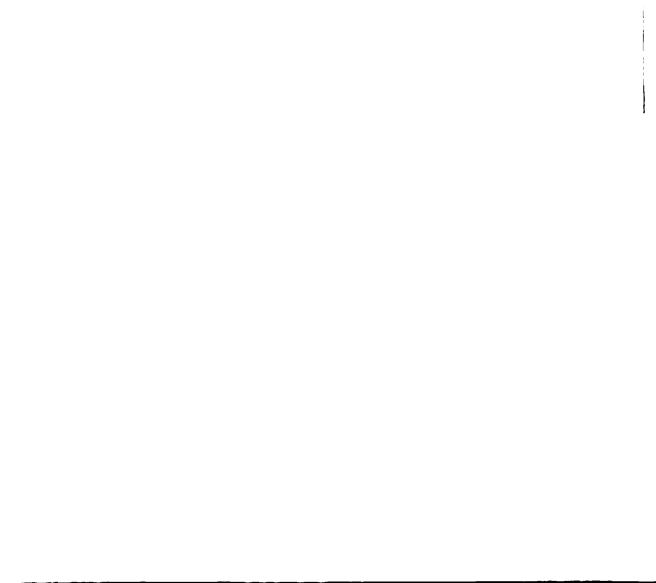


THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SOCIAL CONTEXT ON
VERBAL EXPRESSIONS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
AND
RELATED STUDIES

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
BERNIE I. SILVERMAN
1969

THESIS

LIBRARY
Michigan State
University





THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SOCIAL CONTEXT ON
VERBAL EXPRESSIONS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
AND
RELATED STUDIES

BY

Bernie I. Silverman

A Thesis

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Psychology

1969

G58381

10/22/69

ABSTRACT

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SOCIAL CONTEXT ON VERBAL EXPRESSIONS OF
RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND RELATED STUDIES

By Bernie I. Silverman

This investigation was designed with several purposes in mind. The first was to get some idea of the validity of the several referents of the subjects' attitudes towards Negroes. All subjects either signed or refused to sign a petition supporting the principles of open housing and indicated on a questionnaire that they either would or would not sell their homes to a financially qualified Negro. Also, subjects who were middle class Caucasian homeowners living in an all white area of Lansing evaluated hypothetical persons, some of whom were black, some of whom were white, in various social situations. From these evaluations racial discrimination scores were calculated for each subject. It was found that refusing to endorse the petition, indicating that one would not sell one's home to a Negro, and generating large racial discrimination scores when the hypothetical persons were evaluated as home purchasers, were all significantly related. Thus, through the process of construct validity, the probability that each instrument measures what it purports to is enhanced.

A second aim of the study was to ascertain the importance of the social situation in which hypothetical persons were evaluated in determining expressions of racial discrimination on the part of the subjects. It was found that situational differences accounted for at least twice

as much of the variance in racial discrimination scores as individual differences. Further there were insignificant correlations between the amount an individual discriminated in one situation and the amount he discriminated in another. Thus knowing that an individual will either accept or reject a Negro as a friend is of little value in predicting the individuals' reactions to Negroes, compared to his peers, when the hypothetical persons are rated as neighbors or members of the family.

A third aspect of the study concerned the effect of subjects' perceptions of their neighbors' attitudes towards Negroes on their own willingness to sell their homes to a Negro, as inferred from petition signing behavior. Subjects did not object to Negroes as neighbors but were reluctant to sell their homes to a Negro. To the extent that this reluctance was caused by perceived social pressure, informing the subjects that their neighbors had no objections to Negroes as neighbors should affect the subjects' attitude towards selling their homes in a nondiscriminatory manner and its concomitant, signing a petition supporting open housing. This proved not to be the case.

A fourth facet of exploration dealt with the theory of Belief Congruence. It was found, in accord with the theory, that the factor of attitude similarity was the most important determinant of ratings assigned the hypothetical persons. However, as the social situation in which the hypothetical persons were evaluated changed from friend to home purchaser to son-in-law, the factor of attitude similarity accounted for less and less of the variance in ratings. Evidence was presented which showed that societal constraints in the form of perceived social pressure may have compelled subjects to discriminate on other factors in the latter

situations, thus reducing the potency of the attitude similarity variable.

A fifth function of the thesis was to highlight some variables that influence the relationship between verbal expressions of behavioral intention and overt behavior, often thought of as the relationship between attitudes and behavior. Data showed that there was a significantly stronger relationship between indicating on a questionnaire that one would sign a petition supporting open housing and actually doing so than between indicating on a questionnaire that one would sell his home to any qualified buyer and signing the petition. Thus correspondence between the situation depicted in the questionnaire, to which the subject verbally responds, and the situation in which the subject performs the observed overt behavior, is a factor determining the strength of agreement between overt and verbal behavior.

Approved: Raymond Cochrane
Date: 30th July 1969

Thesis Committee:

Dr. Raymond Cochrane, Chairman

Dr. Milton Rokeach

Dr. Charles Hanley

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In spite of the Freudian implications, I would first like to express thanks to my mother for typing not only the thesis itself, but also many of the materials used in the study. Much gratitude is also felt towards Dr. Raymond Cochrane for both his cogent advice and the many hours spent in thoroughly reading the thesis.

Thanks are also due Drs. Charles Hanley and Terrance Allan for sharing their statistical acumen, and Dr. Milton Rokeach for the theoretical underpinnings upon which this thesis is based.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Acknowledgements	ii
List of Tables	iv
List of Appendices	vii
Introduction	1
Method	37
Results	45
Discussion	78
Summary	105
References	109
Appendices	114

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. The Various Experimental Groups	43
2. Perceived Social Pressure to Discriminate Against Negroes in Various Situations -- Inferred from Attitudes Attributed to Friends, Neighbors, and Relatives	50
3. Amount of Variance Accounted for by the Traits of the Hypothetical Persons in Four Situations	51
4. Discrimination on the Race Factor as a Function of the Situation in which the Hypothetical Persons are Evaluated	53
5. Negroes as Neighbors and Negroes as Home Purchasers -- The Differential Significance of Race as a Function of the Situation	54
6. Discrimination on the Attitude Factor as a Function of the Situation in which the Hypothetical Persons are Evaluated	55
7. Racial Discrimination Scores of 21 Subjects Who Refused to Sign a Petition for Open Housing Compared to 22 Subjects Who did Sign Such a Petition When the Hypothetical Persons were Evaluated as a Home Purchaser	56
8. Racial Discrimination Scores of 21 Subjects Who Refused to Sign a Petition for Open Housing Compared to 22 Subjects Who Did Sign Such a Petition When the Hypothetical Persons were Evaluated as Friends	57
9. Racial Discrimination Scores of 21 Subjects who Refused to Sign a Petition for Open Housing Compared to 22 Subjects who did Sign Such a Petition when the Hypothetical Persons were Evaluated as Neighbors	57
10. Racial Discrimination Scores of 21 Subjects who Refused to Sign a Petition for Open Housing Compared to 22 Subjects who did Sign Such a Petition when the Hypothetical Persons were Evaluated as Sons-in-Law	58

Table	Page
11. Relationship Between Stating "I would sell my home to any financially qualified buyer, regardless of race" and Racial Discrimination Scores Given the Hypothetical Persons as Potential Home Purchasers	58
12. Proportion of the Total Variance in Racial Discrimination Scores Accounted for by the Situation in which the Hypothetical Person was Placed and Accounted for by Individual Differences	60
13. Subjects Consistency in Discrimination Against Negroes in Four Situations as Expressed by Correlations Between Racial Discrimination Scores	61
14. Effects of the Traits of Hypothetical Stimulus Persons on Ratings Assigned Them by 43 Caucasian Homeowners when the Former were Placed in the Situation of Friend	63
15. Effects of the Traits of Hypothetical Stimulus Persons on Ratings Assigned Them by 43 Caucasian Homeowners when the Former were Placed in the Situation of Neighbor	64
16. Effects of the Traits of Hypothetical Stimulus Persons on Ratings Assigned Them by 43 Caucasian Homeowners when the Former were Placed in the Situation of Home Purchasers	66
17. Effects of the Traits of Hypothetical Stimulus Persons on Ratings Assigned Them by 43 Caucasian Homeowners when the Former were Placed in the Situation of Son-in-law	67
18. The Reliability of Petition Signing Behavior	69
19. Relationship Between Racial Discrimination Scores and Perceived Social Pressure to Behave in a Discriminatory Manner in the Situation of Friendship	69
20. Relationship Between Racial Discrimination Scores and Perceived Social Pressure to Behave in a Discriminatory Manner in the Situation of Selling One's Home to a Negro	70

1975-1976 1977-1978

1979-1980 1981-1982

1983-1984 1985-1986

Table	Page
21. Relationship Between Racial Discrimination Scores and Perceived Social Pressure to Behave in a Discriminatory Manner in the Situation of Having a Negro for a Son-in-law	71
22. A Comparison of Perceived Social Pressure for Selling One's Home to a Negro Between those Subjects who Signed a Petition Supporting Open Housing and those Subjects who Refused to Sign Such a Petition	71
23. The Effect of the Letter on Signing the Second Petition for those Subjects who Refused to Sign the First Petition	72
24. The Effect of Participation in a Psychological Study on Petition Signing Among Subjects who Refused to Sign the First Petition	72
25. The Combined Effect of Participating in a Psychological Study and Receiving a Letter on Signing the Second Petition for Subjects who Refused to Sign the First Petition	73
26. The Effect of the Letter on Signing the Second Petition for those Subjects who Signed the First Petition	74
27. The Effect of Participating in a Psychological Study on Petition Signing Among Subjects who Signed the First Petition	74
28. The Combined Effect of Participating in a Psychological Study and Receiving a Letter on Signing the Second Petition for Subjects who had Signed the First Petition	75
29. Relationship Between Signing a Petition Supporting Open Housing and Indicating on a Questionnaire One would Sign Such a Petition	75
30. Relationship Between Signing a Petition Supporting Open Housing and Indicating on a Questionnaire One would sell his Home to Any Qualified Individual, Regardless of Race	76
31. Perceived Social Pressure of Subjects Who Say They Will Sell Home to Any Financially Qualified Buyer Compared to Subjects Who Say They Will Not Sell Home to Any Financially Qualified Buyer	90

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix	Page
A. Petition Purportedly Sponsored by the Urban League Supporting Open Housing	114
B. Speech Used by Coeds when Presenting the Open Housing Petition	115
C. Letter of Introduction Sent to all Subjects	116
D. Adult Attitude and Interest Survey	117
E. Descriptions of the Hypothetical Persons	118
F. Measure of Perceived Social Pressure	125
G. Measure of Verbal Expressions of Behavioral Intentions	128
H. Persuasive Communications sent to Subjects	129
I. Petition Purportedly Sponsored by the Organization for Equal Opportunity Supporting Open Housing	132
J. Analysis of Variance of Ratings Given Hypothetical Persons in Four Situations	133

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SOCIAL CONTEXT ON
VERBAL EXPRESSIONS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
AND
RELATED STUDIES

INTRODUCTION

It may be inferred from the principle of Belief Congruence, propounded by Rokeach and Rothman (50), that individuals tend to like others whom they perceive as having beliefs and attitudes similar to their own, while disliking those whom they perceive as holding attitudes and beliefs different from their own. This same inference may also be drawn from the Balance Theories of Heider (29) and Newcomb (41). However, one unique implication of the principle of Belief Congruence is that attitude similarity or dissimilarity is a more potent determinant of interpersonal attraction than is racial similarity.

"We don't hate niggers. We just don't want them near us. That's why we moved from Chicago (27)." Though too crude to be uttered by most, this statement accurately reflects the sentiments of a large number of white Americans. Both Grodzins (24) and Farley and Taeuber (20) provide evidence that shows residential racial segregation is increasing. Caucasians are moving to the suburbs while Negroes are confined largely to the older areas of the cities. Neighborhoods are integrated only in the interim between the first Negro family moving in and the last Caucasian family moving out.

It is evident that the principle of Belief Congruence and the reality of residential racial segregation are in sharp conflict. Rather than discard the theory as inaccurate, Rokeach and Mezzi (49) ask for a dispensation. They write "the focus of racial and ethnic discrimination is to be sought in society, not in the individual's psyche. If a society's constraints were altogether removed, man would not discriminate in terms of race or ethnic grouping...but in terms of the principle of Belief Congruence." One might conclude that whenever there are strong societal sanctions supporting racially discriminatory behavior the theory is not to be applied. When these sanctions are absent or innocuous, the principle of Belief Congruence is thought to account for a large portion of the variance in interpersonal attraction.

The remainder of this thesis will be based on three separate studies that largely were born from issues discussed in the previous paragraphs. The first study deals with differential discrimination on race as a function of the situation in which a Negro attitude object is encountered. It follows from the theory of Belief Congruence that in situations that are pregnant with sanctions against non-discriminatory behavior, the variable of race should account for the largest proportion of variance in a measure of interpersonal attraction. On the other hand, in situations relatively free of sanctions against racially non-discriminatory behavior interpersonal attraction should be more strongly related to attitude similarity.

The second study constitutes an attempt to ascertain the effect of perceived social pressure supporting racial discrimination on the attitudes of Caucasian homeowners towards selling their homes to financially qualified Negroes. It is consistent with the principle of

Belief Congruence that individuals discriminate on race in the selling of their homes in part because they believe, either rightly or wrongly, that their neighbors expect or even demand of them such behavior. If this is the case, manipulating subjects' perceptions of their neighbors' feelings towards Negroes ought to result in a change in subjects' attitudes toward selling their homes to Negroes.

The third study involves an investigation of the relationship between verbal expressions of behavioral intentions and corresponding overt behavior. An attempt was made to determine the effect of the degree of correspondence between the situation depicted in the question, to which the subjects verbally respond, and the situation in which the subjects perform the overt behavior on agreement between verbal and overt behavior.

FIRST STUDY

Before engaging in a review of studies that pit attitude similarity against other factors such as race and socioeconomic class as determinants of interpersonal attraction, it might be wise to look at several papers that establish the relationship between attitude similarity and interpersonal attraction. Byrne (5), after having determined the attitudes of his subjects, presented them with a hypothetical person, through the medium of a checklist that expressed opinions on 26 different issues. Those hypothetical persons that agreed with the subjects on all 26 issues were seen as significantly more desirable as friends and work partners than those who disagreed. Those hypothetical persons that agreed with the subjects on the 13 most important issues were rated significantly higher than those who agreed with the subjects on the 13 least important issues. Thus the relevance or importance of attitudes

held in common as well as their number appears to determine interpersonal attraction.

Byrne and Nelson (10) attempted to discover whether the gross number of similar attitudes held in common or the proportion of similar attitudes accounted for ratings assigned to hypothetical persons as friends and work partners. If the latter is the case, subjects would evaluate a hypothetical person characterized by four similar and no dissimilar attitudes more favorably than one characterized by eight similar and eight dissimilar attitudes. However, if the gross number of similar attitudes is the relevant factor, the evaluations should be reversed. The results show that the proportion and not the gross number of similar attitudes held in common influences interpersonal attraction. Byrne and Griffitt (7) obtained results that corroborate this finding and generalize it to high school and grammar school children as young as ten years old.

Perhaps the most convincing study conducted in this area is that of Newcomb's (41). His subjects were 17 male students who had been living together for one year. All filled out lists indicating to what degree they liked the 16 other persons. It was found that the more similarly any pair of individuals rated the 15 remaining individuals, the more they indicated they liked each other. One may conclude that the perception of similar attitudes held toward other persons was related to interpersonal attraction between pairs of individuals. Newcomb writes "While I regard similarity of attitudes as a necessary rather than a sufficient condition, I believe that it accounts for more of the variance in interpersonal attraction than does any other single variable." Some evidence as to whether this is the case or not will be presented in the following paragraphs.

Rokeach, Smith, and Evans (51) conducted the first study in which both attitude and racial similarity were simultaneously manipulated. Each hypothetical person consisted of a single attitude attributed to an individual of either the Negro or Caucasian race. Subjects were asked to rate the hypothetical persons as friends. The results indicate that both attitude similarity and racial similarity affected the ratings given the hypothetical persons and that of the two attitude similarity exerted a greater influence.

Byrne and Wong (12) presented subjects with hypothetical persons that were either Negro or Caucasian and who either agreed or disagreed with the subjects on 26 issues. The dependent variables in this study were ratings of the hypothetical persons both as friends and as work partners in an experiment. The results reveal that when the hypothetical persons were evaluated as friends, attitude similarity governed responses while racial similarity had no significant effect. This tends to confirm the findings of Rokeach, Smith and Evans. But when the hypothetical persons were evaluated as work partners, Caucasian hypothetical persons who agreed with the subjects were rated significantly higher than their Negro counterparts while the main effect of attitude similarity remained significant. It may be that when subjects feel that their responses may be of actual consequence, such as determining who they are to be paired with in future experiments, they are less likely to give the socially acceptable response and instead respond in congruence with their own feelings. It is suggested then that the greater the perceived consequences of a response the more valid that response is for indicating underlying attitudes.

Byrne and McGrew (9) no doubt enhanced the credibility of the entire procedure by using a photograph to convey the race of the hypothetical person to the subjects. Attitude similarity was again imparted through a checklist purportedly filled out by the hypothetical persons. The latter held from one to eight attitudes in common with the subjects, who themselves were classified as either high or low on racial prejudice due to their scores on a previously administered paper and pencil measure (the Desegregation Scale of the General Survey of Public Opinion). Again the subjects' task was to rate the hypothetical persons first as friends and then as work partners. As in prior studies attitude similarity was found to be significantly related to ratings assigned in both situations while racial similarity was related to the subjects' ratings only when the hypothetical persons were viewed as work partners in an experiment. Possibly a more important finding of this study was that subjects independently designated as prejudiced behaved less in accord with the principle of Belief Congruence than subjects not so designated. Not only did they fail to discriminate on attitude similarity to the same degree as subjects designated low on racial prejudice, but they discriminated to a greater extent on racial similarity, rating Negroes significantly lower than Caucasians as work partners. This agreement between two methods of measuring the same underlying factor adds to the probable validity of both.

With the sole exception of Newcomb's study, all the other investigations previously described confronted subjects with paper and pencil stimuli and requested paper and pencil responses. It is likely that these responses were of little consequence to the subjects as they failed to commit them to any future course of action. This criticism does not

apply to the following study. Subjects in a study conducted by Rokeach and Mezzi (49) were either students, supposedly waiting to take part in a psychology experiment, or adults waiting to apply for jobs at state mental institutions. While waiting, each subject was engaged in a discussion by four confederates of the experimenters. Two of the confederates were Caucasians while two were Negroes. One individual of each race agreed with the position taken by the naive subject while one individual of each race disagreed. The naive students were then asked to select two of the other "subjects" to have coffee with them while the naive job applicants were asked to choose two of the other "job applicants" as future work partners. The results show that students selected pairs of "subjects" who agreed with them four times as frequently as pairs of "subjects" of the same race while job applicants chose other "job applicants" who they perceived to have similar attitudes 15 times as frequently as "job applicants" of the same race. This study, like those reviewed previously, appears to support the contention that when the hypothetical person or stranger is evaluated as a friend or work partner, attitude similarity affects the subjects' ratings to a greater degree than does racial similarity.

Triandis (60) confronted his subjects with 16 hypothetical persons that varied on four attributes; race, social status, philosophy of life, and religion. Subjects were required to rate the hypothetical persons on a 15 item social distance scale which placed the hypothetical persons in roles such as friend, neighbor, and marriage partner. The results reveal that while all the variables significantly affect social distance scores, racial similarity accounts for approximately four times as much of the variance as does either attitude similarity or social status.

Rokeach (47) attempted to explain the disparity between his own and Triandis' results by claiming that the belief component of Triandis' hypothetical persons was relatively weak and nebulous compared to the belief component of the hypothetical persons used in his own studies. Triandis felt the inconsistency in results was due to a different factor. He wrote "Had Rokeach considered something more than friendship, he would not have obtained his results." Thus Triandis was implying that the roles or situations the hypothetical persons were placed in determined the differential effects of attitude and racial similarity.

Triandis and Davis (61) had subjects evaluate hypothetical persons, who consisted of a race, sex, and single belief regarding civil rights, on four independent dimensions of behavioral intention, previously isolated by factor analysis. They found that whether the subjects admired the hypothetical persons (Formal Social Acceptance Dimension) was mainly contingent upon attitude similarity. But the hypothetical persons attractiveness as a friend (Friendship Acceptance Dimension), a neighbor (Social Distance Dimension), and as a marriage partner (Marital Acceptance Dimension), was more strongly related to racial similarity. Triandis concludes "...those situations that are the least intimate are governed by belief similarity. The more intimate the behavior, the larger the weight given to the race component." He believes this to be the case because "the norms of behavior in our society are most clearly specified in the case of intimate behaviors...Thus the normative rejection of persons who are racially different is found in its strongest form in the case of intimate behaviors." Apparently, in accord with Belief Congruence theory, Triandis believes individuals discriminate on race because established social sanctions often demand such behavior,

and as these sanctions are differentially prominent in different situations, the different situations come to evoke varying degrees of racial discrimination.

Lohman and Reitzes (36) relate observations that indicate the powerful effect of the situation in determining behavior towards Negroes. In the former study subjects were both residents of a neighborhood in Chicago that was known to exclude Negroes and also members of an industrial union which had a policy of equal opportunity for members of both races. Lohman and Reitzes write "In both situations it was discovered that the individuals' generalized attitudes towards Negroes were inadequate to explain actual behavior. For in the work situation...the union's position on racial questions was in control. In the neighborhood...the civic organizations' position of completely rejecting Negroes as potential neighbors was determinative. It is of particular interest to note that there was no statistical correlation between acceptance or rejection of Negroes on the job and acceptance or rejection of Negroes in the neighborhood." Minard (39) reports similar findings. He found that Negro and Caucasian coal miners in the southern United States freely interacted when working in the mines, but would not associate with one another in other social contexts. These studies clearly reflect the effect of the situation on racially discriminatory behavior.

Stein, Hardyk, and Smith (57) carried out a study which not only contributes more information as to which situations encourage racial discrimination, but also offers an explanation as to why previous studies had obtained contrary results. Each subject was presented with four hypothetical persons that consisted of a single race and 20 attitudes

concerning how teenagers ought to behave. These attitudes were either similar to or dissimilar to those held by the subjects. The latter were required to indicate how friendly they felt towards the hypothetical persons and also to respond to them on an 11 item social distance scale. Further, each subject indicated how friendly he would feel towards a fifth hypothetical person described only as "a Negro teenager". The findings show that although the effects of both race and attitude similarity were significant, the latter accounted for more of the variance in the subjects' responses when they indicated how friendly they felt towards the hypothetical persons. In order to calculate the relative effects of racial and attitude similarity in various situations, each item on the social distance scale was analyzed separately. In every situation attitude similarity had a significant effect while the race of the hypothetical persons affected the subjects' responses in but three situations. These were "invite home to dinner," "live in the same apartment house," and "date my sister." The authors concluded "A race effect tends to occur on items that appear to involve publically visible relationships that are sensitive and controversial by prevailing cultural standards." Another very interesting result of this study was that friendliness ratings assigned the hypothetical person described only as "A Negro teenager" correlated .15 with ratings given the Negro teenager with similar attitudes while correlating .62 with ratings assigned the Negro teenager with dissimilar attitudes. It appears then that subjects evaluate a hypothetical person described only as a Negro as though he held attitudes dissimilar to their own. If strong attitudinal components are not provided in the make-up of the hypothetical persons (this applies to the studies of Triandis, and Triandis and Davis), subjects

may assume attitude dissimilarity for Negro hypothetical persons, and evaluate them accordingly. This may explain why Triandis, and Triandis and Davis obtained relatively large race effects compared to studies conducted by other investigators.

"I wouldn't mind if an educated Negro lived near me, but I wouldn't want trash, white or black (27)." No doubt an individual's socioeconomic class as well as his attitudes and race contribute to his attractiveness in various situations. Westie and Westie (68), working with a middle class Caucasian sample found that the higher the socioeconomic status of Negroes, the less social distance Caucasians felt towards them. Byrne, Clore, and Worchel (6) discovered that subjects indicated they felt significantly less friendly towards hypothetical persons of a lower socioeconomic class than those of the same socioeconomic class as themselves. Triandis and Triandis (63) asked subjects to rate on a social distance scale hypothetical persons that varied on both race and socioeconomic class. Data analysis discloses that the race of the hypothetical person accounted for 77% of the variance in a composite social distance score while socioeconomic class accounted for 16%. Thus it seems that a person's race is more important than his socioeconomic status in determining his overall rating on a social distance scale.

Stein (56) examined the effects of attitude similarity, race, and socioeconomic status simultaneously by assigning some level of each of these attributes to hypothetical persons. The subjects' task was to indicate how friendly they might feel towards the hypothetical persons and also to indicate on an 11 item social distance scale in what situations they would be willing to interact with them. Sixteen separate

groups of ninth grade students served as subjects. It was found that attitude similarity accounted for between 8% and 42% of the variance while race and socioeconomic status accounted for less than 5% of the variance in friendliness ratings. For total social distance scores, obtained from summing all the yes responses to the social distance scale, attitude similarity accounted for 6% to 33% of the variance, race accounted for 0% to 12% of the variance, and socioeconomic status was responsible for 0% to 9% of the variability. The results of analyzing each item on the social distance scale separately show that the race effect was greatest for "have a close relative marry," "invite home to dinner," and "neighbor on the street," but only in the first instance was it stronger than the effect of attitude similarity. In light of previous findings these results are hardly surprising. Attitude similarity is more important than racial similarity which is more important than socioeconomic status in determining intentions to interact in most situations. In those situations where racial similarity appears to be the pre-eminent determinant of intentions to interact, societal sanctions facilitating racially discriminatory responses are assumed to be operating.

In studies in which a large race effect was obtained in specific situations, it was attributed to social sanctions salient in that situation. Yet the presence of social sanctions facilitating racial discrimination in a situation was inferred from a large race effect. The reasoning is circular, and makes it quite impossible to disprove the principle of Belief Congruence. Whenever results are in accord with it, social sanctions are not thought to be operating. But when results show that much of the variance in responses is due to the race of the

hypothetical person, social sanctions are invoked. Clearly an independent measure of perceived social pressure to act in a racially discriminatory manner is required.

In the present study such a measure was employed. In order to determine perceived social pressure for acting in a racially discriminatory manner when the hypothetical person was placed in the role of a friend, subjects were required to indicate how they thought their friends would react to them if they befriended a Negro. In order to determine perceived social pressure for acting in a racially discriminatory manner when the hypothetical person was placed in the role of a potential home purchaser, subjects were required to indicate how they thought their neighbors would react to having a Negro for a neighbor. Finally, to determine perceived social pressure for acting in a racially discriminatory manner when the hypothetical person was placed in the role of son-in-law, subjects were required to indicate how they thought their relatives would feel about a Negro marrying into the family. In each case subjects could select one of five possible responses indicating varying degrees of perceived social pressure for racial discrimination. The first hypothesis tested was that as perceived social pressure to act in a racially discriminatory manner increases across situations, actual discrimination on the factor of race increases.

Although measures of perceived social pressure were acquired for three situations, the hypothetical persons were actually presented in four distinct social contexts. The fourth situation, for which no measure of perceived social pressure was acquired, was that of neighbor. Earlier studies have shown that when the hypothetical person is placed in the role of a neighbor subjects discriminate on race. However, there

is some reason to believe that racial discrimination will be less when the hypothetical persons are evaluated as neighbors than when they are evaluated as potential home purchasers. Reitzes (45) in a very recent survey, found that while 84% of the residents in a suburban community would either feel positively or at worst indifferent about having Negro neighbors, only 31% said they would sell their homes to Negroes.

Fredrichs (22) picked up the same trend in a study conducted over a decade ago. Forty-three percent of his subjects expressed a willingness to accept Negroes as neighbors, but only 32% were willing to sell their homes to otherwise qualified Negro individuals. Based on these findings, the second hypothesis to be tested in this study was that subjects will discriminate on race to a significantly greater extent when the hypothetical person is evaluated as a potential home purchaser than when being evaluated as a neighbor.

It does not necessarily follow that the more one discriminates on race the less one discriminates on attitude similarity. The two may very well vary independently of one another. The most direct implication of the principle of Belief Congruence is that ratings of interpersonal attraction will be mainly influenced by attitude similarity except in situations in which there are strong societal sanctions to discriminate on race. Thus the third hypothesis to be tested was that there would be an inverse relationship between perceived social pressure to act in a racially discriminatory manner and the amount of variance accounted for by attitude similarity in evaluations of the hypothetical persons.

Perhaps one of the greatest shortcomings of almost all the studies focusing on the principal of Belief Congruence is that they were conducted exclusively with subjects that were either high school or college



students (invariably in introductory psychology courses) in an academic setting with an instrument that may have both revealed the purpose of the studies and allowed subjects to present themselves in any manner they desired. Students as a group are notably more liberal and far less prone to discriminate on race than are adults. It may be quite unjustifiable to generalize results garnered from such a distinct sample to the entire population in the form of a universal principle. This supposes, of course, that the responses given by the students accurately reflect their attitudes. This supposition itself may be invalid. Cook and Selltiz (16) write "We assume that with respect to many attitudes, the settings in which tests are usually administered tend to exert pressures in a constant direction. It seems reasonable that most respondents, presented with tests in an academic setting...will assume that the responses which will place them in the most favorable light are those which represent them as well adjusted, unprejudiced, rational, open minded, and democratic." Thus the results of the studies reviewed may be due more to the "demand characteristics" (42) of the experimental situation than to the nature of the subjects' psyches. Cook and Selltiz continue "Susceptibility of overt response to distortion - that is, the possibility of discrepancy between private and overt response - would seem to be a function of three characteristics of the instrument: the extent to which its purpose is apparent, the extent to which the implications of specific responses are clear, and the extent to which responses are subject to conscious control." The original Summated Differences Technique as designed by Westie (67) sharply limited the ability of subjects to represent themselves as tolerant by making it extremely difficult to compare and equate responses to otherwise identical Negro and

Caucasian hypothetical persons.¹ This difficulty was obtained by separating a Negro hypothetical person from his Caucasian counterpart by at least 200 descriptions of other hypothetical persons. Subjects simply could not recall ratings assigned to comparable hypothetical persons of the other race. Hence subjects could not consciously control the amount of prejudice they displayed. Studies reviewed in this paper presented subjects with far fewer hypothetical persons to evaluate. This makes it considerably easier for the subjects to compare responses and thereby consciously project any image they feel will be well accepted. It is conceivable that the principle of Belief Congruence may merely be an artifact of the subjects, the experimental situation, and instruments used in obtaining the data upon which it is based.

If the responses given to the paper and pencil instrument could be related to some sort of corresponding behavior, the validity of the Summated Differences Technique for identifying underlying attitudes, and consequently, the validity of the principle of Belief Congruence, would be enhanced. Rather than accepting the explanation of the findings offered in the previous paragraph, one would be compelled to conclude that subjects' responses are predominantly due to their own attitudes toward the hypothetical persons. The behavior observed in the present study was that of petition signing. Specifically subjects were asked to sign a petition which consisted of a pledge not to discriminate on race

-
1. The Summated Differences Technique involves rating various hypothetical persons characterized in various ways on a one to nine scale. One indicates the most positive evaluation while nine indicates a strongly negative evaluation of the hypothetical person. A racial discrimination score can be determined for each subject by subtracting the sum of the ratings assigned all the Caucasian hypothetical persons from the ratings assigned the Negro hypothetical persons. The larger the resulting differences the more the subject discriminates against Negroes.

in the selling of their homes.² Subjects were told that the petition, allegedly sponsored by the Urban League, was to be given to the mayor of Lansing in order to show popular support in the Caucasian community for the principle of open-housing. They were unaware that records were being kept of their behavior and that the petition was related to a psychology experiment in which they were soon to take part. The fourth hypothesis tested was that individuals who signed the petition would discriminate significantly less on the factor of race, when evaluating hypothetical persons as potential home purchasers, than those individuals who refused to sign the petition.

It would be interesting to know if those subjects who discriminate relatively little against Negroes when the hypothetical persons are placed in the role of home purchasers are more likely to say that they would sell their homes to any financially qualified buyer, Negro or Caucasian, than subjects who discriminate to a greater extent. It is possible that even relatively small racial discrimination scores indicate that the subjects would be hesitant to sell their homes to Negroes. A separate questionnaire, asking subjects if they would sell their homes to any qualified buyers, regardless of race, was administered at the same session in which they evaluated the hypothetical persons. The fifth hypothesis tested was that there was a significant relationship between subjects' racial discrimination scores obtained when the hypothetical persons were placed in the role of home purchaser and their

2. Subjects in the present study were 43 middle-class Caucasian homeowners living in an all-white neighborhood in Lansing.



professed willingness to sell their homes to any financially qualified buyer, regardless of race. More specifically, it was hypothesized that those who said they would sell their homes to any qualified buyer would have significantly smaller racial discrimination scores than those subjects who said they would not sell their homes to any qualified buyer.

Pettigrew (43) writes "Along the continuum of prejudice theories, two extreme positions have been popular. One strongly emphasizes the personality of the bigot and neglects his cultural milieu; the other views intolerance as a mere reflection of cultural norms and neglects individual differences." If the degree to which one discriminates is due mainly to one's personality, it would be expected that the largest proportion of the variance in racial discrimination scores would be related to individual differences. On the other hand, if the situation in which an individual encounters a Negro is mainly responsible for the amount of racial discrimination, then the largest proportion of variance in racial discrimination scores ought to be accounted for by situational differences. The sixth hypothesis to be tested is that the situation accounts for more of the variance in racial discrimination scores than does the individuals' personalities.

If the sixth hypothesis is confirmed, it reveals only that the magnitude of racial discrimination is related more strongly to the social context in which a member of a minority group is encountered than to the particular personality of the individual. Still it may be valid to call some bigots while referring to others as tolerant if the former consistently discriminate on race more than other individuals in several situations and the latter discriminate to a lesser extent than other individuals given any of several situations. If individuals are consistent in

the degree to which they discriminate, relative to others, across situations, large correlations between the magnitude of racial discrimination scores in one situation and those in another should be obtained. If, however, individuals vary the degree to which they discriminate on race, relative to others, as a function of the situation in which the hypothetical person is placed, low correlations would be expected. If this were the case the appellation "bigot" would hardly be justified as one might be more tolerant than his peers when it comes to accepting Negroes as neighbors and yet respond more prejudicially than others when friendship is considered. The seventh hypothesis to be tested was that individuals who discriminate more than average in one situation also discriminate more than average in other situations.

The purpose of the final four hypotheses to be tested in this study was to determine exactly which factors the adult homeowners discriminate on within each specific situation. The results of the tests generated from these hypotheses are not intended to support or refute any particular theory but only to provide information. The eighth hypothesis tested was that when the hypothetical persons were placed in the role of friend only the factor of attitude similarity would prove significant. The ninth hypothesis tested was that when the hypothetical persons were encountered in the role of neighbors, both attitude similarity and the race x attitude similarity interaction would attain significance. It was supposed that Negroes who held similar attitudes would be evaluated significantly lower than their Caucasian counterparts. The tenth hypothesis tested was that when the hypothetical persons were placed in the role of potential home purchasers all three main effects, race, attitude, similarity, and socioeconomic status would be significant. The eleventh



hypothesis tested was that when the subjects were required to evaluate the hypothetical persons as sons-in-law, not only would the three main effects be significant, but also the triple interaction would reach significance. This would be due, it was felt, to the inordinately favorable rating given the high status, similar attitude Caucasian relative to other hypothetical persons.

SECOND STUDY

In the first study variability in perceived social pressure to discriminate against Negroes was examined across situations. The question asked was, do subjects, as a group, discriminate more in those situations in which perceived social pressure to discriminate on race is greatest? In the study to be discussed next, the effects of perceived social pressure to discriminate against Negroes was examined with reference to individual subjects within situations. In contrast to the first study the question becomes, within a given situation, do subjects who perceive much social pressure to discriminate against Negroes actually discriminate to a greater degree than subjects who perceive less social pressure? If so, it might be supposed that viewing one's friends, neighbors, or relatives as prejudiced might cause one to refrain from acting in a racially non-discriminatory manner. If fear of engendering the ill will of one's neighbors for example, prevents one from acting in a non-discriminatory manner, manipulating one's perceptions of his neighbors' feelings about Negroes ought to result in a change in one's behavior. An attempt to determine whether this is or is not the case constitutes the greater part of the second investigation.

Katz (31) gave high school students a scale designed to measure anti-Negro prejudice. Each subject not only filled out the scale for himself but also filled it out as he thought his average classmate

would. The ten most tolerant students who had a mean prejudice score of 9.01 characterized their average classmate by a score of 8.51 while the ten least tolerant students, who had a mean prejudice score of 4.62, saw the average prejudice score of their peers as being 5.05. In fact, the mean prejudice score of the class was 7.33. Wallen (66) asked subjects to respond either "yes" or "no" to three statements of opinion and to estimate the percentage of students on campus who would respond in the affirmative to each. He analyzed his results by calculating bi-serial correlations between the subjects' own yes or no responses and the proportion of the population they perceived as replying positively. The resulting correlations were .56, .39, and .45 indicating that there is a moderately strong relationship between the subjects' own opinions and their perception of what proportion of the population agrees with the three statements of opinion. The results of a study conducted by Travers (58) tends to confirm these findings. In describing the results of studies such as these Campbell (13) writes "...there is a persistent correlation between a person's own attitude and his estimate of group opinion. While a few persons may chronically underestimate the popularity of their own opinions, the prevailing tendency is to overestimate the size of the group agreeing with oneself."

The results of these studies may be explained in one of two ways. First, one might reasonably suppose that subjects project their own attitudes on to their peers and therefore perceive their peers as being more similar to themselves than they actually are. An equally tenable argument is that the subjects' perceptions of group opinion, rather than being caused by the subjects' attitudes, are somehow responsible for them. The next three studies to be reviewed all present evidence

supporting this position.

Newcomb (40) relates a study in which measures on the liberal-conservative dimension were acquired for women who were students at Bennington College during the 1930's. Approximately twenty-five years later the political orientations of these same women were measured again. Of the twenty-two women who were classified as extreme liberals in the 1930's, eight were so classified in 1961. Of these eight, 75% had politically liberal husbands. Seven of the women who originally were evaluated as liberals were later evaluated as moderates. Of these seven, 58% had politically liberal husbands. Finally, for the three women who at first had been deemed liberal and who in 1961 were rated as conservatives, 100% had politically conservative husbands. The results of this study lend credence to the contention that the attitudes one holds are in part contingent upon the attitudes popular in one's immediate environment. This proposition receives further support from the findings of Liu (35). His subjects were 196 Catholic individuals who had recently moved to Florida from various northern communities. They each were required to fill out a Southern Identification Scale and a Race Attitudes Scale. The results reveal that scores on both these measures were significantly related to length of residency in the south. The longer an individual had lived in the south, the more he identified with the south and the more he discriminated against Negroes. The question now arises, is merely living among others who hold certain attitudes sufficient to influence an individual's attitudes or must one identify with a particular group of people before their views exert an influence upon one's own? The following study provides an answer to this question.

Siegel and Siegel (55) determined that students living in high status, off campus row houses had significantly higher F-Scale scores than students living in dormitories. In effect the two groups had different norms. After their freshman year, all twenty-eight of the girls who served as subjects in this study wanted to move into a row house, but only nine were able to do so. For these nine girls, their membership group and their reference group were identical during their second year of college. At the end of their sophomore year, eleven of the girls who had lived in the dormitory still desired to move to a row house for their junior year. For these girls, their membership group and their reference group were disparate during their sophomore year. The remaining eight girls indicated that they wished to remain in a dormitory for their junior year. For these girls membership and reference groups were originally disparate at the beginning of their sophomore year, but by the end they had become congruent through a change in reference groups. All subjects filled out the F-Scale at the beginning and at the end of their sophomore year. The results indicate that those girls who actually lived in the row houses during their second year had a significantly smaller reduction in their F-Scale scores than subjects in either of the other two groups. Subjects who wished to move to a row house at the end of their second year, after spending that year in a dormitory, had a significantly smaller reduction in their F-Scale scores than did subjects who indicated they wished to continue living in a dormitory. The authors' remark "The imposition of a membership group does have some effect on an individual's attitudes, even when the imposed group is not accepted by the individual as his reference group." This point is extremely important to the present study, in which an

attempt was made to manipulate the subjects' perceptions of their neighbors' attitudes. It follows from the Siegels' findings that manipulating the attitudes of one's neighbors should affect one's own attitudes, whether or not one views the neighbors as a reference group. An individual ought to be affected by his neighbors' views merely because he is a member of the community.

Only in the experimental situation can a causative rather than merely a correlative relationship be established between the attitude of a group, as perceived by the individual, and the individual's own attitudes. Asch (1) asked subjects to match a stimulus line with three other comparison lines that were presented. By themselves, subjects selected the correct match among comparison lines 99% of the time, so the correct response was obvious. In the experimental situation the naive subject gave his response after seven other subjects, who were actually confederates of the experimenter, responded. On twelve of eighteen trials the confederates gave obviously incorrect responses. The effect of perceived social pressure was represented by the number of incorrect matchings made by the naive subject. In three experimental groups the average number of errors per subject ranged from 4.1 to 5.1 while over one quarter of the subjects gave the conformity response at least eight times or more. Clearly the judgments of others influenced the judgments of the individuals. In a second study the naive subject was required to write down his selections rather than announcing them publicly before the group. This introduced a measure of privacy into the experimental situation and the mean number of errors committed by subjects was reduced to 1.5. Thus it appears that privacy of response reduces the effect of perceived social pressure. This finding was

confirmed by Deutsch and Gerard (18). This is important because subjects in the present study gave their responses, both to the questionnaires and to the petition, in the privacy of their homes. Note, however, that even when privacy prevailed, significantly more errors were made than when subjects were unaware of the responses of the other individuals. This indicates that merely being aware of the judgments of others is sufficient to influence one's own judgment.

The one weakness of the experiments just related, relative to the present study, is that they dealt with judgments as to the length of a line rather than with attitudes. If their findings do not generalize to the realm of attitudes, their findings may be irrelevant to the present investigation. Wheeler and Jordan (69) had students either agree or disagree with fifty statements of opinion. The same students were confronted with the same task one week later to determine chance answer changes. After another week had passed subjects were again required to indicate agreement or disagreement with the items, but before doing so they were informed how the majority of the students had responded during previous sessions. The results show that after group opinion was made known a significantly greater proportion of answers were changed towards it than changed in the same direction by chance during the earlier administration.

Raven (44) in a similar study, had subjects give their opinions as to how responsible a hypothetical teenager was for murdering an elderly lady. Ratings could range from one, indicating the subject felt the youth was entirely responsible for his actions, to seven, indicating that the subjects felt the youth's environment was responsible for his actions. The majority of the subjects chose ratings between four and

six. The subjects were then presented with fictitious group norms that made it appear as though the majority of the group felt the teenager was personally responsible for his crime. All subjects were requested to make another judgment as to how responsible the youth was for his crime. This second rating was not done publically. Thirty-three percent of the subjects whose initial opinions deviated by at least two positions from the fictitious group norm moved toward that norm when given the opportunity to change their opinion, while only 15% of the subjects whose initial opinion was relatively congruent with the group norm changed their opinion to make it more congruent. Both this study, and the one directly preceding it support the proposition that the subjects' perceptions of group opinion are to some degree responsible for the opinions of the subjects.

Campbell and Stanley (14) write "Correlation does not necessarily indicate causation, but a causal law...does imply correlation." Thus finding a correlation between a measure of perceived social pressure and a measure of racial discrimination is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for positing that the former causes the latter. Perceived social pressure to behave in a racially discriminatory manner was inferred from the subjects' perceptions of how their friends, neighbors, and relatives viewed Negroes. It was assumed that if these groups were seen as having a negative attitude towards Negroes, subjects would be reluctant to interact with Negroes for fear of engaging their ill will. The first hypothesis to be tested in this study was that when the hypothetical persons were evaluated as friends, there would be a significant relationship between racial discrimination scores and perceived social pressure to behave in a racially discriminatory

manner. Similarly, the second hypothesis tested was that when the hypothetical persons were rated as potential home purchasers, there would be a significant relationship between racial discrimination scores and perceived social pressure to behave in a racially discriminatory manner. Finally, the third hypothesis tested was that when the hypothetical persons were placed in the role of son-in-law, there would be a significant relationship between racial discrimination scores and perceived social pressure to discriminate against Negroes.

A second measure from which the subjects' attitudes toward Negroes might be inferred is their petition signing behavior. Subjects either endorsed or refused to endorse a petition purportedly sponsored by the Urban League, which read in part, "We the undersigned residents and homeowners of Lansing, Michigan, pledge not to discriminate on race or ethnic background in the selling or renting of our homes." This indicator of the subjects' attitude towards selling their homes to Negroes has several advantages over the customary paper and pencil instruments used to measure attitudes. Cook and Selltiz (16) comment "To the extent that the purportedly unstaged situations are accepted as genuine, the respondent will not see them as designed to get information about his attitudes; thus one possible source of pressure to give responses that are likely to be considered desirable is eliminated." In the present study subjects had no idea that records were being kept of who signed and who failed to sign the petition or that the petition was associated with a psychology experiment in which they later were to participate. Secondly, Defleur and Westie (17) write "In American society, the affixing of one's signature to a document is a particularly significant act. The signing of checks, contracts, agreements and the like is clearly

understood to indicate a binding obligation on the part of the signer to abide by the provisions of the document." It is quite conceivable that the subjects may have felt that the petition, which was to have been presented to the mayor of Lansing, might have some influence on affecting public policy towards integration. Cook and Selltiz (14) remark "When responses are expected to have real-life consequences, the anticipation of such consequences may counterbalance the wish to make a good impression." Therefore, because of the subjects' unawareness of being evaluated and because of the greater conceivable consequences of the behavior, petition signing is thought to be more free of variance due to the subjects' desire to make a good impression than most paper and pencil measures. Hence it is felt to be a more valid measure of the subjects' attitude toward selling their homes to Negroes than the paper and pencil Summated Differences Technique. The fourth hypothesis tested was that those who signed the petition would perceive their neighbors as significantly less prejudiced than those who refused to sign the petition. If this should turn out to be the case, it would be supposed that those who signed the petition perceived less social pressure to discriminate against Negroes in the role of home purchasers than those who refused to sign the petition.

If perceived social pressure causes some subjects to refrain from signing the petition, changing their perception of their neighbors' feelings towards Negroes ought to result in a change in their petition signing behavior. In the present study 21 individuals failed to sign the first petition and later participated in the remainder of the study. A month after the study had been completed they received a letter from the experimenter informing them of the results of the study in which

they participated. The aspect of the findings that was emphasized most was that when the hypothetical persons were rated as neighbors, the subjects did not discriminate on race. Therefore, the letter explained, it appeared as though the residents of the neighborhood did not object to having Negroes for neighbors. Now eighteen other individuals who failed to sign the first petition and who did not participate in the study also received the letter. They served as a comparison group. A third group of 21 individuals who failed to sign the first petition and who did not participate in the study did not receive the letter. They served as a control group. Within a week after the hopefully persuasive communication was sent, all subjects were again given the opportunity to sign a petition similar to the first. The fifth hypothesis tested was that those individuals who failed to sign the first petition, who did not take part in the study, but who did receive the letter would sign the second petition more frequently than those subjects who failed to sign the first petition, who did not take part in the study, and who did not receive the letter. In order to determine if simply taking part in a psychological study, in which subjects were exposed to hypothetical equal status Negroes, affected the subjects frequency of petition signing, a comparison was made between those individuals who failed to sign the first petition, who participated in the study, and who received the letter and those individuals who failed to sign the first petition, who did not participate in the study, and who received the letter. No specific hypothesis was put forth. Finally, in order to determine if the combined effects of receiving the letter and participating in the study had a significant effect on the frequency of signing the second petition, those who failed to sign the first petition, who participated in the

study, and who received the letter were compared with those who failed to sign the first petition, did not participate in the study, and did not receive the letter. Again no specific hypothesis was formulated.

Along with determining the effect of the letter on those individuals who failed to sign the first petition, an attempt was made to discover if receiving the letter had any effect on those persons who signed the first petition. It is reasonable to suppose that all of those who endorsed the first petition did not do so with equal conviction. No doubt some of these individuals, due to changes in their attitudes, would fail to endorse the second petition.³ Three groups of subjects were established to ascertain if receiving the letter bolstered one's attitude (as inferred from petition signing) towards selling one's home to any qualified individual, regardless of race. The first group of individuals had signed the first petition, participated in the study, and received the letter while the second group of individuals was similar except that they had not participated in the study. The third group of individuals had signed the petition but had neither taken part in the study nor received the letter. The sixth hypothesis tested was that those individuals who had signed the first petition and received the letter would more frequently sign the second petition than those

3. A second factor that would lead to changes in frequency of endorsement from the first to the second petition is regression towards the mean. Campbell and Stanley (14) write "Regression effects are inevitable accompaniments of imperfect test - retest correlations for groups selected for their extremity. Regression is more generally a function of the degree of correlation between scores on the same test administered at two different points in time. The lower the correlation the greater the regression towards the mean." Table 18 shows that the reliability of petition signing behavior was $r_t = .39$.

individuals who had signed the first petition but had not received the letter. To determine whether taking part in the study affected frequency of signing the second petition a comparison was made between those persons who signed the first petition, participated in the study, and who received the letter and those who signed the first petition, received the letter, but did not participate in the study. In order to determine the combined effects of taking part in the study and receiving the letter on those persons who signed the first petition, those who both participated in the study and received the letter were compared to those who did not participate in the study and who did not receive the letter.

THIRD STUDY

The third study is actually an elaboration of the fourth hypothesis in the first study. In that hypothesis it was posited that when the hypothetical persons were evaluated as home purchasers, a relationship would exist between racial discrimination scores and petition signing behavior. The discrimination scores might be interpreted as verbal expressions of behavioral intentions in that low scores may be thought to indicate a willingness on the part of the subject to sell his home to a Negro while high scores might be thought to indicate a reluctance to engage in the same behavior. In the third study an attempt was made to discover what variables affect the strength of the relationships between verbal expression of behavioral intention and overt behavior.

Rokeach (48) writes "an attitude is a relatively enduring organization of beliefs around an object or situation predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner." Like other definitions of the same concept, this definition implicitly contains the hypothesis that behavior toward a specific object in a specific situation is related to an underlying constellation of attitudes. Given that the same attitudes

become salient whenever a subject in a psychology experiment is confronted with a specific attitude object in a specific situation, usually through the vehicle of an attitude survey, as compared to when he actually encounters the attitude object in that very same situation in the course of his everyday affairs, we might reasonably expect that the behavior exhibited in both instances to be congruent.

Unfortunately this expectation has rarely been realized. Far more frequently the results of the very few studies (38) done in this area support the proposition that there is no relationship between verbal behavior toward an attitude object placed in a specific situation and overt behavior manifest toward the identical object - situation stimulus. La Pierre (33) found that although over 200 proprietors of auto camps and restaurants in fact did provide service to a Chinese couple, approximately 90% of them replied to a questionnaire that they would not accept Chinese as guests. Kutner, Wilkins, and Yarrow (32) found that in fact managers of 11 restaurants served a racially mixed group of three women, but when subsequently for reservations for a racially mixed group, six of these managers declined to make them while all eleven accepted reservations over the phone for an all white group made the same day. Saenger and Gilbert (53) discovered that there was no difference between subjects who made purchases from white sales clerks as compared to black sales clerks in their responses to the question, "what would you think if all New York department stores hired Negro sales persons?"

Unlike the three studies just mentioned, in which overt behavior was significantly less racially discriminatory than corresponding verbal behavior, Linn (34) reports a study in which overt behavior reflected

more racial discrimination than did the subjects' verbal behavior. While verbally indicating, on the average, that they would allow a picture of themselves and a Negro of the opposite sex to be placed in the school paper, the subjects were only willing to sign picture release forms that would allow the picture to be displayed in journals read exclusively by psychologists and sociologists. McGrew (38) relates a study in which ten landlords both advertised apartments for rent and said they would rent to Negroes when questioned by phone, although six of them in fact refused to do so when approached by a Negro couple. Caucasian couples, coming one hour before and one hour after the arrival of the Negro couple, were shown the apartments for rent without hesitation.

A common virtue of the studies heretofore presented is that the situation in which the attitude object was depicted when measuring verbal behavior was very similar if not identical to the situation in which the attitude object was actually encountered. Other studies attempting to relate verbal behavior to overt behavior have been less precise and consequently might not be expected to find a relationship between the two. Berg (2) administered the Ethnocentrism Scale, the Fascism Scale, and Bogardus' Social Distance Scale to obtain measures of opinion with regard to Negroes. He found that those who gave verbal responses from which high anti-Negro prejudice might be inferred were no less influenced in the autokenetic situation by the judgments of a Negro confederate as compared to the judgments of a Caucasian confederate than those who gave verbal responses from which low anti-Negro prejudice might be inferred.

One investigation which shows a relationship between verbal

behavior and subsequent overt behavior is that of Defleur and Westie (17). In order to get a measure of verbal behavior all subjects were asked to complete the Summated Differences Scale. By adding the differences in ratings given to Negroes and Caucasians of the same occupational status placed in the same situations, it was possible to determine to what extent subjects verbally discriminate on the factor of race. Overt behavior was measured by the degree to which a subject would allow a picture of himself with a Negro of the opposite sex to be circulated. This was indicated by the actual signing or refusal to sign of various picture release forms arranged on a Guttman type scale. A significant relationship existed between verbal discrimination against Negroes and refusing to sign picture release forms. This was the only study that could be found that supported the contention that corresponding verbal and objectively measured overt behavior vary together.

One of two alternative conclusions may be drawn from the research reviewed. First one might conclude that attitudes are not related to behavior since two measures of behavior, purportedly contingent upon identical underlying attitudes, did not themselves correspond. On the other hand one might conclude that the reason no relationship was found between verbal and overt behavior was not that attitudes and behavior are independent, but that different attitudes had become salient when measuring the two behaviors. This would be due to the fact that different stimuli were presented to the subjects on the two occasions when measurements of verbal and overt behavior were garnered. For example, Berg elicited verbal expressions of behavioral intentions towards attitude objects (Negroes) placed in several situations (those depicted on the Social Distance Scale) and attempted to predict behavior toward the

same attitude object in the situation of a psychological experiment. LaPiere asked his subjects how they would react to Chinese when, in fact, what they actually were confronted with on many occasions was a Chinese couple plus a Caucasian, LaPiere himself.

The studies of Linn and McGrew manage to present the attitude objects in the identical situations as those in which the subjects encountered them in their everyday affairs. However, the demand characteristics (42) of the situations in which the verbal expressions of behavioral intention were obtained may have created evaluation apprehension (52) which was lacking in the situation in which overt behavior was measured, resulting in the incongruency. Linn points out that the liberal norms of the university subculture, which were absent or less salient when overt behavior was measured, no doubt influenced the verbal expressions of behavioral intentions of his subjects. McGrew, while acquiring the subjects' verbal expression of behavioral intention, informed them that it was unlawful to discriminate on race in renting apartments, thus applying social pressure to facilitate a non-discriminatory response. The same pressure was absent when overt behavior was measured.

Non-identical stimulation in the situations in which verbal and overt behavior were elicited, evoking different attitude constellations resulting in an incongruency between verbal and overt behavior cannot account for the failure of verbal expressions of behavioral intentions and overt behavior to correlate in all of the studies which showed no relationship. Further, in the lone study where the relationship held (Defleur and Westie) the situation in which the attitude object was placed in the questionnaire, did not accurately reflect the situation

in which the subjects actually encountered it. Thus failure to present attitude objects in identical situations when attempting to equate to sorts of behavioral responses to them does not preclude establishing a relationship. Yet it would seem that the more similar the stimuli in the situation in which one measures verbal expression of behavioral intention to the stimuli in the situation in which one measures overt behavior, the greater the chance that the behaviors will correspond. Theoretically, this is because the same or very similar attitude constellations are involved in each situation.

In the present study each subject indicated on a questionnaire whether or not they would sell their home to any financially qualified buyer, regardless of race and whether or not they would sign a petition supporting open housing. As the second question more accurately reflected the situation in which the behavior (i.e. petition signing) was elicited than the first, it was theorized that the attitudes underlying responses to the second question would more closely approximate the attitudes salient in the behavioral situation than attitudes underlying responses to the first question. Thus, one hypothesis tested was that a stronger relationship would exist between verbally indicating one would sign a petition supporting open housing and actually signing such a petition, than between verbally indicating one would sell his home to any financially qualified buyer, regardless of race, and the same behavior. A second hypothesis tested was that verbally indicating one would sell his home to any financially qualified buyer would be significantly related to signing a petition supporting open housing. A third hypothesis tested was that verbally indicating one would sign a petition supporting open housing would be significantly related to signing such a petition.

METHOD

The 1960 census (65) reveals that the population of Lansing, Michigan is approximately 110,000 persons, of whom 100,000 are Caucasians and 7,000 are Negroes. Before beginning the study it was necessary to find a middle class exclusively white neighborhood. As the study was conducted almost a decade after the census was taken, that survey was considered virtually useless for determining the present racial composition of the various neighborhoods. As an alternative procedure, individuals active in civil rights were queried as to what areas of the city might be all white. Through information furnished by Dr. Robert Green of Michigan State University the area known as Old Oaks was selected. Within this area, five contiguous streets were arbitrarily chosen from which to draw subjects. All of the living units on these streets, as well as in the remainder of the neighborhood, are single family dwellings.

Those who were later to serve as subjects were initially contacted in their homes by coeds at Michigan State University who presented themselves as volunteer workers for the Urban League. Each individual was asked to sign a petition (Appendix A). Each coed attempted to make it clear to the homeowners that they were not obligated to sign the petition, but that if it accurately reflected their own views, their signature would be greatly appreciated (Appendix B). By signing the petition the individuals pledged not to discriminate on race or ethnic background

in the selling or renting of their homes. All homes on the designated five streets were called on but once. Individuals who were not home obviously could neither sign nor refuse to sign the petition and therefore were eliminated from the possible subject pool. As a result of this procedure seventy-three individuals signed the petition while seventy-three refused.

From these persons were selected twenty couple who signed the petition and twenty couples that failed to do so. Homes at which both the husband and wife had either signed or refused to sign were selected because in the later stages of the study it would save time to be able to administer questionnaires to two persons at once. Forty households, then, were sent letters (Appendix C) in which it was explained that a study concerning the generation gap was being conducted by the psychology department at Michigan State. Those who received the letter were asked to participate in the study so as to provide an adult sample to be compared with the students at the University. Two weeks after the petition had been circulated the experimenter began calling on those households that had received the letter.

A total of forty-three individuals, representing twenty-three separate households, consented to take part in the study. Twenty-two of them had previously signed the petition while twenty-one had refused to sign. Of those who had signed, twelve were males and ten were females. Of those who refused to sign, ten were males and eleven were females. Sixteen of those who endorsed the petition were Protestant while six were Catholics. Of those who did not sign the petition, four were Catholic and seventeen Protestant. The average age of both groups was forty-five. The mean number of years of formal education for those who signed was fifteen whereas for those who refused to sign the corresponding figure was one-half a year less.



During the first meeting with the subjects the Adult Attitude and Interest Survey (Appendix D) was administered. Its purpose was to ascertain the subject's attitudes toward five issues that were of current interest and thought to be important to the subjects. After completing the questionnaire, all subjects agreed to have the experimenter return in about a month with several more questionnaires.

Having determined the attitudes of the subjects, the next task was to construct hypothetical persons for them to evaluate. Eight hypothetical persons, who each represented some combination of race (either Caucasian or Negro), socioeconomic status (high or low), and attitude similarity (similar or dissimilar) were tailor-made for each subject.⁴ Rather than consisting of checkmarks on a questionnaire, as was the case in most previous studies, each hypothetical person was described to the subject in a six sentence paragraph. Within the first two sentences of the paragraph the hypothetical person's race, family, occupation and educational background were described. In the remaining four sentences his attitudes towards four of the very same issues the subjects had earlier responded to were presented. As the set of eight hypothetical persons was to be presented to the subjects four successive times, four separate booklets were constructed (Appendix E). These were identical except for their first page, which served to place the hypothetical persons in the roles in which the subjects were to evaluate them. First

4. The eight hypothetical persons with which each subject was confronted were; Negro-Similar Attitudes - High Status, Negro-Similar Attitudes-Low Status, Negro-Dissimilar Attitudes-High Status, Negro-Dissimilar Attitudes-Low Status, Caucasian-Similar Attitudes-High Status, Caucasian-Similar Attitudes-Low Status, Caucasian-Dissimilar Attitudes-High Status, and Caucasian-Dissimilar Attitudes-Low Status.

the hypothetical persons were to be evaluated as friends, then as neighbors, thirdly as potential home purchasers, and finally as potential sons-in-law. Below each paragraph describing a single hypothetical person were the numbers one to nine. By circling one the subjects could indicate extreme liking toward the hypothetical person. By circling nine the subjects could indicate an intense disliking toward the hypothetical person in whatever particular situation he was placed. By subtracting the sum of the ratings given the four Caucasian hypothetical persons from the sum of the ratings given the four Negro hypothetical persons it would be possible to generate four racial discrimination scores per subject, corresponding to the four situations in which the hypothetical persons were placed.

Two other questionnaires were also constructed at this time. The first (Appendix F) was designed to tap the subjects' perceptions of their friends, neighbors, and relatives feelings towards Negroes from which perceived social pressure for behaving in a racially discriminatory manner could be inferred. On the first page of this questionnaire subjects could indicate how they thought their friends would react to them if they befriended a Negro. Alternative responses ranged from "it would probably raise their impression of me a notch or two as most of them would sort of admire me" to "all my friends would feel very badly about my associating with a Negro and would very likely devalue me and subsequently quit seeing me." On the second page subjects could indicate how they thought their neighbors felt about having Negroes as neighbors. Alternative responses ranged from "they would prefer to live in an integrated community and thus would be very happy to have a Negro on the block" to "the people would be very unhappy about Negroes moving in and

probably would react violently." On the third page subjects could indicate how they thought their relatives would feel about a Negro marrying into the family. Again the alternatives ranged from those from which no social pressure facilitating discrimination against Negroes could be inferred to those from which could be inferred much social pressure for racial discrimination. The second questionnaire (Appendix G) was designed to obtain verbal expressions of behavioral intention that varied in their degree of correspondence to the behavior of signing the petition supporting open housing. The two relevant items on this questionnaire were "I would sign a petition supporting open housing" and "if actually selling my home, I would sell it to any financially qualified individual, Negro or Caucasian." The latter item also served a second function in that it provided an independent measure of the subjects' willingness to sell their homes to Negroes.

Eight weeks after the subjects had seen the first petition - six weeks after they had filled out the first questionnaire, the experimenter returned with the questionnaires just described. Before being asked to complete them, the subjects were reminded that the purpose of the study was to measure the generation gap by comparing their attitudes to those of the students at Michigan State. The subjects were then asked to evaluate the hypothetical persons, first as friends, then as neighbors, as home purchasers, and finally as sons-in-law. Subjects were instructed to read the description of each hypothetical person as many times as they liked, but once having made their evaluation, not to refer back to it. As soon as the subjects finished one booklet, it was taken from them and they were given another to complete. This was done to prevent them from looking back to determine what rating they had

assigned a particular hypothetical person previously. Upon completing their evaluations of the hypothetical persons, the subjects were given the two remaining forms to fill out. The first being that which tapped perceived social pressure to discriminate against Negroes while the second measured verbal expressions of behavioral intention. As husbands and wives were usually filling out the questionnaires simultaneously, they sat apart from one another so that the responses of one had no influence on the responses of the other. After finishing all three questionnaires the subjects were thanked for participating in the study and told that they would be sent a preliminary report of the findings. Most of them seemed genuinely interested in having this information. At this point the subjects perceived the study to be over.

One month later the forty-three subjects received a letter (Appendix H) which explained that the true purpose of the study was to determine what traits middle class homeowners deem important in selecting friends, neighbors, persons to sell their homes to, and potential sons-in-law. Among the other results reported, particular emphasis was given to the finding that homeowners in Old Oaks did not discriminate against Negroes when they were evaluated as neighbors. It was this information that was designed to manipulate the subjects' perceptions of their neighbors' feelings towards having Negroes as neighbors. In addition to those who had participated in the study, twenty-one persons who had refused to sign the first petition and who had not taken part in the study along with eighteen individuals who had signed the first petition but had not taken part in the study also received the letter. Added to the total sampling frame for the next stage of the study were twenty-one persons who did not receive the letter, had refused to sign

TABLE 1

THE VARIOUS EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS

Groups	Received 1st Petition		Completed Questionnaires	Received 2nd Letter	Received 2nd Petition
	Signed	Did Not Sign			
1	X		X	X	X
2		X	X	X	X
3	X			X	X
4		X		X	X
5	X				X
6		X			X

the first petition, and had not participated in the study along with twenty-three persons who did not receive the letter, had signed the first petition, and had not participated in the study. Table 1 depicts the treatments administered to each of the six groups employed in the study.

One week after the letter was sent, coeds from Michigan State University representing themselves as members of the Organization for Equal Opportunity began calling on the various groups of persons described in the previous paragraph. Each individual was asked to sign a petition (Appendix I) supporting open housing if it reflected their own views. By returning several times to the homes of those persons who were not in when first called upon, 94% of those designated to be contacted were actually given the chance to either sign or refuse to sign the petition. Roughly thirteen weeks after seeing the first petition the subjects had the opportunity to sign the second, almost identical petition. At this point, the mechanics of the study were concluded.

RESULTS

To test the first hypothesis that discrimination against Negroes in different situations is related to perceived social pressure to act in a racially discriminatory manner, it was first necessary to ascertain if perceived social pressure to act in a racially discriminatory manner was differentially salient across situations. Figure 1 depicts the subjects' perceptions of their friends reactions to them supposing that they befriended a Negro. Thirty-four (79%) of the subjects chose alternative B, indicating they thought their friends would think no less of them if they befriended a Negro. It might be inferred that these persons perceive no social pressure to discriminate against Negroes as friends. Six (14%) chose alternative C, indicating that they thought their friends would prefer that they kept all white company, but at the same time, would not impose any sanctions upon them for befriending a Negro. It might be inferred that these persons perceive some social pressure to discriminate against Negroes as friends. Three (7%) subjects selected alternative D indicating that they believe their friends would strongly object to them befriending a Negro. These persons, no doubt, perceive considerable social pressure to discriminate against Negroes when choosing friends. Figure 2 depicts the subjects' perceptions of their neighbors' attitudes towards having Negroes as neighbors. Three (7%) of the subjects chose alternative B, revealing that they did not see their neighbors as objecting to Negroes as neighbors. It might be inferred that these persons perceive no social pressure to discriminate against Negroes when selling their homes. Thirty-two (74%) of the subjects chose alternative C

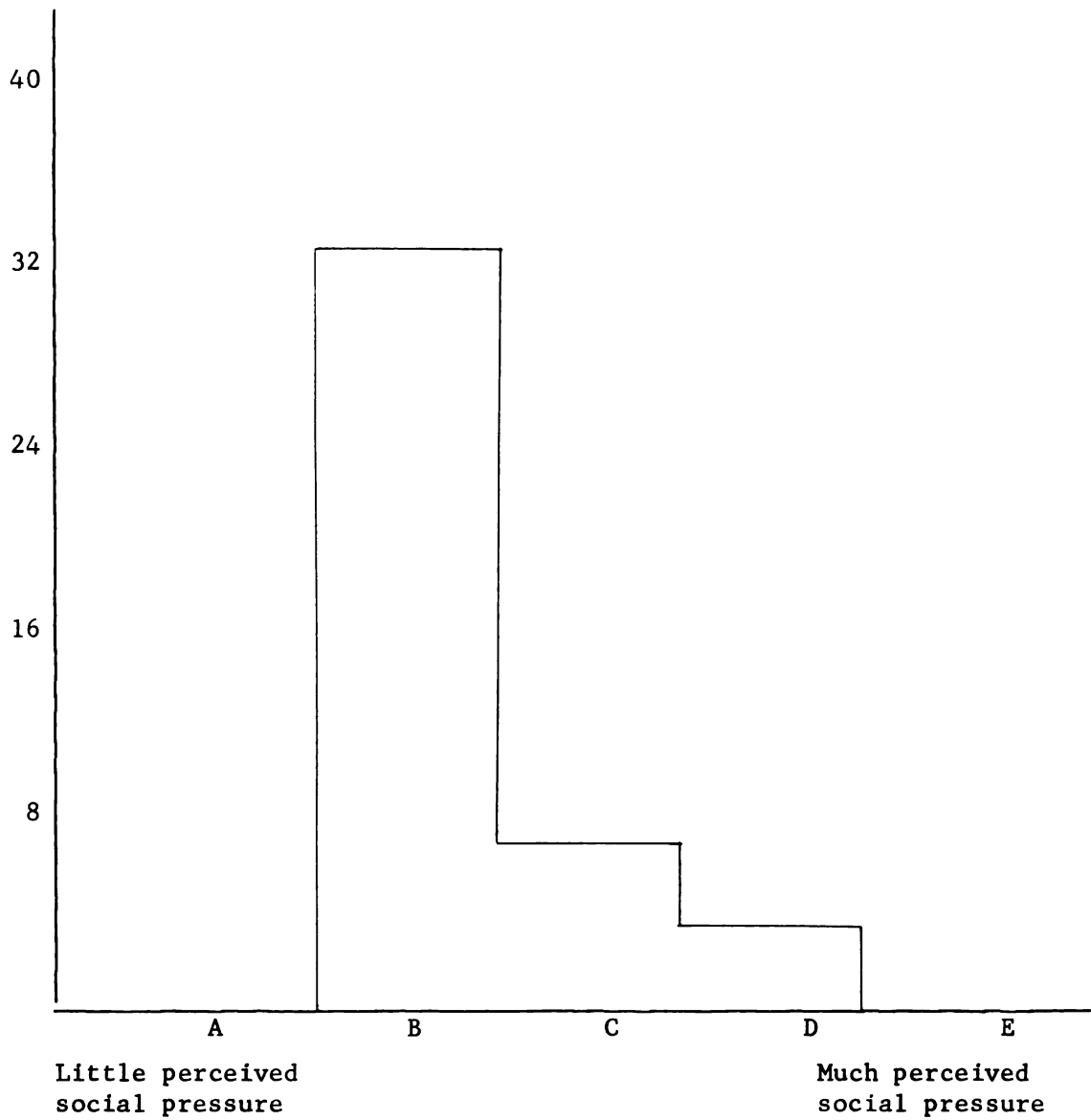


Figure 1. Perceived Social Pressure in the Situation of Having a Negro for a Friend

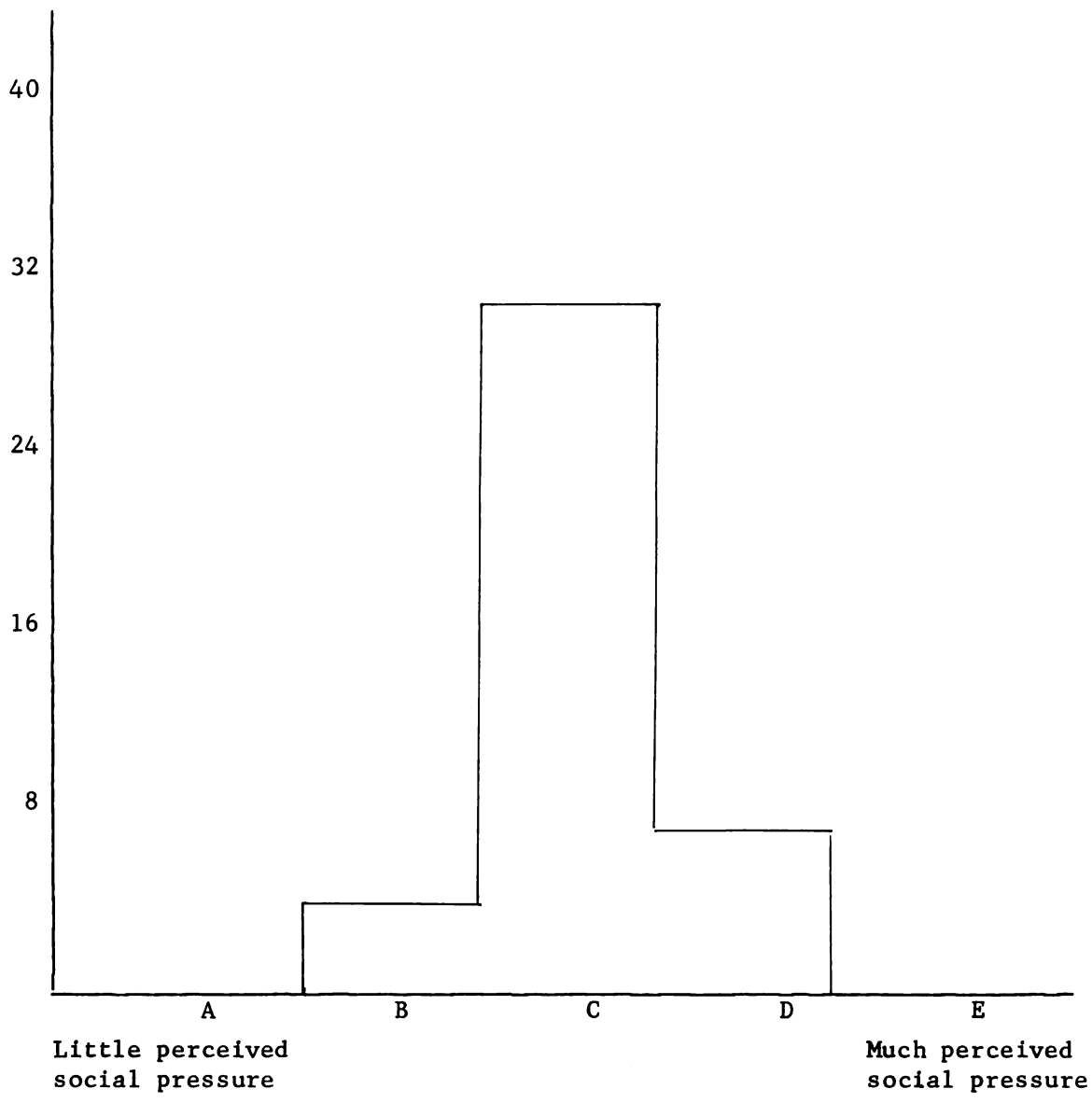


Figure 2. Perceived Social Pressure in the Situation of Having a Negro Purchase One's Home

indicating that although they thought their neighbors would treat a Negro family cordially, they would still prefer Caucasian neighbors. These persons, no doubt, perceive some social pressure not to sell their homes to Negroes. Eight (19%) of the subjects selected alternative D indicating that they think their neighbors would object strongly to having Negroes as neighbors. It may be assumed that these subjects perceive considerable social pressure not to sell their homes to Negroes. Figure 3 depicts the subjects' perceptions of their relatives' reactions if a member of the family should marry a Negro. Two (4%) of the subjects chose alternative B indicating they perceived their relatives as fully accepting a Negro into the family. It might be inferred that these persons do not perceive social pressure against having their progeny marrying a Negro. Six (14%) of the subjects selected alternative C indicating that they felt their relatives would prefer the family to remain all white. These persons perceive some social pressure against having their progeny marry a Negro. Twenty-eight (65%) of the subjects chose alternative D while seven (17%) chose alternative E. These individuals see their relatives as strongly objecting to having a Negro in the family and therefore perceive much social pressure against having their children marry a Negro.

From an examination of the three figures it appears that the subjects, as a group, perceive more social pressure to discriminate against Negroes as members of their families than as potential home purchasers while perceiving more social pressure to discriminate against Negroes as potential home purchasers than as friends. In order to test these relationships in a more formal manner, two t-tests for matched groups were conducted.

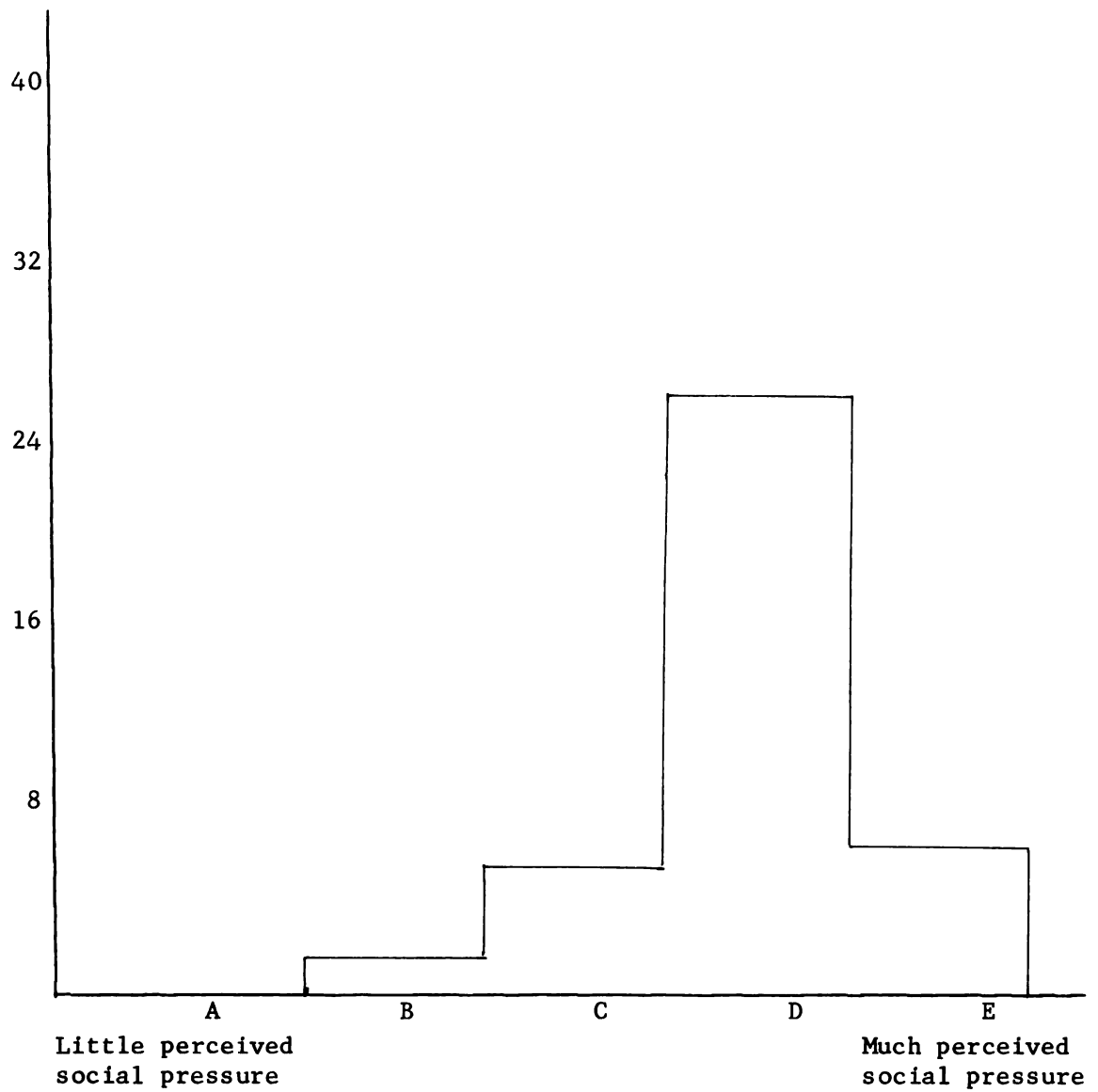


Figure 3. Perceived Social Pressure in the Situation of Having a Negro for a Son-in-Law

TABLE 2

Perceived Social Pressure to Discriminate Against Negroes in Various Situations - Inferred from Attitudes Attributed to Friends, Neighbors, and Relatives

	\bar{X}	S^2	t	df	P
Friend	2.27	.38	7.00	42	$p < .001$
Home Purchaser	3.11	.28	7.29	42	$p < .001$
Son-in-law	3.93	.49			

t-tests for matched groups

Before doing this however, it was necessary to assign numerical values to the alternatives measuring perceived social pressure to discriminate against Negroes. Alternative A was given the value 1, B = 2, C = 3, D = 4, and E was made equal to 5. The larger the number the greater the perceived social pressure to discriminate against Negroes. The mean perceived social pressure score when Negroes were considered for family membership was 3.93 which was significantly greater than the perceived social pressure score (3.11) generated when Negroes were considered as potential home purchasers ($t = 7.29$, $df = 42$, $p < .001$). The latter score was significantly greater than the perceived social pressure score (2.27) when Negroes were placed in the role of friends ($t = 7.00$, $df = 42$, $p < .001$).

Given these results, it was expected that the factor of race would become more and more important in determining the evaluations of the hypothetical persons as the role in which they were placed changed from that of friend to home purchaser, to son-in-law. Table 3 discloses that this is in fact the case. Approximately .3% of the variance in ratings

Table 3

AMOUNT OF VARIANCE ACCOUNTED FOR BY THE TRAITS
OF THE HYPOTHETICAL PERSONS IN FOUR SITUATIONS

	<u>Friend</u>	<u>Neighbor</u>	<u>Home Purchaser</u>	<u>Son-in-Law</u>
Race (A)	.3%	-	1.8%	18.3%
Attitudes (B)	64.7%	56.5%	35.3%	19.1%
Status (C)	-	.7%	3.5%	4.0%
Subjects (D)	7.0%	13.0%	19.0%	15.0%
A x B	-	-	-	4.4%
A x C	-	-	-	2.0%
B x C	-	-	-	1.4%
A x B x C	-	-	-	.8%
Residual Interactions	28.0%	29.0%	40.0%	35.0%

assigned to the hypothetical persons in the role of friend was due to their race while 1.8% of the variance ratings assigned to the hypothetical persons placed in the role of potential home purchasers was due to the factor of race. About 18% of the variance ratings assigned to the hypothetical persons when evaluated as sons-in-law was accounted for by their race.⁵ Thus as the role the hypothetical persons are placed in changes from friend to home purchaser to son-in-law the race of the hypothetical persons comes to have a greater bearing on the ratings given by the subjects.

In order to determine if these differences in the strength of the race factor are significant, four racial discrimination scores were calculated for each subject corresponding to the four situations in which the hypothetical persons were evaluated. Because a constant of 9 was added to all of the racial discrimination scores (so that there would be no negative numbers), the value 9 represented a lack of discrimination on the factor of race. Numbers less than 9 indicated discrimination against Caucasians while numbers greater than 9 indicated discrimination against Negroes.

5. The values presented in Table 3 were calculated by dividing the sums of squares for each effect by the total sums of squares. This procedure yields a rough estimate of the proportion of the total variance accounted for by each particular effect.

TABLE 4

Discrimination on the Race Factor as a Function of the Situation in Which the Hypothetical Persons are Evaluated

	\bar{X}	S^2	t	df	P
Friend	7.79	8.27	4.19	42	p<.001
Home Purchaser	12.11	34.07	5.56	42	p<.001
Son-in-Law	18.55	43.84			

t-tests for matched groups, one-tailed

The first comparison depicted in Table 4 shows that subjects discriminate significantly more against Negroes when rating the hypothetical persons as home purchasers than when rating them as friends ($t = 4.19$, $df = 42$, $p < .001$) while the second comparison reveals that subjects discriminate significantly more against Negroes when rating the hypothetical persons as sons-in-law than as home purchasers ($t = 5.56$, $df = 42$, $p < .001$). It may be concluded that middle class Caucasian homeowners discriminate significantly more against Negroes when they are thought of as sons-in-law than when thought of as home purchasers while discriminating significantly more against Negroes as home purchasers than as friends. The first hypothesis is strongly supported.

The second hypothesis holds that subjects will discriminate on race to a significantly greater extent when the hypothetical persons are evaluated as potential home purchasers than when evaluated as neighbors. Table 3 shows that when the hypothetical persons were evaluated as neighbors, none of the variance in ratings was accounted for by race while 1.8% of the variance in ratings was due to the race of the hypothetical persons when they were evaluated as home purchasers.

TABLE 5

Negroes as Neighbors and Negroes as Home Purchasers - The Differential Significance of Race as a Function of the Situation

	\bar{X}	S^2	t	df	P
Neighbor	9.06	7.22	3.61	42	p<.01
Home-Purchaser	12.11	34.07			

t-test for matched groups, one tailed

The mean racial discrimination scores presented in Table 5 reveals that the subjects discriminate significantly more against Negroes when the hypothetical persons are evaluated as home purchasers than when they are evaluated as neighbors ($t = 3.61$, $df = 42$, $p < .01$). The second hypothesis is strongly supported.

The third hypothesis tested was that there would be an inverse relationship between perceived social pressure to act in a racially discriminatory manner and the amount of variance accounted for by attitude similarity in evaluations of the hypothetical persons. Earlier in this section it was established that perceived social pressure to discriminate against Negroes increases significantly as the role in which the Negro is encountered changes from that of friend to home purchaser to son-in-law. Table 3 discloses that about 65% of the variance in ratings was accounted for by attitude similarity when the hypothetical persons were evaluated as friends while 35% of the variance was accounted for by this factor when the hypothetical persons were evaluated as home purchasers. Only 19% of the variance in ratings was due to the attitudes attributed to the hypothetical persons when they were evaluated as sons-in-law. To determine if attitude similarity had a significantly

greater effect in some situations as opposed to others, three belief discrimination scores were calculated for each subject corresponding to three of the situations in which the hypothetical persons were evaluated.⁶

TABLE 6

Discrimination on the Attitude Factor as a Function of the Situation in Which the Hypothetical Persons are Evaluated

	\bar{X}	S^2	t	df	Significance
Friend	27.67	69.72	3.28	42	p<.01
Home Purchaser	23.13	77.40	3.13	42	p<.01
Son-in-Law	18.60	47.10			

t-tests for matched groups, one tailed

Table 6 reveals that the subjects discriminate significantly more against hypothetical persons who espouse dissimilar attitudes when these hypothetical persons are evaluated as friends than when they are evaluated as home purchasers ($t = 3.28$, $df = 42$, $p < .01$). Further, the subjects discriminate significantly more against hypothetical persons who hold dissimilar attitudes when they are evaluated as home purchasers than when they are evaluated as sons-in-law ($t = 3.13$, $df = 42$, $p < .01$).

6. These were calculated in the same way as racial discrimination scores. The sum of the ratings assigned the four hypothetical persons who held similar attitudes to those of the subject was subtracted from the sum of the ratings assigned to the four hypothetical persons who held dissimilar attitudes. A constant of 9 was then added to each score so that the belief discrimination scores would be comparable to the racial discrimination scores. Belief discrimination scores were not calculated for the subjects ratings of the hypothetical persons placed in the role of neighbor as this score was not necessary for the testing of any particular hypothesis.

As a result of these findings, the third hypothesis is strongly supported.

The fourth hypothesis tested was that individuals who signed the petition would discriminate significantly less on the factor of race, when evaluating the hypothetical persons as potential home purchasers, than those individuals who refused to sign the petition.

TABLE 7

Racial Discrimination Scores of 21 Subjects who Refused to Sign a Petition for Open Housing Compared to 22 Subjects who did Sign Such a Petition When the Hypothetical Persons were Evaluated as a Home Purchaser

	\bar{X}	S^2	t	df	Significance
Signed Petition	10.09	14.91			
			2.44	41	$p < .01$
Refused to Sign	14.23	43.36			

One tailed t-test

Table 7 shows that the twenty-one subjects who refused to sign the petition generated a significantly higher average racial discrimination score when rating the hypothetical persons in the role of home purchasers than did the twenty-two subjects who did sign the petition ($t = 2.44$, $df = 41$, $p < .01$). Consequently the fourth hypothesis is strongly supported.

It is of interest to know whether those who signed the petition differed significantly from those who refused to sign in evaluating the hypothetical persons when they were placed in the roles of friend, neighbor, and son-in-law. It might be expected that those who refused to sign the petition might discriminate against Negroes to a greater degree in all of the situations in which the hypothetical persons were encountered.

TABLE 8

Racial Discrimination Scores of 21 Subjects who Refused to Sign a Petition for Open Housing Compared to 22 Subjects who did Sign Such a Petition When the Hypothetical Persons were Evaluated as Friends

	\bar{X}	S^2	t	df	Significance
Signed Petition	7.86	5.95			
			-.16	41	N S
Refused to Sign	7.71	11.49			

One tailed t-test

Table 8 discloses that there is no difference between the racial discrimination scores of those who signed the petition and those who refused to sign when the hypothetical persons were placed in the role of friends.

TABLE 9

Racial Discrimination Scores of 21 Subjects who Refused to Sign a Petition for Open Housing Compared to 22 Subjects who did Sign Such a Petition When the Hypothetical Persons were Evaluated as Neighbors

	\bar{X}	S^2	t	df	Significance
Signed Petition	8.72	5.10			
			.86	41	N S
Refused to Sign	9.42	9.06			

One tailed t-test

Similarly, Table 9 shows that there is no difference between the racial discrimination scores of those who signed the petition and those who refused to sign when the hypothetical persons were placed in the role of neighbors.

TABLE 10

Racial Discrimination Scores of 21 Subjects who Refused to Sign a Petition for Open Housing Compared to 22 Subjects who did Sign such a Petition when the Hypothetical Persons were Evaluated as Sons-in-Law

	\bar{X}	S^2	t	df	Significance
Signed Petition	17.09	50.26			
			1.72	41	$p < .05$
Refused to Sign	20.47	31.02			

One tailed t-test

On the other hand, Table 10 reveals that there is a significant difference between the racial discrimination scores of those who signed the petition and those who refused to sign when the hypothetical persons were placed in the role of sons-in-law ($t = 1.72$, $df = 41$, $p < .05$).

The fifth hypothesis tested was that those who said they would sell their homes to any financially qualified buyer would have significantly smaller racial discrimination scores than those subjects who said they would not sell their homes to any financially qualified buyer, when the hypothetical persons were rated as home purchasers.

TABLE 11

Relationship Between Stating "I would sell my home to any financially qualified buyer, regardless of race" and Racial Discrimination Scores Given the Hypothetical Persons as Potential Home Purchasers

	\bar{X}	S^2	t	df	Significance
I would sell	10.93	28.66			
			1.98	41	$p < .05$
I would not sell	14.85	35.36			

One tailed t-test

As the figures presented in Table 11 reveal, those individuals who said they would not sell their homes to any qualified buyer generated significantly larger racial discrimination scores when evaluating the hypothetical persons as home purchasers than those individuals who said they would sell their homes to any qualified buyer, Negro or Caucasian ($t = 1.98, df = 41, p < .05$). Thus the data confirm the fifth hypothesis.

The sixth hypothesis to be tested is that the situation or role in which the hypothetical persons are placed accounts for more of the variance in racial discrimination scores than does the individuals' personalities. A 4 x 43 analysis of variance was conducted with each column representing one of the four situations in which the hypothetical persons were placed while each row represented one of the 43 subjects. A single racial discrimination score was available for each of the resulting 172 cells. To determine what proportion of the total variance is due to the individuals' personalities, the mean square of error was subtracted from the mean square of rows and the difference was divided by the number of columns multiplied by the number of observations per cell. The resulting value was termed the estimated row variance, σ_r^2 , and was divided by the estimated total variance, σ_t^2 , which itself consisted of the estimated variances of rows, columns, and error summed. To determine what proportion of the total variance is due to the situations, the mean square of error was subtracted from the mean square of columns and the difference was divided by the number of rows multiplied by the number of observations per cell. The resulting value was termed the estimated column variance, σ_c^2 , and was divided by the estimated total

variance, described previously (28).⁷

TABLE 12

Proportion of the Total Variance in Racial Discrimination Scores Accounted for by the Situation in which the Hypothetical Person was Placed and Accounted for by Individual Differences

	SS	df	M S	σ	% of Variance
Situations	2934	3	978	22.25	47%
Subjects	1487	42	35.40	3.57	8%
Error and Interaction	2661	126	21.11	21.11	

7. Sheffe (54) shows that the Expected Mean Square of columns in a mixed model consists of error variance, σ_e^2 , interaction variance σ_{AB}^2 , and variance due to column effects, σ_A^2 . The Expected Mean Square of rows on the other hand consists of only two factors - σ_e^2 , error variance, and variance due to the main effect of rows σ_R^2 . Because there is but one observation per cell the Expected Mean Square of error in this particular design contains not only variance due to error, σ_e^2 , but also variance due to the interaction of the two main effects, σ_{AB}^2 . To the degree that there are interaction effects, subtracting the obtained Mean Square of error from the Mean Square of rows, as was done, will yield an overly conservative estimate of the amount of variance accounted for by rows, as interaction effects as well as error variance are being subtracted from that main effect.

Winer (70) presents a way of separating the sums of squares due to error into its two component parts, σ_e^2 and σ_{AB}^2 . This was done and the resulting Mean Square of error was reduced from 21.11 to 18. The latter value was then used when σ_R^2 was estimated. The value of σ_R^2 becomes 5.8 and the row effect comes to account for 11% of the total variance. An alternative method that can be used to determine the proportion of variance accounted for is to divide the Sums of Squares for each effect by the total sums of squares. Using this method, the situations account for 41% of the total variance while differences between subjects account for 20%. Regardless of the method used, it appears as though the situations account for more of the variance in racial discrimination scores than do individual differences between the subjects.

In Table 12 it is seen that while differences between subjects, which may be thought of as personality differences, account for 8% of the total variance in racial discrimination scores, differences in the situation account for 47% of the total variance. Although no significance tests were conducted between these two values, the available data clearly supports the sixth hypothesis.

The seventh hypothesis tested was that individuals who discriminate against Negroes more than average in one situation also discriminate against Negroes more than average in other situations. If this hypothesis is true and subjects are consistent in the amount they discriminate against Negroes relative to the other subjects across situations, large correlations should be obtained between racial discrimination scores in the various situations.

TABLE 13

Subjects' Consistency in Discriminating Against Negroes in Four Situations as Expressed by Correlations Between Racial Discrimination Scores

	Friend	Neighbor	Home Purchaser	Son-in-Law
Friend	-	.20	-.07	.06
Neighbor	-	-	.36*	.27
Home Purchaser	-	-	-	.38*
Son-in-Law	-	-	-	-

* $p < .05$

Table 13 describes the magnitude of correlations between the racial discrimination scores in the four situations. As each correlation was generated from 43 pairs of scores, a correlation coefficient of approx-

imately .30 is required to achieve significance. Note that but two of the correlation coefficients reach this level, and these are not especially large. It appears that those subjects who produce relatively large racial discrimination scores when the hypothetical persons are evaluated in one situation do not necessarily generate relatively large racial discrimination scores when the hypothetical persons are encountered in other situations. The seventh hypothesis cannot be considered supported by the data presented.

The eighth hypothesis tested was that when the hypothetical persons were placed in the role of being a friend, only the factor of attitude similarity would prove significant. Table 14 reveals that both the main effects of attitude similarity and race were significant in affecting the ratings assigned to the hypothetical persons. Table 3 shows the former effect to be considerably stronger than the latter. Surprisingly, the significant race effect was due to Negro hypothetical persons being rated more favorably than Caucasians. The eighth hypothesis is only partially supported by the data.

The ninth hypothesis tested was that when the hypothetical persons were encountered in the role of neighbor, both the main effect of attitude similarity and the race x attitude similarity interaction would attain significance. It was thought that the significant interaction would occur because the Negroes with similar attitudes would be rated significantly lower than their Caucasian counterparts. Table 15 discloses that both the main effects of socioeconomic status and attitude similarity reached significance, with the latter accounting for a much greater proportion of the variance (Table 3). Those who held opinions similar to the subjects were rated significantly more favorably as

Table 14

EFFECTS OF THE TRAITS OF HYPOTHETICAL STIMULUS PERSONS ON RATINGS
ASSIGNED THEM BY 43 CAUCASIAN HOMEOWNERS WHEN THE FORMER WERE PLACED
IN THE SITUATION OF FRIEND

Source of Variance	Mean	Sum of Squares	df	F-Ratio	Significance
Negro	4.47	9.116	1/42	4.83	p<.05
White	4.77				
Similar Attitudes	2.27	1869.77	1/42	268.96	p<.0005
Dissimilar Attitudes	6.94				
High Socioeconomic Status	4.52	2.61	1/42	1.19	N S
Low Socioeconomic Status	4.69				
* Subjects	4.61	225.05	42/42	2.59	p<.001
N - SA	2.17	1.16	1/42	.50	N S
N - DA	6.72				
W - SA	2.38				
W - DA	7.16				
N - HS	4.31	.74	1/42	.48	N S
N - LS	4.58				
W - HS	4.73				
W - LS	4.81				
SA - HS	2.10	2.61	1/42	1.70	N S
SA - LS	2.45				
DA - HS	6.94				
DA - LS	6.94				
N - SA - HS	1.88	1.67	1/42	.81	N S
N - SA - LS	2.46				
N - DA - HS	6.74				
N - DA - LS	6.69				
W - SA - HS	2.32				
W - SA - LS	2.44				
W - DA - HS	7.13				
W - DA - LS	7.18				

* See Appendix J for complete analysis

Table 15

EFFECTS OF THE TRAITS OF HYPOTHETICAL STIMULUS PERSONS ON RATINGS
ASSIGNED THEM BY 43 CAUCASIAN HOMEOWNERS WHEN THE FORMER WERE PLACED
IN THE SITUATION OF NEIGHBOR

Source of Variance	Mean	Sum of Squares	df	F-Ratio	Significance
Negro	4.50	.01	1/42	.005	N S
White	4.51				
Similar Attitudes	2.31	1643.90	1/42	237.39	p<.0005
Dissimilar Attitudes	6.69				
High Socioeconomic Status	4.26	20.51	1/42	6.58	p<.01
Low Socioeconomic Status	4.75				
*Subjects	4.50	403.23	42/42	4.38	p<.0005
N - SA	2.38	1.67	1/42	.96	N S
N - DA	6.61				
W - SA	2.25				
W - DA	6.76				
N - HS	4.15	3.76	1/42	2.22	N S
N - LS	4.84				
W - HS	4.37				
W - LS	4.65				
SA - HS	1.95	5.12	1/42	2.70	N S
SA - LS	2.68				
DA - HS	6.56				
DA - LS	6.81				
N - SA - HS	1.88	.29	1/42	.13	N S
N - SA - LS	2.88				
N - DA - HS	6.41				
N - DA - LS	6.81				
W - SA - HS	2.02				
W - SA - LS	2.48				
W - DA - HS	6.72				
W - DA - LS	6.81				

* See Appendix J for complete analysis

neighbors than those hypothetical persons who held dissimilar opinions while those hypothetical persons to which high socioeconomic status was attributed were rated significantly more favorably than hypothetical persons to which low socioeconomic status was attributed. No interaction effect achieved significance. Thus the ninth hypothesis was only partially supported by the data.

The tenth hypothesis tested was that when the hypothetical persons were placed in the role of potential home purchasers all three main effects, race, attitude similarity, and socioeconomic status, would be significant. The data that confirms this hypothesis is presented in Table 16. All three of the main effects proved to be significant. Caucasians were rated more favorably than Negroes, those with similar attitudes were rated more favorably than those with dissimilar attitudes, while hypothetical persons of high socioeconomic status were evaluated more favorably than those of low socioeconomic status.

The eleventh hypothesis tested was that when subjects were required to evaluate the hypothetical persons as sons-in-law, not only would the three main effects be significant, but also the triple interaction would reach that status. This would be due, it was hypothesized, to the highly favorable rating given the high status, similar attitude Caucasian relative to the other hypothetical persons. Table 17 reveals that all three main effects were significant. Caucasians were evaluated more favorably than Negroes, hypothetical persons holding similar attitudes were evaluated more favorably than those holding dissimilar attitudes and those of a high socioeconomic status were evaluated significantly more favorably than hypothetical persons of low socioeconomic status. Further, the three two-way interactions and the three-way interaction

Table 16

EFFECTS OF THE TRAITS OF HYPOTHETICAL STIMULUS PERSONS ON RATINGS
ASSIGNED THEM BY 43 CAUCASIAN HOMEOWNERS WHEN THE FORMER WERE PLACED
IN THE SITUATION OF HOME PURCHASERS

Source of Variance	Mean	Sum of Squares	df	F-Ratio	Significance
Negro	4.94	52.19	1/42	12.55	p<.001
White	4.16				
Similar Attitudes	2.82	1032.60	1/42	118.28	p<.0005
Dissimilar Attitudes	6.29				
High Socioeconomic Status	4.00	104.94	1/42	15.98	p<.0005
Low Socioeconomic Status	5.11				
*Subjects	4.55	563.58	42/42	5.58	p<.0005
N - SA	3.33	5.12	1/42	3.52	N S
N - DA	6.55				
W - SA	2.31				
W - DA	6.02				
N - HS	4.47	2.27	1/42	1.26	N S
N - LS	5.41				
W - HS	3.53				
W - LS	4.80				
SA - HS	2.11	8.47	1/42	3.60	N S
SA - LS	3.53				
DA - HS	5.89				
DA - LS	6.58				
N - SA - HS	2.67	.41	1/42	.17	N S
N - SA - LS	4.00				
N - DA - HS	6.27				
N - DA - LS	6.83				
W - SA - HS	1.55				
W - SA - LS	3.06				
W - DA - HS	5.51				
W - DA - LS	6.53				

* See Appendix J for complete analysis

Table 17

EFFECTS OF THE TRAITS OF HYPOTHETICAL STIMULUS PERSONS ON RATINGS
ASSIGNED THEM BY 43 CAUCASIAN HOMEOWNERS WHEN THE FORMER WERE PLACED
IN THE SITUATION OF SON-IN-LAW

Source of Variance	Mean	Sum of Squares	df	F-Ratio	Significance
Negro	7.82	505.49	1/42	92.25	p<.005
White	5.40				
Similar Attitudes	5.37	525.07	1/42	111.91	p<.0005
Dissimilar Attitudes	7.84				
High Socioeconomic Status	6.04	110.53	1/42	39.82	p<.005
Low Socioeconomic Status	7.18				
*Subjects	6.61	414.70	42/42	5.02	p<.0005
N - SA	7.18	122.16	1/42	47.74	p<.005
N - DA	8.46				
W - SA	3.56				
W - DA	7.23				
N - HS	7.66	56.16	1/42	19.42	p<.005
N - LS	7.98				
W - HS	4.43				
W - LS	6.37				
SA - HS	4.47	38.44	1/42	16.53	p<.005
SA - LS	6.27				
DA - HS	7.61				
DA - LS	8.08				
N - SA - HS	6.95	24.07	1/42	12.24	p<.001
N - SA - LS	7.41				
N - DA - HS	8.37				
N - DA - LS	8.55				
W - SA - HS	2.00				
W - SA - LS	5.13				
W - DA - HS	6.86				
W - DA - LS	7.60				

* See Appendix J for complete analysis

also were significant. Using a method described by Hays (28) for extracting main effects in order to more closely examine interaction effects, it was found that the race x attitude similarity interaction gained significance due to the comparatively favorable rating given those hypothetical persons described as Negroes with dissimilar attitudes. After removing the main effects it was discovered that the race x status interaction achieved significance because of the inordinately favorable rating given low status Negroes. Similarly, the relatively favorable ratings given hypothetical persons of low status and holding dissimilar attitudes to those of the subjects accounted for the significant attitude x status interaction. Finally, the triple interaction seems to have been significant because Negro hypothetical persons of low socioeconomic status, who held attitudes dissimilar to those of the subjects, were rated more favorably than would be predicted, given the magnitude and direction of the main effects.

An important conclusion that may be drawn from the data presented in Table 17 is that a single unfavorable attribute is a sufficient condition for eliciting an unfavorable evaluation. If the hypothetical person is black or low status or has dissimilar attitudes the possession of other positive attributes are attenuated in determining his evaluation as a son-in-law. To garner a positive rating, hypothetical persons must exhibit all positive attributes.

Before going on to examine the results concerning the hypotheses made in the second and third studies, the reliability of the petition signing behavior will be described. Both in the first and third studies the petition signing behavior was used as a sort of criterion to which several paper and pencil devices were compared. Thorndike (59) writes "high reliability in a criterion measure is convenient, but not critically important. Low reliability in a criterion measure merely attenuates all its relationships with other measures."

TABLE 18

The Reliability of Petition Signing Behavior

	Signed 1st Petition	Refused to Sign 1st Petition
Signed 2nd Petition	11	5
Refused to Sign 2nd Petition	10	16

$$\chi^2 = 3.63 \text{ p } .10, r_t = .39$$

Subjects used in the above table neither received the letter nor participated in the remainder of the study.

Table 18 reveals that the reliability of the petition signing behavior, expressed in terms of a tetrachoric correlation, is $r_t = .39$.

The first hypothesis to be tested in the second study was that when the hypothetical persons were evaluated as friends, there would be a significant relationship between racial discrimination scores and perceived social pressure to behave in a racially discriminatory manner. Perceived social pressure to act in a racially discriminatory manner, in this instance, was inferred from subjects' conceptions of how their friends would react to them if they befriended a Negro. So that a correlation coefficient might be computed between the two variables, the values 1 to 5 were substituted for the alternatives A to E respectively.

TABLE 19

Relationship Between Racial Discrimination Scores and Perceived Social Pressure to Behave in a Discriminatory Manner in the Situation of Friendship

N	r	Significance
43	.10	N S

Table 19 shows that a correlation coefficient of .10 describes the relationship between the extent to which the subjects discriminate against Negroes as friends and the amount of social pressure they perceive that supports such behavior. The correlation coefficient is not so large that it is unlikely that it may have occurred by chance, and therefore the first hypothesis is rejected.

The second hypothesis tested was that when the hypothetical persons were evaluated as potential home purchasers, there would be a significant relationship between racial discrimination scores and perceived social pressure to behave in a racially discriminatory manner. The latter was inferred from subjects' conceptions of how their neighbors might feel if a Negro should move on the block.

TABLE 20

Relationship Between Racial Discrimination Scores and Perceived Social Pressure to Behave in a Discriminatory Manner in the Situation of Selling One's Home to a Negro

N	r	Significance
43	.12	N S

Table 20 shows that a correlation coefficient of .12 is generated from this relationship and thus the second hypothesis is not supported.

The third hypothesis tested was that when the hypothetical persons were placed in the role of son-in-law, there would be a significant relationship between racial discrimination scores and perceived social pressure to discriminate against Negroes. Perceived social pressure to discriminate against Negroes was inferred from the subjects' conceptions of their relatives' reactions to a member of the family who might marry a Negro.

TABLE 21

Relationship Between Racial Discrimination Scores and Perceived Social Pressure to Behave in a Discriminatory Manner in the Situation of Having a Negro for a Son-in-Law

<u>N</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>Significance</u>
43	.34	p<.05

Table 21 shows that there is a significant relationship between discriminating against Negroes as sons-in-law and the degree to which one's relatives are seen as objecting to having a Negro as a member of the family. The third hypothesis is supported.

The fourth hypothesis tested was that those who signed the petition would perceive their neighbors as significantly less prejudiced than those who refused to sign the petition.

TABLE 22

A Comparison of Perceived Social Pressure for Selling One's Home to a Negro Between those Subjects who Signed a Petition Supporting Open Housing and those Subjects who Refused to Sign such a Petition

	<u>X</u>	<u>S²</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Signed Petition	3.00	.26			
			1.47	41	p<.10
Refused to Sign	3.23	.22			

One tailed t-test

Table 22 reveals that this is not the case as the difference between means, though in the predicted direction, was not sufficiently large relative to the variability within groups ($t = 1.47$, $df = 41$, $p < .10$).

The fifth hypothesis tested was that those individuals who failed to sign the first petition, who did not take part in the study, but who did receive the letter would sign the second petition more frequently than those subjects who failed to sign the first petition, who did not take part in the study, and who did not receive the letter.

TABLE 23

The Effect of the Letter on Signing the Second Petition for those Subjects who Refused to Sign the First Petition

	Received Letter	Did not Receive Letter
Signed 2nd Petition	6	5
Refused to Sign 2nd Petition	12	16

$$X^2 = .43, N S$$

Table 23 shows that there is no difference in the frequency of signing the second petition between those subjects who received the letter and those who did not. Therefore, the fifth hypothesis gains no support from the data.

TABLE 24

The Effect of Participating in a Psychological Study on Petition Signing Among Subjects who Refused to Sign the First Petition

	Participated	Did not Participate
Signed 2nd Petition	6	6
Refused to Sign 2nd Petition	12	12

Table 24 discloses that there is no difference in the frequency of signing the second petition between those persons who refused to sign the

first petition, who participated in the study, and who received the letter and those individuals who had the equivalent background but for taking part in the study.

TABLE 25

The Combined Effect of Participating in a Psychological Study and Receiving a Letter on Signing the Second Petition for Subjects who Refused to Sign the First Petition

	Participated and Received the Letter	Did not Participate and Did not Receive the Letter
Signed 2nd Petition	6	5
Refused to Sign 2nd Petition	12	16

$\chi^2 = .43, N S$

Table 25 discloses that there is no difference in the frequency of signing the second petition between those persons who refused to sign the first petition, who participated in the study, and who received the letter and those who did not sign the first petition, did not participate in the study, and who did not receive the letter.

The sixth hypothesis tested was that those individuals who had signed the first petition and received the letter would more frequently sign the second petition than those individuals who had signed the first petition but had not received the letter.

TABLE 26

The Effect of the Letter on Signing the Second Petition for
those Subjects who Signed the First Petition

	Received Letter	Did not Receive Letter
Signed 2nd Petition	12	11
Refused to Sign 2nd Petition	6	10

$$X^2 = .81, N S$$

The hypothesis fails to receive support from the data presented in
Table 26.

TABLE 27

The Effect of Participating in a Psychological Study on Petition Signing
Among Subjects who Signed the First Petition

	Participated	Did not Participate
Signed 2nd Petition	18	12
Refused to Sign 2nd Petition	3	6

$$X^2 = 1.98, N S$$

Table 27 discloses that there is no difference in the frequency of
signing the second petition between those who signed the first petition
and received the letter and those who did the same, but also served as
subjects in the first study.

TABLE 28

The Combined Effect of Participating in a Psychological Study and Receiving a Letter on Signing the Second Petition for Subjects who had Signed the First Petition

	Participated and Received the Letter	Did not Participate and Did not Receive the Letter
Signed 2nd Petition	18	11
Refused to Sign 2nd Petition	3	10

$$X^2 = 5.45, p < .025$$

Table 28 discloses that those persons who signed the first petition, received the letter, and participated in the first study signed the second petition significantly more often than those persons who signed the first petition but did not receive the letter and did not take part in the first study.

TABLE 29

Relationship Between Signing a Petition Supporting Open Housing and Indicating on a Questionnaire One Would Sign such a Petition

	Actually Signed	Failed to Sign
Said They Would Sign	18	8
Said They Would Not Sign	4	13

$$X^2 = 8.58, p < .01$$

$$r_t = .63$$

Table 29 reveals a significant relationship ($p < .01$) between indicating on a questionnaire that one would sign a petition supporting open housing and actually signing such a petition. Hence the corresponding hypothesis in the third study was strongly supported.

TABLE 30

Relationship Between Signing a Petition Supporting Open Housing and
Indicating on a Questionnaire One Would Sell His Home to Any
Qualified Individual, Regardless of Race

	Actually Signed	Failed to Sign
Said they would sell home to any qualified buyer	18	12
Said they would not sell home to any qualified buyer	4	9

$$\chi^2 = 2.97, p < .10$$

$$r_t = .38$$

Table 30 discloses that indicating on a questionnaire that one would sell his home to any financially qualified individual, Negro or Caucasian is not significantly related ($.05 < p < .10$) to signing a petition espousing the principle of open housing. Thus the corresponding hypothesis was not supported, although the direction of the relationship was as predicted.

Tetrachoric correlations (15) were calculated for each of the two relationships in order to acquire a more exact estimate of their strength. The tetrachoric correlation describing the relationship between indication on a questionnaire that one would sign a petition supporting open housing and actually signing such a petition was .63. That generated from the relationship between indicating on a questionnaire that one would sell his home to any qualified buyer, Negro or Caucasian, and actually signing the petition was .38.

Because the petition signing variable is present in both of the relationships described by the correlations, the correlations are not independent of one another. Thus using the standard error of the

difference between tetrachoric correlations (19) in the denominator of a t-test would result in an overly conservative value of that statistic and result in too frequently accepting the null hypothesis when in fact there is a difference between correlations. As an alternative, Hotellings t-test for dependent correlations was employed along with an adjustment to make it more applicable to tetrachoric correlations. Thus adjustment was necessary because the standard error of the tetrachoric correlation is at least twice as large as the standard error of a corresponding Pearson correlation (25). As the Hotelling formula assumes the use of the Pearson coefficient, it was necessary to increase the standard error of the difference to make it appropriate for the tetrachoric correlations.⁸ The adjusted formula yielded a $t = 1.93$, which for a one-tailed test with 9df, attains significance at $p < .05$. As a result, the hypothesis that there is a stronger relationship between verbally indicating one would sign a petition supporting open housing, and actually signing such a petition, than between verbally indicating one would sell one's home to any financially qualified individual, Negro or Caucasian, and signing the very same petition is confirmed.

8. This was accomplished, in effect, by substituting 12 for N in the computational formula although in fact the tetrachoric correlations used were computed from a sample of 43. This doubles the size of the standard error of the difference for Pearson correlations. See (25, p. 190) for formula used.

DISCUSSION

Validity and Reliability of Measures

Rather than reiterating, in order, the results and the specific hypotheses that led up to them, an attempt will be made to answer several interesting and hopefully relevant questions by extracting segments of the data from any one or more of the three studies. One topic to be considered is that of the validity of the various instruments used to determine an individual's tendency to respond in a racially discriminatory manner. Given the data at hand there are basically two procedures that may be followed in order to determine the validity of the several methods of measurement of one's antipathy towards Negroes. The first is construct validity which is described by Magnusson (37) as consisting of "the correlation between different tests which are assumed to measure the same variable." Agreement between divergent methods of measuring the same thing increases the likelihood that each method is actually measuring what it purports to. The second is concurrent validity which differs conceptually from construct validity in that scores generated from one of the instruments are deemed the criterion variable. The criterion variable, for all practical purposes, is assumed to be valid, and all other measuring devices acquire validity to the extent that they are in accord with it. Thorndike writes, "we may differentiate three categories of criteria: Ultimate, intermediate, and immediate. In practice, the ultimate criterion is rarely if ever available for use in psychological research. Therefore, we are almost always thrown

back upon substitute criteria which we judge to be related to the ultimate criterion with which we are most fundamentally concerned. These criterion measures we may designate as intermediate criteria." In the present studies, signing or refusing to sign the petition supporting open housing might be thought of as an intermediate criterion for validating the paper and pencil measures of prejudice employed, as it may reasonably be supposed to be strongly related to the ultimate criterion which might be the subjects actually selling their homes to a financially qualified Negro buyer.

At this point the selection of the petition signing behavior ahead of the paper and pencil techniques as the intermediate criterion may have to be justified. The extent to which any two variables are related is contingent upon the degree to which each of the variables is related to the same underlying factors. It is hoped that a subject's response to evaluating the hypothetical persons, his verbally indicating he either would or would not sell his home to any financially qualified buyer, his signing the petition, and actually selling his home to a Negro, are all substantially related to a factor that might be labeled attitude towards Negroes as home buyers. At the same time, other factors may influence the subject's scores on the paper and pencil measures that would not be affecting the subject's reactions when actually selling his home to a Negro. These factors might be such things as the subject's attitude toward being evaluated by a psychologist and his awareness that his responses to the various questionnaires are of no practical consequence. Such factors not held in common by the paper and pencil techniques and the ultimate criterion would tend to attenuate the relationship between them. On the other hand, because the subjects were not aware that they were being evaluated when presented with

the petition and because the petition might have been thought to be of some consequence, these extraneous sources of variance were not thought to be present in the relationship between the ultimate criterion and the petition signing behavior. Thus the relationship between these variables was judged to be stronger and petition signing was chosen as the intermediate criterion.

To establish construct validity for the instruments used, the relationship between the subjects' petition signing behavior, racial discrimination scores when the hypothetical persons were evaluated as potential home purchasers, and their explicitly indicating that they either would or would not sell their homes to any financially qualified buyer must be examined. Table 7 shows that signing the petition is significantly related to generating low racial discrimination scores while Table 11 reveals that those who indicate they would sell their homes to any financially qualified buyer regardless of race, also generate significantly lower racial discrimination scores. Table 30 indicates that a greater proportion of those who say they will sell their home to any financially qualified buyer, regardless of race sign the petition than those who say they would not sell their home to any financially qualified buyer, although the difference fails to attain significance at an acceptable level. It appears that there is sufficient evidence to confirm the validity of these instruments by the procedure of construct validity.

Thinking in terms of concurrent validity only two correlations are necessary. That between petition signing and explicitly indicating one would sell his home in a non-discriminatory manner and between petition signing and racial discrimination scores when the hypothetical persons were placed in the role of home purchasers. The former relationship

yields a tetrachoric correlation of .38 while the latter relationship yields a point bi-serial correlation of .36. Both measures or indicators of the subjects' attitudes toward selling their homes to a Negro appear to correlate moderately well with the criterion. Guilford (26) argues that these validity coefficients are actually attenuated due to a lack of reliability in the criterion. He writes, "It is not a fallible criterion with which we are interested in establishing a relationship, including all its errors; it is a 'true' criterion or the true component of the obtained criterion." Table 18 shows the reliability of the petition signing behavior to be .39 as described by a tetrachoric correlation. To correct the obtained validity coefficients Guilford suggests dividing them by the square root of the reliability coefficient of the criterion. Following this procedure raises the two validity coefficients to .60 and .57 respectively.

The question now becomes, why does the criterion measure, signing the petition, contain so much error variance? Two factors ought to contribute to the measure's reliability, namely the subjects' attitudes towards the selling of their homes in a racially non-discriminatory manner and their attitude towards signing petitions in general. Although attitudes are conceptualized as relatively stable cognitive entities, it is possible that over the thirteen week period between the presentation of the two petitions the subjects' attitudes toward selling their homes to Negroes may have changed. This change may have been facilitated by reports of racial and generational conflict that were commonplace during this period and which may be inseparable in the minds of many. The fact that twice as many persons changed from signing to not signing rather than the other way around supports the interpretation just offered. On the other hand,

it might very well be that the act of signing the petition once reduces the probability of signing it on a second occasion as the individuals might feel that they had already done enough in supporting a cause or principle they might be only mildly in sympathy with. This might be termed the "I already gave at the office" effect. Possibly a longer interval between the presentation of the two petitions might have neutralized this feeling of sufficient contribution and resulted in higher reliability.

Blake, Mouton, and Haine (3) write with regard to petition signing, "...the rate of endorsement varies with ... the knowledge of the reactions of others to the petition." Helson, Blake and Mouton (30) report that 93% of the subjects signed a petition when they saw a second person sign while only 33% of the subjects who saw a second person refuse to sign, endorsed the petition themselves. Clearly this "modeling effect" appears powerful. In the present study there may have been different individuals present at the two times the subjects were asked to endorse the petitions. For example, on the first occasion a wife may have signed the petition because she saw her husband doing so, while on the second occasion, thirteen weeks later, the husband may have been absent and his influence not felt, resulting in incongruous behavior on the part of the wife. The incongruity is only apparent as it was not her attitude towards selling her home to Negroes that governed her behavior but rather the actions of her husband. Therefore different responses to the petitions on the two occasions, resulting in low reliability may have accrued from the differential presence of models.

The Importance of the Situation

Rokeach postulates "...that a person's social behavior must always be mediated by at least two types of attitudes -- one activated by the object and the other activated by the situation." If this statement is true it would be expected that persons' evaluations and behavioral intentions towards a class of attitude objects, such as Negroes, would vary depending on the situation in which the attitude objects were encountered. Table 3 shows that as the situation changes from friend to home purchaser to son-in-law the factor of race comes to account for a greater proportion of the variance in scores assigned the hypothetical persons. Table 4 shows that subjects discriminate against Negroes to a significantly greater degree when they are thought of as sons-in-law rather than home purchasers and discriminate slightly in favor of Negroes when they are placed in the situation of friend.⁹ Table 5 discloses that subjects are more reluctant to sell their homes to Negroes than to accept them as neighbors. Evidently the situation in which the attitude object is placed has a great deal to do with the subjects' response to the race of the hypothetical persons.

9. Table 4 may seem superfluous given the data in Table 3 but actually this is not the case. Table 3 reveals what proportion of the total variance in the ratings is attributable to the race of the hypothetical persons. Note that the factor of race can come to account for a greater segment of the total variance if the other factors exert less and less of an influence on the subject's ratings as the situation changes and the potency of the race factor remains constant. The proportion of variance accounted for by any particular factor is contingent upon the strength of the other factors influencing the dependent variable whereas the magnitude of racial discrimination scores in any particular situation are independent of the strength of the other factors which may be influencing the dependent variable.

Tables 12 and 13 allow one to determine just how great a role the situation plays in regulating the expression of racially discriminatory evaluations. From Table 12 one might infer that the situation is approximately six times as important as individual factors in determining the extent to which a persons discriminates on race. At once it becomes necessary to consider to what degree this finding is an artifact of the sample and the measurement procedures employed. The subjects were all drawn non-randomly from the same neighborhood and generally might be described as middle-class, middle-aged, and white. Being demographically similar, it is not unreasonable to assume that the subjects might be an unusually homogeneous group in terms of their beliefs, attitudes, and values, and consequently differ little from one another in reacting to the racial aspects of the hypothetical persons. Thus the row effect, that of subjects or individual factors, would account for little variability in scores. At the very same time it cannot be denied that the situations in which the hypothetical persons were evaluated were selected specifically to demonstrate the differential importance of the race variable. Therefore it would be unwise as well as incorrect to hold that in general the situation is six times as important as one's personality in determining one's reactions to Negroes.

On the other hand the results cannot be regarded as totally contingent upon the experimental situation. The subjects were not quite so homogeneous as might be supposed from reading the previous paragraph. Psychologists often obtain what are considered to be divergent or extreme groups on some variable by using as subjects only those individuals who make extreme scores on a paper and pencil test. Individuals in one group are thought of as significantly different from those in the other group.

Because about half the subjects signed the petition and about half refused, the subjects in the present study may be thought of as representing divergent groups. Also, the racial discrimination scores in the situation of friend range from 0 to 14, in the situation of neighbor from 3 to 17, in the situation of home purchaser from 1 to 34, and in the situation of son-in-law from 6 to 34. In short, there appears to be substantial variability between individuals in the racial discrimination scores they generate although this variability is probably not so great as it would have been if a random sample of all homeowners had been drawn. Now, even though the situations were selected because it was suspected that they would evoke a differential racial effect, they are not so different from each other as might be thought in terms of the social distance each implies. Racially discriminatory behavior displayed in any situation is conceived of by many as being a function of the social distance of that situation. By means of scaling techniques Triandis and Triandis (64) arranged various situations on a social distance scale whose values ranged from 0 to 100. They found that the social distance of the situation "neighbor" implied the most social distance of any of the situations used in the present study and that it had a scale value of 38.7. Hence all the situations used in the present study are located roughly in the upper two-fifths of the social distance continuum. Quite possibly a random sample of situations would have resulted in even a greater dispersion of the situations along the social distance continuum. In any case, the point is that the subjects selected were not so homogeneous and the situations so heterogeneous as far as their variability on relevant dimensions that results garnered from them can be disregarded or dismissed as being totally an artifact of the experimental situation.

Not only is the situation important in determining the absolute size of an individual's racial discrimination score but it is also important in determining the relative size of an individual's racial discrimination score compared to the average score generated by the forty-three subjects. Table 13 shows that knowing a particular individual discriminates more than average against Negroes when the hypothetical persons were rated as friends does not aid one in predicting that individual's position on the distribution of racial discrimination scores in any of the other situations. The low correlations indicate that there is an interaction effect between the subject and the situation which determines to no small degree the magnitude of any single racial discrimination score. This means that individuals are not consistent in discriminating more than average, that is, in behaving in a prejudicial manner, or less than average, that is, behaving in an egalitarian manner, across situations. These data suggest that individuals hold attitudes towards a complex stimulus that consists of an attitude object within a specific social context and that these attitudes do not generalize to the attitude object in different social contexts or situations. It is of interest to know just what it is about a situation that facilitates racially discriminatory responses.

The Importance of Perceived Social Pressure

Bogardus (4) claimed that different situations or social relationships were imbued with varying amounts of an attribute he termed "social distance" and that this attribute determined to what degree discriminatory behavior would be expressed in any particular situation. He arranged the social relationships "relative", "friend", and "neighbor" in ascending order on the social distance continuum. The further on the social

distance continuum any situation was placed the less likely racially discriminatory behavior would be expressed within it. The problem now becomes, what is it about a situation that invests it with social distance? Bogardus fails to explicitly answer this question. Note further that the data displayed in Tables 4 and 5 show that there is greater discrimination against Negroes as neighbors than as friends and that this finding is exactly the opposite of what one would predict if he considered only the social distance ascribed to the situations. It appears then that the attribute of social distance does not adequately account for the racially discriminatory ratings by the subjects of the hypothetical persons in the several social situations in which they were placed.

Triandis and Davis suspect that the intimacy of a situation is closely related to the expression of racial discrimination within it. They believe this to be the case because the more intimate a situation the more clearly delineated are the norms that govern the behavior within it. Triandis and Davis are implicitly arguing that sharply defined norms facilitate racial discrimination which seems less than accurate. Norms may either promote or inhibit racial discrimination. Also, data displayed in Table 4 refute the contention that as social relationships become more intimate there is a greater tendency to discriminate on race. Most will agree that friendship is a more intimate relationship than selling one's home to a person, yet the latter situation resulted in greater racial discrimination than the former. Thus the intimacy associated with a certain situation does not appear to be the crucial factor. It may be that the norms or sanctions salient in any situation are independent of the situation's intimacy and that the norms of some situations demand racial discrimination while the norms of other situations do not.

Table 2 reveals that the subjects perceive their friends minding very little if they should befriend a Negro while they perceive their neighbors as being significantly more concerned about Negroes moving on the block. Further, the subjects see their relatives as being quite distraught at the thought of a Negro marrying into the family. It may be inferred that the subjects, as a group, sense the greatest social pressure to discriminate on race when confronted with evaluating hypothetical persons as sons-in-law while feeling the least social pressure to discriminate when evaluating the hypothetical persons as friends. When rating the hypothetical persons as home purchasers, it might be inferred that the subjects sense an intermediate amount of social pressure to discriminate against Negroes. An examination of Table 4 shows that actual discrimination on race varies directly with perceived social pressure to discriminate. It appears that the latter may be responsible for the former. If this is actually the case, it would be expected that within each situation, those Individuals who discriminate most against Negroes would perceive the most social pressure to act in such a way. Table 19 discloses that there is positive but insignificant relationship between the individuals' racial discrimination score and perceived social pressure score within the situation of friend. Table 20 reveals that there is a positive but again insignificant relationship between the individuals' racial discrimination score and perceived social pressure score within the situation of selling one's home. It is evinced in Table 21 that there is a statistically significant relationship between the individuals' racial discrimination score and perceived social pressure score within the situation of choosing a son-in-law. Although all three of the relationships are in the expected direction, their strength is disheartening, especially in the light of

the apparently strong relationship between the variables when the unit of analysis was the group and the statistics compared were means.¹⁰

Two other relationships might be examined to determine the strength of association between a subject's tendency to discriminate and his perception of social pressure reinforcing such behavior. Table 22 shows that those persons who pledged not to discriminate when selling their homes, by signing the petition, perceived less (though not significantly less) social pressure to discriminate against Negroes when selling their homes than those who refused to sign the petition. Perhaps the most obvious test of the proposition that racial discrimination and perceived social pressure to discriminate are related has yet to be conducted. It seems reasonable that those persons who clearly indicate that they would not sell their homes to any financially qualified buyer ought to perceive more social pressure to discriminate than those who indicate they would.

10. Robinson (46) points out that "ecological" correlations or correlations that are based on the group as the unit of analysis are necessarily inflated compared to correlations based on measures taken from individuals, and that if one is interested in factors which influence individual behavior, only the latter should be considered.

TABLE 31

Perceived Social Pressure of Subjects Who Say They Will Sell Home to Any Financially Qualified Buyer Compared to Subjects Who Say They Will Not Sell Home to Any Financially Qualified Buyer

	\bar{X}	S^2	t	df	P
Say they will sell home	3.03	.23	1.76	42	p < .05
Say they will not sell home	3.30	.21			

One tailed t-test for matched groups.

Table 31 shows that this is indeed the case. The pattern of results supports the contention that perceived social pressure to discriminate against Negroes is related, though not strongly, to the racially discriminatory behavior of individuals.¹¹

But does perceived social pressure cause in part overt acts of racial discrimination? As explained in the introduction, it may be that one's perception of his friends', neighbors', and relatives' attitudes towards Negroes, from which perceived social pressure was inferred, is just another indicator of one's own attitudes. Conceptually it would have the same status as petition signing behavior and evaluating the hypothetical

11. Perhaps the "importance" of a situation is a relevant variable in determining the magnitude of racial discrimination scores. Importance might be inferred from the number of significant effects within any situation. It might be that as interpersonal relationships come to be of more importance to the subjects, more characteristics of the hypothetical persons become necessary conditions for interpersonal attraction. In relationships of the greatest importance, the hypothetical person must approach perfection to get a favorable rating and being a Negro might be a sufficient condition for a lower rating. Tables 14, 15, 16, and 17 show that as more effects achieve significance, i.e., as more things seem to matter to the subjects, racial discrimination against Negroes increases.

persons rather than being thought of as an indicator of something sequentially prior to them, namely perceived social pressure. Table 23 reveals that an attempt to manipulate perceived social pressure had no appreciable effect on the subjects' attitudes towards selling their homes in a racially non-discriminatory manner, as inferred from petition signing behavior. Perhaps perceived social pressure was adequately manipulated by the subjects receiving the letter informing them that in fact their neighbors had no objections to having Negroes for neighbors. That is, those persons who received the letter believed that their neighbors had no objections to living next door to Negroes while those who did not receive the letter suspected that their neighbors would object to having Negroes as neighbors. If this was the case, it must be concluded that perceived social pressure is not responsible for racial discrimination. On the other hand, it may very well be that the experimental manipulation was unsuccessful. This might be for one of two reasons. First, some of those who received the letter may not have bothered to read it as it was, after all, unsolicited and consequently unexpected. Secondly, those who received the letter may have read it and thoughtfully considered its contents, but still felt that their neighbors really would prefer to live in an exclusively Caucasian area. To ascertain whether the experimental treatment was effective, forms similar to those in Appendix F would have had to have been administered to the subjects directly after they received the letter but before the second petition was presented. A measure such as this was not employed only because the experimenter could not devise a credible excuse for returning to the subjects for another visit, replete with questionnaires.

The Relationship Between Attitudes and Behavior

Earlier in this section it was argued that subjects hold attitudes toward complex stimuli that consist of an attitude object placed in some social context. It seemed as though subjects reacted differently to the attitude objects depending upon the situation they were encountered in. The implications of this fact will next be considered with regard to research ostensibly concerning the relationship between attitudes and behavior.

When persons speak of determining the relationship between attitudes and behavior, what they in fact are concerned with is measuring a relationship between two sorts of behavior. The first type of behavior is invariably verbal and frequently consists of marks by the subject on a questionnaire indicating that the subject has certain feelings, thoughts, or behavioral intentions toward an attitude object in some situation. It is from these feelings, cognitions, and behavioral intentions as expressed by the subject that an attitude is inferred. The second type of behavior is usually non-verbal overt behavior. Rather than measuring what the subject says he will do, the investigator attempts to unobtrusively measure what the subject actually does upon confronting the attitude object. All too often there is a failure to find agreement between the two types of behavior and the erroneous conclusion is sometimes drawn that attitudes are not related to behavior. It is quite possible that agreement is not found between the two types of behavior because investigators focus only on the attitude object and ignore the situation in which it is placed.

The index of verbal behavior employed in Table 8 was calculated from the subjects' evaluations of both Negro and Caucasian hypothetical persons

conceived of as friends. The overt behavior to which this index was related was the signing of a petition which involved pledging that one would sell one's home to a financially qualified Negro. Not surprisingly there is no agreement between the two behaviors, perhaps because the subjects were responding to two different stimuli when each was elicited. In one instance the stimulus was a Negro friend while in the other it was a petition conjuring up images of Negro home purchasers. In Table 9 the index of verbal behavior was computed from the subjects' evaluations of the hypothetical persons as neighbors and the overt measure of behavior was the same as that used in Table 8. Again there is no agreement between the two behaviors as the complex stimuli presented to the subjects when the two behaviors were measured were different. Note that in Table 7 there is significant agreement between the two types of behavior. The petition, no doubt, called to mind the possibility of selling one's home to a Negro while the verbal measure of behavior was based upon the subjects' preference for the hypothetical persons as home purchasers. It is hypothesized that similar attitudes were evoked by the complex stimuli when both types of behavior were measured, resulting in the observed agreement between behaviors.

Tables 29 and 30 also present data that suggest that the degree of correspondence between the stimuli that evoke both the verbal and overt behavior is the crucial factor in determining the strength of agreement. Indicating that one would either sign or fail to sign a petition supporting open housing was more strongly related to actually doing so than was indicating one would sell one's home to any financially qualified buyer. Certainly one's attitude towards selling one's home to a Negro affected all three behaviors and accounts for a substantial part of the

relationship between them. However, one's attitude towards petition signing in general ought to account for some variance in both the overt behavior and verbally indicating that one would sign a petition while not accounting for any of the variance in ones verbally indicating that he would sell his home to any financially qualified buyer. To the extent that actually signing and saying one would sign an open housing petition are related to this attitude or factor the relationship in Table 29 should be stronger than that in Table 30. Also, the subjects' attitude toward obeying the State of Michigan's open housing laws may be contributing to the subjects verbally indicating that they would sell their homes to any financially qualified buyer while not affecting in any way the subjects' overt behavior. This interpretation is supported by the large number of subjects who failed to sign the petition but who said they would sell their homes to any qualified buyer. Thus different underlying factors might be affecting the behaviors compared in Table 30. This would tend to weaken that relationship compared to the relationship depicted in Table 29.

The data seem to support the proposition that a significant factor in determining agreement between overt and verbal behavior is the degree of correspondence between the situation depicted in the questionnaire, to which the subject verbally responds, and the situation in which the subject performs the observed overt behavior. Theoretically, the explanation offered for this is that as the situation depicted in the question comes to correspond less and less with the situation in which the overt behavior is observed, different attitudes become salient in the two situations, resulting in different behaviors.

The Theory of Belief Congruence

In situations free of sanctions demanding racially discriminatory behavior, the theory of Belief Congruence predicts that persons will discriminate predominantly on the variable of attitude similarity. Previous studies have generally found this to be the case. The present study differs from its forerunners in several respects. Subjects in other studies were almost invariably students, either in high school or college. Subjects in the present study were middle-class Caucasian homeowners. Thus the findings of the present study will either extend or delimit the generality of the principle of Belief Congruence.¹² Most other studies were conducted no doubt in a liberal academic atmosphere which frowns upon racial prejudice, hence facilitating discrimination on attitude similarity as this is the only variable remaining upon which the subjects can discriminate in a socially acceptable way. This confounding factor should be significantly reduced in the present study as it was administered in the subjects' homes. In previous studies the hypothetical persons were conveyed to the subjects in a somewhat sketchy and possibly incredible manner either by means of checkmarks on attitude surveys or through brief phrases. Their counterparts in the present study were thought to be more convincing as each consisted of a substantial paragraph which contained direct quotes attributed to the hypothetical person himself.

12. Due to the non-random nature of subject selection in this and perhaps all other investigations in which the principle of Belief Congruence was tested, it is very difficult to specify to whom the theory applies. In future studies of the theory, random samples should be selected from the population one wishes to generalize to.

Table 3 shows that attitude similarity is the most important determinant of ratings given the hypothetical persons no matter what the situation they were encountered in. To say the least this finding was unexpected. Why are attitudes such a powerful determinant of interpersonal attraction? Golightly and Byrne (23) relate a study in which attitudes were shown to function in a manner similar to positive and negative reinforcers. They write "there is a learned drive to be logical and to interpret the environment correctly. In one's social environment the only criterion for being logical and correct is consensual validation. Agreement by others, concerning political affiliations or religious practices or morality, acts as a reward in that it provides evidence that one is functioning in a logical and correct manner." Thus individuals are attracted to others who express similar attitudes because these persons are a source of positive reinforcement. This adequately explains why attitudes are a strong determinant of interpersonal attraction but does not make clear why this particular group of subjects were more sensitive to attitude similarity than previous groups. One possibility is that the need for consensual validation is more acute today than it has been in the past. The diversity of opinion concerning the nature of our environment and what ought to be done to change it is significantly greater now than five years ago when most of the other studies were conducted. Within the past year alone, the spectrum of well-publicized attitudes and values has been broadening. The proliferation of political parties provides some indication of this. The disproportionate attention given extreme groups by the communications media serves perhaps to magnify this heterogeneous atmosphere. It is not difficult to understand how the subjects, for the most part holders of traditional values and attitudes, might feel

threatened by the attitudinal turmoil about them, and thus be more attentive to similar attitudes whenever they appear. Individuals who less frequently face disconfirmation of their own attitudes through exposure to differing opinions might be expected not to discriminate to such a great degree on the attitude similarity variable.

The construction of the hypothetical persons offers a second possible reason for the subjects' heightened sensitivity to the attitude similarity variable. Race was conveyed by but a single word while several short phrases provided information from which the socioeconomic class of the hypothetical persons might be inferred. The remainder of the description was devoted to attitude similarity. The large amount of space devoted to the hypothetical persons' attitudes may have served as a demand characteristic in that it "told" the subjects that this was a variable of importance to the experimenter and hence it must be taken into account.

Fishbein (21) suggests that an individual's attitude toward an object is not only related to the favorableness of the beliefs attributed to the object, but it is also related to the probability that the object in question actually subscribes to these beliefs. By using full sentences and quotations rather than checkmarks to attribute attitudes to the hypothetical persons, the probability that the hypothetical persons actually held the attitudes ascribed to them may have been increased. If attitudes are substituted for beliefs as the components in Fishbein's formula, greater variability between hypothetical persons to whom similar attitudes were ascribed and those to whom dissimilar attitudes were ascribed necessarily results. Thus the increased credibility of the hypothetical persons might be a third reason that the variable of attitude similarity had such a great effect on the present study.

Although attitude similarity accounted for the greatest proportion of the variance in ratings within all situations, its effects varied across situations, being greater in some than in others. Table 3 shows that as the situation changed from friend to neighbor to home purchaser to son-in-law the variable of attitude similarity accounted for a smaller proportion of the total variance. This might be due to other variables affecting the subjects' ratings more as the situations change or the attitude similarity variable affecting ratings less. Both processes seem to be operating. Table 4 shows that subjects discriminate more on race as the situations change in the order listed while Table 6 discloses that subjects discriminate less on attitude similarity. Further, Tables 16 and 17 reveal that the variance of socioeconomic status only begins to affect the subjects' ratings in the situations of home purchaser and son-in-law while being of no consequence earlier. As predicted, a comparison of Tables 2 and 6 indicates that there is an inverse relationship between perceived social pressure to discriminate against Negroes and discrimination on the variable of attitude similarity. This suggests that Rokeach and Mezzi were correct when they wrote that were it not for societal constraints, man would discriminate in terms of the theory of Belief Congruence.

Innocation Theory -- The Bolstering of Attitudes

The second study dealt primarily with the manipulation of perceived social pressure and its effect on the subjects' attitudes towards selling their homes to a Negro, as inferred from petition signing behavior. As described earlier, among those subjects who failed to sign the first petition, there was no increment in the number that signed the second

petition due to receiving the letter. Table 24 shows that among those subjects who failed to sign the first petition, participation in a psychological experiment had absolutely no effect on signing the second petition. Table 25 reveals that the combined effect of participating in a psychological study and receiving the letter made no difference in petition signing behavior among those subjects who refused to sign the first petition. Nothing that was done to those subjects who refused to sign the first petition significantly changed their behavior, and it may therefore be inferred that attitude change failed to occur.

Among those who signed the first petition, it was hypothesized that receiving the letter would bolster the subjects' petition signing behavior. Table 22 shows that those who signed the first petition already had a tendency to view their neighbors as objecting less to Negroes as neighbors than those who didn't sign. It was thought that the letter would tend to reaffirm this belief. To the extent that petition signing was contingent upon beliefs about neighbors' attitudes towards Negroes, the letter ought to serve to stabilize petition signing. It is disclosed in Table 26, however, that the letter alone was not sufficient to bolster the subjects' behavior. Table 27 reveals that taking part in a psychological study, by itself, did not stabilize the petition signing behavior. Table 28 shows that the combined effects of receiving the letter and taking part in a psychological study served to significantly reduce the number of subjects who signed the first petition but refused to sign the second petition. Thus the interaction of these procedures with the subject variable (these procedures had markedly different effects for those who signed the first petition compared to those who didn't) proved significant and resulted in stabilizing the subjects' petition signing behavior.

McGuire and Papageorgis have concerned themselves with making attitudes resistant to change. They propose several defenses designed to hold attitudes constant in the face of counterattitudinal arguments. One of these defenses is described as supportive as it involves supplying the individual with reasons why he ought to believe as he does. The experimental manipulations in the present study might be conceptualized as supportive for the subjects' positive attitudes toward selling their homes in a racially non-discriminatory manner. This attitude is thought to account for part of the variance in petition signing behavior. As discussed in the previous paragraph, the letter was thought to be supportive insofar that it reaffirmed the subjects' belief that their neighbors did not strongly object to living next door to a Negro. Participating in the psychological experiment, which involved evaluating the hypothetical persons, might have been supportive in that it exposed subjects to Negroes of similar socioeconomic status who also espoused similar attitudes.

Now it is possible that participating in the experiment may have made for consistency in signing the petition regardless of its supportive effect on the subjects' attitude towards selling their homes in a racially non-discriminatory manner. Those who took part in the experiment may have somehow become aware that the petitions were associated with it. These subjects might have signed the second petition both to please the experimenter and to give the appearance of acting in a consistent manner. The fact that only two of the subjects queried the coeds as to whether they were associated with the experimenter casts some doubt upon this alternative explanation. In any case, it is important to note that the experimental treatment along with participating in the study were not strong enough to provoke change in the behavior (attitudes) of those

subjects who failed to sign the first petition. But among those who did sign the first petition, the same circumstances appear to be of sufficient strength to prevent the behavior (attitudes) from changing.

The Importance of the Variables -- Suggestions for Future Research

From examining the results of this study along with most of those mentioned in the introduction, one cannot help but conclude that attitude similarity is perhaps the single most important factor in determining interpersonal attraction across a variety of situations. In drawing this conclusion, it must be remembered that the importance of a variable is inferred from the proportion of variance it accounts for and that this value is contingent upon the other variables manipulated. It may be that attitude similarity accounts for such a large proportion of the total variance because the other variables used to describe the hypothetical persons affect the subjects' ratings little. When one considers that the other variables manipulated in the present study were race and socioeconomic status, the explanation seems quite unlikely. Still, there may be other variables that are stronger determinants of interpersonal attraction than attitude similarity.

The first variable that comes to mind is physical attractiveness. It is well known that men speak of the physical characteristics of women far more frequently than of their cognitive attributes. Therefore, it might be supposed that this factor is of greater importance. Byrne, London, and Reeves (8) found that although the physical attractiveness of a hypothetical person, as conveyed through a photograph, proved to be significant, the variable of attitude similarity was more strongly related to ratings of hypothetical persons as friends and work partners. Thus,

at least for these situations, attitude similarity is more important than physical attractiveness for determining interpersonal attraction.

Byrne and Rahmey (11) not only assigned their hypothetical persons attitudes on social, political, and religious problems but also attributed to them statements about the intelligence, morality, and likableness of the subjects, supposedly inferred from something the subjects had written earlier. They write "the reinforcements provided by the personal evaluation items had a significantly greater effect on attraction than the reinforcements provided by the impersonal attitude items." Thus what a person suspects a second individual thinks of him seems to be a more important determinant of interpersonal attraction than attitude similarity. This finding has important implications for interracial relationships. Rokeach has hypothesized that the reason Caucasians discriminate against Negroes is that the features of the latter act as a sign stimulus for the assumption of dissimilar beliefs, attitudes, and values. But it is not unreasonable to suppose that some believe most Negroes are hostile towards Caucasians, and thus will seek to avoid interracial relationships. In future studies this variable might be manipulated by describing some of the Negro hypothetical persons as members of the Black Panthers or other militant organizations while others might be described as members of the N.A.A.C.P.

In a study by Triandis, Loh and Levin (62) subjects were presented with hypothetical persons who were either black or white, and either well dressed and carrying an attaché case or poorly dressed and carrying a lunch pail. Subjects heard a tape spoken in perfect or poor English that was attributed to the hypothetical persons. On the tape, a lone statement either for or against civil rights was made. Subjects rated

the hypothetical persons on both a friendship and social distance scale. The two most powerful variables for predicting the subjects' ratings on the dependent variables were quality of spoken English and race. It may not be what belief or attitude is expressed in a communication but the manner in which it is expressed that is important in determining interpersonal attraction.¹⁴ However, the attitude similarity variable may have failed to attain significance because only a single attitude was manipulated. In any case, another variable seems to have been found that may be more important than attitude or belief similarity in determining interpersonal attraction.

It seems clear that in future research, attempts should be made to have the experimental findings reflect reality as closely as possible. This involves: (a) creating more realistic hypothetical persons, (b) using more varied subjects -- not college sophomores, and (c) leading subjects to believe that their actions will be of some consequence to themselves. Realistic hypothetical persons necessarily vary on more than two or three attributes. Many variables should be manipulated so that the strength of each, relative to the others, can be determined. To enhance credibility, actors might portray the hypothetical persons and

14. Triandis, Loh, and Levin considered quality of spoken English as a distinct independent variable. Yet it is known to be a concomitant of socioeconomic status. Thus quality of spoken English might be thought of as a powerful way to manipulate that variable. In the present study, the variable of socioeconomic status may have had so little effect because the quotations attributed to the hypothetical persons, regardless of their jobs and educational background, were all written in college-level English.

be presented to the subjects by means of videotape or film. One problem with increasing the number of variables used to describe hypothetical persons is that the number of hypothetical persons to be rated is increased. This means that each subject must spend more time at the task of evaluating them. A difficulty with videotape is that the equipment is cumbersome making it necessary for subjects to come to the laboratory and thus making studies on individuals other than students almost impossible. Secondly, if one wishes to talk about how people behave and possibly why they act as they do, one cannot conduct all his research on student volunteers from introductory psychology courses. These students, living in a peculiar environment, may very well behave in an atypical manner. It is quite likely that demographic variables such as where the subject lives, how old he is, his race, and his socioeconomic class may effect the variables he considers most important when reacting to others. In short, if one wishes to talk about the world, one must take samples from it. Finally, in order to acquire honest reactions from the subjects as opposed to reactions that are socially desirable, it is necessary to lead the subjects to believe that their reactions are to be of some consequence. For example, incoming freshmen at a university might be told that they would be allowed to select their roommate for the upcoming academic year. They might be shown videotapes of other individuals and asked to select one or rate all of them as a roommate. These other individuals, played by actors, could vary on different continuums. It is unlikely that a racially prejudiced subject would succumb to social pressure and not discriminate on race when he thinks his decision will determine who he lives with for the next year. Perhaps in forthcoming studies these criteria can be met.

SUMMARY

Subjects in the present study were forty-three Caucasian homeowners living in an all-white neighborhood in Lansing, Michigan. All subjects were given an opportunity to sign a petition supporting the principles of open housing purportedly sponsored by the Urban League. They were then contacted by the experimenter on two occasions. On the first visit the attitudes of the subjects were ascertained, while on the second visit the subjects were required to fill out three questionnaires. The first one was designed to determine to what extent the subjects discriminated on the variables: attitude similarity, race, and socioeconomic status in four different social relationships. The second questionnaire was designed to determine how much social pressure each subject felt to discriminate against Negroes in different social relationships while the third questionnaire acquired from the subjects explicit verbal expressions of behavioral intention that could be related to their overt behavior. After completing the questionnaires, a portion of those who had refused to sign the first petition along with a portion of those who had signed were sent a letter designed to encourage petition signing by manipulating the subjects' perception of their neighbors' attitudes towards Negroes. Finally a second petition, similar to the first and purportedly sponsored by the Organization for Equal Opportunity, was presented to the subjects, and their reactions recorded.

The results revealed that:

- (a) All of the instruments designed to measure the subjects' antipathy towards selling their homes to Negroes were related, thus enhancing the validity of each. Those who signed the petition discriminated significantly less than those who refused to sign when hypothetical persons were evaluated as home purchasers. Petition signing was also related, in the expected direction, to subjects' explicit statements that they either would or would not sell their homes to any financially qualified buyer regardless of race. Finally, those who stated that they would sell their homes to any financially qualified buyer discriminated significantly less against Negroes when hypothetical persons were evaluated as home purchasers.
- (b) The social relationship or situation in which a Negro is encountered determines to what extent Caucasians will discriminate against him. Subjects discriminated against Negroes more in the social context of son-in-law than in the context of home purchaser. No discrimination was expressed against Negroes as friends. Interestingly, while subjects discriminated very little against Negroes as neighbors, they discriminated significantly more when expressing their willingness to sell their homes to a Negro. It was found that the situation or social context was at least twice as important as individual factors in determining the extent to which a person discriminates on race. Further, there were insignificant correlations between the amount an individual discriminated in one situation and the amount he discriminated in another. Thus, knowing that an individual will either accept or reject a Negro as a friend is of no value in predicting the individual's reactions to

Negroes as neighbors or as members of the family.

- (c) Subjects who explicitly state that they would not sell their homes to any financially qualified buyer regardless of race perceive significantly more social pressure to discriminate against Negroes as home purchasers than subjects who state otherwise. Those who signed the petition felt less social pressure to discriminate against Negroes as home purchasers than those who refused to sign ($.05 < p < .10$). Subjects, as a group, perceived significantly more social pressure to discriminate against Negroes in the role of son-in-law than in the role of home purchaser and significantly more social pressure to discriminate against Negroes as home purchasers than as friends. Using the group as the unit of analysis, discrimination against Negroes across situations varied directly with perceived social pressure to discriminate. It was found that within each situation, there was a positive but insignificant correlation between the amount of racial discrimination expressed by an individual and the amount of social pressure he perceived to discriminate. Due to the pattern of results, it was concluded that perceived social pressure is related to racial discrimination against Negroes. A casual relationship between perceived social pressure and tendency to discriminate could not be established as the letter designed to manipulate perceived social pressure had no appreciable effect on endorsing the second petition among those who had failed to endorse the first.
- (d) Indicating that one would either sign or fail to sign a petition supporting open housing was more strongly related to actually doing so than was indicating one would sell one's home to any

financially qualified buyer regardless of race. This finding supports the proposition that the degree of correspondence between the situation depicted in the questionnaire, to which the subject verbally responds, and the situation in which the subject performs the observed overt behavior, determines the strength of agreement between overt and verbal behavior. Theoretically, the explanation offered for this is that as the situation depicted in the questionnaire comes to correspond less and less with the situation in which the overt behavior is observed, different attitudes become salient in the two situations, resulting in different behaviors.

- (e) The most powerful determinant of ratings assigned hypothetical persons, regardless of the social context they were placed in, was attitude similarity. This finding supports the theory of Belief Congruence. This strong effect was explained by supposing that there is a learned drive to be logical and correct and that the only criterion for being logical and correct in one's social environment is consensual validation. Thus attitude similarity, signifying agreement by others, acts as a reward or positive reinforcer in that it provides evidence that one is functioning in a logical and correct manner. Interestingly, as perceived social pressure to discriminate on race increased across situations, the amount the subjects discriminated on attitude similarity decreased. This suggests that Rokeach and Mezzi were correct when they wrote that were it not for societal constraints, man would discriminate in terms of the theory of Belief Congruence.

REFERENCES

1. Asch, S. Studies of independence and conformity. Psychological Monographs, 1956, 70, No. 416.
2. Berg, K. Ethnic attitudes and agreement with a Negro person. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1966, 4, 215-220.
3. Blake, R. R., Mouton, J. and Hain, J. D. Social forces in petition signing. Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, 1956, 36, 385-390.
4. Bogardus, E. S. Measuring social distances. Journal of Applied Sociology, 1925, 9, 299-308.
5. Byrne, D. Interpersonal attraction and attitude similarity. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1961, 62, 713-715.
6. Byrne, D., Clore, G. and Worchel, P. Effect of economic similarity-dissimilarity on interpersonal attraction. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1966, 4, 220-224.
7. Byrne, D. and Griffitt, W. A developmental investigation of the law of attraction. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1966, 4, 699-702.
8. Byrne, D., London, O. and Reeves, K. The effects of physical attractiveness, sex, and attitude similarity on interpersonal attraction. Journal of Personality, 1968, 36, 259-271.
9. Byrne, D. and McGraw, C. Interpersonal attraction towards Negroes. Human Relations, 1964, 17, 201-213.
10. Byrne, D. and Nelson, D. Attraction as a linear function of proportion of positive reinforcements. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1965, 1, 659-663.
11. Byrne, D. and Rahmey, R. Magnitude of positive and negative reinforcements as a determinant of attraction. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1965, 2, 884-889.
12. Byrne, D. and Wong, T. Racial prejudice, interpersonal attraction, and assumed dissimilarity of attitudes. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1962, 65, 246-253.
13. Campbell, D. T. The indirect assessment of social attitudes. Psychological Bulletin, 1950, 47, 15-38.
14. Campbell, D. and Stanley, J. Experimental and quasi-experimental designs for research. Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1963.

15. Chesire, L., Saffir, M. and Thurstone, L. L. Computing diagrams for the tetrachoric correlation coefficient. Chicago: The University of Chicago Bookstore, 1951.
16. Cook, S. W. and Selltiz, C. A. Multiple indicator approach to attitude measurement. Psychological Bulletin, 1964, 62, 36-55.
17. Defleur, M. L. and Westie, F. Verbal attitudes and overt acts. American Sociological Review, 1958, 23, 667-673.
18. Deutsch, M. and Gerard, H. A study of normative and informational social influences upon individual judgment. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1955, 51, 629-636.
19. Dunlap, J. and Kurtz, A. Handbook of statistical nomographs, tables and formulas. New York: World Book Co., 1932.
20. Farley, R. and Taeuber, K. Population trends and residential segregation since 1960. Science, 1968, 159, 953-956.
21. Fishbein, M. An investigation of the relationships between beliefs about an object and attitudes towards that object. Human Relations, 1963, 16, 233-240.
22. Friedrichs, R. W. Christians and residential exclusion: an empirical study of a northern dilemma. Journal of Social Issues, 1959, 15, 14-23.
23. Golightly, C. and Byrne, D. Attitude statements as positive and negative reinforcements. Science, 1964, 146, 798-799.
24. Grodzins, M. Metropolitan segregation. Scientific American, 1957, 197, 33-41.
25. Guilford, J. P. Fundamental statistics in psychology and education. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1965.
26. Guilford, J. P. Psychometric methods. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1954.
27. Harris, L. How whites feel about Negroes: a painful American dilemma. Newsweek, 1963, 62, 44-50.
28. Hays, W. Statistics for psychologists. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966.
29. Heider, F. Attitudes and cognitive organization. Journal of Psychology, 1946, 21, 107-112.
30. Helson, H., Blake, R. and Mouton, J. Petition signing as adjustment to situational and personal factors. The Journal of Social Psychology, 1958, 48, 3-10.

31. Katz, M. R. A hypothesis on anti-Negro prejudice. American Journal of Sociology, 1947, 53, 99-104.
32. Kutner, B., Wilkens, C. and Yarrow, P. R. Verbal attitudes and overt behavior involving racial prejudice. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1952, 47, 649-652.
33. LaPiere, R. T. Attitudes versus actions. Social Forces, 1934, 13, 230-237.
34. Linn, L. S. Verbal attitudes and overt behavior: a study of racial discrimination. Social Forces, 1964, 43, 353-364.
35. Liu, W. T. The Community reference system, religiosity, and race attitudes. Social Forces, 1961, 39, 324-328.
36. Lohman, J. D. and Reitzes, D. C. Note on race relations in a mass society. American Journal of Sociology, 1952, 58, 240-246.
37. Magnusson, D. Test theory. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1967.
38. McGrew, John M. How "open" are multiple-dwelling units. The Journal of Social Psychology, 1967, 72, 223-226.
39. Minard, R. D. Race relationships in the Pochahontas Coal Field. Journal of Social Issues, 1952, 8, 29-44.
40. Newcomb, T. Persistence and regression of changed attitudes: long range studies. Journal of Social Issues, 1963, 19, 3-14.
41. Newcomb, T. The prediction of interpersonal attraction. The American Psychologist, 1956, 11, 575-584.
42. Orne, M. T. On the social psychology of the psychological experiment. American Psychologist, 1962, 17, 776-783.
43. Pettigrew, T. F. Personality and sociocultural factors in inter-group attitudes: a cross-national comparison. Journal of Conflict Resolution, 1958, 2, 29-42.
44. Raven, B. Social influence on opinions and the communication of related content. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1959, 58, 119-128.
45. Reitzes, D. Downers Grove social attitude study. Unpublished report of the Downers Grove Human Relations Council, 1967.
46. Robinson, W. S. Ecological correlations and the behavior of individuals. American Sociological Review, 1950, 15, 351-357.

47. Rokeach, M. Belief versus race as determinants of social distance: comments on Triandis' paper. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1961, 62, 187-188.
48. Rokeach, M. The nature of attitudes. The international encyclopedia of the social sciences. The Macmillan Company and The Free Press, 1968.
49. Rokeach, M. and Mezzi, L. Race and shared belief as factors in social choice. Science, 1966, 151, 167-172.
50. Rokeach, M. and Rothman, G. The principle of belief congruence and the congruity principle as models of cognitive interaction. Psychological Review, 1965, 72, 128-172.
51. Rokeach, M., Smith P. and Evans, R. Two kinds of prejudice or one? In M. Rokeach (Ed.), The open and closed mind. New York: Basic Books, 1960.
52. Rosenberg, M. When dissonance fails: on eliminating evaluation apprehension from attitude measurement. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1965, 1, 28-42.
53. Saenger, G. and Gilbert, E. Customer reactions to the integration of Negro sales personnel. International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research, 1950, 4, 57-76.
54. Scheffe', H. The analysis of variance. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1959.
55. Siegel, A. and Siegel, S. Reference groups, membership groups, and attitude change. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1957, 55, 360-364.
56. Stein, D. The influence of belief systems on interpersonal preference. Psychological Monographs, 1966, 80, No. 616.
57. Stein, D., Hardyk, J. and Smith, M. Race and belief, an open and shut case. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1965, 1, 281-289.
58. Travers, R. M. A study in judging the opinions of groups. Archives of Psychology, 1941, 37, No. 266.
59. Thorndike, R. Personnel selection, test and measurement techniques. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1949.
60. Triandis, H. A note on Rokeach's theory of prejudice. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1961, 62, 184-186.
61. Triandis, H. and Davis, E. Race and belief as determinants of behavioral intentions. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1965, 2, 715-725.

62. Triandis, H. C., Loh, W. D. and Levin, L. A. Race, status, quality of spoken English, and opinions about civil rights as determinants of interpersonal attitudes. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1966, 3, 468-472.
63. Triandis, H. and Triandis, L. M. Race, social class, religion, and nationality as determinants of social distance. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1960, 61, 110-118.
64. Triandis, H. C. and Triandis, L. Some studies of social distance in Current studies in social psychology. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1965.
65. U. S. Bureau of the Census. U. S. censuses of population and housing: 1960. Census Tracts. Final Report PHC (1)-73. United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.
66. Wallen, R. Individuals' estimates of group opinion. The Journal of Social Psychology, 1943, 17, 269-274.
67. Westie, F. R. A technique for the measurement of race attitudes. American Sociological Review, 1953, 18, 73-78.
68. Westie, F. R. and Westie, M. L. The social distance pyramid: relationships between caste and class. American Journal of Sociology, 1957, 63, 190-196.
69. Wheeler, D. and Jordan, H. Change of individual opinion to accord with group opinion. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1929, 24, 203-206.
70. Winer, B. J. Statistical principles in experimental design. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1962.

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX B

My name is _____ and I'm a student at Lansing Community College. I'm doing some volunteer work for the Urban League and I'd like to speak with you and your (husband or wife) for several minutes.

If this petition expresses a viewpoint similar to your own, we'd appreciate it if you would sign it. (Offer it separately to both the husband and the wife.) Although Michigan already has an Open Housing Law, we're trying to show our Mayor that there is popular support for such principles among the white community.

APPENDIX C

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY • OLDS HALL

November 25, 1968

Dear Resident:

My name is Bernard Silverman. I am a graduate student at Michigan State University in the department of Psychology. I plan to conduct a research project under the guidance of Dr. Raymond Cochrane and Dr. Milton Rokeach, and am very much in need of your assistance.

The project concerns the "generation gap." Specifically I am attempting to determine just what sort of attitudes and values account for the apparent differences between the generations. To determine the attitudes and values of those "under 20" a sample of one hundred students at Michigan State University were given several questionnaires designed to tap these attributes. I am hoping that individuals in the city of Lansing will consent to participate and thus make up the adult sample to be compared to the student sample.

Two twenty minute periods spaced approximately five weeks apart will be required to gather the necessary data. During this time two short questionnaires will be administered.

I plan to begin canvassing your block on _____.
Please don't mistake me for a magazine salesman! I appreciate very much any time you can give me.

Thank you

Bernard Silverman
Bernard Silverman

R. Cochrane.
Dr. Raymond Cochrane
Professor of Psychology

APPENDIX D

Address _____

ADULT ATTITUDE AND INTEREST SURVEY

Please express your feelings towards the following issues in no more than three sentences. In the first sentence state your position as clearly as possible while the following sentence(s) explain why you feel the way you do.

What is your position on...

- 1... Our government's past actions in Vietnam and its present policy
- 2... The busing of students from one area to another to promote integration
- 3... The manner in which the authorities ought to handle youth protest demonstrations
- 4... Increased taxation by the federal government
- 5... The issue of birth control

INTERESTS

Please list any sports, hobbies, or general leisure-time activities you especially enjoy.

1. _____
2. _____

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

What is your age? _____

What is your religion? _____

What is your occupation? _____

What is your sex? M _____ F _____

What is your educational background? _____

APPENDIX E

On the following pages are descriptions of eight different individuals. Please read each description carefully and then indicate to what extent you would like or dislike the person described as a friend.

After each description are the numbers 1 to 9. Let #1 stand for "based on the description presented, I would like the individual as a friend very much." Let #9 stand for "based on the description presented, I would dislike the individual as a friend very much." You may use the numbers between #1 and #9 to express varying degrees of preference for the individuals as friends. Circle one number after each person described.

On the following pages are descriptions of eight different individuals. Please read each description carefully and indicate to what extent you would like or dislike the person described as a neighbor.

After each description are the numbers 1 to 9. Let #1 stand for "based on the description presented, I would like the individual as a neighbor very much." Let #9 stand for "based on the description presented, I would dislike the individual as a neighbor very much." You may use the numbers between #1 and #9 to express varying degrees of preference for the individuals as neighbors. Circle one number after each person described.

Let me posit a hypothetical situation to which I would like to know your reaction. Suppose you are going to sell your home. On the following pages are the descriptions of eight individuals. Read each description carefully and then indicate to what extent you would prefer the person described as a buyer for your home.

After each description are the numbers 1 to 9. Let #1 stand for "based on the description presented I would like very much to sell my home to the individual." Let #9 stand for "based on the description presented I would not like to sell my home to the individual." You may use the numbers between #1 and #9 to express varying degrees of preference for the individuals as potential home buyers. Circle one number after each person described.

Let me posit a hypothetical situation to which I would like to know your reaction. You have a twenty-one year old daughter who is anxious to be married. On the following pages are the descriptions of eight middle-aged males. Suppose that each of these individuals came to ask for your daughter's hand when they were 25 years old. Indicate to what extent you would like or dislike the individual described as a marriage partner for your daughter, in other words, as a son-in-law.

After each description are the numbers 1 to 9. Let #1 stand for "based on the description presented I would like the individual as a son-in-law very much." Let #9 stand for "based on the description presented I would dislike the individual as a son-in-law very much." You may use the numbers between #1 and #9 to express varying degrees of preference for the individuals as sons-in-law. Circle one number after each person described.

Martin Blair is a Negro, 43 years old, married and has two children Pamela 11 and Jeff 7. He is a research chemist and holds a Ph.D. in that field from the University of Indiana. Concerning the war in Vietnam, Mr. Blair states, "I am strongly opposed to our government's actions as far too many American boys are being lost for a highly questionable cause." Concerning the busing of students from one area to another in order to promote racial integration, he states, "I am against it as it is unnatural or artificial. Children should attend their neighborhood schools and anyone should have an equal opportunity to live in any neighborhood he can afford." With regard to protest demonstrations carried out by teenagers and young adults, he remarked, "I believe in peaceful demonstrations, but if a demonstration becomes violent, police are certainly justified in using as much force as necessary to quell the disturbance." He supports the concept of birth control as he says, "man has an obligation to have only as many children as he can both materially and emotionally provide for."

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Pete Hampton is a Caucasian, 48 years old, and is married and has one child, Melissa 17. Mr. Hampton is a bus driver in Chicago and finished three years of school at Lane Technical High School in that city. "We should never have gotten involved and now we should get out of Vietnam as soon as possible and let the South Vietnamese do the fighting. I don't mind supporting them with equipment but not with the lives of American boys." Mr. Hampton is against the busing of students from one area to another in order to stimulate integration as he says, "it deprives mothers of nearness to their children and likewise separates children from their mothers which is not in their best interest. At the same time it only creates pseudo-integration." Concerning youth protest demonstrations, he states, "as long as they don't infringe upon the rights of others, including police, they're alright -- but when peaceful citizens are deprived of their rights by them, they should be terminated with as much force as needed." His position on birth control is "...yes, I am all for it, especially in countries like India where over population is such a problem."

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

William B. Jones, a Negro is 36 years old, married and has one child, Albert 7. He is a security guard at the First National Bank of Philadelphia. He finished two years of high school in that city at Franklin High. "If we don't stop Communism over there we'll have to fight it on our own shores, so I strongly favor our policy in Vietnam," says Mr. Jones. Concerning the busing of students from one neighborhood to another to promote racial integration, he states, "I support it, for all children, regardless of skin color, should be given an opportunity for a quality education." In regard to youth protest demonstrations he feels "with all the prejudice and bigotry in our society, any demonstration against the status quo is justified." Concerning the issue of birth control, he says, "I am against it and further I feel the govern-

ment should not pass out any information on the subject as they are dealing strictly with a moral issue.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Mark Berman is a Caucasian, 38 years old, and is married and has two children, Sandra 9 and Carol 8. He is a shoe salesman at Goldblatts Department Store in Chicago. He graduated from DeMantha High School in Washington, D. C. Concerning the war in Vietnam, he states, "since we have committed ourselves there, we must stay and fight to support the South Vietnamese government." In regard to busing of students to promote racial integration, he says, "I am for it since it will probably further understanding and brotherhood between the races." Concerning protest demonstrations conducted by students and others dissatisfied with the system, he tersely comments, "the police are too authoritarian -- I support all demonstrations, peaceful or otherwise." With respect to the issue of birth control, he states, "personally I am against it as I feel preventing human life is a sin almost equivalent to the taking of human life."

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Carl Burton, Jr. is a Caucasian, 39 years old, married and has two children, Vera 12 and Louise 14. He is a certified public accountant with Arthur Andersen & Co. and received an M.A. in accounting from the University of Chicago. "I am against our policies in Vietnam as they are both morally and economically unjustifiable," says Mr. Burton. "Also, I oppose the busing of students from one neighborhood to another just to promote integration because it will probably create more hostility between the races rather than alleviate the ill-will that now exists." Concerning protest demonstrations he states, "we all have the right to express ourselves and speak up when we think something is wrong, but at the same time we have the obligation to respect the rights and property of those we are protesting against. If this obligation is ignored, the authorities should deal firmly with protesters." With regard to the issue of birth control he exclaims, "contraception is not only morally correct but absolutely necessary, for without it man may crowd himself off the face of the earth."

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

John Washington Phillips is a Negro, 40 years old, is married and has two children, Robert 15 and Risa 14. Mr. Phillips is a mailman in Detroit and graduated from Central High School in that city. As far as our involvement in Vietnam goes, he says "we're wasting our money, men and resources over there when we have poor in our own country that need help, so I'm opposed." "I also oppose the busing of students to promote racial integration since you can't change people's attitudes by forcing others upon them." With respect to demonstrations by the nation's youth, he says "peaceful protests that do not interfere with the majority's

rights should be allowed, but when demonstrators break the laws and destroy other people's property, the police should deal quickly and firmly with them." "I support birth control because it allows people to have only as many children as they can afford to bring up properly," concluded Mr. Phillips.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Morris A. Edmunds, a Negro, is 47 years old, married, and is the father of two children, Greta 16 and Gregory 12. Mr. Edmunds is a lawyer in private practice. He received his LLB from Northwestern University. "We should never have stopped the bombing and now should sharply escalate our military action to stamp out Communism in Vietnam. Our government is behaving nobly in South Vietnam," says Mr. Edmunds. Concerning the busing of students from one neighborhood to another to promote integration he says, "I am for it since a quality education in modern times is necessarily an integrated education." "When protesting the many injustices that permeates our society, absolutely any action engaged in by demonstrators is not only understandable but justified, so I strongly support all youth protest demonstrations." "Personally I am opposed to the use of any artificial means to limit conception as things such as the pill just promote promiscuity," proclaims Mr. Edmunds.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

George Veenstra is a Caucasian, 45 years old, married with two children, Mike 13 and Timothy 10. Mr. Veenstra's occupation is that of sales manager at A. B. Dick & Co. He holds an M.A. in marketing from Princeton University. "I am for our actions in Vietnam as we are not only protecting our own national interests but insuring the right of self-determination for the South Vietnamese." Further he says, "I support the busing of students from one area to another to promote integration as it will insure that there will be less hard feelings between the races among the next generation of Americans." Concerning youth protest demonstrations, he states, "I support them 100% -- in my eyes the idealistic youth of our country can do no wrong." With regard to birth control, he states, "although it is up to the individual to decide, I am against it as I feel it is immoral."

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

APPENDIX F

How do you suppose the majority of your friends would feel about you having a Negro for a friend?

Circle the statement which is closest to your own opinion.

- a) It would probably raise their impression of me a notch or two, as most of them would sort of admire me.
- b) They wouldn't care one way or the other. Some might think a bit more of me for it, some a bit less, but most would feel the same towards me as they always have.
- c) Although they would still treat me as they always have, most would probably object to my having a Negro for a friend and think a little less of me for it.
- d) They would object to my having a Negro for a friend, and no doubt several would stop associating with me on account of it.
- e) Certainly all my friends would feel very badly about my associating with a Negro, and would very likely devalue me and subsequently quit seeing me.

How do you suppose the majority of your relatives would feel about
a Negro marrying into the family?

Circle the statement which is closest to your own opinion.

- a) They would be very happy about it as they have always looked up to and admired Negroes, both as individuals and as a race.
- b) They wouldn't care one way or the other -- upon marrying into the family the individual would be treated just as any other relative.
- c) Although the majority of my relatives would treat the individual warmly, they would probably have preferred that the family remain all Caucasian for various reasons.
- d) Many of my relatives would no doubt object strongly to having a Negro in the family and would do all they could to dissuade the blood relative from marrying the Negro.
- e) The majority of my relatives would feel very badly about a Negro marrying into the family and very likely would not associate with the Negro and his or her mate.

How do you suppose the majority of your neighbors on this block would feel about having a Negro family as neighbors?

Circle the statement which is closest to your own opinion.

- a) They would prefer to live in an integrated community and thus would be very happy to have a Negro on the block.
- b) It wouldn't affect the people one way or the other. They would think of and treat the Negroes just as though they were White.
- c) Although they would treat the family cordially, they would probably prefer white neighbors so that property values would be protected.
- d) The people would very likely treat the Negroes coldly and feel badly about Negroes moving in.
- e) The people would be very unhappy about Negroes moving in and probably would react violently.

APPENDIX G

Please respond to the following items by checking "yes" if you think you would engage in the behavior in question or by checking "no" if you think you would not engage in the behavior in question.

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
1. I would sign a petition supporting the United States war effort in Vietnam.	_____	_____
2. If called upon I would actually fight for the United States in Vietnam.	_____	_____
3. I would sign a petition supporting the legalization of marajauna.	_____	_____
4. If given the opportunity, I would actually smoke marajauna.	_____	_____
5. I would sign a petition supporting open housing.	_____	_____
6. If actually selling my home, I would sell it to any financially qualified individual, Negro or Caucasian.	_____	_____
7. I would sign a petition opposing our war efforts in Vietnam.	_____	_____
8. I would actually march in a demonstration opposing the war in Vietnam.	_____	_____

Thank you very much for cooperating in this study.

APPENDIX H

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY • OLDS HALL

February 25, 1969

Dear Resident:

My name is Bernard Silverman and I am a graduate student in psychology at Michigan State University. This letter briefly contains the results of a study which I conducted in the general area of Old Oaks in January of 1969. Because the results are both interesting and relevant with regard to present social issues, this letter is being sent both to the forty-three homeowners who were kind enough to serve as subjects in the study as well as to other residents in the community.

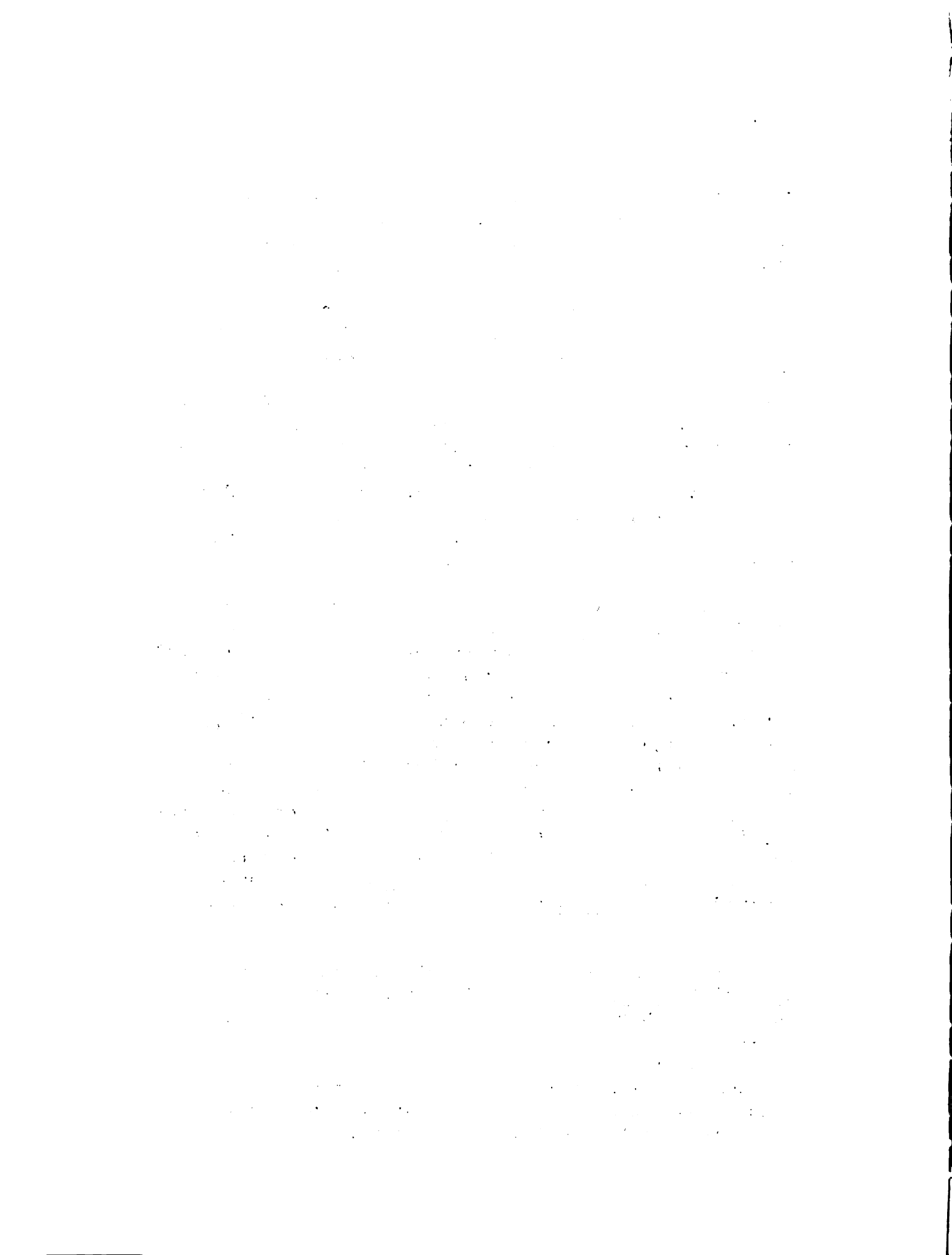
The reason this study was conducted, aside from its being a requirement for a Masters degree, was to determine what traits middle class homeowners deem important in selecting friends, neighbors, a person to sell one's home to, and finally a son-in-law. Each subject was presented with a written description of eight different hypothetical individuals who were products of my imagination. The eight descriptions each conveyed to the subject the race of the hypothetical individual (either Negro or Caucasian), the socioeconomic class of the hypothetical individual (either a white collar professional or a blue collar service worker) and the degree to which the hypothetical individual agreed with the subject on four important issues such as student demonstrations and the war (each hypothetical individual either held four attitudes in common with the subject or four attitudes directly opposed to the subject's). The subjects task was to indicate how much he liked each hypothetical person, first in the role of friend, then neighbor, then home purchaser and then as a son-in-law by circling a number on a one to nine scale that ran below each description. A 1 meant that the subject liked

the person described very much, 5 indicated indifference, and 9 meant the subject strongly disliked the individual as portrayed in the description. The following paragraphs contain the results of the study.

(a) When the eight hypothetical persons were rated as friends two factors, their race and their attitudes towards important issues was significant in determining the way in which subjects reacted to them. Negroes were surprisingly rated more favorably than Caucasians while those who held four attitudes in common with the subjects were rated significantly more favorably than those who disagreed with the subjects. The socioeconomic status of the hypothetical individual had no bearing on the ratings assigned. Thus, when selecting friends, at least for the present sample, socioeconomic class was unimportant.

(b) When the eight hypothetical individuals were rated as neighbors again two factors proved significant. In this situation the hypothetical individuals who agreed with the subjects on all four issues were regarded significantly more favorably than the hypothetical individuals who disagreed. Secondly, those of high socioeconomic class were rated significantly higher as a neighbor than those of low socioeconomic class. So far the results were hardly unexpected. However, perhaps the most interesting finding in the entire study was that Negroes were rated equally as high as Caucasians as neighbors. Thus in choosing neighbors, the color of the hypothetical individual made no difference to the 43 homeowners sampled.

(c) In rating the hypothetical individuals as potential home-purchasers all three of the factors manipulated became important. Those hypothetical individuals who agreed with the subjects were rated significantly higher than those who disagreed. Those who were of high social status were rated significantly higher than those of low social status and finally Caucasian hypothetical individuals were rated as



preferable to Negroes. Note that a paradox seems to have developed. Although the homeowners in Old Oaks would not mind having a Negro of a certain sort as a neighbor they would, it seems, be reluctant to sell their homes to such a person. At the end of the letter I will offer an explanation for this somewhat strange, although fascinating, state of affairs.

(d) Lastly, in evaluating the hypothetical individuals as sons-in-law all three factors were deemed relevant by the subjects. Attitude similarity, white skin color, and high socioeconomic status all resulted in significantly higher ratings than attitude dissimilarity, black skin color, and low socioeconomic status.

To explain the paradox involving the subjects' seeming reluctance to sell their homes to a qualified Negro buyer while at the very same time having no objections to such a person as a neighbor, I will refer to some of the other data I garnered from the subjects. In response to a question "How do you think the majority of your present neighbors would feel about having a Negro family on the block" the vast majority of the subjects picked the (c) response which indicated they felt that although the neighbors would treat the Negroes cordially, they would still prefer whites. I infer from this that the residents of Old Oaks see their neighbors as objecting to having Negroes for neighbors. Thus through social pressure they may be compelled not to sell their homes to qualified Negroes, as they desire not to offend their present neighbors. This perception of social pressure not to sell one's home to a qualified Negro is however, clearly a misperception. For, as cited earlier, when 43 homeowners were asked to rate hypothetical individuals as neighbors, race was entirely irrelevant. It was not race but the attitudes, beliefs and socioeconomic status of the hypothetical individuals that determined their desirability as a neighbor!

I hope the reading of this preliminary report of my findings proved both enjoyable and informative.

Warmly,

Bernard Silverman
Michigan State University

APPENDIX I

APPENDIX J

FRIEND

<u>Source of Variance</u>	<u>Sum of Squares</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>Mean Square</u>	<u>F Statistic</u>	<u>Significance</u>
A (Race)	9.11	1	9.11	4.83	0.033
Z = AD	79.13	42	1.88		
B (Attitudes)	1869.77	1	1869.77	268.96	0.0005
Z = BD	291.97	42	6.95		
C (Status)	2.61	1	2.61	1.19	0.281
Z = CD	92.13	42	2.19		
AB	1.16	1	1.16	0.50	0.483
Z = ABD	97.58	42	2.32		
AC	0.74	1	0.74	0.48	0.492
Z = ACD	65.00	42	1.54		
BC	2.61	1	2.61	1.70	0.199
Z = BCD	64.63	42	1.53		
ABC	1.67	1	1.67	0.81	0.373
Z = ABCD	86.57	42	2.06		
D (Subjects)	225.05	42	5.35	2.59	0.001
Z = ABCD	86.57	42	2.06		
Total	2889.80	343			

<u>Source of Variance</u>	<u>Sum of Squares</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>Mean Square</u>	<u>F Statistic</u>	<u>Significance</u>
NEIGHBOR					
A (Race)	0.01	1	0.01	0.00	0.942
Z = AD	90.73	42	2.16		
B (Attitudes)	1643.90	1	1643.90	237.39	0.0005
Z = BD	290.84	42	6.92		
C (Status)	20.51	1	20.51	6.58	0.014
Z = CD	130.73	42	3.11		
AB	1.67	1	1.67	0.96	0.331
Z = ABD	72.57	42	1.72		
AC	3.76	1	3.76	2.22	0.143
Z = ACD	70.98	42	1.69		
BC	5.12	1	5.12	2.70	0.108
Z = BCD	79.62	42	1.89		
ABC	0.29	1	0.29	0.13	0.717
Z = ABCD	91.95	42	2.18		
D (Subjects)	403.23	42	9.60	4.38	0.0005
Z = ABCD	91.95	42	2.18		
Total	2905.98	343			

HOME PURCHASER

<u>Source of Variance</u>	<u>Sum of Squares</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>Mean Square</u>	<u>F Statistic</u>	<u>Significance</u>
A (Race)	52.19	1	52.19	12.55	0.001
Z = AD	174.55	42	4.15		
B (Attitudes)	1032.60	1	1032.60	118.28	0.0005
Z = BD	366.64	42	8.72		
C (Status)	104.94	1	104.94	15.98	0.0005
Z = CD	275.80	42	6.56		
AB	5.12	1	5.12	3.52	0.067
Z = ABD	61.12	42	1.45		
AC	2.27	1	2.27	1.26	0.266
Z = ACD	75.47	42	1.79		
BC	8.47	1	8.47	3.60	0.065
Z = BCD	98.77	42	2.35		
ABC	0.41	1	0.41	0.17	0.678
Z = ABCD	100.83	42	2.40		
D (Subjects)	563.58	42	13.41	5.58	0.0005
Z = ABCD	100.83	42	2.40		
Total	2922.83	343			

SON-IN-LAW

<u>Source of Variance</u>	<u>Sum of Squares</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>Mean Square</u>	<u>F Statistic</u>	<u>Significance</u>
A (Race)	505.49	1	505.49	92.25	0.0005
Z = AD	230.13	42	5.47		
B (Attitudes)	525.07	1	525.07	111.91	0.0005
Z = BD	197.05	42	4.69		
C (Status)	110.53	1	110.53	39.82	0.0005
Z = CD	116.58	42	2.77		
AB	122.16	1	122.16	47.74	0.0005
Z = ABD	107.45	42	2.55		
AC	56.16	1	56.16	19.42	0.0005
Z = ACD	121.45	42	2.89		
BC	38.44	1	38.44	16.53	0.0005
Z = BCD	97.68	42	2.32		
ABC	24.07	1	24.07	12.24	0.001
Z = ABCD	82.55	42	1.96		
D (Subjects)	414.70	42	9.87	5.02	0.0005
Z = ABCD	82.55	42	1.96		
Total	2749.57	343			

AUG 6 1969

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES



3 1293 03174 8738