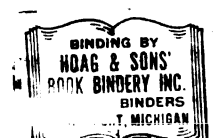


RACE, BELIEF AND INTERPERSONAL
ATTRACTION

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
JAVON JACKSON
1971



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ABSTRACT

RACE, BELIEF AND INTERPERSONAL ATTRACTION

By

JAVON JACKSON

In an experiment purporting to study student opinion on social issues, a Black or White accomplice presented either a prepared "Radical" or "Conservative" viewpoint to the causes and solutions of big city racial problems in the United States to White male Ss who were all from introductory psychology classes. The 80 Ss were all randomly assigned to one of four experiment conditions: Black Radical, Black Conservative, White Radical, and White Conservative. The scripts of the accomplices sounded spontaneous and were rehearsed by all the accomplices so that their vocal inflections and body movements were similar. After the discussion, the Ss in each of the four conditions rated themselves and the actors on an Interpersonal Check List. In order to find out how favorably or unfavorably the Ss rated each actor,

comparison ratings of the actors to other variables were examined.

Seven comparative ratings were rated for mean discrepancy scores. They were:

1. 'The (S) self' compared to 'The ideal-self'
2. 'The (S)' compared to 'How the S viewed the actor'
3. 'The ideal-self' compared to 'How the S viewed the actor'
4. 'How the S viewed the actor' compared to 'How the S viewed the average college student'
5. 'How the S rated how the actor viewed himself' compared to 'How the S rated how the actor viewed the S'
6. 'The S's perception of himself' compared to 'How the S thinks that the actor viewed the S'
7. The pooled results of the summation discrepancy scores

If the Ss were, indeed, prejudiced, they should have preferred the Conservative Speech to the Radical Speech, and the White Race to the Black Race, and there should be a Speech X Race interaction in which the Ss most preferred

the White Conservative, followed by the White Radical followed by the Black Conservative and, lastly, the Black Radical as being most different.

Analyses of variance for the comparative ratings were computed. Only on one comparative rating--when the Ss compared how they felt the actors viewed themselves compared to the Ss rating how they felt the actors viewed the Ss--were the results due to the Race of the accomplice statistically significant. Contrary to expectations, no results of the Speech variable reached statistical significance. Thus, Radical or Conservative Speech had no effect on the Ss view of the actors. Only on one comparative rating--when the Ss compared the actors to their ideal-self--were the results due to the interaction of Race X Speech of the accomplice statistically significant. The Ss identified most with the Black Conservatives followed closely by White Radicals and least with White Conservatives and Black Radicals as ideal people.

The hypothesis that the Black Radical would be seen as most significantly different from the Ss' perception of themselves followed by the Black Conservative, White Radical, and White Conservative was not supported.

The pooled results of the Ss showed that the White Radical not the White Conservative was most preferred followed by the White Conservative, Black Conservative, and, lastly, the Black Radical. However, these differences between rankings did not reach statistical significance. One possible interpretation is that the Ss rated the White Radicals in terms of the way the Ss would like to become.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my
parents, Equal Opportunity
Programs, and to better racial
understanding.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to thank Dr. Stollak, my committee chairman, for his guidance and great perseverance in helping me with my thesis.

I would, also, like to thank Dr. Messe who aided me greatly in the analyses of the data.

And, I would like to thank Dr. Thorton for his scrutiny and perusal of this thesis which were of invaluable service to me.

Lastly, I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Phillips, and Dr. Allen for their kindness and understanding which made it possible for me to accomplish this goal.

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RACE, BELIEF AND INTERPERSONAL ATTRACTION

By

JAVON JACKSON

A THESIS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study was conducted in order to evaluate the effects of Race and Belief on interpersonal attraction. In the Race Congruency Theory, Ss are attracted to people of the same Race. In the Belief Congruency Theory, Ss are attracted to people with similar Beliefs. In this study, a Black and a White actor gave both a Conservative Speech and a Radical Speech so that four conditions were tested--the White Conservative, White Radical, Black Conservative, and Black Radical. A Race X Belief interaction was predicted.

History

Social Distance

Social Distance Scales

Racial or ethnic membership has been emphasized as the major determinant of interpersonal rejection and social distance in previous theories of racial discrimination (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford, 1950).

For instance, Bogardus (1928) pioneered work with an ordinal scale of social distance, in which a subject indicated zero social distance by stating that he was willing to marry a member of a particular ethnic group, and maximum social distance by stating that he would exclude such a person from the country, social distances scales have been used in a large number of studies.

After Bogardus' (1928) use of the social distance scale with ethnic groups it was used by a number of researchers with other groups. For instance, Wilkinson (1929) used it with occupations, and religions. Sartain and Bell (1949) published equal appearing interval scale values. Melikaian and Prothro (1952) obtained the social distance of Leganese students towards national and religious groups and found greater social distance towards certain national groups than towards certain religious groups. The reverse result had been obtained by Prothro

in 1935. Prothro and Miles (1953) used the Sartain and Bell (1949) scale in the deep South. Ansari (1956) used the scale in India and found a relationship between social distance and stereotypes similar to that obtained by Katz and Braly (1933) in the United States. Hunt (1956) used the scale in the Philippines and found that his SS showed little social distance towards Americans, Christians, and whites, but very much social distance towards Jewish, Moslem and Buddhist groups. Kirsh (1957) used the scale in connection with voting behavior. Best and Sohner (1956) used it with political, economic, racial, religious, and nationality groups. They found very large social distances towards fascists, anarchists, and communists, large distances towards racial groups, small distances towards religious groups, and very small distances towards national groups. Hill (1953) has criticized the concept of social distance and presented arguments in favor of the usage of interviews and projective techniques for the determination of prejudice, rather than objective indices of social distance, such as the Bogardus scale.

Triandis and Triandis (1960) found that in a study of social distance of college students with respect to

various social objects, a factorial design with two levels of value of race, social class, religion, and nationality was employed and analyses of variance were computed on social distance scores. For white Ss race and social class were found to be more important determinants of social distance than religion or nationality. The relative importance of the various factors, however, varied from group to group.

Race according to Triandis and Triandis (1960) was the most important determinant of social distance for white Ss. Most of the prejudice towards Negroes was racial and not social class prejudice. Negro Ss do not experience social distance towards whites, or persons with lower class occupations, or persons of different religion, but if the person in question has a combination of these "undesirable" characteristics, e.g., he is a "white, Jewish, Portuguese, unskilled worker," then Negro Ss feel some social distance as manifested in a refusal to accept such a person as a close kin by marriage, or as an intimate friend.

Triandis and Triandis (1960) also found that race was by far the most important factor determining social distance. Furthermore, social class was a much more significant

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determinant of social distance than was religion or nationality. White Ss were found to show more social distance than Negro Ss; high F score Ss more than low F score Ss, women more than men, Catholics more than Protestants because it seems that certain features of the socialization practices of Catholic parents, particularly the clarity of their approach towards the Divine Law, predispose their children to intolerance of ambiguity, which in turn is correlated with prejudice, and both faiths more than Jews, lower-class Ss more than lower middle-class Ss (because it seems that certain lower-class child rearing practices are likely to produce insecurity and insecure persons are more likely to be prejudiced than secure persons) and these more than upper middle-class Ss, and Ss from Northern and Northeastern Europe more than Ss with ethnic backgrounds from Southern and Eastern Europe. The data are interpreted in terms of a theory of prejudice that employed conformity, cognitive dissonance, and insecurity as its main constructs.

Social Distance as a Function of Attitudinal Dissimilarity

Contrary to this Race Congruency Theory position, however, Rokeach (1960a) postulated that social distance

is a function of attitudinal dissimilarity. According to his hypothesis, interpersonal attraction and choice occur across racial lines when persons share similar beliefs, attitudes, and opinions; on the other hand, rejection occurs when there are differences in opinions, attitudes, and beliefs. For Rokeach (1960a), belief congruence, insofar as psychological processes are involved, is more important than ethnic or racial membership in determining social discrimination.

Other researchers testing determinants of interpersonal attitudes found a number of lawful relationships between the characteristics of a person and the behavioral intentions and evaluations of this person by subjects. These judgments are largely determined by cultural factors (Triandis, 1964a; Triandis, Davis, & Takezawa, 1965; Triandis & Triandis, 1960, 1962).

A multidimensional instrument which measures the behavioral component of attitudes, called the behavioral differential (Triandis, 1964b) may be used to measure the behavioral intentions toward the stimuli, while the semantic differential (Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957) may be used to measure the evaluation, potency, and perceived activity of the stimulus persons. With American

1. 在下列各数中，找出所有能被 3 整除的数，并说明理由。
 (1) 123456 (2) 234567 (3) 345678 (4) 456789
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 (9) 901234 (10) 012345 (11) 1234567 (12) 2345678
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 (45) 5678901234 (46) 6789012345 (47) 7890123456 (48) 8901234567
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2. 在下列各数中，找出所有能被 4 整除的数，并说明理由。
 (1) 1234 (2) 2345 (3) 3456 (4) 4567 (5) 5678 (6) 6789
 (7) 7890 (8) 8901 (9) 9012 (10) 0123 (11) 12345 (12) 23456
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 (24) 456789 (25) 567890 (26) 678901 (27) 789012 (28) 890123
 (29) 901234 (30) 012345 (31) 1234567 (32) 2345678 (33) 3456789
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 (39) 9012345 (40) 0123456 (41) 12345678 (42) 23456789 (43) 34567890
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 (49) 90123456 (50) 01234567 (51) 123456789 (52) 234567890
 (53) 345678901 (54) 456789012 (55) 567890123 (56) 678901234
 (57) 789012345 (58) 890123456 (59) 901234567 (60) 012345678
 (61) 1234567890 (62) 2345678901 (63) 3456789012 (64) 4567890123
 (65) 5678901234 (66) 6789012345 (67) 7890123456 (68) 8901234567
 (69) 9012345678 (70) 0123456789

3. 在下列各数中，找出所有能被 5 整除的数，并说明理由。
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4. 在下列各数中，找出所有能被 6 整除的数，并说明理由。
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 (7) 789012 (8) 890123 (9) 901234 (10) 012345 (11) 1234567 (12) 2345678
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5. 在下列各数中，找出所有能被 7 整除的数，并说明理由。
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 (24) 456789012 (25) 567890123 (26) 678901234 (27) 789012345 (28) 890123456
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6. 在下列各数中，找出所有能被 8 整除的数，并说明理由。
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subjects, race was found to be a powerful determinant of variance in social distance judgments; with Greek subjects religion was very important; with German and Japanese subjects occupation was the important determinant of variance.

Triandis, Fishbein, and Hall (1964) found high correlations between the admiration (social acceptance) factor of the behavioral differential and the evaluative factor of the semantic differential in person perception.

In the Triandis, Loh & Levin (1966) study, 94 Ss were shown slides of either a Negro or a white young man, who was either well dressed or poorly dressed and simultaneously heard a tape-recorded statement which was either in favor or opposed to integrated housing and which was spoken either in excellent or in ungrammatical English. The stimuli formed a 2X2X2X2 factorial design. The evaluation of the stimulus person was measured by the evaluative factor of the semantic differential; the behavioral intentions of Ss toward the stimulus persons were measured by 3 factors of the behavioral differential.

It was shown that liberal Ss differed from nonliberal Ss in the relative weights they employed for the characteristics race, dress, English, and opinion. Race was a

1. 在 \mathbb{R}^n 中，设 $A = (a_{ij})$ 是一个 $n \times n$ 的实对称矩阵，且 A 是正定的。证明：存在唯一的正定矩阵 B ，使得 $A = B^2$ 。

2. 设 $f(x) = x^3 - 3x^2 + 2x - 1$ ，求 $f(x)$ 在 \mathbb{R} 上的所有实根。

3. 设 $f(x) = x^3 - 3x^2 + 2x - 1$ ，求 $f(x)$ 在 \mathbb{R} 上的所有实根。

4. 设 $f(x) = x^3 - 3x^2 + 2x - 1$ ，求 $f(x)$ 在 \mathbb{R} 上的所有实根。

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7. 设 $f(x) = x^3 - 3x^2 + 2x - 1$ ，求 $f(x)$ 在 \mathbb{R} 上的所有实根。

8. 设 $f(x) = x^3 - 3x^2 + 2x - 1$ ，求 $f(x)$ 在 \mathbb{R} 上的所有实根。

9. 设 $f(x) = x^3 - 3x^2 + 2x - 1$ ，求 $f(x)$ 在 \mathbb{R} 上的所有实根。

10. 设 $f(x) = x^3 - 3x^2 + 2x - 1$ ，求 $f(x)$ 在 \mathbb{R} 上的所有实根。

more important factor in the determination of the social distance of prejudiced than in the determination of the social distance judgment of unprejudiced subjects.

Furthermore, English and belief were the determinants of the evaluation judgments, as well as the social acceptance judgments on the behavioral differential. In the case of admiration, English was the primary determinant for all subjects, but the weight given to it differed between the subgroups. Prejudiced subjects gave some weight to race and belief.

English, race, and dress, in that order, were important in the determination of the judgments on the friendship factor. The tolerant subjects gave no weight to race and the prejudiced ones gave a substantial weight to that characteristic as a determinant of their judgments.

These findings confirm previous research which demonstrated that different aspects of the behavioral intentions of subjects toward stimulus persons are determined by different combinations of the characteristics of these stimulus persons.

To understand prejudice in its full complexity, it is necessary to think of a matrix, the rows of which are defined by various "undesirable" characteristics. In

addition to those determinant examined in this study, subjects responded to stimulus persons who differed from them in religion, age, sex, nationality, competence in doing a job, degree of sociability, etc.

Rickard, Triandis, & Patterson, (1963); Triandis, (1963) all investigated the social distance factors of undesirable characteristics in a stimulus person. In summation, the studies showed that when all of the information collected in these studies is placed together, it becomes clear that the classes of behavioral intentions mentioned above are distinct, and influenced by different combinations of "undesirable" characteristics. "Admire the ideas of" is most sensitive to characteristics indicative of status--for example, kind of English spoken, occupation--and also to the opinions of the stimulus persons; marital acceptance is sensitive to English, but also to race and age; friendship acceptance is sensitive to age, sex, religion, English, race, dress, and skin color; subordination is likely when the stimulus person is of a high status occupation; exclusion from the neighborhood is primarily sensitive to race and English, and slightly to religion; acceptance as an employee is

primarily sensitive to competence and disability, and secondarily to race and sociability.

Prejudiced Attitudes that Do Not Lead to Prejudiced Behavior

According to Berg (1966), attitudes may not necessarily lead to predicted behavior. In his study, a social context was arranged in which verbal measures were expected to predict behavior. A white S was placed in a conflict between agreeing with a Negro confederate or a white confederate on autokinetic judgments. The results indicated that the E Scale Negro items, F Scale items, and the Social Distance Negro item did not relate to social agreement with the Negro in either of 2 conditions of importance. The Jewish Ss were significantly less prejudiced than the Protestant-Catholic Ss on the E Scale Negro items. Jewish Ss disagreed more than Protestant-Catholic Ss with the Negro confederate on autokinetic judgments. Therefore, it seems that the common verbal measures of attitudes toward Negro people may not be good predictors of particular social behavior toward a given Negro person. This may be especially true when the Negro person is not perceived as being a representative member of his ethnic group. For example,

in Berg's (1966) study, a Negro who has the status of a student at a major university may not be perceived as similar to the category of people who are the object of prejudice. In such social circumstances, increasing the instrumental value of social rejection may not lead to the expression of prejudice.

A further speculation is that the predicted social behavior has to be relevant to the content and structure of the attitudes. For example, agreement on autokinetic judgments may not represent social behavior that is generally related to the cognitive and affective aspects of attitudes toward Negroes. Social and political opinions that are more central to personality structure could be expected to be more relevant when the prejudiced person is confronted with the issue of agreeing or disagreeing with a Negro person. Similarly, it may be that the verbal scales did not measure an aspect of attitudes toward Negroes that is central to personality structure.

Evidence Supporting Rokeach's Position

Other studies that support Rokeach's (1960) position on attitude similarity-dissimilarity are Byrne (1969) and

Byrne, Nelson, & Reeves (1966) who found that the effect of attitudinal material on attraction has been interpreted in terms of effectance motivation. In these studies, effectance is defined as a motive to cope effectively with the environment by means of accurate perception, logical thought processes, consistency, correct interpretation of reality, etc. The similar attitudes of others serve to satisfy this motive by providing consensual validation, while the dissimilar attitudes of others frustrate this motive via consensual invalidation. It has been found that the steepness of the attitude-attraction function increases as the subject's motivational level increases. When effectance arousal is extremely high, however, there is a reverse effect, and the slope is actually less steep and the Y intercept higher than in a neutral situation. This latter effect has been interpreted in terms of the disorienting and differentiating qualities of high effectance arousal, a condition also characteristic of schizophrenia.

In the Byrne, Griffitt, Hudgins, & Reeves (1969) study, this was investigated further. The results showed that since schizophrenics were functioning at a high level of effectance arousal, they should have made less differentiation between similar and dissimilar strangers than do

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nonschizophrenics, but this finding was only partially supported. That is, schizophrenic patients yielded a linear attitude-attraction function which differed significantly from that found with college undergraduates. The divergence between these subjects and students is meaningful, of course, only because the surgical patients, alcoholic patients, and job corpsmen did not differ from college students.

The results also showed that the clearest finding is that the linear relationship between proportion of similar attitudes and attraction is a phenomenon generalizable beyond the college student. The tendency to make a positive response to a stranger who expresses attitudes similar to one's own and a negative response to one who expresses dissimilar attitudes is obviously relatively general in the American population.

This supports previous studies which have shown that the empirical law describing attraction toward a stranger as a positive linear function of the proportion of the stranger's attitudes which are similar to those of the subject is well established in samples of undergraduate students (Byrne and Clore, 1966; and Byrne and Nelson,

1965). This same empirical relationship has been found among elementary and secondary school children (Byrne and Griffitt, 1966). There is also evidence that female clerical employees of the Bell Telephone Laboratories respond differentially to two points along the similarity continuum (Krauss, 1966).

Therefore, in samples unlike college undergraduates in age, education, socioeconomic level, intelligence, and adjustment, not only does a linear function hold between the two variables, but the specific responses of the subjects are predictable on the basis of a formula derived on college students.

In summary, most studies of the past used social distance scales to measure prejudicial attitudes of Whites toward Blacks such that the greater the prejudiced attitudes of the Whites, the greater the distance these Whites rated Blacks on social distance scales.

But, Rokeach (1960) believed that social distance was a function of dissimilarity of attitudes. He argued that belief was more important than race in rating people on social distance scales while Triandis argued that race was more important than belief in rating people on social distance scales.

✓ But, some studies of social distance have shown that prejudiced attitudes do not lead to prejudiced behavior if the content and structure of the attitudes for rating are irrelevant to the Ss.

In the present study, we also examined social distance. We felt that prejudiced Ss would show more social distance toward Blacks than toward Whites even though both Blacks and Whites may express the same attitudes to the Ss.

Effects of Interpersonal Attraction

The accurate prediction of interpersonal attraction and repulsion in dyadic relationships will undoubtedly require that knowledge about several classes of independent variables is obtained.

It has been suggested (Byrne, 1961a) that the degree of attraction between two individuals is determined by four classes of variables: the structural properties of the environment which act to vary propinquity, the strength of the characteristic affiliation motive of each individual, generalization from previous learning with respect to the overt stimulus properties of one another, and the number of reciprocal rewards and punishments which occur during their interactions.

Studies on the effect of interpersonal attraction (1) on attitude similarity, (2) on propinquity, (3) on socioeconomic similarity, (4) on threat reduction, (5) race attraction, (6) on racial prejudice and assumed dissimilarity of attitudes, are outlined below.

Attitude Similarity

A number of studies have found greater similarity among friends than among nonfriends with respect to a variety of issues (Bonney, 1946; Loomis, 1946; Newcomb, 1956; Precker, 1952; Richardson, 1940; Winslow, 1937). A few studies of a more experimental nature also support the notion of a relationship between attitude similarity and interpersonal attraction (Jones and Daugherty, 1959; Smith, 1957).

In the Byrne (1961a) study one group of Ss received attitude scales filled out exactly the same as theirs had been, one received scales with exactly opposite views expressed, one received scales with similar opinions on the most important issues and dissimilar on the least important, and the fourth received scales with similar opinions on the least important issues and dissimilar

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opinions on the most important.

He found that (a) a stranger who is known to have attitudes similar to those of the subject is better liked than a stranger with attitudes dissimilar to those of the subject, (b) a stranger who is known to have attitudes similar to those of the subject is judged to be more intelligent, better informed, more moral, and better adjusted than a stranger with attitudes dissimilar to those of the subject, (c) but a stranger who is known to have similar attitudes on issues important to the subject and dissimilar attitudes on unimportant issues is not better liked and is not evaluated more positively on the other four variables which are the other student's intelligence, knowledge of current events, morality, and adjustment than a stranger for whom the reverse is true.

In fact, the Similar on Important Attitudes Group (SIA) rated the "stranger" significantly more positively than did the Similar on Unimportant Attitudes Group (SUA) with respect to their personal feelings about him, his morality, and his adjustment. On the other three variables, which were desirability as a work partner, intelligence, and knowledge of current events, the two

groups did not differ as predicted. The results suggest that the Personal Feelings scale is the most sensitive measure of interpersonal attraction. With the other five interpersonal judgment scales, additional factors apparently contribute to the variance.

In summary, Ss judged people who shared the Ss' similar attitudes as being more attractive and more intelligent than people who did not share the Ss' similar attitudes.

In our study, we predicted that Ss would like the actors delivering the Conservative Speech better than the actors delivering the Radical Speech.

Propinquity

Many studies in a diverse array of situations have suggested that propinquity is of overwhelming importance in determining who will interact with whom. Distance and spatial arrangements have been found to influence friendship choices in university housing projects for married veterans (Caplow and Forman, 1950; Festinger, Schachter, and Back, 1950), in the planned communities of American suburbia (Whyte, 1956), among college undergraduates

(Lundberg and Beaxley, 1948; Lundberg, Hertzler, and Dickson, 1949), in a college dormitory (Evans and Wilson, 1949; Newcomb, 1956), and within a college classroom (Maisonneure, Palmade, and Fourment, 1952; Byrne and Buehler, 1955).

Byrne (1961c) found that students became acquainted with a greater proportion of 'seat neighbors' (those who occupy neighboring seats in the same row) than of 'non-neighbors' (all remaining students), if the contacts lasted 7 or 14 weeks, but not in 3.5 weeks of contact; (b) Students did not become acquainted with a greater proportion of 'cross-row neighbors' (those occupying neighboring seats in adjacent rows) than of non-neighbors; It is clear that the two types of neighboring seats have very different effects on their occupants; their physical distance is quite different. It could be that the ease with which a student can converse with his seat neighbor lessens the probability that he will go through the motions necessary to converse with cross-row neighbors and non-neighbors; (c) The intensity of the seat-neighbor relationships exceeded that of the non-neighbor relationships in the 14-week condition, there was no difference in the 7-week condition, and the reverse was true in the 3.5-week

condition; (d) The number of relationships per student did not increase as the number of seat neighbors was increased.

In summary, Ss tended to interact with people near them although people at equidistances may have served different functions in the relationship. Time seemed to strengthen these interactions.

In our study, we predicted that the Ss would rate feeling closer to the White actors than the Black actors because the Ss would feel more relaxed and more familiar around White people.

Status Similarity

There are sociometric data which suggest that friendship choices within a group tend to be between members of the same general socio-economic status (Bonney, 1949; Dahlke, 1953; Longmore, 1948; Lundberg and Beazley, 1948; Lundberg and Steel, 1933). One possible explanation for such findings comes from Festinger's (1950, 1954) theory of social comparison process which is not incompatible with reinforcement theory. He suggests that individuals are attracted to others who are similar to themselves with respect to both opinions and abilities.

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Thus, groups are formed on the basis of such similarities, and communication and comparison with those who are divergent may be avoided. Festinger (1954) goes on to say: "The segmentation into groups which are relatively alike with respect to abilities also gives rise to status in a society. And it seems clear that when such status distinctions are firmly maintained, it is not only members of the higher status who maintain them. It is also important to the members of the lower status to maintain them for it is in this way that they can relatively ignore the differences and compare themselves with their own group. Comparisons with members of a different status group, either higher or lower, may sometimes be made on a phantasy level, but very rarely in reality."

A number of investigations lend support to Festinger's position. For example, Zander and Havelin (1960) found that subjects in a group situation were most attracted to others whose competence with respect to an experimental task was closest to their own. In addition, many of the affiliation studies indicate that subjects choose to be with others similar to themselves in emotional state (Zimbardo and Formica, 1963).

Both the sociometric findings and the social comparison theory suggest the possibility that the effect of attitude similarity-dissimilarity on attraction may be a much more general phenomenon in that various other types of similarity-dissimilarity also affect attraction.

Economic Similarity

The theory of social comparison processes suggests that individuals are attracted to each other on the basis of similarity in opinions, abilities, and emotional state. Generalizing further in the present investigation, attraction was hypothesized by Byrne, Clore, & Worchel (1966) to be a function of similarity-dissimilarity in economic status. In their study, a total of 84 ss was divided into high and low economic status on the basis of their responses to items dealing with spending money. Three experimental conditions were devised in which ss evaluated a stranger on the basis of his or her responses to the economic items and some attitudinal items. In 1 condition, low-status ss responded to a high-status stranger, in a 2nd condition, high status ss responded to a low-status stranger, and in a 3rd condition, high-

and low-status Ss responded to strangers similar to themselves. As hypothesized, attraction was significantly affected by similarity-dissimilarity of economic status. It was found that the specific responses of Ss could be predicted on the basis of a law of attraction formula derived in earlier work on attitude similarity-dissimilarity.

Such that when Individual A receives positive reinforcement from Individual B, A's attraction toward B increases. Individual B constitutes a conditioned stimulus for the positive affect evoked by the reinforcement. In the same general way, negative reinforcement from Individual B results in negative affect and hence dislike for B.

As in above mentioned studies, attitude similarity and attitude dissimilarity are assumed to constitute consensual validation and invalidation; such information acts as positive and negative reinforcement with respect to the need to be logical and accurate in interpreting the stimulus world (Golightly and Byrne, 1964). The rationale for attributing positive and negative reinforcement properties to information concerning economic

similarity-dissimilarity suggests a broader generalization. It seems quite possible that in any type of social comparison with other human beings (e.g., opinions, attitudes, beliefs, values, abilities, traits, taste, income, overt behavior, etc.) similarity is preferable to dissimilarity. Consensual validation as evidence of one's accuracy and reasonableness in dealing with one's environment may extend to all behavior.

In summary, the Ss rated people on their same socio-economic status as being most attractive.

In our study, we predicted that the Ss would rate the White Conservative as most similar to themselves in beliefs followed by the WR, BC, and BR as most dissimilar to the Ss.

Threat Reduction

In a study by Pepitone and Kleiner (1957), it was shown that low threat (i.e., low probability of a group losing status) produces a greater increase in sociometric attraction within the group than high threat (i.e., high probability of a group losing status). The data suggested the hypothesis that a reduction in threat would lead to an increase in mutual attractiveness of group members for having "improved" an existing state of affairs.

Groups of students were given two parts of a "test battery," presumably for the purpose of comparison with supervisory personnel in industry in group problem-solving situations (Kleiner, 1960). After the first part, the groups experienced one of two estimates of the probability of losing comparability with industrial personnel and peer groups. After the second part, all groups experienced one of two reductions in the probability of loss due to improved performance through the contribution of a confederate place in each group.

The results of the degree of threat reduction and interpersonal attraction showed that the change in attraction was greater in the large-reduction condition regardless of the threat baseline from which the reduction in threat occurred. There was a greater increase in the attraction of the confederate in the large-reduction condition, and this again was regardless of the baseline from which the reduction occurred. The data on the Ss' reflected the effects of the threat conditions on their liking for each other as well. The effect of threat reduction from different baselines showed that the change in attraction was larger when the reduction was from the

high threat baseline. There was a greater increase in the social attraction of the confederate when the reduction in threat was made from the high-threat baseline.

In testing the effectiveness of the confederate's role, the effect of the magnitude of the threat reduction is reflected, not in the increased importance of the confederate, but in the ss' depreciation of each other in the small-reduction condition. Apparently, the ss in the small-reduction condition were holding each other responsible for the relatively small improvement. There was also a greater increase in the perceived importance of the confederate when the threat reduction is made from the high baseline than when it is made from the low baseline.

The generalized results have shown that (1) In all conditions the confederate was perceived to be highly important to the group performance; (2) "importance" provided evidence for the effectiveness of the experimental treatments; (3) The level of aspiration reflected only the effect of the initial threat treatment, since the level of aspiration measure failed to differentiate between the large and small threat-reduction conditions, but did differentiate between the high and low initial-threat conditions; (4) The increment of perceived

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attraction for the confederate varied directly with the degree to which probability of loss was reduced; (5) The increment of perceived attraction varied directly with the initial level of probability of loss.

In summary, the Ss rated people that reduced a great deal of threat as being more attractive than a person reducing a small amount of threat.

In our study, the Ss should like the Conservative Speech better than the Radical Speech because in the Conservative Speech a great deal of threat is reduced.

Race Attraction

It has been reported in a number of investigations that friendship choices or attraction ratings are influenced by race. White Ss of various ages in various settings are found to be more attracted to other whites than to Negroes when asked to make friendship choices (Berkun and Meeland, 1958; Koch, 1946; Mann, 1958). The importance of the interaction between race and racial prejudice was recently demonstrated by Wong (1961). He found that on the basis of minimal background data, 73 Ss were asked to make several judgments about a stranger.

Attraction was measured by means of two scales of the Interpersonal Judgment Scale (Byrne, 1961a). On this instrument, Ss indicated their personal feelings of liking and disliking with respect to a stranger and also rate his desirability as a work partner. As hypothesized, highly prejudiced Ss responded more negatively to a Negro stranger than to one identified as white. The prediction that Ss low in prejudice would not, respond differentially on the basis of race was supported with respect to Personal Feelings. On the Work Partner variable, they actually responded more positively to a Negro than to a white stranger.

In Summary, prejudiced Ss responded more positively to a White stranger than to a Black stranger even though both parties' attitudes were unknown to the Ss.

in our study, we predict that White actors would be rated more positively than Black actors on traits unknown to prejudiced Ss.

Racial Prejudice and Assumed Dissimilarity of Attitudes

Both the balance theory of Heider (1958) and the strain-toward-symmetry formulations of Newcomb (1953) would predict that an individual who dislikes Negroes

should assume that they hold attitudes dissimilar from himself. In Newcomb's terminology, if A (highly prejudiced S) has negative feelings toward B (Negro stranger) and positive feelings toward X (e.g., classical music), symmetry can be obtained by A if he assumes that B dislikes classical music. Similarly, if a S low in prejudice has positive feelings toward a Negro stranger and positive feelings toward classical music, he achieves symmetry by assuming that the Negro stranger also likes classical music.

Rokeach and Rothman (1965), who reported supportive evidence for Heider and Newcomb, compared and contrasted the belief congruence model with the Osgood and Tannenbaum's congruity principle.

The belief congruence model was compared and contrasted with Osgood and Tannenbaum's congruity principle, the main difference between the 2 principles being that the former asserts that the outcome of cognitive interaction cannot be accurately predicted from a knowledge of the evaluative meaning of the 2 elements judged in isolation, while the latter asserts that it can. Quantitative predictions generated by the 2 models were compared with obtained results showing that the average absolute error

of the congruity model was 1.07 and the average absolute error for the belief congruence model was .34, thus suggesting that the latter model's predictions were about 3 times as accurate as the congruity model's predictions.

Congruence can be defined both in terms of similarity and importance. Given two beliefs or subsystems of belief equal in importance, the one more similar to our own is the more congruent; conversely, given two beliefs or subsystems perceived to be equally similar to our own, the one judged as more important is the more congruent with our own belief system.

There is some experimental support for the general proposition. It has been found that individuals assume greater similarity between themselves and liked others than between themselves and disliked others (even in the absence of actual differences) with respect to personality traits (Fiedler, Warrington, & Blaisdell, 1952) and values (Precker, 1953). In addition, Muraskin and Iverson (1958) reported that as the social distance of a minority group increased, subjects assumed greater dissimilarity between themselves and members of that group with respect to attributed social distance ratings.

Once interaction has begun, reciprocal reward and punishment is proposed as the crucial determining factor. It has been suggested (Newcomb, 1956) that attraction between persons is a function of the extent to which reciprocal punishments. A special subclass of this variable would be perceived similarity and dissimilarity of the attitudes of two individuals. It can be assumed that persons in our culture have well established learned drives to be logical and to make a correct report of the environment. Those who seem deficient in this respect are generally categorized as being uninformed, of low intelligence, immoral, and/or as being out of contact with reality. It is primarily through consensual validation that people determine whether they or anyone else is logical or correct in interpreting environmental events. Hence, any time that another person offers one validation by indicating that his percepts and concepts are congruent with his, it constitutes a rewarding interaction and, hence, one element in forming a positive relationship. Any time that another person indicates dissimilarity between ones two notions, it constitutes a punishing interaction and thus one element in forming

a negative relationship. Disagreement raises the unpleasant possibility that one is to some degree stupid, uninformed, immoral, or insane. An alternative possibility is that it is the other person who is deficient in one or more of these characteristics. Probably other variables, such as the importance of the issue to each individual, contribute to the effect (Byrne 1961).

As would be predicted from Newcomb's (1953) A-B-X model, prejudiced subjects not only dislike Negroes but they erroneously assume attitudinal differences between themselves and Negro strangers (Byrne and Wong, 1962). Thus, symmetrical A-B-X relationships are formed, in which those who dislike Negroes assume dissimilarity and those who like Negroes assume similarity of attitudes. In a further investigation, Byrne and Wong (1962) created non-symmetrical conditions by presenting Ss with information indicating that a stranger was either completely similar to or completely dissimilar from themselves in responding to a 26-item attitude scale. It was found that attraction was primarily a function of attitude similarity. That is, Ss responded positively to similar strangers and negatively to dissimilar

strangers regardless of the race of the stranger or the degree of prejudice of the S.

This finding was interpreted in terms of a reward and punishment framework. Agreement about attitudes has been interpreted as reward via consensual validation and disagreement as punishment via consensual invalidation (Byrne, 1961a; Byrne, 1961b; Byrne, 1962). As a high-prejudiced S reads through an attitude questionnaire in which a Negro stranger expresses views similar to his own on 26 assorted items, it is assumed that this experience functions as the administration of 26 rewards. As a consequence, at least for a limited time-period and with respect to one particular Negro, high-prejudiced Ss in the Byrne and Wong (1962) experiment indicated that they liked the Negro stranger and would enjoy working with him as a partner in an experiment.

Therefore, if prejudiced individuals were provided with experiences in which equal status interactions with Negroes involved interpersonal rewards rather than the expected punishments, their expectancies and hence their prejudiced beliefs should be altered.

It is hypothesized that interracial contact is effective in reducing prejudice as a function of the

frequency of interpersonal rewards which occur in that contact and of the proportion of rewarding interactions in relation to punishing and neutral ones. Without isolating the reward variables, several studies have nevertheless, found that equal status contacts with Negroes resulted in more positive interracial attitudes among housewives dwelling in federal housing projects (Deutsch and Collins, 1951; Wilner, Walkley, and Cook, 1952), students participating in a special seminar experience (Smith, 1943), graduate seminar in leaderless discussion groups (Mann, 1959), officers and enlisted men in infantry platoons (United States War Department, 1947), merchant seamen (Brophy, 1956), and workers in various settings (Gundlach, 1956; Palmore, 1955).

In building a theory of interpersonal attraction, the most inclusive independent variable is almost certainly that of reciprocal reward and punishment. Actually, the other three classes of variables appear to be relevant only as they relate to reward and punishment. Propinquity is important in determining attraction because environmental variables can facilitate or inhibit interaction, and without interaction, rewards cannot be

given or received. The strong desire to form affiliative relationships suggests that the expectancy of reward in an interpersonal context is high. Similarly, attraction or repulsion based on overt stimulus properties would seem indicative of expectancies for rewards or for punishments in the interaction (Byrne and Wong, 1962).

Therefore, interracial contact may be effective in reducing prejudice because Negro-white interactions involve rewards given directly by Negroes or rewards administered by other individuals as a consequence of interaction. In addition to the effects of attitude similarity, acceptance of Negroes is brought about by such rewarding interactions as judgmental support in an Asch conformity situation (Malof and Lott, 1962).

Contrary to the previous finding, prejudice and race did interact in influencing attraction (Byrne and McGraw, 1964). Both low- and high-prejudiced Ss responded to white strangers on the basis of similarity of attitudes, and low-prejudiced Ss responded to Negro strangers on the same basis. However, by those high in prejudice, the Negro strangers were rated in a uniform manner no matter what their attitudes. The reason for

the difference between this finding and that of Byrne and Wong, (1962) was sought in a second experiment. It was hypothesized that with the utilization of 26 similar and 26 dissimilar attitudes, as in the Byrne and Wong, (1962) investigation, the original results would be replicated. It was also hypothesized that the use of photographs in Experiment I exerted a negative influence on the ratings of Negro strangers by high-prejudiced Ss. It was found that a stranger with 26 similar attitudes evoked positive ratings and one with 26 dissimilar attitudes evoked negative ratings from Ss at each extreme of the prejudice scale. However, those low in prejudice were more positive toward Negroes than were those high in prejudice. Contrary to expectations, ratings of a stranger by both prejudice groups were more positive when a photograph was present. It was concluded that a S low in prejudice responds toward a Negro stranger as toward a white stranger; attraction ratings vary as a linear function of the proportion of similar to dissimilar attitudes. A S high in prejudice, on the other hand, will respond positively to a Negro stranger providing that this stranger is completely similar to

himself concerning attitudes about a relatively large number of topics; he will respond with indifference or dislike toward a Negro stranger who departs from total similarity.

In summary, prejudice ss also falsely assumed that their attitudes are dissimilar to the attitudes that Black people have.

In our study, we felt that the prejudice ss would rate the Black actors' attitudes as being more dissimilar to the ss' than those of the White actors.

The Belief Versus Race Controversy

Which is more important a person's belief or a person's race? Rokeach's (1960) position supports a Belief Congruence Theory whereas Triandis's (1961) position supports a Race Congruence Theory. Both positions are explored below.

Rokeach, Smith, and Evans (1960) stated that "insofar as psychological processes are involved, belief is more important than ethnic or racial membership as a determinant of social discrimination" (p. 135). They argued that true racial discrimination implies that the outgroup is discriminated against, but that at the same time, the ingroup is favored, and they provided evidence supporting

a belief-congruence theory of prejudice, which subsumes racial and ethnic prejudice as a special case under belief prejudice.

They asked Ss to respond to a nine-point scale ranging from "I can't see myself being friends with such a person" to "I can very easily see myself being friends with such a person." The stimulus persons used were persons of the same or different race or religion as the Ss, who had the same or different beliefs as the Ss. All possible combinations of race and belief were used. The beliefs dealt with God, communism, labor unions, socialized medicine, etc. The writers stated that in the first of two studies white Ss making hypothetical choices were more accepting of Negroes who agreed with them on important issues than they were of whites disagreeing with them. This was true both for a northern and a southern sample. In a second study, they showed that Jewish children accepted Gentiles agreeing with them to a greater extent than they did Jews disagreeing with them. Most of the time the Ss discriminated on the basis of belief and not on the basis of racial or ethnic group when they were given the opportunity to react to social stimuli differing simultaneously on both characteristics.

Triandis (1961) rejected these findings on the friendship variable because he felt that Rokeach's own experimental confirmation of his hypothesis was due to an artifact of his method of measuring prejudice. Had Rokeach considered something more than friendship he would not have obtained his results. Triandis argued that prejudice involved more than nonacceptance as a friend because it involved negative behaviors as well. A concept more general than prejudice is the concept of social distance.

Since Rokeach's research technique used friendship as the variable under investigation, and so inevitably dealt only with a relationship involving small social distance, prejudice and discrimination are much more relevant to acceptance or rejection of a relationship involving relatively large social distance, such as acceptance of a person as a neighbor or as a student in one's university. People do not exclude other people from their neighborhood, for instance, because the other people have different belief systems, but they do exclude them because they are Negroes.

Triandis (1961) felt that race rather than belief congruence was the critical determinant. In his study, belief congruence was measured by Morris' (1956) "13 ways to live." Stimulus individuals in the study were varied either has the same or different in race, religion, occupational status and philosophy. The results showed that race accounted for about four times as much of the variance in social distance judgments as did belief congruence, although all four main effects were highly significant.

Rokeach (1961) replied to Triandis with the objection that the long and involved passages of Morris' ways to live were too vague and not sufficiently salient for the Ss. He added that Triandis did not tell what his Ss remembered of these two paragraphs (not to speak of the 13). He doubts if Triandis's paragraphs were ego-involving.

Rokeach felt that the belief variable pitted against race was vague, abstract, overintellectual, and complicated; hence weak! And the polarities, "same" and "different philosophy," were not really opposites, just different. They were not Ways producing social conflict in everyday life. They represent ideals by which "people say they

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would like to live, and not how they do live" (Morris and Jones, 1955). Thus, the difference between "same" and "different philosophy" is a difference which, psychologically and sociologically, makes little difference.

According to Rokeach, the major difference in method was that Triandis had used vague descriptions of stimulus persons, such as "Negro, same philosophy of life"; while Rokeach had used stimulus persons with specific beliefs, such as "Negro who believes in God" or "white atheist." To make sure that his results were not artifacts, Rokeach repeated his research with eight widely differing issues: God, communism, desegregation, etc. These issues were socially salient and controversial, though not equally so. On all eight issues, he found friendship ratings to be more a function of belief than race, though not equally so. These results hold in the South as well as in the North.

He concluded that his position--that the more salient a belief, the more will belief congruence override racial or ethnic congruence as a determinant of social distance--had not actually been challenged by Triandis' data.

Reconciliation of the Belief Versus Race Controversy

Stein, Hardyck, and Smith (1965) presented a study designed to reconcile these differences. In a test of Rokeach's contention that prejudice is the result of perceived dissimilarity of belief systems, 44 white California 9th graders completed a "teenage social distance scale" for 4 "stimulus teenagers," presented as, respectively, white or Negro, and like or unlike the respondent in values, in relation to Ss' own responses 2 months earlier. Ss also indicated how friendly they would feel toward each.

The results showed that Ss felt most friendly towards the white-like teenager, followed by the Negro-like, white-unlike, and Negro-unlike. When white Ss were given no information at all about a Negro teenager, they apparently assume that he is different from them in values and react towards him accordingly. With belief similarity held constant, the Ss perceived that the white stimulus teenagers were more like them, given identical information about the whites and Negroes.

Strong "race effects" were obtained on "sensitive" or controversial items by prevailing cultural standards

on the social distance scale, perhaps reflecting institutionalized areas of prejudice, and on total social distance scores when information concerning belief system was not provided. They added that institutionalized norms and large race effects exist in situations in which there is both intimacy of contact and pressure of others.

Therefore, when Ss are forced to evaluate stimulus individuals in terms of their beliefs, then belief congruence is more important than race. But when the belief component is not provided, spelled out in considerable detail, Ss will react in racial terms on the basis of assumptions concerning the belief system of others, and of emotional or institutionalized factors. The practical implications of these results are obvious. If people of different races encounter one another under conditions favoring the perception of belief congruence (as, for example, in equal-status contacts), then racial prejudice should be substantially reduced.

Although Stein et al. obtained a strong effect on belief congruence and a lesser race effect, their scale was limited to positive items such as "invite home to dinner," "have as member of social group," "work on committee with," etc. Triandis' criticism of Rokeach

applies equally to Stein et al. Prejudice involves negative behaviors as well as the lack of positive behaviors.

Part of the confusion in previous discussions stems from the assumption that prejudice is a unidimensional construct. Triandis (1964b) challenged this assumption and presented the results of several factor analyses which indicated that social acceptance (assumed here to be the opposite of prejudice) is a multidimensional construct.

Triandis' (1964b) basic factors were obtained from factor analyses of behavioral differential scales, and were as follows:

Factor I. Formal Social Acceptance with Subordination versus Formal Social Rejection, defined by high loadings on items such as "I would admire the ideas of," "I would admire the character of," "I would cooperate in a political campaign with," etc.

Factor II. Friendship Acceptance versus Friendship Rejection defined by high loadings on "I would accept as an intimate friend," "I would eat with," etc.

Factor III. Friendship Acceptance versus Friendship Rejection defined by high loadings on "I would accept as an intimate friend

the first two, the first is the most important, and the second is the most important.

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The first is the most important, and the second is the most important.

Factor IV. Social Distance, defined by high loadings on "I would exclude from my neighborhood," "I would exclude from my country," etc.

Factor V. Subordination, defined by high loadings on "I would obey," "I would not treat as a subordinate," etc.

Triandis' (1964b) analysis permitted the computation of the relative variance accounted for by the race, age, occupation, sex, and religion of the stimulus person as determinants of responses on each of these factors. It was found that occupation was, by far, the most important determinant for Formal Social Rejection and for Subordination. Incongruence of sex and age, followed by race and religion were the primary determinants of variance for Friendship Rejection. For Social Distance, the variance was almost completely determined by race.

Thus, the findings of the studies described above can be reconciled. Rokeach's (1961) data involved the friendship factor; so did those of Stein et al. (1965), Byrne and Wong (1962), and other studies in which belief dissimilarity emerged as the major variable. Triandis' (1961) data were more general, since his Social Distance scale included both friendship and negative behaviors.

His data were primarily determined by responses to the item "exclude from the neighborhood," which about 55% of his Ss indicated they would do when the stimulus person was a Negro. As a result, race explained most of the variance.

Triandis and Davis (1965) offered additional data on the influence of both belief and race dissimilarity in determining social perception of stimulus persons. Three hundred Ss responded, on 12 semantic and 15 behavioral differential scales, to 8 stimulus persons generated by all possible combinations of the characteristics Negro-white, male-female, pro- or con-civil-rights legislation. They also rated 35 political and civil rights issues on semantic differentials. A factor analysis of Ss, based on the covariances of their responses to variables, defined 11 types of Ss. Two of these types were strongly prejudiced. One type of S showed "conventional" prejudice; they were extremely sensitive to the race component when responding to the stimulus persons. Ss of the other type showed "belief" prejudice; they were particularly sensitive to the beliefs of the stimulus person.

On the Formal Social Rejection factor, belief is quite clearly the element which orders the pattern. In contrast, the Friendship Rejection factor showed a clear ordering by race, followed by belief. For the Marital Rejection factor, the most important element is sex, but the next most important element is race. For the Social Distance factor, the most important element is race, followed by belief. For Subordination, it is also race, followed by belief. Thus, although both race and belief are important, race is more important for most of the factors of behavioral intentions, especially those behaviors that are more intimate; belief becomes more important in the less intimate behaviors of the Formal Social Rejection factor.

Ss high on Marital Acceptance versus Marital Rejection rejected people primarily on the basis of race; they also consider civil rights and many political issues as quite unimportant. Ss high on Subordination showed belief prejudice and considered most issues as very important. Thus, the Ss' behavioral intentions were a function of both personality and the type of behavioral intentions involved.

The race and belief characteristics of stimulus persons acquire different weights depending upon both the nature of the items to which the Ss are responding and the type of S making the response.

Specifically, the Social Distance and Marital Rejection factors were responded to in the manner described by Triandis (1961), and Triandis and Triandis (1960, 1962). The Evaluative and Formal Social Rejection Factors were responded to more in the manner described by Rokeach et al. (1960); this was particularly true in the case of unprejudiced Ss. The Friendship Rejection and Subordination cluster of behavior was responded to either on the basis of race, or on the basis of belief, depending upon whether the Ss were high or low on general prejudice. Those Ss who were prejudiced responded to the race component. Data show that both race and belief were important in the case of highly prejudiced Ss responding to the Formal Social Rejection factor, but that belief becomes less important in the other response continua. This finding is consistent with the arguments of Stein et al. (1965).

Examination of the three clusters of behaviors which were responded to differently revealed that the Social Distance-Marital Rejection cluster included the most intimate behaviors; the Friendship Rejection and Subordination behaviors appeared to be intermediate in intimacy and social commitment; Formal Social Rejection included the least intimate behaviors, and this factor, together with the semantic differential evaluative factor, involved a minimum of social commitment.

In the case of the most intimate behaviors, all Ss, regardless of whether they were classified as prejudiced or unprejudiced, gave social distance responses. In the case of the least intimate behaviors, most Ss gave unprejudiced responses. In the case of the behaviors that were intermediate in intimacy, there was a clear separation of the prejudiced from the unprejudiced Ss, as well as of the conventionally prejudiced from the belief prejudiced Ss.

In the case of intimate behaviors, Triandis' arguments appear correct; in the case of nonintimate behaviors, Rokeach's arguments appear correct; in the case of behaviors intermediate in intimacy, both race

1. The first step is to identify the problem or question.

2. The second step is to gather information.

3. The third step is to analyze the information.

4. The fourth step is to develop a solution.

5. The fifth step is to implement the solution.

6. The sixth step is to evaluate the results.

7. The seventh step is to reflect on the process.

8. The eighth step is to communicate the findings.

9. The ninth step is to document the process.

10. The tenth step is to review the process.

11. The eleventh step is to improve the process.

12. The twelfth step is to repeat the process.

13. The thirteenth step is to conclude.

14. The fourteenth step is to summarize.

15. The fifteenth step is to finalize.

16. The sixteenth step is to complete.

17. The seventeenth step is to end.

18. The eighteenth step is to stop.

19. The nineteenth step is to finish.

20. The twentieth step is to close.

21. The twenty-first step is to exit.

22. The twenty-second step is to leave.

and belief are important. However, some Ss behave more as described by Triandis, and other Ss more as described by Rokeach. The first type, the conventionally prejudiced, is distinguished from the second type, the belief prejudiced, particularly on those behaviors that are intermediate in intimacy because norms may play a smaller role in the case of nonintimate behaviors. In this latter case, personality and previous experience, as well as the total attitude structure of the individual, may control most of the variance of social rejection or acceptance.

According to Insko and Robinson (1967) there were, however, at least two problems with Triandis and Davis' (1965) study. First, the various items in several of the factors appear fairly heterogeneous in implied intimacy or social distance. (E.G., consider "admit as a tourist in my country" and "accept as a close kin by marriage," both contained in Factor IV.)

Second, only one belief or attitude (favorability toward civil rights) was manipulated. A more adequate or thorough manipulation of belief possibly would have produced a greater belief effect in Triandis and Davis' (1965) college population.

Insko and Robinson (1967) attempted in two ways to increase the generality of the evidence relating to the belief versus race issue. First, the manipulation of similarity-dissimilarity involved unselected beliefs as well as beliefs about which of the Ss perceived Negroes as feeling strongly. In one condition, these latter beliefs were selected on an individual S-by-S basis; in another condition, they were selected on a group basis so as to represent the white conception or stereotype of strongly held Negro beliefs.

Second, the study was conducted with southern junior high school students. Since no one has previously reported a test of Rokeach's theory with southern non-college Ss, the authors thought that it would be of some interest to examine the race versus belief issue with Ss of this type. One scale which Triandis and David (1965) interpreted as being more influenced by belief (semantic differential assessment of attitude toward Negroes), one scale influenced by both belief and race (Factor III), and one scale more influenced by race (Factor IV) were used for dependent variables.

The results indicated that both belief and race had large significant effects on all three dependent variables

and that belief had a significant greater effect than did race on the semantic differential assessment of attitude, and that race had a nonsignificant greater effect than did belief on the two factor scales. The Belief X Race interaction on the two factor scales, however, indicates that belief similarity is of somewhat greater importance in determining reactions to white persons than to Negroes.

In addition, belief similarity was just as important for beliefs that Negroes were perceived as holding strongly as for unselected beliefs.

The semantic differential items obviously entail minimal presence of norm-enforcing whites, while accepting Negroes as close kin by marriage and eating with Negroes involve both of these variables to a high degree. There are, however, some difficulties with these variables as ordering concepts. "Accept this person as an intimate friend" would seem almost by definition to involve more intimacy of contact than "eat with this person," and yet "eat with this person" has a more negative belief minus race score. Perhaps this reflects the fact that traditional southern culture tolerates friendship between Negroes and whites, as long as Negroes stay in "their place," but does not tolerate eating with Negroes. This shows that

contact intimacy and presence of others may not be completely adequate as operational criteria for specifying the presence of norms. Since institutionalized norms may override individual psychological propensities to respond in terms of belief similarity, the results infer that prejudicial reactions to race are still very much a part of southern whites.

Pettigrew (1958) further has reported some data indicating that conformity to norms has an effect on the maintenance of prejudice in the south but not in the north.

Smith, Williams, & Willis (1967) confirmed Insko and Robinson's (1967) findings. In the Smith et al. (1967), six samples (total N=307) of white and Negro Ss from northern, border, and southern states rates the friendship acceptance of stimulus persons of specified race, sex, and belief on 1 of 8 general or Negro-white issues. For all samples except 1, belief congruence was more important for acceptance than similarity of race; race, in turn, was more important than similarity of sex. For the southernmost white sample (Louisiana), race was the most important factor by a slight margin due to the institutionalized mores of the deep South, while sex

was again least important. Interactions were negligible, except for a renegade effect observed in all three Negro samples--members of the racial ingroup were consistently penalized more for disagreeing than were members of the outgroup. None of the samples exhibited "true" discrimination (negative correlation between acceptance of ingroup and outgroup), although the southern white sample exhibited a significant tendency towards true racial discrimination, while all three Negro samples showed significant tendencies towards true belief discrimination.

McGrew (1969) also confirmed the Belief Congruency Hypothesis. In his study, there were four independent variables, each consisting of two levels: (a) Authoritarian orientation (Left Authoritarian, liberal opinions vs. Right Authoritarian, conservative opinions); (b) Sex (Males vs. Females); (c) Debate Condition (Liberal vs. Conservative); (d) Mode of Presentation (Television vs. Audio-Only). The single dependent variable was the extent to which Ss agreed with either the liberal or conservative position, as rated on a Semantic Differential-Type Scale.

The major hypotheses were tested by means of two debate situations which occurred between a Negro and

White male confederate. Eight issues were debated by the speaker, four of which dealt with American foreign policies and four with domestic policies.

It was hypothesized that Left and Right Authoritarians, as measured by Rokeach's Opinionation Scale, would agree with liberal and conservative positions respectively, regardless of the ethnic membership or the person espousing such views. Although the data supported Rokeach's hypothesis that interpersonal attraction is a function of attitudinal similarity, it was suggested that the degree of intimacy and the social proscriptions governing it limit the generality of the hypothesis.

If interpersonal attraction implies closeness sanctioned by social custom, then the Belief Congruency Hypothesis appears valid, but if such attraction implies a relationship which is socially taboo, then the Triandis and Davis (1965) position appears valid.

The study by Willis and Bulatao (1967) suggests that Triandis and Davis (1965) are right in a relative sense but wrong in an absolute sense. In the Willis et al. (1967) study, the belief congruence theory of prejudice was tested with friendship and marriage acceptance ratings made by 160 Filipino college students. SS indicated opinions

on 10 issues and rated hypothetical friendship and marriage candidates varying with regard to belief congruence (agreement/disagreement with S) and ethnicity (Filipino, Chinese, etc.). Anova revealed belief congruence to account for over 20 times as much variance as ethnicity. However, ethnicity too was significant in 17/20 instances, with the remaining cases lending trend support. The renegade effect was consistently observed and was substantially correlated ($\rho = .60, .64$) with issue importance.

Generalization from these findings was, however, severely limited by the fact that in all these studies the social stimuli were "paper-and-pencil" stimuli and the discriminatory responses elicited were "paper-and-pencil" responses. To overcome this limitation, Rokeach and Mezei (1966) conducted three experiments in which Ss were given the opportunity to discriminate on the basis of race or belief, or both, in real-life situations. These experiments were all alike in basic design. A naive S engaged four strangers, confederates of the experimenter, in a group discussion about an important or situationally relevant topic. Two of the confederates were white and two were Negro. One white and one Negro

agreed with the S, and one white and one Negro disagreed with him. The S was then asked to state a preference for two of the four confederates.

Two of these experiments again used college students, but the third included as Ss job applicants for positions of janitor, laundry worker, and attendant in mental hospitals. In all experiments, the choices, which were made following a group discussion, were cognitively real for the Ss.

In each of the campus studies, 60 percent apparently preferred partners differing from one another in both race and belief. But, this was so of only 24 percent of the Ss in the field study; 60 percent in the field study chose two partners with beliefs congruent with their own, one white and one Negro.

The results also showed that (a) similarity of belief is a considerably more frequent basis of choice than dissimilarity of belief; (b) similarity of race is rarely a basis of choice--considerably less often even than chance, and no more frequently than dissimilarity of race; and (c) similarity of belief is a considerably more frequent basis of choice than similarity of race. Thus, the Belief

Congruence Principle was consistently the best predictor of choices in all three experiments.

In summary, it appears that white Ss like Blacks who have many similar beliefs to themselves provided that the Blacks do not share intimate behaviors with Whites, especially where institutionalized norms prohibit such interpersonal interactions. Most Whites who do not know the beliefs of Blacks tended to judge Blacks negatively and attributed dissimilar beliefs to the Blacks.

In our study, we predicted that the prejudice Ss would rate the Black Conservative more favorably than the Black Radical; and, prejudiced Ss would rate negatively the Black Radical because the Ss would feel that the Black Radical holds dissimilar beliefs.

Statement of Problem

This study was conducted in order to evaluate the effects of Race and Belief on interpersonal attraction. In the Race Congruency Theory, Ss are attracted to people of the same Race. In the Belief Congruency Theory, Ss are attracted to people with similar Beliefs. In this study, a Black and a White actor gave both a Conservative

Speech and a Radical Speech so that four conditions were tested--the White Conservative, White Radical, Black Conservative, and Black Radical. A Race X Belief interaction was predicted.

Ss in each of the four conditions rated the actors on an Interpersonal Check List. In order to find out how favorably or unfavorably the Ss rated each actor, comparison ratings of the actors to other variables were examined.

If the Ss were, indeed, prejudiced, they should prefer the Conservative Speech to the Radical Speech, and the White Race to the Black Race, and there should be a Speech X Race interaction.

If the Ss showed true racial discrimination, then Race of actor should be significant regardless of Belief of actor. Therefore, the Ss should prefer the White Race.

If the Ss showed true belief discrimination, then Speech of actor should be significant regardless of Race of actor. Therefore, Ss should prefer the Conservative Speech.

If the Ss showed both true racial and belief discrimination, then Race and Speech of actor should predict a significant difference in preferences.

Therefore, the Ss should prefer the White Conservative followed by the White Radical, Black Conservative, and Black Radical last.

In order to explore the possible effects of racial or belief prejudice, the following hypotheses were tested:

Hypothesis I. Ss will rate the Black Radical actor most significantly different from the Ss, themselves, on the Interpersonal Check List Scores with Black Conservative, White Radical, and White Conservative actors increasingly like themselves in a race X speech interaction.

Hypothesis II. Ss will rate the Black actors more significantly different from the Ss, themselves, in the Interpersonal Check List scores than the White actors.

Hypothesis III. Ss will rate those who made a Radical Speech more significantly different from themselves than those who made a Conservative Speech.

Hypothesis IV. The Black Radical actor will be seen as significantly different from the Ss' perception of the average college student and the BC, WR, and WC as increasingly closer to the Ss' perception of the average college student.

Hypothesis V. Ss will rate the Black Radical actor viewing the Ss as significantly different from the Ss'

self-rating, i.e. the Ss will view the BR as seeing the Ss as significantly different from the Ss' perception of themselves. The Ss will also see the BC, WR, and WC as increasingly perceiving them more like themselves.

Hypothesis VI. Ss will rate the Black Radical actor as significantly farther from the ideal-self of the Ss and the BC, WR, and WC as increasingly closer to the Ss' ideal-selves.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD¹

Subjects

The Ss were 80 Caucasian males obtained from the introductory psychology classes at Michigan State University in April of 1969.² The students received psychology credit for their services.

¹The data from this study were also used by Perlman (1969) and Evans (1970) in analyses of the non-verbal and verbal behaviors of the Ss, respectively.

²Ss were only male Caucasians since the E was not interested, at this time, in the interaction effects between a female S and a male accomplice.

Accomplices

Four male accomplices,³ two Black and two Caucasian were hired from the theater department at Michigan State University.

Setting

A small room with a one way mirror, two chairs, and a low table provided the experimental setting. The chairs were soft backed and had arms. The chairs were placed facing each other on a slight angle towards the one way mirror approximately five feet apart.

Design

All accomplices learned both a Radical and Conservative script. A copy of the scripts can be found in Appendix A. One script presented a Radical viewpoint about the causes and solutions of racial disorders, the other script

³The two Black actors were Alan Smith and Donald Trammel. The two Caucasian actors were Ray Price and Glen Sussman. I would like to thank them all for their time and splendid service.

was a Conservative viewpoint about the same topic. The scripts were written so that each could be said by a Black or Caucasian accomplice. The actors worked together in learning the scripts and added pauses, "You know," "I think," tone of voice, postural and gestural cues, etc. As reported by the raters, in agreement with the E's expectations, all scripts sounded spontaneous and almost identical, no matter who was saying them.

Ss were randomly assigned to one of the two races of accomplice, giving the Radical or Conservative viewpoint. Therefore, there were four experimental conditions with twenty Ss to each condition. The experimental design is diagrammed in Table 1.

TABLE 1

EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

Viewpoint	Race of Accomplice	
	Black	Caucasian
Radical	20	20
Conservative	20	20

Instruction (see Appendix B) were read by one of two Caucasian Es in a uniform manner so as to avoid any test effects.

The use of the selection of a number and letter to determine the topic of discussion avoided giving the S any insight into the true nature of the experiment. It was feared that if the S was told directly that his opinions to the causes and solutions of racial problems were being studied, and if the S was in a dyad with a Black accomplice, that the S may have correctly surmised that the Black S is not a subject at all. A small box containing 80 pieces of paper each listing a number and letter was used for the supposed random selection of topic and speaking order.

Procedure

That Ss were told that the E was interested in studying undergraduate opinions concerning social issues in the United States. All accomplices were informally but neatly dressed for the experimental sessions.

The accomplice and S were seated. The S did not know that the accomplice was working for the E. Care was taken

to treat the accomplice at all times just as if he was any other subject. For example, when reading instructions, the E looked at both the S and accomplice with equal frequency. The S and accomplice were told that they were to discuss one of several social issues the E had chosen. One of them was asked to pick a piece of paper from the small box. The E then looked at a list of numbers and told the S and accomplice that according to the letter picked, they were to discuss the causes and solutions of racial problems in the United States; specifically causes and solutions of racial disorders in the big city, and that according to the number picked, the accomplice was to speak first.

The "S" (actually the accomplice) was asked to talk for up to ten minutes (actually he talked for the length of his script); then the real S talked for up to ten minutes giving his opinions; finally they discussed their views for an additional ten minutes. It was made clear that the first time each spoke, that the other was not to interrupt. To further insure that the accomplice's talk did not appear prepared, the S and accomplice were given about three minutes to think about what they wanted to say

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before the accomplice began. If the experimental session lasted over 35 minutes, the E re-entered the room and informed the pair that their time was up. The E was not present in the room during the actual session.

When the discussion was over, each S was led into a small office by the E. Another E then gave instructions to each S on how to fill out the Interpersonal Check List, and he was always nearby if a S had any questions.

The Interpersonal Check List were then scored and, the results of the comparative ratings are found in Chapter 3.

The Ss were asked to complete the Interpersonal Check List under the following procedure:

In column 1, the S described himself. In column 2, the S described his perfect or ideal self, how he would like to be. In column 3, the S described how he felt about the actor. In column 4, the S described how he feels the actor feels about himself (the actor). In column 5, the S described the average, typical college student. In column 6, the S described how the actor felt about his partner (the S).

Seven ratings were compared for discrepancy scores:

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for transparency and accountability, particularly in financial matters. The text suggests that organizations should implement robust systems to track income, expenses, and assets, ensuring that all data is up-to-date and easily accessible.

2. The second part of the document addresses the challenges of managing complex data sets. It highlights the need for effective data management strategies, including regular backups, secure storage, and efficient retrieval methods. The text also mentions the importance of data security and privacy, advising organizations to comply with relevant regulations and standards.

3. The third part of the document focuses on the role of technology in modern business operations. It discusses how digital tools and software can streamline processes, improve productivity, and reduce costs. The text encourages organizations to embrace innovation and invest in the latest technologies to stay competitive in the market.

4. The fourth part of the document explores the importance of human resources and employee development. It stresses that a skilled and motivated workforce is crucial for the success of any organization. The text suggests implementing training programs, offering career advancement opportunities, and fostering a positive work environment to attract and retain top talent.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the significance of customer relationships and service quality. It notes that satisfied customers are more likely to remain loyal and provide positive feedback, which can lead to increased sales and growth. The text advises organizations to prioritize customer service, listen to feedback, and continuously improve their offerings.

6. The sixth part of the document touches upon the importance of financial management and budgeting. It suggests that organizations should carefully monitor their finances, set realistic budgets, and make informed decisions about resource allocation. The text also mentions the need for regular financial reviews and reporting to stakeholders.

7. The seventh part of the document discusses the role of leadership and management in driving organizational success. It emphasizes that strong leaders are essential for setting a clear vision, inspiring teams, and making strategic decisions. The text suggests that managers should focus on building a strong team, delegating responsibilities, and maintaining open communication.

8. The eighth part of the document addresses the importance of risk management and contingency planning. It notes that organizations should identify potential risks, assess their impact, and develop strategies to mitigate them. The text also mentions the need for regular risk assessments and updates to contingency plans.

9. The ninth part of the document discusses the importance of innovation and research and development. It suggests that organizations should invest in R&D to develop new products, services, and processes, ensuring they remain at the forefront of their industry. The text also mentions the need for a culture of innovation and experimentation.

10. The tenth part of the document concludes by summarizing the key points discussed throughout the document. It reiterates the importance of maintaining accurate records, managing data effectively, embracing technology, investing in human resources, prioritizing customer service, managing finances, strong leadership, risk management, and innovation. The text ends with a call to action, encouraging organizations to implement these strategies to achieve long-term success.

1. 'The (S) self' compared to 'The ideal-self'
2. 'The (S)' compared to 'How the S viewed the actor'
3. 'The ideal-self' compared to 'How the S viewed the actor'
4. 'How the S viewed the actor' compared to 'How the S viewed the average college student'
5. 'How the S rated how the actor viewed himself' compared to 'How the S rated how the actor viewed the S'
6. 'The S's perception of himself' compared to 'How the S thinks that the actor viewed the S'
7. The pooled results of the summation discrepancy scores

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CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

The results of the discrepancy scores of the seven comparative ratings are shown in the following Tables and include the mean frequency of occurrence, standard deviations, and mean totals:

Table 2

Discrepancy scores of the S rating how the actor viewed himself compared to the S's rating how the actor viewed the S.

Behavior Comparison	Speech	Race		Mean Totals of Speech
		Black	Caucasian	
(4&6)	Radical	37.95= \bar{X}	27.00	32.48
		16.01=(S.D.)	15.52	15.76
	Conservative	34.60	22.45	28.53
		14.96	9.79	12.37
	Mean Totals of Race	36.28	24.73	
		15.49	12.65	

An analysis of variance conducted on the data in Table 2 indicated tht the effect of Race reached statistical significance ($F=12.41$, $p<.01$). See Appendix C for a complete analysis of variance for the data in Table 2.

Table 3

Discrepancy scores of the ideal-self compared to how the S viewed the actor.

Behavior Comparison	Speech	Race		Mean Totals of Speech
		Black	Caucasian	
(2&3)	Radical	40.50= \bar{X}	34.65	37.58
		12.17=(S.D.)	12.48	12.32
	Conservative	34.60	40.45	37.53
		9.90	13.02	12.74
	Mean Totals of Race	37.55	37.55	
		11.03	12.75	

An analysis of the variance conducted on the data in Table 3 indicated that the interaction of Race X Speech reached statistical significance ($F=4.55$, $p < .05$). See Appendix C for a complete analysis of variance for the data in Table 3.

This interaction was explored through tests of simple effects. These tests revealed no specific significant simple effects comparisons.

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Table 4

Discrepancy scores of the S comparing himself to the ideal-self.

Behavior Comparison	Speech	Race		Mean Totals of Speech
		Black	Caucasian	
(1&2)	Radical	30.75= \bar{X}	29.05	29.90
		12.13=(S.D.)	18.29	15.21
	Conservative	27.35	32.90	30.13
		13.37	14.37	13.87
	Mean Totals of Race	29.05	30.97	
		12.75	16.33	

An analysis of variance conducted on the data in Table 4 indicated that no results reached statistical significance. See Appendix C for a complete analysis of variance for the data in Table 4.

Table 5

Discrepancy scores of the S rating himself compared to the S rating the actor.

Behavior Comparison	Speech	Race		Mean Totals of Speech
		Black	Caucasian	
(1&3)	Radical	43.20= \bar{X}	36.55	39.88
		10.25=(S.D.)	13.46	11.85
	Conservative	39.45	43.25	41.35
		14.72	11.63	13.18
Mean Totals of Race		41.33	39.90	
		12.49	12.55	

An analysis of variance conducted on the data in Table 5 indicated that no results reached statistical significance. See Appendix C for a complete analysis of variance for the data in Table 5.

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Table 6

Discrepancy scores of the S rating the actor compared to the S rating the average college student.

Behavior Comparison	Speech	Race		Mean Totals of Speech
		Black	Caucasian	
(3&5)	Radical	38.70= \bar{X}	33.75	36.23
		13.58=(S.D.)	15.28	14.43
	Conservative	36.75	32.85	34.80
		12.50	16.47	14.48
	Mean Totals of Race	37.73	33.30	
		13.04	15.87	

An analysis of variance conducted on the data in Table 6 indicated that no results reached statistical significance. See Appendix C for a complete analysis of variance for the data in Table 6.

Table 7

Discrepancy scores of the S rating himself compared to the S rating how the actor viewed the S.

Behavior Comparison	Speech	Race		Mean Totals of Speech
		Black	Caucasian	
(1&6)	Radical	40.20= \bar{X}	30.70	35.45
		11.71=(S.D.)	12.92	12.32
	Conservative	36.80	36.05	36.43
		13.77	11.74	12.75
Mean Totals of Race		38.50	33.38	
		12.74	12.33	

An analysis of variance conducted on the data in Table 7 indicated that no results reached statistical significance. See Appendix C for a complete analysis of variance for the data in Table 7.

Table 8

The results of the summation discrepancy scores from columns 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6.

Behavior Comparison	Speech	Race		Mean Totals of Speech
		Black	Caucasian	
(pooled)	Radical	231.30= \bar{X} 55.03=(S.D.)	191.70 71.18	211.50 63.10
	Conservative	209.55 63.93	207.95 56.28	208.75 60.11
	Mean Totals of Race	220.43 59.48	199.83 63.73	

An analysis of variance conducted on the data in Table 8 indicated that no results reached statistical significance. See Appendix C for a complete analysis of variance for the data in Table 8.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

The results of the effects of the race variable will be discussed in decreasing order with the significant finding discussed first.

Results of Race Variable

How the Ss Rated How the Actors Viewed Themselves Compared to How the Ss Rated How the Actors Viewed the Ss

Only on one Comparative Rating (4&6) were the results of Race statistically significant ($p < .01$).

When the Ss compared how they felt the actors viewed themselves compared to the Ss rating how they felt the actors viewed the Ss, a Race effect was noted. The Ss rated the White actors regardless of Speech as less different from themselves as compared to Black actors.

This can be interpreted to mean that the Ss projected to the actors the Ss' prejudiced feelings. The Ss might not readily admit differences in character and personality traits between themselves and Blacks. But, they could be showing indirect hostility and differences by projecting these negative feelings to the Black actors. In this way, the Ss could be relieving or denying feelings of guilt, hatred, or prejudice by rating the Black actors as rating them, the Ss, in a different way.

The Ss made no distinction between the Black Radical and the Black Conservative in the Ss' ratings. This could mean that regardless of how well a Black becomes Americanized to the beliefs, values, and cultural mores of the 'White Society' there might still be indirect mistrust and hostility projected towards him. This suggests a caste system that is difficult to break.

It appears that White Ss did not in this situation discriminate by Race. Although the White Ss may feel that Blacks are hostile to them; they, nevertheless, did not perceive the Blacks in this situation as very different from themselves. This would lead us to infer that the Ss in this experiment were not as prejudiced as we believed them to be.

Other alternatives would be that this was an inappropriate setting for testing the expression of prejudicial attitudes because of the lack of institutionalized norms supporting segregation and discrimination since most university students are free to associate with whomever they please without harassment. Or the inter-racial discussion was not in a sensitive area for the Ss. They were not threatened by the statements made by the actors especially the statements of future things to come. The Ss may have perceived the Black actors as college students and not as street Blacks from the ghetto. Perhaps, the Ss rated the Black actors as the best representatives of their race. These Ss may have trusted the actors' judgment and did not fear that these Blacks would destroy America. Or, there was not sufficient time in the experiment for Ss to become more aroused and show their "true" feelings.

Perhaps, we would get significant results if we used a naturalistic field setting instead of a closed door discussion setting with the random population of both sexes in an intimate racial conflict skit with the Black Radical wearing Afro attire.

How the Ss Rated the Actors Compared to the Ss' Ideal-Self

Only on one Comparative Rating, (2&3) were the results of the interaction of Race X Speech significant ($p < .05$).

When the Ss compared the actors to their ideal-self, a Race X Speech interaction was noted. The Ss viewed the Black Radical and the White Conservative as being least like the ideal-self of the Ss and rated the White Radical and the Black Conservative as being most like the ideal-self of the Ss. This interaction was explored through tests of simple effects. These tests revealed no specific significant simple effects comparisons.

The Ss idealized most the Black Conservative and the White Radical which at first may seem paradoxical. Because these two types are the exact opposites. Or are they? Perhaps the White Radical Speech is equal in effect to a Black Conservative Speech.

It appears that the Ss liked the Black Conservative because he was not hostile to them and did not wish to destroy America.

The Ss appeared to admire the White Radical because he represented to them the new American who wanted to rid America of racism and poverty. The Ss seemed to deny or

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disregard some of the vicious attacks on the destruction of the White Race as being either stimulating rhetoric or as being directed strictly at White racists.

The Ss did not perceive the Black Conservative or the White Radical as a threat; and, consequently, admired what they exemplified.

On the other hand, the Ss least admired the Black Radicals and the White Conservatives who again seemed to be opposites. Perhaps, the Ss' low identification with the Black Radical could be due to the Ss feeling that the militant Blacks might actually seek revenge for past and present injustices. The Ss could also fear revolution and a new social order in which they, the Ss might be oppressed.

The Ss identified with the White Conservative least, possibly because to the Ss the reactionary White Conservative represented blatant prejudice, repression, and order without just law.

It appears that the Race effect is important when Ss did not know the true feelings of the Blacks. The Ss attributed hostile feelings to Blacks toward themselves, the Ss. This is congruent with the findings of Stein,

Hardyck, & Smith (1965). This also supports Triandis's position of Race being more important than Belief.

But, when Race and Belief are both known, an interaction occurs. A true Belief discrimination (Smith, Williams, & Willis, 1967) would predict that Conservative Ss would prefer White Conservative and Black Conservative actors while Radical Ss would prefer White Radical and Black Radical actors. Our results did not confirm this prediction. Therefore, for this sample using this kind of experimental procedure Rokeach's Theory of Belief Congruency superordinate to Race Congruency was not supported. It appears that Speeches are only meaningfully interpreted not by their content but rather by the Race of the speaker.

The White Radical and the Black Conservative were interpreted as being non-threatening to the Ss while the White Conservative and the Black Radical were perceived as being somewhat more threatening to them as well as possibly destructive to the American ideals and the American way of life.

Results of Speech Variable

None of the results concerning the Speech effect were found to reach statistical significance. The mean discrepancy scores of the Conservative and Radical Speeches in the seven Comparative Ratings only varied between zero and five points in each of the seven ratings.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY

This study was conducted in order to evaluate the effects of Race and Belief on interpersonal attraction.

In an experiment purporting to study student opinion on social issues, a Black or White accomplice presented either a prepared "Radical" or "Conservative" viewpoint to the causes and solutions of big city racial problems in the United States to White male Ss who were all from introductory psychology classes. The 80 Ss were all randomly assigned to one of four experiment conditions: Black Radical, Black Conservative, White Radical, and White Conservative. The scripts of the accomplices sounded spontaneous and were rehearsed by all the accomplices so that their vocal inflections and body movements were similar. After the discussion, the Ss in each of the four conditions rated themselves and the actors on an Interpersonal Check List test. In order to

find out how favorably or unfavorably the Ss rated each actor, comparison ratings of the actors to other variables were examined.

Seven comparative ratings were rated for mean discrepancy scores. They were:

1. 'The (S) self' compared to 'The ideal-self'
2. 'The (S)' compared to 'How the S viewed the actor'
3. 'The ideal-self' compared to 'How the S viewed the actor'
4. 'How the S viewed the actor' compared to 'How the S viewed the average college student'
5. 'How the S rated how the actor viewed himself' compared to 'How the S rated how the actor viewed the S'
6. 'The S's perception of himself' compared to 'How the S thinks that the actor viewed the S'
7. The pooled results of the summation discrepancy scores

If the Ss were, indeed, prejudiced, they should have preferred the Conservative Speech to the Radical Speech, and the White Race to the Black Race, and there should

be a Speech X Race interaction in which the Ss most preferred the White Conservative, followed by the White Radical followed by the Black Conservative and, lastly, the Black Radical as being most different.

Analyses of variance for the comparative ratings were computed. Only on one comparative rating--when the Ss compared how they felt the actors viewed themselves compared to the Ss rating how they felt the actors viewed the Ss--were the results due to the Race of the accomplice statistically significant. Contrary to expectations, no results of the Speech variable reached statistical significance. Thus, Radical or Conservative Speech had no effect on the Ss viewing the actors. Only on one comparative rating--when the Ss compared the actors to their ideal-self--were the results due to the interaction of Race X Speech of the accomplice statistically significant. The Ss identified most with the Black Conservatives followed closely by White Radicals and least with White Conservatives and Black Radicals as ideal people.

The hypothesis that the Black Radical would be seen as most significantly different from the Ss' perception of themselves followed by the Black Conservative, White Radical, and White Conservative was not supported.

The pooled results of the Ss showed that the White Radical not the White Conservative was most preferred followed by the White Conservative, Black Conservative, and, lastly, the Black Radical. However, these differences between rankings did not reach statistical significance. One possible interpretation is that the Ss rated the White Radicals as how the Ss are or would like to become.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Scripts

APPENDIX A

SCRIPTS

Conservative Speech

O.K. I think that one of the main causes of racial disorders in the cities is a communist conspiracy. Communists organized the riots so we would look bad to other countries. That's why Stokely Carmichael is always in Cuba and North Viet Nam. There wouldn't be any riots if the policemen would just enforce the laws they have. The problem is all the pointy-head intellectuals who have raised such a big fuss that the officers are afraid to enforce the law, because when they do, they get in trouble themselves. Now, what kind of country is this where cops get in trouble for enforcing the laws? Breaking the law by anyone must not be tolerated, because when laws are allowed to be broken, the victims are the peaceful, law abiding citizens, and the Negro in the past, I think, has not been a responsible citizen. I think he's rioted and looted and burned and deserves much of the punishment

he's gotten. Now I know the white man in the past hasn't been any angel, either, but times have changed and the Negro shouldn't use past grievances as an excuse to break the laws. Now maybe one of the reasons why integration--at least pushy integration has not worked is because there is such a cultural difference between the races. Negroes have their own world, and I think most Negroes would want to stay to themselves. They have their own world and aren't interested in white values and ideals. All they really want is to have a few middle-class comforts--a good car, a T.V., you know. And there are plenty of jobs available for Negroes who want to work.

The middle class Negro works--he doesn't riot. He stays home and is a good citizen. I think the people who riot are the ones who haven't worked their way up. They just want to get the same material things that the hard-working members of the middle class have gotten for themselves. The large and growing Negro middle class is proof that all the Negro has to do is work as hard as his white counterpart and he will get what he wants. The trouble is coming from those who don't give a damn about going through the usual channels to achieve economic and

personal success. The ghetto Negro is an easy-going hedonist who wants to join the hard-working class, but unless he changes his values, he's never going to get in; and rioting is going to hurt his goals. In fact, I'm not sure he wants to get in.

Another trouble is, everybody told the Negro that if he'd just make a little trouble, the government would give him everything he wants. Now, that's like giving candy to a little boy for being bad rather than rewarding him for being good. And the government, I think, has encouraged riots, because every time the Negroes burn the town down, the government gives them a nice new one. Now the Negro thinks the solution is to destroy what he has so that the government will give him better. Why can't the lower class Negro work like everybody else to integrate himself. Many minority groups have felt persecuted by the main stream American culture. As soon as they worked a little bit and got ahead, it's funny how they stopped feeling victimized. And I think the Negro who really wants to will do the same thing. The middle class Negro--he doesn't feel victimized and go out in the street and riot and loot, because he's worked hard, and he has accomplished

something--and he's integrated. And the solution to racial disorders is to enforce the laws, stop the rioting and stop giving rewards to law breakers. Stop mollycoddling people who don't appreciate this great country of ours. And find the Commies who are stirring up all this trouble, and punish them. Within the law, of course. And we, we have to support the police, because if the police are made powerless, who's going to defend us from this lawlessness. We've got communists everywhere. In fact, a lot of Negroes wouldn't be rioting and looting if it wasn't for Communists. Most of them are pretty satisfied right where they are--on welfare or out in the streets and they weren't complaining until the communists came along.

The Negro must learn the white man's way of achieving his aims. There just aren't any shortcuts. And trying to take shortcuts results in the lawlessness which we are witnessing today. All the Negro has to do is follow the lead of his more industrious black brothers. It can be done. It's the American way. And a lot of even the Black leadership is doing it. Look at the way they publish books. They're getting royalties from these books. So, you know

the first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the various parts are interrelated and interdependent. The second is that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the parts are constantly changing and evolving. The third is that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The fourth is that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The fifth is that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion. The sixth is that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, in which the various parts are interrelated and interdependent. The seventh is that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, in which the parts are constantly changing and evolving. The eighth is that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with the environment. The ninth is that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a non-linear fashion. The tenth is that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, in which the parts are constantly interacting with each other in a probabilistic fashion.

they're being industrious and earning their way. And the people who promise the pot of gold to the Negro will have to be silenced for they are adding fuel to the flames. And I think we must be patient. Integration takes time. The Negro must learn to postpone immediate gratification for future goals. It will take time for the Negro to fit in, and we have to wait and keep this country in one piece while we wait.

Black Radical

First of all, Whitey's a racist. Now, not all whites are Whiteys, but all Whiteys are racists. Whites kill blacks. When they can't kill blacks directly, they do it legally, economically, and socially. Racists put blacks in the slums, charge higher prices for crummy goods, charge ridiculous rent, rape our women, pay us less at work, hire blacks last and fire us first. Racism, racism against the working black ranges through unions, colleges, management, welfare, government, and everywhere.

Now politically, blacks have about as many rights as before the Civil War. Black communities are run by white carpetbaggers, right now--today. Legislation is loopholed so all the laws sound just great on paper, but Whitey knows they don't mean shit--he just has to work a little harder to fuck the black man. And the police--hell we all know the police are pigs. Capital punishment is real handy for eliminating blacks, and the Whitey generals in the Armed Forces always try to use up the blood of the black man so he doesn't lose any of his precious white boys. Of course, the situation doesn't improve. You know, blacks

really can't vote--they can't even register down South and everywhere else everybody screws up the districts or throws the black vote out.

And then there's the social structure. The middle class and its careful choice of friends, like, you know, frats, country clubs, and all that crap. Of course, now, every party has to have its black couple--the super-nigger type--sort of like a badge saying, "I like Negroes." You know, "I once had a friend who was Negro." Whitey's getting real subtle, real subtle, but he's still a racist. He knows it, we know it, so let's drop the act, man.

Whitey has seen to it that the blacks have no past. We got lots of "White Knights" but what about some black heroes. You know, there have been lots of them. You know--or didn't you know? Like Jimmy Brown, Stokely Carmichael, Leroi Jones. You've heard of them? Blacks have a history. Black children are tired of learning about white Dick and Janes doing their thing in nice little white houses when all they see is a world which is cruel, hostile and filled with empty promises.

Now, what to do about this situation? As I see it, get rid of Whitey. Just get him clear the hell out of here.

1. The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the properties of the function $f(x)$ defined by the equation

$$f(x) = \int_0^x \frac{1}{1+t^2} dt.$$

It is shown that the function $f(x)$ is increasing and concave down on the interval $(-\infty, \infty)$. Moreover, the function $f(x)$ is bounded on the interval $(-\infty, \infty)$ and its range is the interval $(0, \pi/2)$.

2. In the second part of the paper, we study the function $g(x)$ defined by the equation

$$g(x) = \int_0^x \frac{1}{1+t^2} dt - \frac{x}{1+x^2}.$$

It is shown that the function $g(x)$ is increasing and concave down on the interval $(-\infty, \infty)$.

3. In the third part of the paper, we study the function $h(x)$ defined by the equation

$$h(x) = \int_0^x \frac{1}{1+t^2} dt - \frac{x}{1+x^2} - \frac{x^3}{3(1+x^2)^2}.$$

It is shown that the function $h(x)$ is increasing and concave down on the interval $(-\infty, \infty)$.

4. In the fourth part of the paper, we study the function $k(x)$ defined by the equation

$$k(x) = \int_0^x \frac{1}{1+t^2} dt - \frac{x}{1+x^2} - \frac{x^3}{3(1+x^2)^2} - \frac{x^5}{5(1+x^2)^3}.$$

It is shown that the function $k(x)$ is increasing and concave down on the interval $(-\infty, \infty)$.

5. In the fifth part of the paper, we study the function $l(x)$ defined by the equation

$$l(x) = \int_0^x \frac{1}{1+t^2} dt - \frac{x}{1+x^2} - \frac{x^3}{3(1+x^2)^2} - \frac{x^5}{5(1+x^2)^3} - \frac{x^7}{7(1+x^2)^4}.$$

It is shown that the function $l(x)$ is increasing and concave down on the interval $(-\infty, \infty)$.

6. In the sixth part of the paper, we study the function $m(x)$ defined by the equation

$$m(x) = \int_0^x \frac{1}{1+t^2} dt - \frac{x}{1+x^2} - \frac{x^3}{3(1+x^2)^2} - \frac{x^5}{5(1+x^2)^3} - \frac{x^7}{7(1+x^2)^4} - \frac{x^9}{9(1+x^2)^5}.$$

It is shown that the function $m(x)$ is increasing and concave down on the interval $(-\infty, \infty)$.

7. In the seventh part of the paper, we study the function $n(x)$ defined by the equation

$$n(x) = \int_0^x \frac{1}{1+t^2} dt - \frac{x}{1+x^2} - \frac{x^3}{3(1+x^2)^2} - \frac{x^5}{5(1+x^2)^3} - \frac{x^7}{7(1+x^2)^4} - \frac{x^9}{9(1+x^2)^5} - \frac{x^{11}}{11(1+x^2)^6}.$$

If it isn't done soon and peacefully, then someone is going to get wiped off the face of the earth, and it ain't going to be the black man. It's going to be good-bye Whitey-- George Wallace, Daley, cops, college presidents, the establishment, and even some negroes. You know, some Negroes look black on the outside but they're really whiteys on the inside. Blacks must be given power--power to run their own businesses, schools, apartments, towns, and governments. And some laws with guts have to be assessed-- not this messing around with laws aimed at Tokenism but at real, relevant problems. Laws are needed to protect the black man from Whitey and to protect Whitey from himself. And then there's all this shit about law and order--like old J. Edgar saying justice is only incidental to law and order and Nixon wanting to jail people before they commit a crime--we know who is going to get screwed by that kind of a deal. Economically, all the government has to do is to spend a little less money on wars and stop screwing the black man and give us some credits for a lot of blood, sweat, and grief. The white man owes us more than he could ever pay for in a million years. Whitey owes it and we're going to collect from those who wrenched us from our

homeland, enslaved us, lynched us, beat and tortured us, humiliated us, stripped away our heritage, our pride, our dignity, our humanness, and he's trying to keep us slaves, even today--trying to coop us up into little stinking ghettos sitting with the rats underneath the freeway. The unions have to be opened up, equal hiring laws have to be enforced, the welfare system has to be reorganized. There's got to be some black controlled businesses and government for black communities and schools. We blacks must have real power over our own real problems, not this piddling shit we've been getting. And finally, whitey's got to learn, one way or the other, that the black man is going to change this country, and if Whitey resists, he's going to have one hell of a fight on his hands.

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Introduction

The purpose of this study is to investigate the effects of a new educational program on the learning outcomes of students. The program, which was developed by a team of experts, aims to improve the understanding and application of mathematical concepts. The study was conducted over a period of six months, during which the program was implemented in a classroom setting. The data collected from the students' performance in various tests and assignments were analyzed to determine the effectiveness of the program. The results of the study indicate that the program had a positive impact on the students' learning outcomes, particularly in the areas of problem-solving and critical thinking. The study also identified some challenges that the students faced during the implementation of the program, which can be used to inform future research and program development.

The study was conducted in a classroom setting, where the program was implemented for a period of six months. The data collected from the students' performance in various tests and assignments were analyzed to determine the effectiveness of the program. The results of the study indicate that the program had a positive impact on the students' learning outcomes, particularly in the areas of problem-solving and critical thinking. The study also identified some challenges that the students faced during the implementation of the program, which can be used to inform future research and program development. The program was designed to be interactive and engaging, with a focus on practical applications of mathematical concepts. The students were encouraged to work in groups and share their ideas, which helped to foster a collaborative learning environment. The program also included a variety of activities, such as problem-solving exercises, group projects, and individual assignments, to ensure that the students were able to apply their knowledge in different contexts. The results of the study suggest that the program was effective in improving the students' learning outcomes, and that it could be used as a model for other educational programs. The study also identified some areas for further research, such as the long-term effects of the program and the role of the teacher in facilitating the learning process.

really can't vote--they can't even register down South and everywhere else everybody screws up the districts or throws the black vote out.

And then there's the social structure. The middle class and its careful choice of friends, like, you know, frats, country clubs, and all that crap. Of course, now, every party has to have its black couple--the super-nigger type--sort of like a badge saying, "I like Negroes." You know, "I once had a friend who was Negro." Whitey's getting real subtle, real subtle--but he's still a racist. He knows it, we know it, so let's drop the act, man.

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Now, what to do about this situation? As I see it, get rid of Whitey. Just get him clear the hell out of here.

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The sixteenth is the most important, and the seventeenth is the most important.

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The nineteenth is the most important, and the twentieth is the most important.

The twentieth is the most important, and the twenty-first is the most important.

The twenty-first is the most important, and the twenty-second is the most important.

If it isn't done soon and peacefully, then someone is going to get wiped off the face of the earth, and it ain't going to be the black man. It's going to be good-bye Whitey--George Wallace, Daley, cops, college presidents, the establishment, and even some blacks. You know, some Negroes look black on the outside but they're really whiteys on the inside. Blacks must be given power--power to run their own businesses, schools, apartments, towns, and governments. And some laws with guts have to be passed--not this messing around with laws aimed at tokenism but at real relevant problems. Laws are needed to protect the black man from Whitey and to protect whitey from himself. And then there's all this shit about law and order--like old J. Edgar saying justice is only incidental to law and order and Nixon wanting to jail people before they commit a crime--we know who is going to get screwed by that kind of a deal. Economically, all the government has to do is to spend a little less money on wars and stop screwing the black man and give him the due share of money he has paid in--and give some credit for a lot of blood, sweat, and grief. The white man owes more than he could ever pay for in a million years. Whitey owes

it and they're going to collect from those who wrenched them from their homeland, enslaved them, lynched them, beat and tortured them, humiliated them, stripped away their heritage, their pride, their dignity, their humanness, and he's trying to keep them slaves, even today--trying to coop them up into little stinking ghettos sitting with the rats underneath the freeway. The unions have to be opened up, equal hiring laws have to be enforced, and the welfare system has to be reorganized. There's got to be some black controlled business and government for black communities and schools. Blacks must have real power over their own real problems, not this piddling shit they've been getting. And finally, whitey's got to learn, one way or the other, that the black man is going to change this country, and if Whitey resists, he's going to have one hell of a fight on his hands.

APPENDIX B

Instructions

APPENDIX B

INSTRUCTIONS

The purpose of this study is to obtain undergraduate opinions concerning certain social issues in the United States. To determine which social issues in the United States you will discuss, will one of you pick a piece of paper from this box. According to the letter picked, you two will discuss the causes and solutions to racial disorders in the United States, specifically in the big city. You will speak first (point to the accomplice). You will speak for up to ten minutes concerning your viewpoints as to the causes of racial disorders and solutions to the problem. After you speak, the other subject will speak for up to ten minutes. While one of you is speaking we would appreciate no interruptions from the other person. Immediately after the second person is done speaking, you will have ten minutes to discuss your opinions between yourselves.

Feel free to offer your opinion no matter what it is. The purpose of this study is to gain YOUR opinions to certain social issues. You can use any language, comparisons, or examples you like if it helps you in expressing your view. This session is being tape recorded. All that is said here is confidential and will be known only to the experimenters.

To give you a chance to organize your thoughts, you will have about 3 minutes to think about what you will say. When you are done, please leave the room. One of the experimenters will meet you in the hallway.

If you have any questions, please ask them now.

1. The first step in the process of creating a new product is to identify a market need. This involves conducting market research to determine what consumers are looking for and what gaps exist in the current market.

2. Once a market need has been identified, the next step is to develop a concept for the new product. This involves brainstorming ideas and creating a prototype to test the concept.

3. The third step is to conduct a feasibility study to determine if the product is viable. This involves analyzing the costs of production, the potential for profit, and the competitive landscape.

4. If the feasibility study is positive, the next step is to develop a business plan. This document outlines the company's goals, strategies, and financial projections.

5. The final step is to launch the product into the market. This involves creating a marketing campaign to generate awareness and drive sales.

6. After the product has been launched, it is important to monitor its performance and gather feedback from customers. This information can be used to make improvements and develop new products.

7. The process of creating a new product is a continuous cycle that involves ongoing research, development, and marketing efforts.

APPENDIX C

Analyses of Variance

APPENDIX C

TABLE 10

Analyses of Variance

Discrepancy Score (4&6)¹

Source	df	MS	F
Race (A)	1	2668.050	12.412 ²
Speech (B)	1	312.050	1.451
A X B	1	7.200	0.033
Error (w)	76	214.956	

¹

Discrepancy scores of the S rating how the actor viewed himself compared to the S's rating how the actor viewed the S.

²p < .01.

Table 10-continuedDiscrepancy Score (2&3)³

Source	df	MS	F
Race (A)	1	0.000	0.000
Speech (B)	1	0.050	0.000
A X B	1	684.450	4.553 ⁴
Error (w)	76	150.306	

³Discrepancy scores of the ideal-self compared to how the S viewed the actor.

⁴ $p < .05$.

Discrepancy score (1&2)⁵

Source	df	MS	F
Race (A)	1	74.113	0.324
Speech (B)	1	1.013	0.004
A X B	1	262.812	1.151
Error (w)	76	228.224	

⁵Discrepancy scores of the S comparing himself to the ideal-self.

Table 10-continuedDiscrepancy Score (1&3)⁶

Source	df	MS	F
Race (A)	1	40.613	0.241
Speech (B)	1	43.513	0.259
A X B	1	546.012	3.250
Error (w)	76	167.958	

⁶Discrepancy scores of the S rating himself compared to the S rating the actor.

Discrepancy Score (3&5)⁷

Source	df	MS	F
Race (A)	1	391.613	1.761
Speech (B)	1	40.613	0.182
A X B	1	5.512	0.024
Error (w)	76	222.371	

⁷Discrepancy scores of the S rating the actor compared to the S rating the average college student.

Table 10-continuedDiscrepancy Score (1&6)⁸

Source	df	MS	F
Race (A)	1	525.313	3.161
Speech (B)	1	19.013	0.114
A X B	1	382.812	2.303
Error (w)	76	166.178	

⁸Discrepancy scores of the S rating himself compared to the S rating how the actor viewed the S.

Discrepancy Score (pooled)⁹

Source	df	MS	F
Race (A)	1	8487.200	2.101
Speech (B)	1	151.250	0.037
A X B	1	7220.000	1.787
Error (w)	76	4039.372	

⁹The results of the summation discrepancy scores from columns 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6.

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