

## SOME EFFECTS OF INTERVIEWER-RESPONDENT INTERACTION ON RESPONSES IN A SURVEY SITUATION

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Two years ago the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina received a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to study "the changing position of the Negro" in the U. S. The major portion of the grant was to be invested in a study of Negro political participation in the South. Before beginning field work on the political participation study, we were faced with the question, "How much difference would it make in the validity of our data if members of the field staff who interview Negroes were themselves Negroes or whites?" Behind this was the larger question, "To what extent do the social and personal characteristics of interviewers affect the information they elicit from respondents in a survey situation?"

A number of studies<sup>1</sup> have demonstrated that interviewees tend to respond to questions with answers which the interviewer might be expected to desire. Reporting on an NORC study in 1942 in which equivalent samples of Negro respondents were interviewed by whites and by Negroes, Hyman observed, "on almost all the opinion and attitude questions, the white interviewers obtained significantly higher proportions of what might be called by some 'proper' or 'acceptable' answers."<sup>2</sup>

There are different ways to conceptualize the effects of the interviewer upon the information he elicits in response to survey questions. One way is to assume that there is a single complete and accurate answer to each question for each respondent and that the interviewer, by his attitude, demeanor, or apparent social background, may "bias" the respondent's report of that answer. Another is to view the interaction between interviewer and respondent as the result of psychological forces playing upon the perceptual field of each. A third is to view the interview situation less as a person-to-person event than as a sample of more general role phenomena. Using this last approach, we assume that the respondent's report reflects what he considers appropriate to his role vis-a-vis the interviewer and that there may be a variety of "socially true" answers, depending on how the respondent views his role-partner.

Because of our interest in the changing position of Negroes, we hoped to use the "social role" aspect of the interview to draw inferences about changing norms governing role behavior. In his report of the NORC study, Hyman noted that Negroes interviewed by whites gave "proper" or "acceptable" answers. As we thought about the "proper" or "acceptable" answers to the questions we wanted to ask, we recognized that there were at least three different versions of proper role behavior for Negroes in the South, each associated with a mode of social organization and the time period in which that mode has predominated.

There is the propriety associated with an agricultural economy and a relatively simple pattern of social organization, i.e., with concentration of employment in the primary industries, with a simple division of labor and minimum development of occupational specialties. In this setting, it is "proper" for a Negro to be relatively unskilled, uneducated, and unambitious; demonstrating acceptance of his subordinate position as his "place;" showing that his concern for status is limited to that future beyond his worldly life. Status in this social setting may be advanced by dependence on a benevolent white patron and by simple piety.

There is the proper role behavior associated with a more industrialized economy and an urban pattern of organization, i.e., with a shift of the labor force into secondary and tertiary industry, greater development of occupational specialties, and a concomitant increase in the importance of training and skill. In this setting, it is proper for Negroes to be educated, to be ambitious for security, to be provident in saving time and money for investment in the future. Status in this setting is advanced by education and respectability.

Finally, there is a proper pattern of behavior associated with a more advanced urbanism with its still greater emphasis on and opportunity to acquire occupational skills and formal education, its higher standard of living and its reduced power differentials between social classes. In this setting it is acceptable for Negroes to be concerned not only with security but with civil rights, and to advance their status not only by education but also by political, legal, and organizational means.

The three modes of social organization we have described exist simultaneously in the South today. Each has its version of proper behavior for Negroes. We hoped to find these versions reflected in the answers given by Negroes in different social settings. Changes in the South, as elsewhere, have tended to give Negroes increasing power vis-a-vis whites. We hoped to find these changes reflected in whatever differences might appear between the answers given by Negroes to white interviewers and to Negro interviewers in different settings.

Four sites were selected for field work: two rural counties and two cities in North Carolina, each of which had a high proportion of Negroes in the population.<sup>3</sup> Negro respondents in rural and urban settings were interviewed by Negro and by white interviewers. Each interviewer conducted interviews in both rural and urban sites.

Table 1 shows the number of interviews conducted according to the respondent's residence and interviewer's race.

Our principal hypotheses were that:

1. Differences in social organization will be reflected in differences in response as between rural and urban settings.
2. Differences in the social position of Negroes vis-a-vis whites will be reflected in the magnitude and direction of difference between answers given to Negro interviewers and those given to white interviewers in rural and urban settings.
3. Differences between answers given to Negro interviewers and answers given to white interviewers will reflect the accepted means by which Negroes can gain status in each social setting. Specifically,
  - a. With regard to church membership and participation, there will be no difference in response attributable to the interviewer's race in either rural or urban settings.
  - b. With regard to educational aspirations, there will be a difference attributable to race in the rural setting but not in the urban setting.
  - c. With regard to civil protest and political participation, there will be a marked difference in response attributable to race in the rural setting and a real but less marked difference in the urban setting.

Data relevant to these hypotheses are presented in tables 2 through 8.

Tables 2 and 3 which present data about church attendance and participation show a difference between rural and urban settings--though not in the direction we had anticipated. Thinking of the city as a more secularized environment, we had expected less church participation there than in the rural setting, forgetting the importance of the church as a voluntary association in the city and the barriers to church attendance in the country which might be presented by the counties' poor roads and the relative isolation of many of our respondents. The prediction concerning difference in response according to interviewer's race holds--there is no significant difference between the answers given to white interviewers and those given to Negro interviewers in each setting.

Responses to questions about educational aspirations are indicated in tables 4, 5, and 6. Response to questions about the amount of education the respondent would want his son or daughter to have reveal important differences between rural and urban environments,

with urban interviewees more likely than rural ones to want their children to complete college. Comparing responses obtained by white and by Negro interviewers, we find that the over-all differences in urban settings are not great nor do they show a consistent pattern. In the rural setting, on the other hand, Negro respondents are consistently more likely to advocate a college degree for their children when interviewed by Negroes than when interviewed by whites.

Responses to questions concerning varying aspects of social change, civil protest, and political information are given in tables 7 through 11. We were interested to see the strength of endorsement for social change, for the sit-ins, and school integration in both rural and urban settings, whether the interviewer was Negro or white. On top of this over-all endorsement of change, there was the anticipated difference between rural and urban environments, city respondents even more eager for it than country ones.

Differences according to the interviewer's race were found, as predicted. Rural respondents, especially, were more reluctant in reporting to whites than to Negroes that they advocated frequent changes in the way our country is run, that they approved of the sit-ins, that they thought a Negro mother should send her first-grade daughter to a previously white school, and that they correctly recalled the names of the candidates in the Democratic gubernatorial primaries.

Differences in response attributable to the interviewer's race were significant at the .01 level when a question about sit-ins was asked directly: "How do you feel about these Negro college students sitting at lunch counters where only whites were served before and waiting to be served?" Interestingly, however, when a question about sit-ins was put more impersonally--"About how many Negroes in North Carolina would you say approve of the sit-ins?"--the differences attributable to interviewer's race were not statistically significant.

Table 11 suggests the sensitivity of southerners to political participation by Negroes. Our field work was done in the summer of 1960, about 6-8 weeks after the hotly contested Democratic gubernatorial primaries in which a segregationist vs. "Southern moderate" contest was paramount. Differences of 20 percentage points or more between the answers given to white and to Negro interviewers indicate that our respondents certainly did not assume consensus between whites and Negroes on the propriety of Negroes being informed about political affairs.

Up to this point, we have interpreted our data in light of known differences in rural and urban social organization and hypothesized relations between these organizational differences and the norms governing role behavior for Negroes.

While this view is appropriate and secures considerable support from our data, we would be foolish to ignore other or supplementary interpretations of the effects of interviewer-respondent interaction on the data obtained in survey interviews. For example, what about the bias introduced by the interviewer's attitudes or social background? We have noted a reluctance by Negroes to admit as much support of integration to white interviewers as to Negro interviewers. Does that mean that Negro interviewers secured more valid data? Probably it does, yet we should not ignore the possibility that Negro respondents were reluctant to admit any hesitation about integration to our enthusiastic, well-educated, middle class Negro interviewers; nor the possibility that our interviewers gave cues as to their feelings or failed to record accurately.

In an attempt to isolate the manifold effects on interview data made by characteristics of the respondent and the interviewer, a second approach was taken in analysis of data. Less formal and more empirical than the analyses discussed thus far, this approach utilized an extensive analysis of variance. Five variables most nearly meeting the requirements of quantitative variables were chosen.

As shown in table 12, these dependent variables were (1) educational aspiration for son, (2) educational aspiration for daughter, (3) the amount a job should pay in order for a high school senior to quit school and go to work, (4) attitude toward sit-ins, and (5) attitude toward school integration. We recognize that none of these variables meets the criterion of equal intervals. It is unlikely that any quantitative variable in social science research really meets this criterion, for even with a variable as "quantitative" as income, a difference of \$1,000 does not have the same social significance at the \$3,000 level that it does at the \$25,000 level. However, exploratory studies can aid the development of theory by generating new questions, hunches, and hypotheses even if all the necessary assumptions for statistical accuracy are not met. This is not to argue for a flippant attitude toward assumptions but simply to note that exploratory studies can be fruitful even though the results may be inaccurate statistically. The final standard for judging results must be meaningfulness and relatedness to a broader context.

Educational aspirations for sons and daughters were measured in terms of number of years of education reported as desirable. These two variables behave very similarly, though not identically, and are clearly not independent of each other. In trying to measure the amount of earnings that would justify a high school senior quitting school, the top interval is, of necessity, open-ended since some respondents said he should not leave school under any conditions.

Attitude toward the sit-ins was indicated by responses to the question, "How do you feel about these Negro college students sitting down at lunch counters where only whites were served before and waiting to be served?" The scale ranges along 6 points from "strongly approve" to "strongly disapprove" with 3 being "neutral." The variable which we have called "attitude toward school integration" developed from answers to the following question: "A Negro mother has a daughter entering the first grade next year. Should she apply for her daughter to go to a nearby school which has always had white students or should she send her to a Negro school where her other children went?" Responses were classified on a 5-point scale from "strongly favoring the Negro school" to "strongly favoring the white school."

An analysis of variance program on the UNIVAC 1105 was used to estimate the nature and statistical significance of the relationship between each of the dependent variables and the independent variables. The 5 columns in table 12 stand for the dependent variables as identified at the top of the table, and "x" indicates a relationship that is statistically significant at the .05 level.

Looking at table 12, we see that educational aspiration for a son is related to 5 independent variables in a statistically significant way. All but one of these, "education of interviewer," are characteristics of the respondent or of his household. Apparently, education of interviewer had an influence here with the surprising effect that respondents reported higher aspirations to interviewers with less education. The only independent variable related to educational aspirations for son which is not also related to educational aspirations for daughter is the number of veterans in the household. The latter variable was included to give some indication of contact with other styles of life. Apparently it only affects the educational aspirations of sons, and then in a negative fashion. Further analysis of the data is being undertaken in an effort to explain the direction of association of these variables.

The report of educational aspiration for a daughter seems to be more sensitive to the interviewer's characteristics than the report of aspirations for a son. It is significantly related to the race of the interviewer, education of the interviewer, and the interviewer's educational aspirations for a young woman. How much of this association is due to the respondent reaction to the interviewer's characteristics and how much of it is due to the interviewer's bias in reporting is unknown. The fact that a significant association exists between the interviewer's educational aspirations for a young woman and the respondent's educational aspirations for a daughter suggests that it might be due more to the interviewer's than to the respondent's reaction.

Dependent variable number 3, "the amount of pay which would justify quitting high school" is very interesting in that 8 out of the 10 variables to which it is related are characteristics of the interviewer. The fact that this variable is associated with the supervisor's rating of the interviewer on two characteristics would indicate that the interviewer might have been providing obvious cues to the respondent in this question. Further analysis of this variable and its relationships to the interviewer's characteristics within various categories of respondent's characteristics are being undertaken in an effort to explain some of the findings. Data on additional characteristics of the interviewer are available, and their relations to the variables discussed here are being examined.

Dependent variable 4, "attitude toward sit-ins," is surprising in that it shows an association with only three independent variables. Since this attitude question was more controversial than those previously discussed, one might have expected greater variations in relation to interviewer characteristics here than in the others. It is possible, of course, that the poor quality of the attitude measurement may be obscuring other associations.

On attitudes toward sending a daughter to a previously white school, 7 of the 8 variables with which this variable shows a significant association are characteristics of the respondent. This is the only one of these 5 dependent variables that gave any evidence of statistical interaction between interviewer and respondent characteristics. It is significantly related to the rural-urban residence of the respondent by race of interviewer. Several other variables examined by other methods have shown significant association with race of interviewer in rural areas but not in urban areas.

The last page of the distributed material shows the directions of the significant associations presented in table 12. The direction of several of these associations is unexpected, and analysis of these and other available data is continuing in an effort to provide additional information on the effects of interviewer characteristics on data gathered in differing situations.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Cf., e.g., Herbert H. Hyman, et al, *Interviewing in Social Research* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), 138-170; Robert L. Kahn and Charles F. Cannell, *The Dynamics of Interviewing* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958), 58-64, 143-148, 179-202; Gerhard E. Lenski and John C. Leggett, "Caste, Class, and Deference in the Research Interview," *American Journal of Sociology* LXV (1960), 463-467.

2. Hyman, *op. cit.*, 159.

3. One purpose of this study was to estimate the amount of variability in response which might be attributed to certain gross social and attitudinal characteristics of the interviewer, but it also served as a pre-test of interview items for a number of subsequent studies. In the course of interviewer training, we discussed various sources of bias in reporting and interview techniques to minimize them. We talked about the possible influence on response of the interviewer's race. The pre-test purpose of the study was emphasized.

Since we did not intend to generalize our findings to any particular population, ours was a purposive sample. Residential areas were selected in rural and urban sites, and an interview was conducted with one adult member of the household in all dwelling units in the selected areas. The urban sample was taken in Raleigh and Greensboro, N. C., and the rural sample in Caswell and Granville counties. White respondents were interviewed by white interviewers in each of the four sites, but these data are not reported here. In the cities, the upper-class Negro residential areas were over-sampled in order to obtain sufficient representation of upper-class Negroes. Residential segregation was less marked in the counties. Areas of concentration of Negro population were selected as beginning points for interviewing in rural areas, with the interviewers working out from these points to obtain additional Negro and white respondents. Interviewers were assigned to areas by supervisors, the only restriction being that Negro interviewers did not interview white respondents.

There were 14 Negro and 12 white interviewers. During the first 2 weeks of the field work, half of the Negro and half of the white interviewers were assigned to an urban area and the other half to a rural area. During the second 2 weeks, those who had been working in urban areas were switched to rural areas, and vice versa.

That the rural-urban difference was associated with a difference in social organization is indicated by 1950 Census figures on the industries in which adult males were employed. The two rural counties had an average of 65 percent in primary industry (mostly farming) and 18 percent in tertiary industry. This is in contrast to the cities, in which only one percent were employed in primary industry and 68 percent in tertiary industry.

TABLE 1. Distribution of interviews with Negroes by interviewee's residence and age and by interviewer's race.

| Interviewer's Race and<br>Respondent's Residence | Age of Respondent |              |              |                    |
|--|-------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------------|
|  | <u>Under 30</u>   | <u>30-39</u> | <u>40-49</u> | <u>50 and Over</u> |
| Negro Interviewer                                |                   |              |              |                    |
| Rural  | 53                | 57           | 44           | 85                 |
| Urban  | 79                | 77           | 81           | 120                |
| White Interviewer                                |                   |              |              |                    |
| Rural  | 22                | 23           | 27           | 42                 |
| Urban  | 38                | 41           | 23           | 64                 |

TABLE 2. Responses of Negro interviewees to question, "Do you attend church?" by age, residence, and interviewer's race.

| Percent Indicating Attendance Once a Week or<br>Often, or Every time Church Meets |                  |              |              |                    |
|---|------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------------|
| Interviewer's Race and<br>Respondent's Residence                                  | Respondent's Age |              |              |                    |
|   | <u>Under 30</u>  | <u>30-39</u> | <u>40-49</u> | <u>50 and Over</u> |
| Negro Interviewer   |                  |              |              |                    |
| Rural   | 23               | 25           | 34           | 35                 |
| Urban   | 42               | 39           | 54           | 59                 |
| White Interviewer   |                  |              |              |                    |
| Rural   | 14               | 35           | 30           | 38                 |
| Urban   | 51               | 58           | 65           | 56                 |

Age differences significant at the .05 level  
 Residence differences significant at the .001 level  
 Interviewer's race not significant.

TABLE 3. Responses of Negro interviewees to question, "Do you belong to any committees or organizations in the church, besides just being a member of the church?" by age, residence, and interviewer's race.

| Percent Indicating Committee or Organization<br>Membership in the Church |                  |              |              |                    |
|--|------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------------|
| Interviewer's Race and<br>Respondent's Residence                         | Respondent's Age |              |              |                    |
|  | <u>Under 30</u>  | <u>30-39</u> | <u>40-49</u> | <u>50 and Over</u> |
| Negro Interviewer  |                  |              |              |                    |
| Rural  | 32               | 38           | 52           | 43                 |
| Urban  | 33               | 47           | 41           | 56                 |
| White Interviewer  |                  |              |              |                    |
| Rural  | 14               | 23           | 30           | 43                 |
| Urban  | 36               | 46           | 48           | 59                 |

Age differences significant at the .05 level.  
 Residence differences significant at the .05 level.  
 Interviewer's race not significant.

TABLE 4. Responses of Negro interviewees to question, "About how much education would you want your son to have today in order to get a good start in life?" by age, residence, and interviewer's race.

| Percent Indicating Son Should Finish College or More |                  |       |       |             |
|--|------------------|-------|-------|-------------|
| Interviewer's Race and<br>Respondent's Residence     | Respondent's Age |       |       |             |
|  | Under 30         | 30-39 | 40-49 | 50 and Over |
| Negro Interviewer                                    |                  |       |       |             |
| Rural  | 68               | 67    | 65    | 62          |
| Urban  | 82               | 86    | 76    | 79          |
| White Interviewer                                    |                  |       |       |             |
| Rural  | 45               | 50    | 48    | 48          |
| Urban  | 76               | 95    | 79    | 71          |

Age differences not significant.  
Residence differences significant at .001 level.  
Interviewer's race significant at .05 level.

TABLE 5. Responses of Negro interviewees to question, "About how much education would you want your daughter to have today in order to get a good start in life?" by age, residence, and interviewer's race.

| Percent Indicating Daughter Should Finish College or More |                  |       |       |             |
|---|------------------|-------|-------|-------------|
| Interviewer's Race and<br>Respondent's Residence          | Respondent's Age |       |       |             |
|   | Under 30         | 30-39 | 40-49 | 50 and Over |
| Negro Interviewer   |                  |       |       |             |
| Rural   | 68               | 70    | 68    | 69          |
| Urban   | 84               | 88    | 79    | 81          |
| White Interviewer   |                  |       |       |             |
| Rural   | 41               | 54    | 48    | 48          |
| Urban   | 76               | 88    | 83    | 66          |

Age differences not significant.  
Residence differences significant at .001 level.  
Interviewer's race significant at .05 level.

TABLE 6. Responses of Negro interviewees to question, "If you had a son in his last year of high school, how good a job should he be offered for you to think he should quit school and go to work?" by age, residence, and interviewer's race.

| Interviewer's Race and<br>Respondent's Residence | Percent Indicating Son Should Not Quit School<br>Under Any Circumstances |                  |       |             |
|--|--|------------------|-------|-------------|
|  | Under 30   | Respondent's Age |       |             |
|  |  | 30-39            | 40-49 | 50 and Over |
| Negro Interviewer                                |  |                  |       |             |
| Rural  | 66   | 70               | 80    | 68          |
| Urban  | 60   | 81               | 71    | 72          |
| White Interviewer                                |  |                  |       |             |
| Rural  | 55   | 62               | 57    | 73          |
| Urban  | 44   | 77               | 65    | 77          |

Age differences significant at .05 level.  
Residence and interviewer's race not significant.

TABLE 7. Responses of Negro interviewees to question, "Which of these statements do you think is better: 'It is not a good idea to make changes in the way our country is run,' or 'We must frequently make changes in the way our country is run,'" by age, residence, and interviewer's race

| Interviewer's Race and<br>Respondent's Residence | Percent Endorsing "We must frequently make changes<br>in the way our country is run" |                  |       |             |
|--|--|------------------|-------|-------------|
|  | Under 30   | Respondent's Age |       |             |
|  |  | 30-39            | 40-49 | 50 and Over |
| Negro Interviewer                                |  |                  |       |             |
| Rural  | 89   | 86               | 91    | 81          |
| Urban  | 90   | 99               | 92    | 90          |
| White Interviewer                                |  |                  |       |             |
| Rural  | 81   | 64               | 69    | 81          |
| Urban  | 79   | 93               | 87    | 66          |

Age differences not significant.  
Residence differences significant at .05 level.  
Interviewer's race significant at .05 level.

TABLE 8. Responses of Negro interviewees to question, "How do you feel about these Negro college students sitting down at lunch counters where only whites were served before and waiting to be served?" by age, residence, and interviewer's race.

| Interviewer's Race and<br>Respondent's Residence | Percent Approving of Sit-ins |       |       |             |
|--|------------------------------|-------|-------|-------------|
|  | Respondent's Age             |       |       |             |
|  | Under 30                     | 30-39 | 40-49 | 50 and Over |
| Negro Interviewer                                |                              |       |       |             |
| Rural  | 67                           | 67    | 67    | 69          |
| Urban  | 92                           | 95    | 87    | 84          |
| White Interviewer                                |                              |       |       |             |
| Rural  | 40                           | 52    | 56    | 43          |
| Urban  | 86                           | 90    | 77    | 58          |

Age difference not significant.  
Residence differences significant at .001 level.  
Interviewer's race significant at .01 level.

TABLE 9. Percentage distribution of responses of Negro interviewees to question, "About how many Negroes in North Carolina would you say approve of the sit-ins?" by age, residence, and interviewer's race.

| Interviewer's Race<br>and Respondent's<br>Answer | Respondent's Age and Residence |       |       |       |       |       |             |       |
|--|--------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------------|-------|
|  | Under 30                       |       | 30-39 |       | 40-49 |       | 50 and Over |       |
|  | Rural                          | Urban | Rural | Urban | Rural | Urban | Rural       | Urban |
| Negro Interviewer                                | 100                            | 100   | 100   | 100   | 100   | 100   | 100         | 100   |
| Most   | 40                             | 47    | 29    | 58    | 41    | 47    | 30          | 46    |
| A great many                                     | 26                             | 35    | 38    | 34    | 30    | 37    | 38          | 42    |
| Some, few,<br>or none                            | 34                             | 18    | 34    | 8     | 30    | 16    | 32          | 12    |
| White Interviewer                                | 100                            | 100   | 100   | 100   | 100   | 100   | 100         | 100   |
| Most   | 40                             | 61    | 28    | 53    | 40    | 44    | 26          | 36    |
| A great many                                     | 20                             | 24    | 17    | 33    | 40    | 30    | 19          | 40    |
| Some, few,<br>or none                            | 40                             | 15    | 56    | 13    | 20    | 26    | 55          | 25    |

Age differences not significant.  
Residence differences significant at .01 level  
Interviewer's race not significant.



TABLE 10. Responses of Negro interviewees to question, "A Negro mother has a daughter entering the first grade next year. Should she apply to have her daughter go to a nearby school which has always had white students, or should she send her to a Negro school where her other children went?" by age, residence, and interviewer's race.

| Interviewer's Race and<br>Respondent's Residence | Percent Indicating Mother Should Send Daughter<br>to Previously White School |                  |       |             |
|--|--|------------------|-------|-------------|
|  | Under 30   | Respondent's Age |       |             |
|  |  | 30-39            | 40-49 | 50 and Over |
| Negro Interviewer                                |  |                  |       |             |
| Rural  | 29   | 39               | 29    | 41          |
| Urban  | 61   | 64               | 70    | 59          |
| White Interviewer                                |  |                  |       |             |
| Rural  | 19   | 18               | 22    | 23          |
| Urban  | 56   | 63               | 35    | 53          |

Age differences not significant.  
Residence differences significant at .001 level.  
Interviewer's race significant at .01 level.

TABLE 11. Responses of Negro interviewees to question, "Do you remember the names of the men who ran for Governor of North Carolina in the recent primary election?" by age, residence, and interviewer's race.

| Interviewer's Race and<br>Respondent's Residence | Percent Giving Two or More Correct Names and<br>No Incorrect Names |                  |       |             |
|--|--|------------------|-------|-------------|
|  | Under 30   | Respondent's Age |       |             |
|  |  | 30-39            | 40-49 | 50 and Over |
| Negro Interviewer                                |  |                  |       |             |
| Rural  | 45   | 45               | 48    | 43          |
| Urban  | 79   | 75               | 68    | 59          |
| White Interviewer                                |  |                  |       |             |
| Rural  | 18   | 17               | 35    | 30          |
| Urban  | 53   | 72               | 52    | 34          |

Age differences not significant.  
Residence differences significant at the .001 level.  
Interviewer's race significant at the .01 level.

TABLE 12. Relationships between independent and dependent variables in the study of interviewer-respondent interaction. (An x indicates statistical significance at the .05 level.)

| Independent variables  | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Educational aspirations for son</li> <li>2. Educational aspirations for daughter</li> <li>3. Wages sufficient to justify quitting</li> <li>4. Attitude toward sit-ins (high school)</li> <li>5. Attitude toward school integration</li> </ol> |   |   |   |   |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | 1   | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| <b>Respondent Characteristics</b>  |   |   |   |   |   |
| 1. Urban-rural residence   |   |   |   | x | x |
| 2. Education   | x   | x |   |   |   |
| 3. Education of head of household  |   |   |   |   | x |
| 4. Registered voter or not   | x   | x | x | x | x |
| 5. Home ownership  |   |   |   |   |   |
| 6. Sex   |   |   |   |   | x |
| 7. Age   |   |   |   | x | x |
| 8. Number of children in household   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 9. Time in South for head of household   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 10. Status of highest status job in household                                    |   |   | x |   |   |
| 11. Sex of person with highest status job  |   |   |   |   |   |
| 12. Number of veterans in household  | x   |   |   |   |   |
| 13. Skin color of respondent   |   |   |   |   | x |
| 14. Sources of income other than employment (welfare, pensions, etc.)            | x   | x |   |   | x |
| 15. Number of children and highest occupation                                    |   |   |   |   |   |
| <b>Interviewer Characteristics</b>   |   |   |   |   |   |
| 16. Urban-rural background   |   |   | x |   |   |
| 17. Race   |   | x | x |   |   |
| 18. Sex  |   |   |   |   |   |
| 19. Education  | x   | x |   |   |   |
| 20. Family income  |   |   | x |   |   |
| 21. Interviewer's educational aspirations for a young man                        |   | x | x |   |   |
| 22. Interviewer's educational aspirations for a young woman                      |   |   | x |   |   |
| 23. Interviewer's attitude toward sit-ins  |   |   | x |   |   |
| 24. Supervisor's evaluation of interviewer's interviewing technique              |   |   | x |   |   |
| 25. Supervisor's evaluation of interviewer's use of status symbols               |   |   | x |   |   |
| <b>Interviewer-Respondent Combinations</b>                                       |   |   |   |   |   |
| 26. Rural-urban background of interviewer by rural-urban residence of respondent |   |   |   |   |   |
| 27. Education of interviewer by education of respondent                          |   |   |   |   |   |
| 28. Sex of interviewer by sex of respondent                                      |   |   |   |   |   |
| 29. Rural-urban residence of respondent by race of interviewer                   |   |   |   |   | x |

Direction of Significant Associations Shown in Table 12

1. High educational aspirations for son are associated with
  - High educational level of respondent
  - Being a registered voter
  - Few or no veterans in the household
  - All income in household being from wages (no welfare payments, pensions, etc.)
  - Low educational level of interviewer
2. High educational aspirations for daughter are associated with
  - High educational level of respondent
  - Being a registered voter
  - All income in household being from wages (no welfare payments, pensions, etc.)
  - Interviewer being a Negro
  - Low educational level of interviewer
  - Interviewer having high educational aspirations for a young woman
3. A statement that a job should pay very high wages before a person should quit as a high school senior and go to work is associated with
  - Being a registered voter
  - Someone in the household having a high status job
  - The interviewer having a rural background
  - The interviewer being a Negro
  - The interviewer having a low family income
  - The interviewer having high educational aspirations for a young man
  - The interviewer having low educational aspirations for a young woman
  - The interviewer being in favor of sit-ins
  - The interviewer's supervisor evaluating his interviewing technique as poor
  - The interviewer's supervisor saying that interviewer minimized status symbols.
4. Being in favor of sit-ins is associated with
  - Urban residence
  - Being a registered voter
  - Being young
5. Being in favor of sending daughter to a previously white school is associated with
  - Urban residence
  - High education of head of household
  - Being a registered voter
  - The respondent being male
  - Young respondents
  - Light skin color of respondent
  - Receiving other income than wages (welfare payments, pensions, etc.)
  - White interviewers in rural areas and Negro interviewers in urban areas