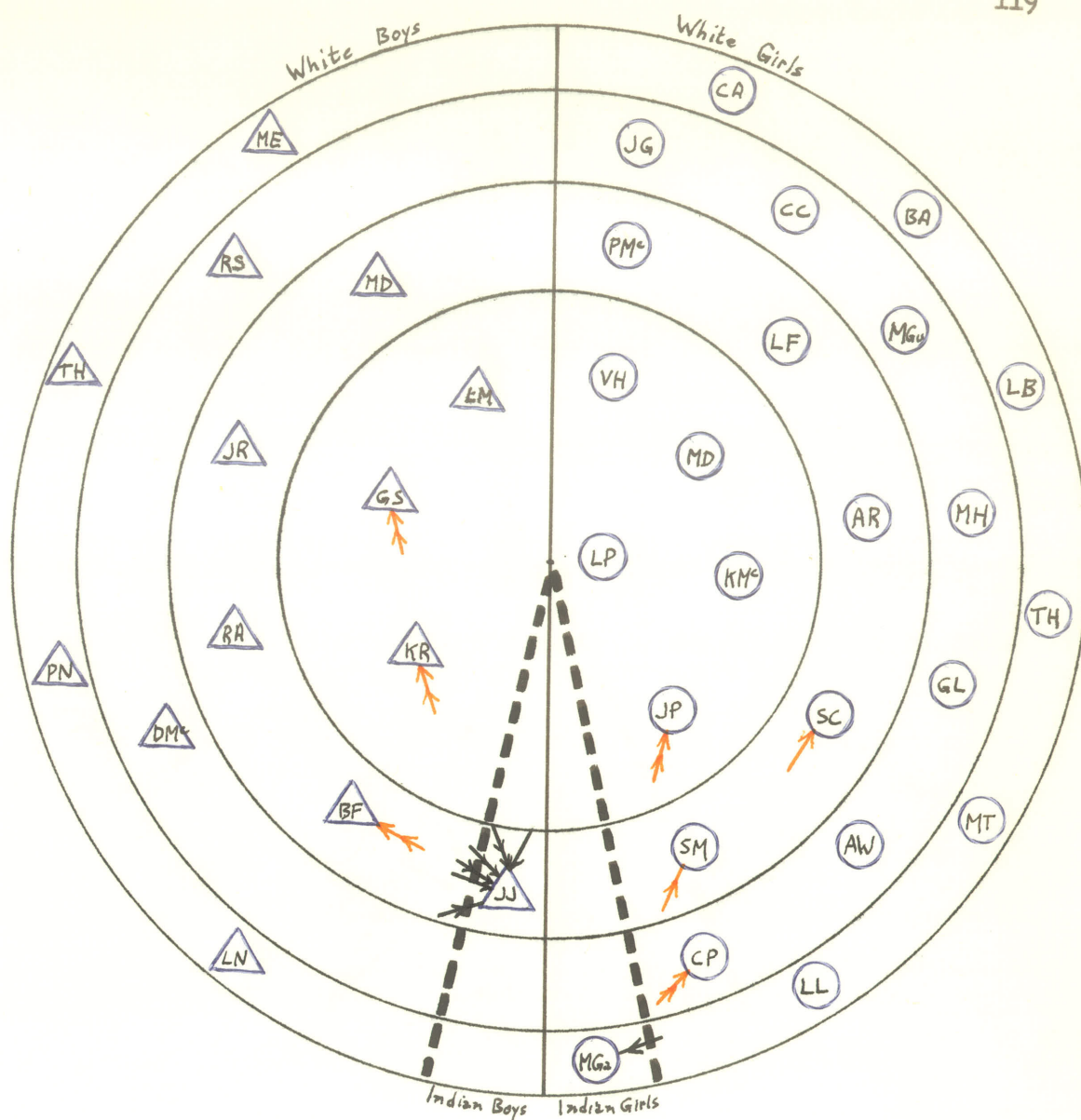
White - 11.4 yrs.

Indian - 12.5 yrs.

Self-preference Ratios

White - 68.6

Indian - 2.2



GRADE 8 (a)

36 Whites

2 Indians

Average Ages

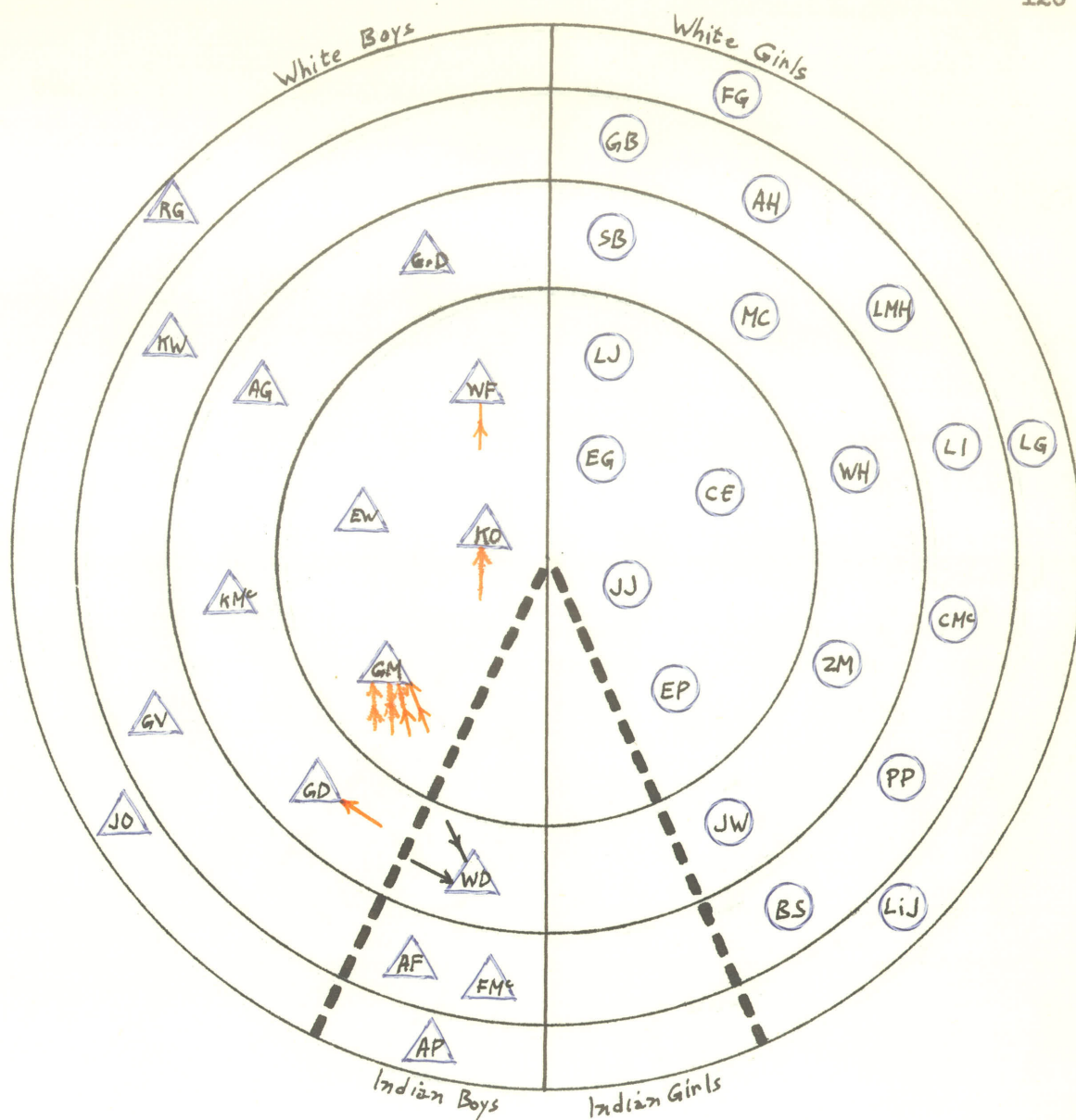
White - 13.9 yrs.

Indian - 17.3 yrs.

Self-preference Ratios

White - 1.07

Indian - 0.97



GRADE 8 (b)

32 Whites

4 Indians

Average Ages

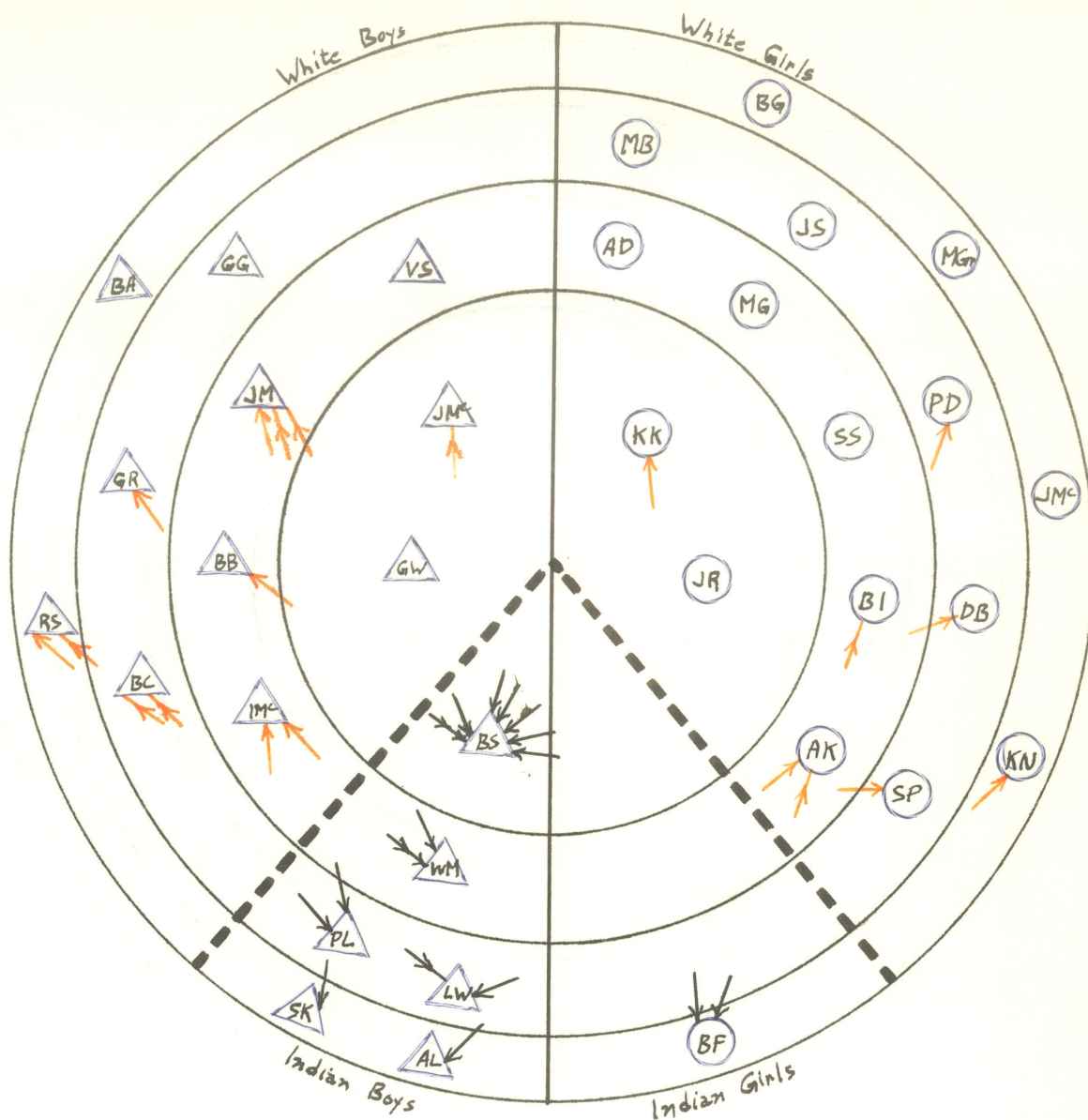
White - 13.7 yrs.

Indian - 15.5 yrs.

Self-preference Ratios

White - 12.33

Indian - 13.85



GRADE 8 (c)

27 Whites

7 Indians

Average Ages

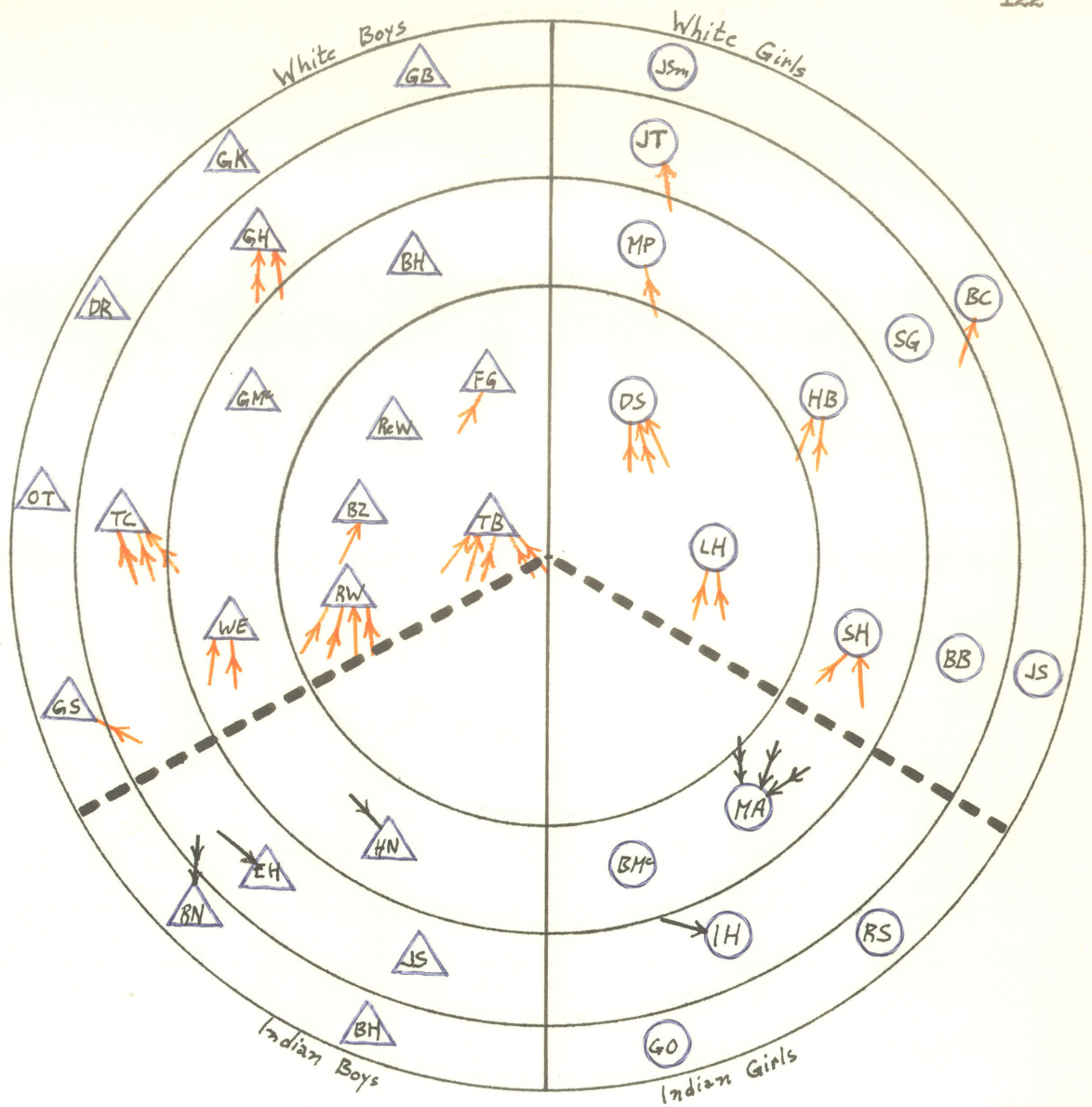
White - 14.9 yrs.

Indian - 16.4 yrs.

Self-preference Ratios

White - 2.04

Indian - 4.72



GRADE 8 (d)

26 Whites

10 Indians

Average Ages

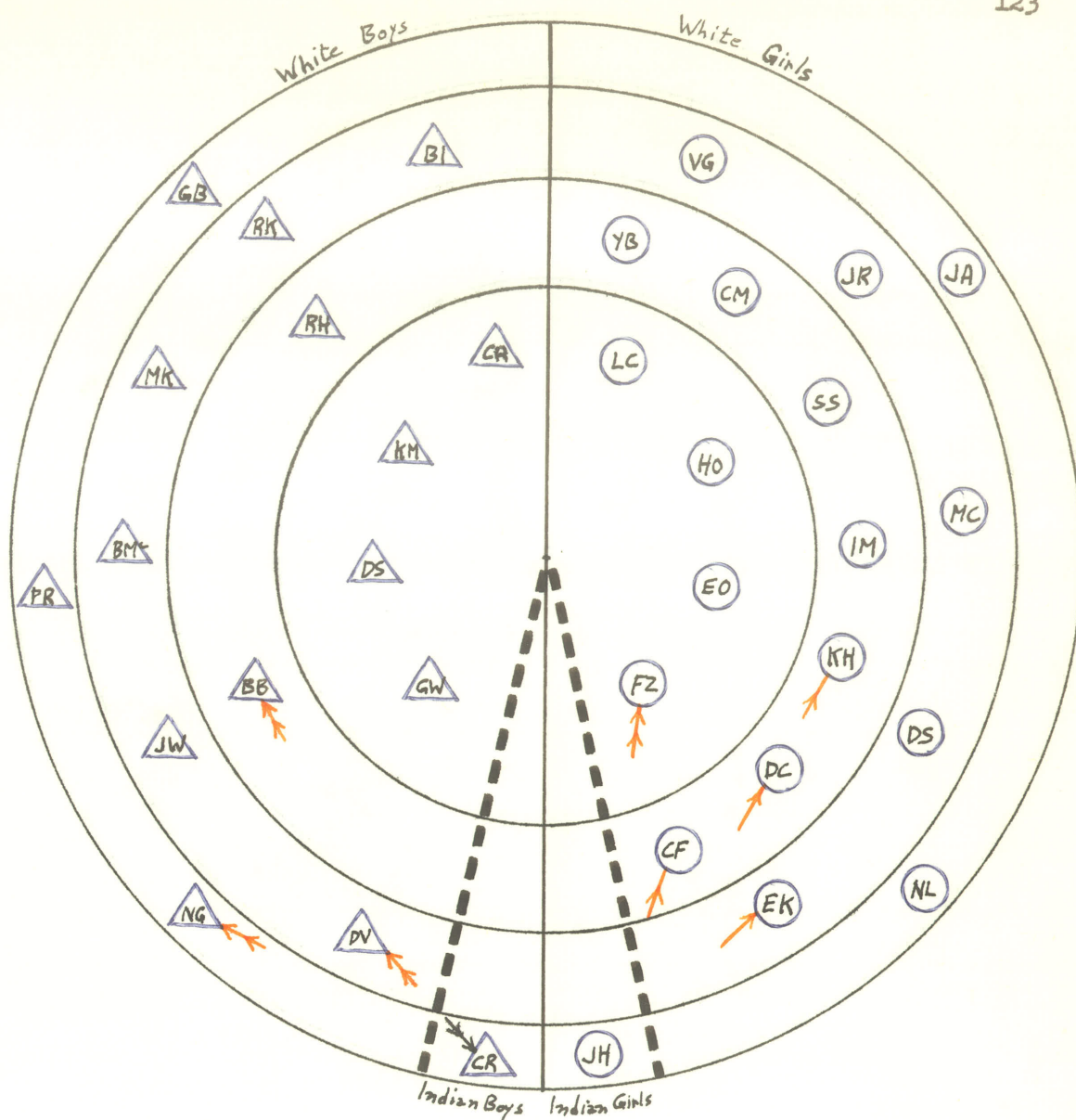
White - 14.2 yrs.

Indian - 16.1 yrs.

Self-preference Ratios

White - 5.15

Indian - 2.21



GRADE 10 (a)

33 Whites

2 Indians

Average Ages

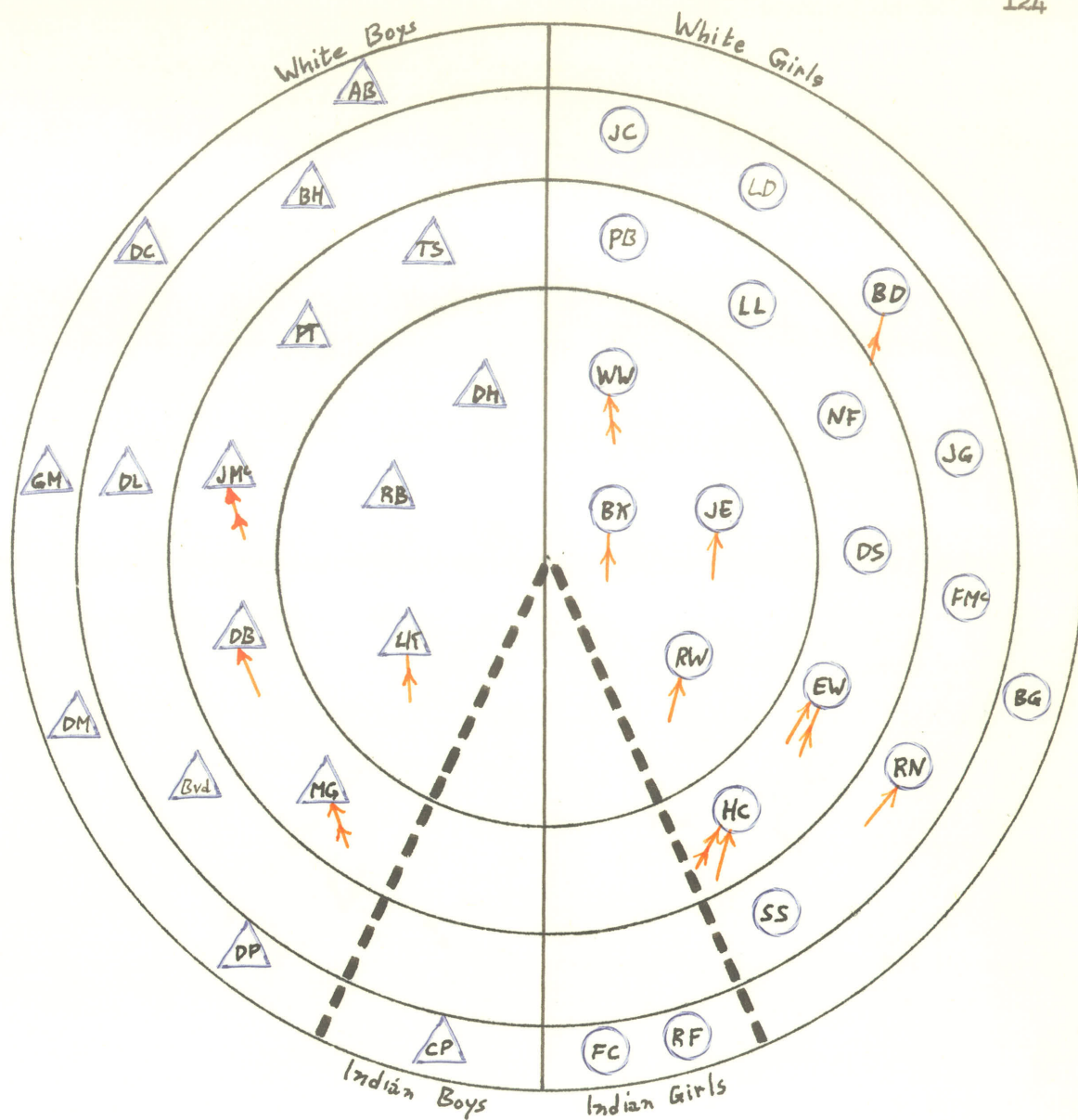
White - 15.9 yrs.

Indian - 16.5 yrs.

Self-preference Ratios

White - 6.13

Indian - 0.97



GRADE 10 (b)

34 Whites

3 Indians

Average Ages

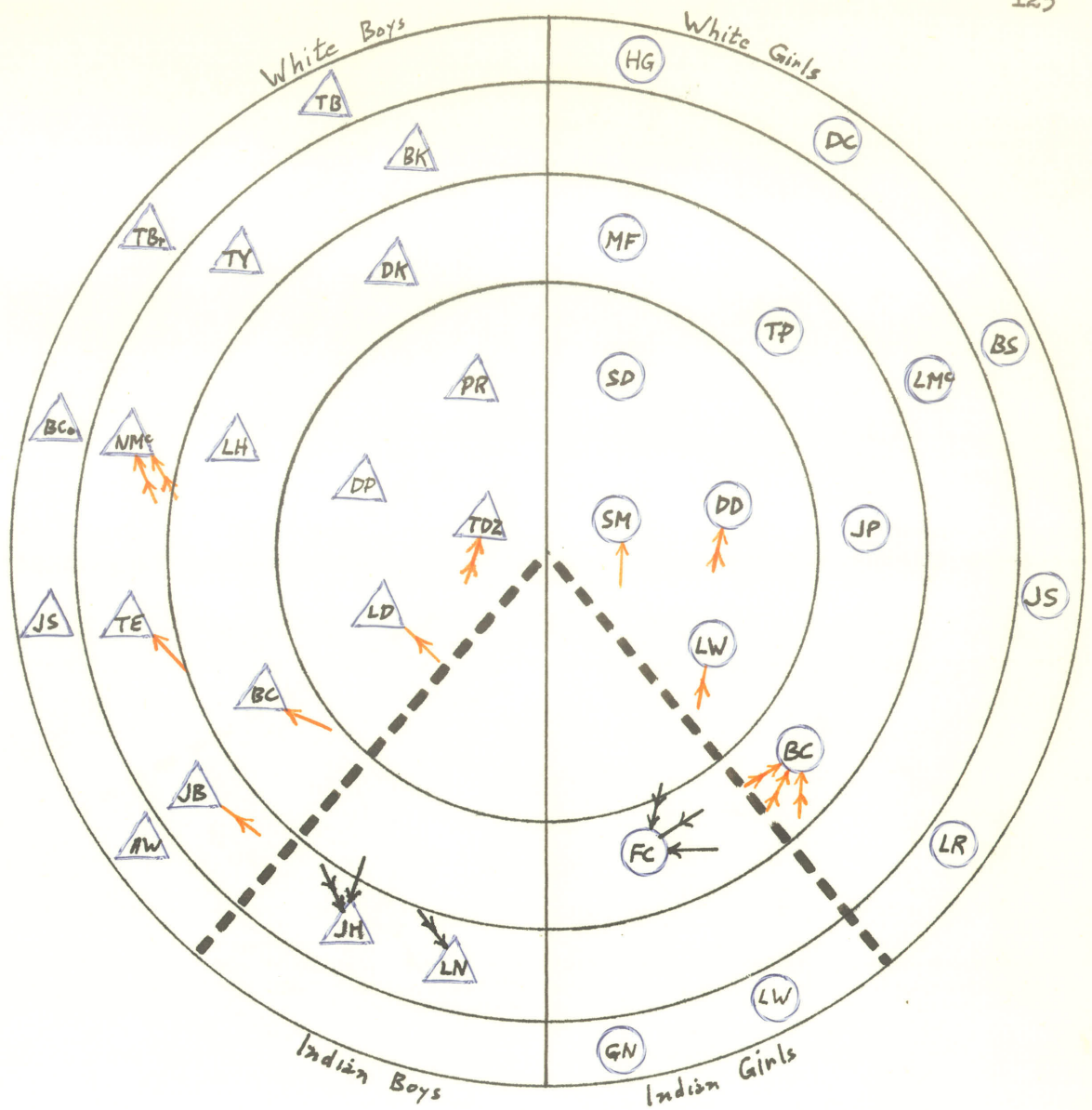
White - 15.7 yrs.

Indian - 17.0 yrs.

Self-preference Ratios

White - 18.54

Indian - 1.00



GRADE 10 (c)

31 Whites

5 Indians

Average Ages

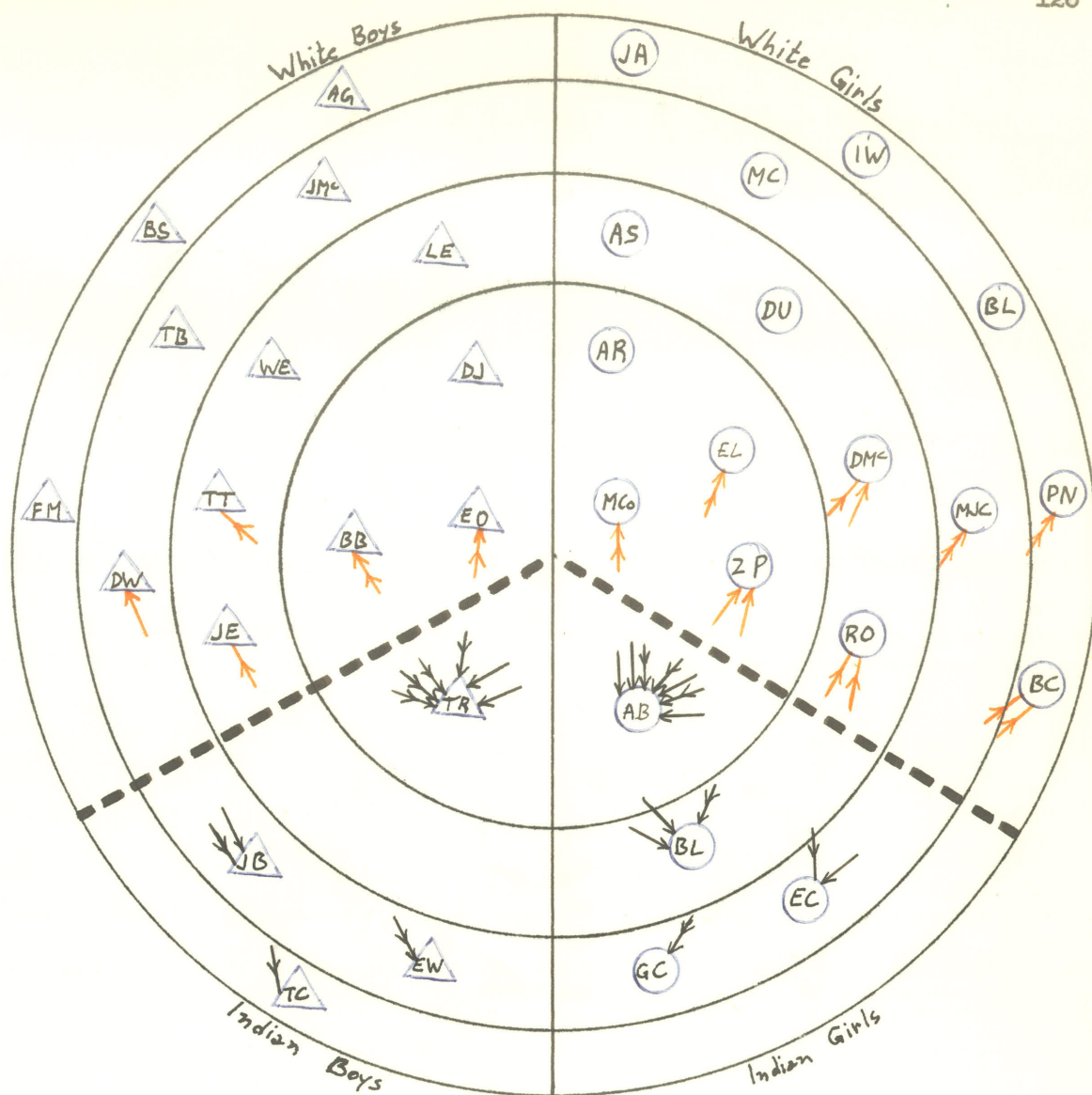
White - 15.7 yrs.

Indian - 18.0 yrs.

Self-preference Ratios

White - 3.14

Indian - 4.48



GRADE 10 (d)

28 Whites

8 Indians

Average Ages

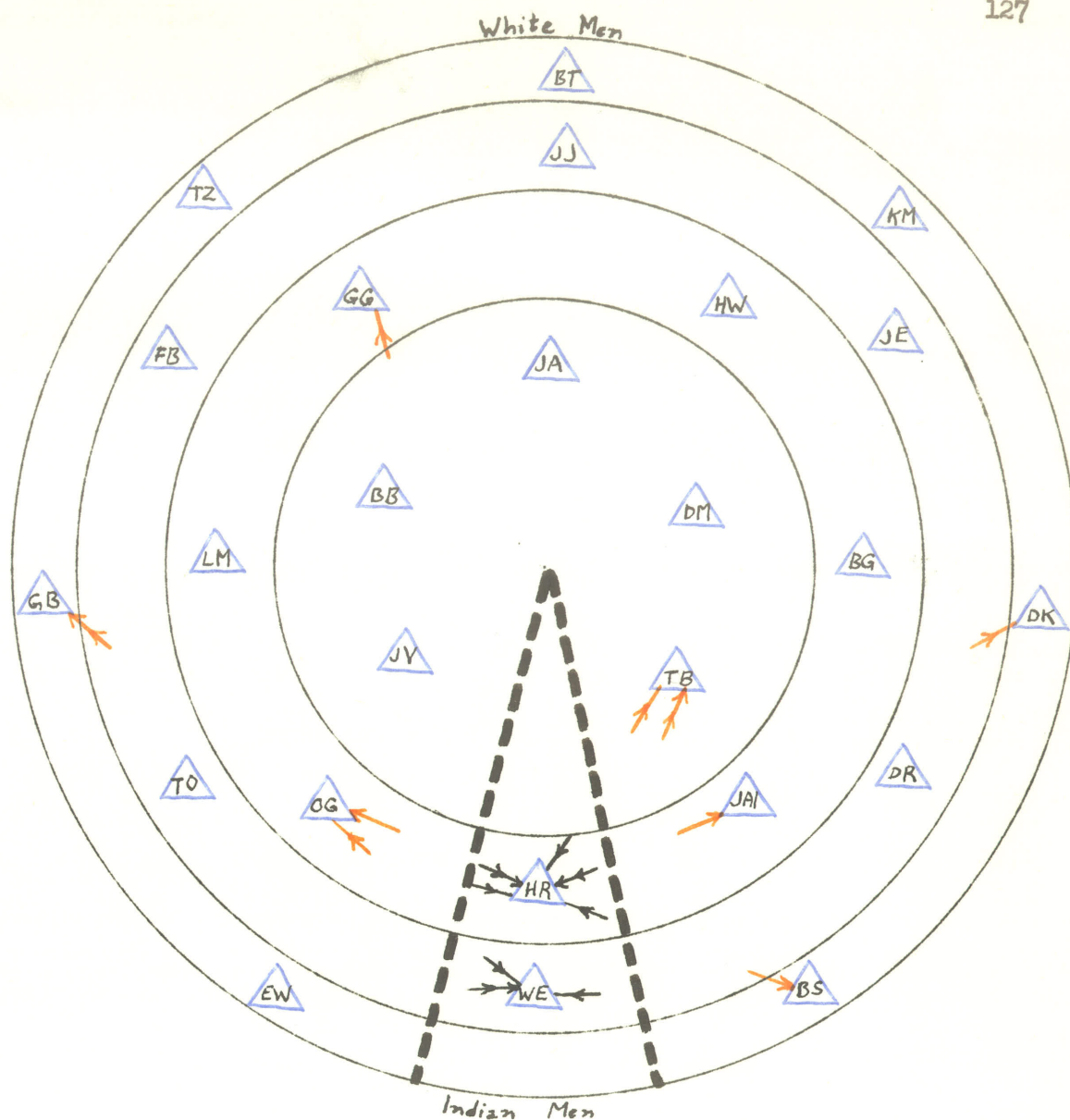
White - 15.9 yrs.

Indian - 16.9 yrs.

Self-preference Ratios

White - 1.21

Indian - 4.35



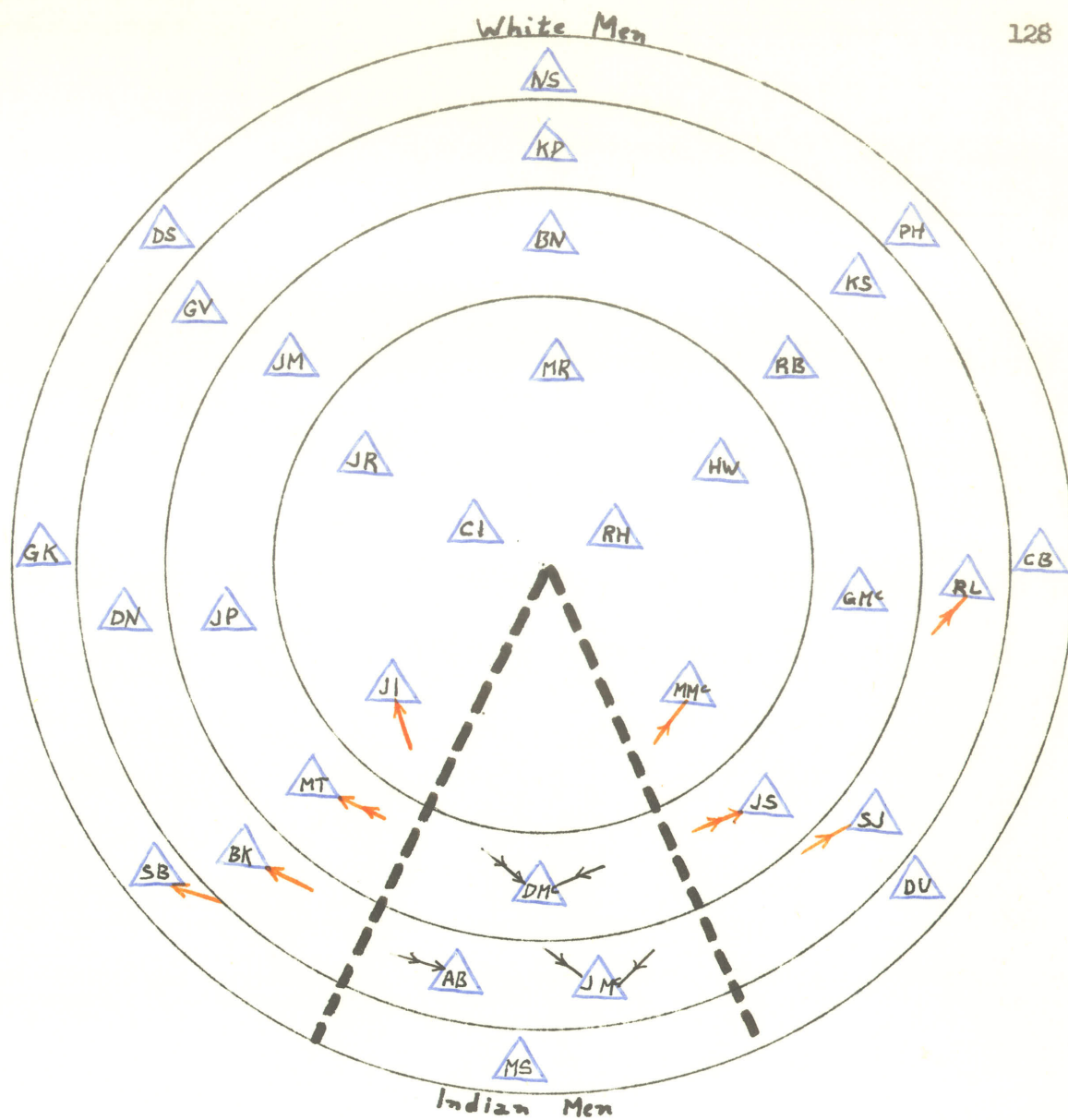
ADULT GROUP (a)

23 Whites 2 Indians

Self-preference Ratios

White - 1.16

Indian - 1.05



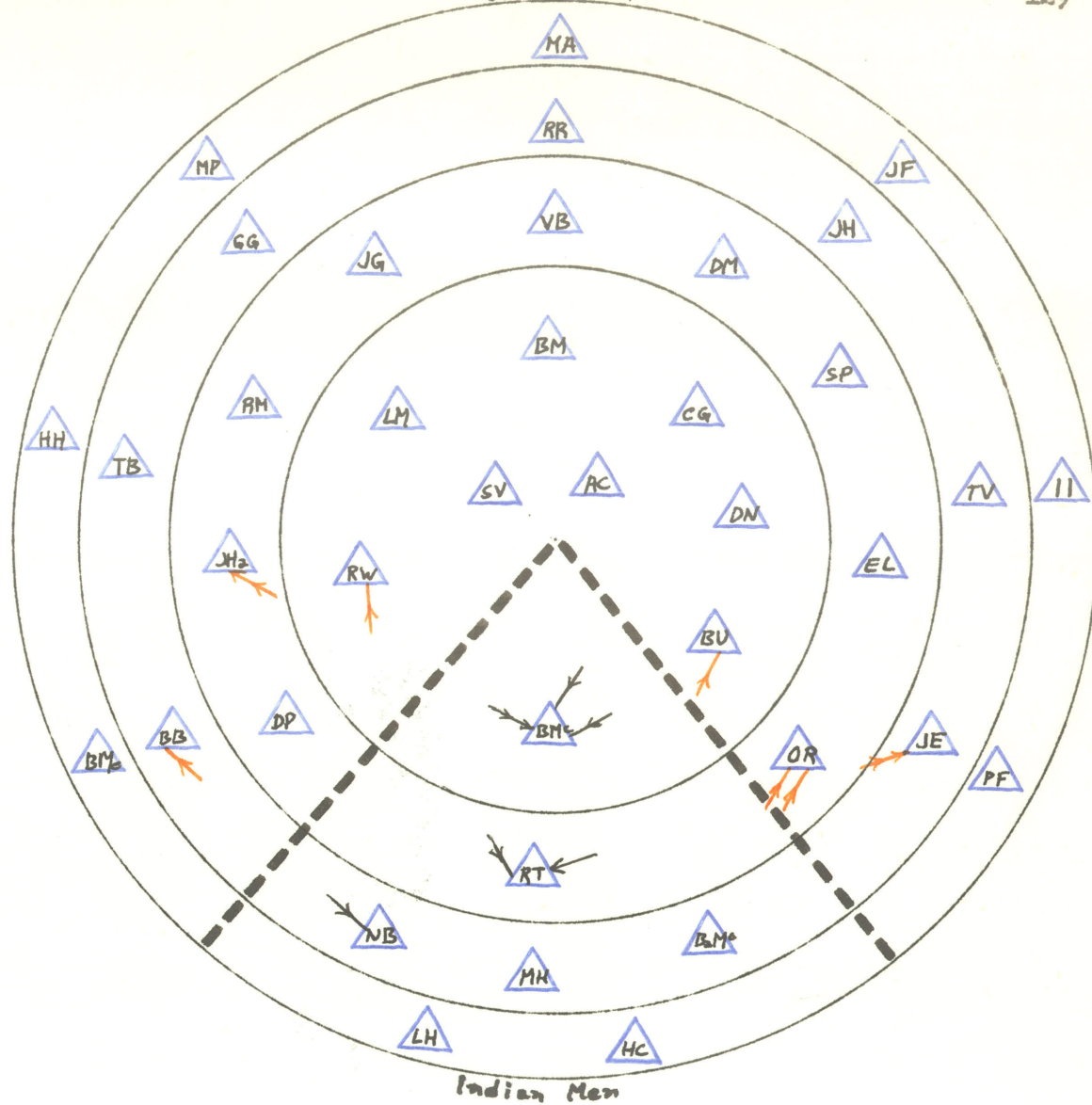
ADULT GROUP (b)

28 Whites 4 Indians

Self-preference Ratios

White - 3.42

Indian - 10.18



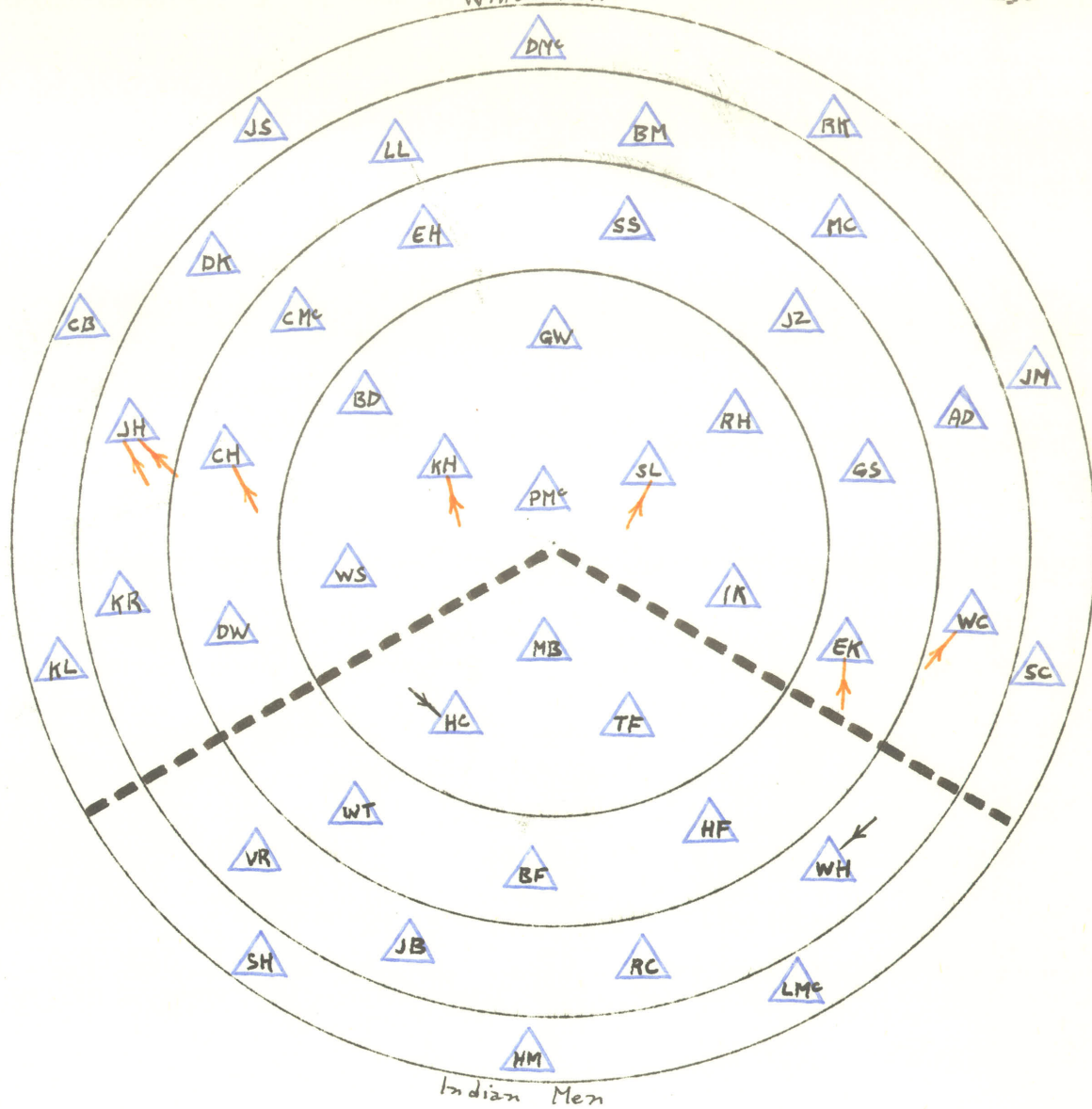
ADULT GROUP (c)

31 Whites 7 Indians

Self-preference Ratios

White - 5.99

Indian - 16.70



ADULT GROUP (d)

31 Whites 13 Indians

Self-preference Ratios

White - 37.82

Indian - 24.55

A P P E N D I X "B"

Classrooms		(a) 2/34		(b) 3/33		(c) 5/29		(d) 14/37	
SUMS		O	E	O	E	O	E	O	E
(a) Total	W - W	189	180.36	170	160.12	137	118.28	132	84.33
	W - I	3	11.64	7	16.88	7	25.72	6	53.67
	I - I	1	.36	1	1.12	11	4.28	32	30.33
	I - W	11	11.64	15	14.88	19	25.72	51	52.67
(b) "Sit near"	W - W	94	90.18	88	82.06	68	59.14	69	42.16
	W - I	2	5.82	2	7.94	4	12.86	0	26.84
	I - I	1	.18	0	.56	5	2.14	20	15.16
	I - W	5	5.82	7	6.44	10	12.86	22	26.84
(c) "Work with"	W - W	95	90.18	82	79.06	69	59.14	63	42.16
	W - I	1	5.82	5	7.94	3	12.86	6	26.84
	I - I	0	.18	1	.56	6	2.14	13	15.16
	I - W	6	5.82	8	8.44	9	12.86	28	25.84
(d) Boys	W - W	94	90.18	89	80.56	73	64.07	74	47.67
	W - I	3	5.82	0	8.44	5	13.93	4	30.33
	I - I	0	.18	0	.38	11	3.43	24	19.50
	I - W	6	5.82	6	5.62	13	20.57	30	34.50
(e) Girls	W - W	96	90.18	81	79.56	64	54.21	58	36.67
	W - I	0	5.82	7	8.44	2	11.79	2	23.33
	I - I	1	.18	1	.75	0	.86	9	9.83
	I - W	5	5.82	9	9.25	6	5.14	20	19.17
(f) Boys "Sit near"	W - W	46	45.09	45	40.78	36	32.04	39	23.84
	W - I	2	2.91	0	4.22	3	6.96	0	15.16
	I - I	0	.09	0	.19	5	1.72	15	9.75
	I - W	3	2.91	3	2.81	7	10.28	12	17.25
(g) Boys "Work with"	W - W	47	45.09	44	39.78	37	32.04	35	23.84
	W - I	1	2.91	0	4.22	2	6.96	4	15.16
	I - I	0	.09	0	.19	6	1.72	9	9.75
	I - W	3	2.91	3	2.81	6	10.28	18	17.25
(h) Girls "Sit near"	W - W	48	45.09	42	39.78	32	27.10	30	18.34
	W - I	0	2.91	2	4.22	1	5.90	0	11.66
	I - I	1	.09	0	.38	0	.43	5	4.91
	I - W	2	2.91	4	3.62	3	2.57	10	10.09
(i) Girls "Work with"	W - W	48	45.09	39	39.78	32	27.10	28	18.34
	W - I	0	2.91	5	4.22	1	5.90	2	11.66
	I - I	0	.09	1	.38	0	.43	4	4.91
	I - W	3	2.91	5	5.62	3	2.57	10	9.09

Classrooms		(a) 2/33		(b) 3/31		(c) 6/31		(d) 11/38	
SUMS		O	E	O	E	O	E	O	E
(a) Total	W - W	180	175.62	162	151.2	149	120.0	154	113.84
	W - I	6	10.38	6	16.8	1	30.0	8	48.16
	I - I	0	.38	2	1.2	25	6.0	43	17.84
	I - W	12	11.62	16	16.8	11	30.0	23	48.16
(b) "Sit near"	W - W	92	87.81	81	75.6	74	60.0	75	56.92
	W - I	1	5.19	3	8.4	1	15.0	6	24.08
	I - I	0	.19	1	.6	13	3.0	24	8.92
	I - W	6	5.81	8	8.4	5	15.0	9	24.08
(c) "Work with"	W - W	88	87.81	81	75.6	75	60.0	79	56.92
	W - I	5	5.19	3	8.4	0	15.0	2	24.08
	I - I	0	.19	1	.6	12	3.0	19	8.92
	I - W	6	5.81	8	8.4	6	15.0	14	24.08
(d) Boys	W - W	99	95.62	78	75.60	36	28.80	92	67.46
	W - I	3	6.38	6	8.40	0	7.20	4	28.54
	I - I	0	.19	2	.80	0	1.00	19	6.49
	I - W	6	5.81	10	11.20	6	5.00	5	17.51
(e) Girls	W - W	81	78.75	84	75.60	113	91.20	62	46.38
	W - I	3	5.25	0	8.40	1	22.80	4	19.62
	I - I	0	.19	00	.40	25	5.00	24	11.35
	I - W	6	5.81	6	5.60	5	25.00	18	30.65
(f) Boys "Sit near"	W - W	51	47.81	39	37.8	18	14.4	44	33.73
	W - I	0	3.19	3	4.2	0	3.6	4	14.27
	I - I	0	.10	1	.4	0	.5	11	3.24
	I - W	3	2.90	5	5.6	3	2.5	1	8.76
(g) Boys "Work with"	W - W	48	47.81	39	37.8	18	14.4	48	33.73
	W - I	3	3.19	3	4.2	0	3.6	0	14.27
	I - I	0	.10	1	.4	0	.5	8	3.24
	I - W	3	2.90	5	5.6	3	2.5	4	8.76
(h) Girls "Sit near"	W - W	41	39.38	42	37.8	56	45.6	31	23.19
	W - I	1	2.62	0	4.2	1	11.4	2	9.81
	I - I	0	.10	0	.2	13	2.5	13	5.68
	I - W	3	2.90	3	2.8	2	12.5	8	15.32
(i) Girls "Work with"	W - W	40	39.38	42	37.8	57	45.6	31	23.19
	W - I	2	2.62	0	4.2	0	11.4	2	9.81
	I - I	0	.10	0	.2	12	2.5	11	5.68
	I - W	3	2.90	3	2.8	3	12.5	10	15.32

Classrooms		(a) 2/31		(b) 4/31		(c) 6/33		(d) 11/33	
SUMS		O	E	O	E	O	E	O	E
(a) Total	W - W	173	162.4	141	138.4	156	131.63	131	86.63
	W - I	1	11.6	19	21.6	6	30.37	1	45.37
	I - I	0	.4	5	2.4	18	5.63	33	20.63
	I - W	12	11.6	19	21.6	18	30.37	33	45.37
(b) "Sit near"	W - W	87	81.2	77	70.2	78	65.8	65	43.3
	W - I	0	5.8	4	10.8	3	15.2	1	22.7
	I - I	0	.2	2	1.2	9	2.8	21	10.3
	I - W	6	5.8	10	10.8	9	15.2	12	22.7
(c) "Work with"	W - W	86	81.2	64	68.2	78	65.8	66	43.3
	W - I	1	5.8	15	10.8	3	15.2	0	22.7
	I - I	0	.2	3	1.2	9	2.8	12	10.3
	I - W	6	5.8	9	10.8	9	15.2	21	22.7
(d) Boys	W - W	77	72.8	82	87.4	95	78.00	53	35.44
	W - I	1	5.2	18	12.6	1	18.00	1	18.56
	I - I	0	.2	3	1.2	12	2.82	6	3.75
	I - W	6	5.8	9	10.8	6	15.18	6	8.25
(e) Girls	W - W	96	89.6	59	52.0	61	53.62	78	51.19
	W - I	0	6.4	1	8.0	5	12.38	0	26.81
	I - I	0	.2	2	1.2	6	2.81	27	16.88
	I - W	6	5.8	10	10.8	12	15.19	27	37.12
(f) Boys "Sit near"	W - W	39	36.4	47	44.7	48	39.00	26	17.72
	W - I	0	2.6	4	6.3	0	9.00	1	9.28
	I - I	0	.1	1	.6	6	1.41	3	1.88
	I - W	3	2.9	5	5.4	3	7.59	3	4.12
(g) Boys "Work with"	W - W	38	36.4	35	42.7	47	39.00	27	17.72
	W - I	1	2.6	14	6.3	1	9.00	0	9.28
	I - I	0	.1	2	.6	6	1.41	3	1.88
	I - W	3	2.9	4	5.4	3	7.59	3	4.12
(h) Girls "Sit near"	W - W	48	44.8	30	26.0	30	26.81	39	25.60
	W - I	0	3.2	0	4.0	3	6.19	0	13.40
	I - I	0	.1	1	.6	3	1.40	18	8.44
	I - W	3	2.9	5	5.4	6	7.60	9	18.56
(i) Girls "Work with"	W - W	48	44.8	29	26.0	31	26.81	39	25.60
	W - I	0	3.2	1	4.0	2	6.19	0	13.40
	I - I	0	.1	1	.6	3	1.40	9	8.44
	I - W	3	2.9	5	5.4	6	7.60	18	18.56

Classrooms		(a) 2/38		(b) 4/36		(c) 7/34		(d) 10/36	
SUMS		O	E	O	E	O	E	O	E
(a) Total	W - W	203	202.32	189	169.06	143	127.64	141	108.43
	W - I	10	10.68	2	21.94	19	34.36	11	43.57
	I - I	0	.32	13	2.06	21	6.64	26	15.43
	I - W	12	11.68	10	20.94	20	34.36	34	44.57
(b) "Sit near"	W - W	101	100.66	94	84.03	65	63.82	68	52.22
	W - I	5	5.34	1	10.97	16	17.18	6	21.78
	I - I	0	.16	7	1.03	8	2.82	16	7.71
	I - W	6	5.84	5	10.97	12	17.18	14	22.29
(c) "Work with"	W - W	102	101.66	95	85.03	78	63.82	73	55.22
	W - I	5	5.34	1	10.97	3	17.18	5	22.78
	I - I	0	.16	6	1.03	13	3.82	10	7.71
	I - W	6	5.84	5	9.97	8	17.18	20	22.29
(d) Boys	W - W	68	71.78	69	62.77	57	52.00	81	61.28
	W - I	8	4.22	2	8.23	9	14.00	5	24.72
	I - I	0	.16	13	2.06	21	6.54	12	7.71
	I - W	6	5.84	10	20.94	14	28.46	18	22.29
(e) Girls	W - W	135	129.54	120	106.28	86	75.64	60	47.14
	W - I	2	7.46	0	13.72	10	20.36	6	18.86
	I - I	0	.16	0	0.00	0	1.09	14	7.71
	I - W	6	5.84	0	0.00	6	4.91	16	22.29
(f) Boys "Sit near"	W - W	34	35.89	34	30.88	27	26.00	38	27.64
	W - I	4	2.11	1	4.12	6	7.00	3	13.36
	I - I	0	.08	7	1.03	8	2.77	7	3.85
	I - W	3	2.92	5	10.97	9	14.23	8	11.15
(g) Boys "Work with"	W - W	34	35.89	35	31.88	30	26.00	43	32.64
	W - I	4	2.11	1	4.12	3	7.00	2	12.36
	I - I	0	.08	6	1.03	13	3.77	5	3.85
	I - W	3	2.92	5	9.97	5	14.23	10	11.15
(h) Girls "Sit near"	W - W	66	63.27	60	53.14	38	37.82	30	23.57
	W - I	1	3.73	0	6.86	10	10.18	3	9.43
	I - I	0	.08	0	0.0	0	.55	9	3.85
	I - W	3	2.92	0	0.0	3	2.45	6	11.15
(i) Girls "Work with"	W - W	69	66.27	60	53.14	48	37.82	30	23.57
	W - I	1	3.73	0	6.86	0	10.18	3	9.43
	I - I	0	.08	0	0.0	0	.55	5	3.85
	I - W	3	2.92	0	0.0	3	2.45	10	11.15

Classrooms		(a) 2/35		(b) 3/37		(c) 5/36		(d) 8/36	
SUMS		O	E	O	E	O	E	O	E
(a) Total	W - W	195	185.35	204	187.0	173	156.43	135	129.6
	W - I	2	11.65	0	17.0	9	25.57	33	38.4
	I - I	0	0.35	1	1.0	11	3.43	25	9.6
	I - W	12	11.65	17	17.0	19	26.57	23	38.4
(b) "Sit near"	W - W	98	93.18	102	93.5	88	80.22	64	64.8
	W - I	1	5.82	0	8.5	5	12.78	20	19.2
	I - I	0	.18	0	.5	6	1.72	14	4.8
	I - W	6	5.82	9	8.5	9	13.28	10	19.2
(c) "Work with"	W - W	97	92.18	102	93.5	85	77.22	71	64.8
	W - I	1	5.82	0	8.5	4	11.78	13	19.2
	I - I	0	.18	1	.5	5	1.72	11	4.8
	I - W	6	5.82	8	8.5	10	13.28	13	19.2
(d) Boys	W - W	87	83.70	96	88.00	97	87.43	63	60.17
	W - I	2	5.30	0	8.00	5	14.57	15	17.83
	I - I	0	.18	0	.33	4	1.37	17	4.8
	I - W	6	5.82	6	5.67	8	10.63	7	19.2
(e) Girls	W - W	108	101.65	108	99.00	76	68.00	72	69.43
	W - I	0	6.35	0	9.00	4	12.00	18	20.57
	I - I	0	.18	1	.67	7	2.06	8	4.8
	I - W	6	5.82	11	11.33	11	15.94	16	19.2
(f) Boys "Sit near"	W - W	44	42.35	48	44.0	48	43.72	31	30.08
	W - I	1	2.65	0	4.0	3	7.28	8	8.92
	I - I	0	.09	0	.16	2	.68	9	2.4
	I - W	3	2.91	3	2.84	4	5.32	3	9.6
(g) Boys "Work with"	W - W	43	41.35	48	44.0	49	43.72	32	30.08
	W - I	1	2.65	0	4.0	2	7.28	7	8.92
	I - I	0	.09	0	.16	2	.68	8	2.4
	I - W	3	2.91	3	2.84	4	5.32	4	9.6
(h) Girls "Sit near"	W - W	54	50.82	54	49.50	40	29.22	33	34.71
	W - I	0	3.18	0	4.50	2	12.78	12	10.29
	I - I	0	.09	0	.33	4	1.03	5	2.4
	I - W	3	2.91	6	5.67	5	7.97	7	9.6
(i) Girls "Work with"	W - W	54	50.82	54	49.50	36	26.22	39	34.71
	W - I	0	3.18	0	4.50	2	11.78	6	10.29
	I - I	0	.09	1	.33	3	1.03	3	2.4
	I - W	3	2.91	5	5.67	6	7.97	9	9.6

A P P E N D I X "C"

		Observed Choices					Expected Choices				
Sums		2	4	6	8	10	2	4	6	8	10
(a) Total	W - W	628	645	601	676	707	541.10	560.66	519.04	607.45	658.38
	W - I	23	21	27	42	44	106.91	105.34	108.96	110.55	93.62
	I - I	46	70	56	60	37	36.10	25.42	29.04	25.45	14.38
	I - W	95	62	82	76	71	107.91	106.58	108.86	112.55	92.62
(b) "Sit near"	W - W	319	322	307	328	352	273.54	280.33	260.5	300.73	331.7
	W - I	8	11	8	28	26	53.46	52.67	54.5	55.27	46.3
	I - I	26	38	32	31	20	18.04	12.71	14.5	11.72	7.2
	I - W	44	28	37	37	34	51.96	53.29	54.5	56.28	46.8
(c) "Work with"	W - W	309	323	294	348	355	270.54	280.33	258.5	305.73	327.7
	W - I	15	10	19	14	18	53.46	52.67	54.5	56.27	45.3
	I - I	20	32	24	29	17	18.04	12.71	14.5	12.72	7.2
	I - W	51	34	45	39	37	52.96	53.29	54.5	55.28	46.8
(d) Boys	W - W	329	305	307	275	343	282.48	267.48	273.64	247.83	319.3
	W - I	12	13	21	24	22	58.52	50.52	54.36	51.17	45.7
	I - I	35	21	21	46	21	23.49	8.48	7.97	16.47	6.68
	I - W	55	27	27	48	27	66.51	39.52	40.03	77.53	41.32
(e) Girls	W - W	299	340	294	401	364	260.62	291.93	246.41	358.6	338.08
	W - I	11	8	6	18	22	49.38	56.07	53.59	60.4	47.92
	I - I	11	49	35	14	16	11.62	16.94	21.09	8.96	7.71
	I - W	40	35	55	28	44	39.38	67.06	68.91	33.04	52.29
(f) Boys "Sit near"	W - W	166	152	160	133	171	141.75	133.74	137.82	120.41	160.15
	W - I	5	7	5	14	12	29.25	25.26	27.18	26.59	22.85
	I - I	20	12	10	22	11	11.75	4.24	3.99	7.73	3.33
	I - W	25	12	14	25	13	33.25	19.76	20.01	39.27	20.67
(g) Boys "Work with"	W - W	163	153	147	142	172	140.75	133.74	135.82	126.41	159.15
	W - I	7	6	16	10	10	29.25	25.26	27.18	25.59	22.85
	I - I	15	9	11	24	10	11.75	4.24	3.99	8.73	3.33
	I - W	30	15	13	23	14	33.25	19.76	20.01	38.27	20.67
(h) Girls "Sit near"	W - W	152	129	147	194	181	130.31	145.97	123.21	177.8	164.25
	W - I	3	3	3	14	14	24.69	28.03	26.79	30.2	30.75
	I - I	6	26	22	9	9	5.81	8.48	10.54	4.48	3.85
	I - W	19	16	23	12	21	19.19	33.52	34.46	16.52	26.15
(i) Girls "Work with"	W - W	147	170	147	207	183	130.31	145.97	123.21	180.8	161.25
	W - I	8	4	3	4	8	24.69	28.03	26.79	30.2	29.75
	I - I	5	23	13	5	7	5.81	8.48	10.54	4.48	3.85
	I - W	21	19	32	16	23	20.19	33.52	34.46	16.52	26.15

A P P E N D I X "D"

		Observed Choices				Expected Choices			
SUMS		(a) 1-2	(b) 3-4	(c) 5-7	(d) 8 plus	(a) 1-2	(b) 3-4	(c) 5-7	(d) 8 plus
(a) Total	W - W	940	866	758	693	906.05	805.78	653.98	522.83
	W - I	22	34	42	59	55.95	94.22	146.02	229.17
	I - I	1	22	86	160	1.81	7.78	25.98	93.83
	I - W	59	77	87	163	58.19	91.22	147.02	229.17
(b)									
"Sit near"	W - W	472	442	373	341	453.03	405.39	328.98	259.4
	W - I	9	10	29	33	27.97	46.61	73.02	114.6
	I - I	1	10	41	95	.91	3.89	12.48	46.89
	I - W	29	39	45	67	29.09	45.11	73.52	115.11
(c)									
"Work with"	W - W	468	424	385	352	453.03	401.39	325.98	262.4
	W - I	13	24	13	26	27.97	46.61	72.02	115.6
	I - I	0	12	45	65	.91	3.89	13.48	46.89
	I - W	30	38	42	96	29.09	46.11	73.52	114.11
(d) Boys									
	W - W	424	414	358	363	414.08	394.33	310.3	272.02
	W - I	17	26	20	29	26.92	45.67	67.7	119.98
	I - I	0	18	48	78	.91	4.77	15.16	42.25
	I - W	30	41	47	66	29.09	54.23	79.84	101.75
(e) Girls									
	W - W	516	452	400	330	489.72	412.44	342.67	250.81
	W - I	5	8	28	30	31.28	47.56	79.33	109.19
	I - I	1	4	38	82	.91	3.02	11.82	50.57
	I - W	29	36	40	97	29.09	36.98	66.18	128.43
(f) Boys									
"Sit near"	W - W	214	213	177	178	207.54	198.16	155.16	133.01
	W - I	7	8	12	16	13.46	22.84	33.84	60.99
	I - I	0	9	21	45	.46	2.38	7.08	21.12
	I - W	15	21	26	27	14.54	27.62	39.92	50.88
(g) Boys									
"Work with"	W - W	210	201	181	185	206.54	196.16	155.16	138.01
	W - I	10	18	8	13	13.46	22.84	33.84	59.99
	I - I	0	9	27	33	.46	2.38	8.08	21.12
	I - W	15	20	21	39	14.54	26.62	39.92	50.88
(h) Girls									
"Sit near"	W - W	257	228	196	163	243.36	206.22	166.55	125.41
	W - I	2	2	17	17	15.64	23.78	46.45	54.59
	I - I	1	1	20	50	.46	1.51	5.91	25.28
	I - W	14	18	19	40	14.54	17.49	33.09	64.72
(i) Girls									
"Work with"	W - W	259	224	204	167	246.36	206.22	163.55	125.41
	W - I	3	6	5	13	15.64	23.78	45.45	54.59
	I - I	0	3	18	32	.46	1.51	5.91	25.28
	I - W	15	18	21	57	14.54	19.49	33.09	63.72

A P P E N D I X "E"

SUMS OF CHOICES FOR ADULT GROUPS

Groups		(a) 2/25		(b) 4/32		(c) 7/38		(d) 13/44	
SUMS		O	E	O	E	O	E	O	E
(a) Total	W - W	124	122.5	157	142.32	175	146.81	173	121.76
	W - I	10	11.5	7	21.68	7	35.19	2	53.24
	I - I	1	.5	12	2.32	28	5.81	67	20.76
	I - W	11	11.5	10	19.68	9	31.19	7	53.24
(b) "Room with"	W - W	64	61.25	80	71.16	89	73.4	88	61.88
	W - I	3	5.75	2	10.84	2	17.6	0	26.12
	I - I	1	.25	7	1.16	18	3.4	37	10.88
	I - W	5	5.75	5	10.84	2	16.6	0	26.12
(c) "Work with"	W - W	60	61.25	77	71.16	86	73.4	85	60.88
	W - I	7	5.75	5	10.84	5	17.6	2	26.12
	I - I	0	.25	5	1.16	10	2.4	30	10.88
	I - W	6	5.75	5	8.84	7	14.6	7	26.12

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