

THE FUNCTIONAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
VALUES, ATTITUDES, AND BLACK MILITANCY

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This is to certify that the

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ABSTRACT

THE FUNCTIONAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VALUES, ATTITUDES AND BLACK MILITANCY

By

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The purpose of this research was to examine the functional relationship between values, attitudes, and black militancy. This study was focused on two very important questions: (1) What is the value hierarchy or value system of a militant black person in comparison to the value hierarchy of a non-militant black person? (2) Given that the value hierarchy for a militant black person can be determined, what specific values must be manipulated to cause a non-militant black person to become more militant over time?

The following relationships were hypothesized: (1) Value importance is correlated with black militancy; (2) Changes in the importance of the values A world at peace and Black value system in the value hierarchy of non-militants will be accompanied by more militant attitudes; and (3) A lasting change in the hierarchical ordering of values--reflecting more militancy--will be accompanied by similar changes in attitudes.

The first part of the research consisted of the development and validation of a value survey that adequately reflected the value system of blacks, and discriminated between militant and non-militant blacks.

The second part of the research pertained to the utilization of the value survey in a cognitive manipulation wherein the subject was exposed

to information about inconsistent relationships which existed between his values and those of a reference group. This treatment was expected to change the importance of the manipulated values to reflect a greater degree of militancy for the non-militant subjects.

The design of the study was one in which all subjects received a pretest and one of three posttests which occurred immediately following the manipulation, 3 weeks later, and 6 weeks later. The pretest and posttests assessed the subjects' rankings of the 18 terminal and 18 instrumental values in terms of their importance. Also included were four attitude questionnaires designed to measure the major aspects of black militancy: cultural nationalism, political nationalism, distrust of whites and the system, and militancy.

The results of the research revealed the following: (1) there was no overall significant difference between the pretest ranking of the values by subjects in the experimental and control conditions; (2) value importance was positively correlated with attitudes toward black militancy; and (3) changes in the importance of values that reflect greater militancy were associated with more militant attitudes. The data did not allow for an adequate test of the prediction that a lasting change in the hierarchical ordering of the values would be accompanied by similar changes in attitudes, since no lasting change occurred.

The results were discussed in terms of their practical implications to the contemporary black liberation movement, and specific educational programs in which the results of this research could be used. In addition, the differential effectiveness of the cognitive manipulation

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and design used in the present and past research was discussed. Finally, some attention was given to future research which could clarify some of the theoretical and methodological issues raised by this research.

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by

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To my wonderful parents for their love and foundation

To my wife Cheryl and son Marcus, who endured much but loved more

To my strong and beautiful people

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this dissertation was to examine the functional relationship between values, attitudes, and black militancy. This study was focused on two very important and researchable questions: (1) What is the value hierarchy or value system of a militant black person in comparison to the value hierarchy of a non-militant black person? Put another way, the question could be: What are the most important values and their hierarchy relationship that underlie militant behavior in a black person? (2) Given that the value hierarchy for a militant black person can be obtained, what specific values must be manipulated to cause a non-militant black person to become more militant or a militant individual over time? An attempt was made in this study to change the value hierarchy of non-militant blacks to the value hierarchy of militant blacks. Prior to the details of the present study, a careful review of the important literature on values and especially Rokeach's (1968) theory of values is in order at this point.

Although some researchers have studied the functional relationship between values and attitudes and behavior (Allport and Vernon, 1931; Woodruff and Divesta, 1948; Smith, 1949; and Rosenberg, 1956, 1960), the concept of value has not received the attention that attitude has by social psychologists. Within the last few years, Rokeach (1968) has been arguing quite convincingly that the central position of the concept of attitude in the field of social psychology should be taken over by the value concept. Rokeach had the following to say about a value:

To say that a person has a value is to say that a certain mode of conduct or end state of existence is personally and socially preferable to alternative modes of conduct or end states of existence.

(1968, p. 124)

In presenting his reasons as to why the concept of value should take over the position held by the attitude concept, Rokeach presents a logical argument.¹ First of all, a value is more dynamic in nature and possesses a motivational component as well as cognitive, affective, and behavioral components. Second, values are determinants of both attitudes and behavior. Third, values are more economical than attitudes --given that there are fewer values than there are attitudes--in differentiating between people and societies. Finally, value cuts across more disciplines as opposed to the concept of attitude being restricted primarily to psychology and sociology. The concept of value is basic to disciplines such as theology, education, anthropology, and philosophy.

Given that the concept of value is more basic and dynamic than the concept of attitude, values, according to Rokeach, are more functionally related to behavior. Moreover, a value is not specific to a particular object or situation; it serves as a standard in determining actions, comparisons, evaluations and justifications of self and others; and it is a preference for a particular mode of behavior or a particular end-state of existence. Rokeach suggests that it is difficult to conceive of a problem or behavior that is not reducible to underlying values and value systems.

Rokeach stated that values are single beliefs centrally located within one's total belief system. Moreover, these values are organized

¹Rokeach defined an attitude as "a relatively enduring organization of beliefs around an object or situation predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner." (1968, p. 112)

into two separate yet related systems: instrumental values (beliefs about modes of conduct) and terminal values (beliefs about end-states of existence). The values in both the instrumental system and the terminal system are organized along a continuum of importance. In addition, the relative importance of both the instrumental and terminal values can be ascertained by having the subjects rank order the instrumental and terminal values separately. (See Appendix A.)

Rokeach's Theory of Value Change

In Rokeach's interconnected value-attitude theory, there are at least 28 possible inconsistent relations which could occur within a person's attitude-value matrix. Basic to the theory is the idea that if an individual could be made aware of the inconsistencies which occur within his value-attitude system, specific beliefs, attitudes, values, and eventually behaviors could be changed. The most significant changes can come about if there is inconsistency between two values. Next on down in the matrix in terms of importance, would be an inconsistency between a value and any other part of the matrix except another value. Speaking to this point, Rokeach stated:

If a group of people could be made to feel that there was an inconsistent relation between two values, or between a value and an attitude, or between one's values and a reference group's values, this would lead to persistent dissonance effects, which to alleviate would require certain cognitive reorganization.
(p. 167)

Since we are dealing with an interconnected system, the cognitive reorganization can result in changes in the relative importance of specific values and attitudes related to these values, and eventually to changes in behavior related to those values.

Rokeach proposed that there are three main methods for inducing a state of inconsistency between any two of the elements in his value-attitude matrix. The first two are to have the person engage in behavior which is discrepant with his attitude or values and "to expose the person to new information from a significant other that is inconsistent with information already represented within his value-attitude system" (Rokeach, 1968). A third method is proposed by Rokeach wherein the person is exposed to information about inconsistent relationships which already exist in the person's value-attitude system of which the person is unaware. This third method has been used by Rokeach (1968) in which he pointed out inconsistent relationships to a group of subjects between two terminal values (Freedom and Equality) and a terminal value (Equality) and an attitude (attitude toward civil rights demonstrations). In the procedure, the subjects were asked to rank order the 18 terminal values and indicate their attitude toward civil rights demonstrations. The experimenter drew attention to the fact that Freedom and Equality were ranked, on the average first and eleventh, respectively. These results were discussed and the subjects were told that the results may have meant that ". . . students in general are more interested in their own freedom than the freedom of others." The subjects were then invited to compare their own rankings with two tables designed to arouse inconsistency within the subject. The first table showed that the subject's peers ranked Freedom much higher than Equality. The second table showed that people unsympathetic to civil rights demonstrations ranked Freedom very high and Equality very low.

The subjects were then asked to indicate if they had ever participated in a civil rights demonstration and if they were sympathetic with

the aims of civil rights demonstrations. After having answered this question, they were shown a table that showed that people who had participated in a civil rights demonstration and were sympathetic with their aims had ranked Freedom sixth and Equality fifth; people who were sympathetic, but had not participated had ranked Freedom first and Equality eleventh; and people who had not participated and were not sympathetic had ranked Freedom first and Equality seventeenth.

These results were discussed and the subjects were told:

This raises the question as to whether those who are against civil rights are really saying that they care a great deal about their own freedom but are indifferent to other people's freedom. Those who are for civil rights are perhaps really saying that they want not only freedom for themselves but for other people too. (pp. 173-174)

Rokeach (1968) has demonstrated that this manipulation is effective in changing the ranking of the value Equality.

Assumptions of Rokeach's Theory of Values

Before we can move on, we must review some of the research that provides empirical support for four major assumptions in Rokeach's theory.

First there is the assumption that there is a functional relationship between attitudes and values. Smith (1949), Sanai (1952), Evans (1951), and Rokeach (1968) have been some of the major researchers who have found a correlation between values and attitudes. In Rokeach's work (1968), in which a national survey of values and attitudes was conducted, he reported several significant relationships between values and attitudes. For example, people who supported George Wallace for President in 1968 ranked Equality significantly lower than did people who supported other Presidential candidates. Rosenberg (1956, 1960) posited the view that an attitude toward an object was determined by the

extent to which the person perceived that object as instrumental in the attainment of an important value.

Second, there is the assumption in Rokeach's Theory of Values that change in values will lead to changes in attitudes. Rokeach (1968) found that three to five months after changes in the importance of the value Equality, attitude toward civil rights for blacks changed to become consistent with the changed values.

Third, there is the assumption that there is a correlation between value importance and behavior. Rokeach (1968) reported that the ranking of the value Salvation was highly correlated with church attendance; students who ranked Salvation first went to church once a week or more, while students who ranked Salvation last attended church very seldom if any at all.

Shotland and Berger (1970) found that the act of returning pencils was related to feelings about being honest. More specifically, of 131 women line workers returning their questionnaires, 39% returned their pencils. In addition, those workers who returned their pencils considered the values Honest and Salvation to be more important than those who did not return a pencil. It was also found that workers who returned pencils indicated that A World at Peace was more important and that the value Helpful was less important than those workers who did not return a pencil.

Penner (1969) found a functional relationship between the importance of the value Equality and interpersonal attraction toward a black person. More specifically, Penner found that a white person who ranked Equality high engaged in more eye-to-eye contact during an interpersonal situation with a black, as opposed to a white person who ranked Equality low. In

a white-white control group, there was no comparable relationship between the importance of the value Equality and interpersonal attraction in a white-white interaction.

Homant and Rokeach (1970) conducted four field-experimental studies to examine the relation between values for honesty and behavior in a cheating situation. The researchers varied motivation to cheat and salience of honesty to test 193 sixth graders. It was anticipated that there would be a significant correlation between ranking of Honest and cheating behavior. In addition, it was expected that the value Honest would increase or decrease to become more congruent with behavior--cheaters lowering their value for Honest and noncheaters raising it. The results supported the hypothesis that subjects' ranking of Honest would be related to cheating behavior. That is, there was a significant correlation between ranking of Honest and cheating behavior. In the case of the second hypothesis, none of the correlations between Honest and cheating behavior increased significantly from pretest to posttest in the four studies. The researchers posited the tentative conclusion that highly dishonest subjects ranked the value Honest more highly than did the somewhat less dishonest. Reasons offered for this conclusion were: (1) the subjects had a need to deny to themselves that they were dishonest; and (2) the more dishonest a person is, the greater his need to cover up his dishonesty from others.

It was also reported by Rokeach (1968) that college students who had participated in demonstrations and were sympathetic with the aims of civil rights demonstrations considered the value Equality significantly more important than did college students who had not participated in demonstrations and were not sympathetic with the aims of civil rights demonstrations.

Finally, there is the assumption that a change in values will lead to changes in behavior. The first empirical indicator of this relationship is a study by Rokeach (1968) in which the experimental group received the manipulation described earlier as Rokeach's third method of inducing inconsistency within a person's value-attitude system for raising the terminal value, Equality, in importance. The control group did not receive any manipulation. Approximately three months later, subjects in both groups received a membership solicitation from the N.A.A.C.P. Twenty-nine members of the experimental and 11 of the control group sent in the one dollar membership fee, this difference being significant at beyond the .001 level of significance.

The second empirical indicator is a follow-up later on the subjects in the study above. Since the subjects were drawn from a social science college (James Madison) and a natural science college (Lyman Briggs), the N.A.A.C.P. joiners at each college were investigated to ascertain if there were any differences between the two colleges in the number of subjects who had transferred to another curriculum. The results showed that most individuals who joined N.A.A.C.P. tended to remain in a social science curriculum or tended to leave the natural science curriculum. Comparing the two curriculums, of the 17 N.A.A.C.P. joiners in the social science college, only four left the college, as opposed to 11 for the natural science college. This difference is significant at the .006 level. In addition, upon looking at those data for the subjects who transferred within MSU and observing the two conditions, Rokeach found that 29 subjects of the experimental condition as opposed to 13 of the control condition transferred within MSU.

The third empirical indicator that there is a relationship between changes in value importance and changes in behavior can be seen by looking at the curriculum choice of the subjects transferring from the natural science curriculum to other curriculums within MSU. Of those subjects who transferred from the natural science college to curriculums within MSU, a significantly larger number chose social science curriculums, as opposed to other natural science type curriculums or arts and letters curriculums.

It is interesting to note that, upon observing the conditions of the subjects, Rokeach found that the experimental subjects chose social science or education curriculums significantly more often than the control subjects. The control subjects tended to transfer into other natural science, business related curriculums, or general studies. As for the subjects in the social science college, no such difference between conditions occurred.

Present Study

This study was designed to examine the functional relationship between values, attitudes, and black militancy. However, before dealing with the hypotheses of this research and how the hypotheses were tested, it is first necessary to clearly conceptualize what the researcher means by black militancy.

Black Militancy

Since the very first slave ship that brought Africans to this country we have had black militancy (Barbour, 1968). Black militancy can be conceptualized as an orientation or spirit or predisposition to certain actions and sympathies which are committed to the eradication of traditional racial restraints by open confrontation and, if necessary, by violence. In order to fully appreciate black militancy, an ideological analysis is necessary (Mathis, 1971). When the writer says that a black person is a militant, he means that a person is closer to militancy, ideologically, on the continuum between non-militancy and militancy. Black militancy is best understood when we focus upon what it is associated with or what are the dimensions of black militancy or the dynamics that give rise to black militancy. It is the belief of this researcher that black militancy is a multi-dimensional phenomenon that stems from a growing tendency among Afro-Americans toward nationalism. The two most important aspects of black nationalism are cultural nationalism and political nationalism. Black nationalism can be conceptualized as the power to control those political, social, economic, and educational organizations and institutions in the black community which have been used by the white power structure to maintain a dependent relationship,

and the power to define or legitimize the social artifacts of black people. Examining the definitions of black nationalism from Malcolm X's speeches, Breitman (1967) concludes that black nationalism

. . . is the tendency for black people in the United States to unite as a group, as a people. . . . This tendency holds that black people must control their own movement and the political, economic, and social institutions of the black community. Its characteristic attributes include racial pride, group consciousness, hatred of white supremacy, a striving for independence from white control. . . . (pp. 55-56)

Perhaps the person who gave the clearest expression of black nationalism to date is Marcus Garvey (Croonon, 1955). Garvey's understanding of black nationalism is reflected in the following quote:

Where is the black man's Government? Which is his King and Kingdom? Where is his President, his country, and his ambassador, his army, his navy, his men of big affairs? I could not find them, and then I declared, I will help to make them. (p. 16)

This statement of resolution can only be adequately appreciated when considering the fact that by the end of the last century practically all of Africa--except for Egypt, Ethiopia, and Liberia--was under foreign domination. Garvey was an exceptional man whose life was directed toward achieving the unity and liberation of the Negro race, and the freedom of Africa--"Africa for the Africans," as he said so often (Croonon, 1955).

In 1917 Garvey established a branch of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in Harlem, two years after arriving in this country. In a matter of two months, the organization had 1,500 members. The membership five years later had increased to several millions of blacks in the United States, the West Indies, Latin America, and Africa. Garvey himself stated that the membership was six million (Garvey, 1968).

It is widely documented that Garveyism set in motion a fantastic movement with far-reaching implications and consequences. Moreover, this

movement threatened the security of the colonial powers the world over, including the United States. Unquestionably, Garvey appreciated the cultural and social alienation of black people in the United States. In addition, he instilled the need for blacks to assert and affirm their African culture, pride in their peoplehood, and patriotism to their African "fatherland" (Garvey, 1967).

The importance of black nationalism has been stressed by a whole host of black thinkers who have concerned themselves with the progress of Afro-Americans. Jones (1968) concluded that control by black people is only actualized through black nationalism. He also stated that the only black power that can ever exist is that established by black nationalism.

In order to conceptualize the protracted struggle of Afro-Americans in this country, the racial conflict must be analyzed in terms of the colonial analogy. Using this type of analysis, Afro-Americans can readily see that their success within colonialism is at their own expense. Blauner (1970) reported, "The colonized, seeing that his success within colonialism is at the expense of his group and his own inner identity, moves radically toward a rejection of the Western culture and develops a nationalist outlook that celebrates his people and their tradition."

Cultural Nationalism

A great deal of what is commonly referred to as racial pride and identity that has appeared in the literature (i.e., "Black is Beautiful and it's so Beautiful to be Black," Afro-hair styles, African clothes, African languages, peoplehood, etc.) can be interpreted as an aspect of black nationalism--cultural nationalism.

The pervasiveness and importance of culture can be appreciated by adequately defining culture. Kluckhohn (1962) defined culture as follows:

Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; cultural systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of actions, on the other as conditioning influences upon further actions. (p. 73)

Winthrop (1962) in discussing the meaning of culture had the following to say:

Culture recognizes that there are three kinds of people in the world--those who do not know what is happening around them, those who do and let it happen, and those who see to it that they make things happen. A catch-all definition of culture, then, might be one which characterized culture as all those activities which can prompt people to move from the first two categories into the third. (p. 105)

The importance of cultural nationalism to Afro-Americans' survival as a people can be readily understood upon consideration of history. In all the world over, the most total destruction of culture as a result of the colonization process occurred here in America to slaves from Africa. Slaves from different tribes, kingdoms, and linguistic groups were purposefully separated to maximize domination and control (Blauner, 1970). Religion, languages, and nationalism were lost more completely in America than in the Caribbean or Brazil. Moreover, in Africa and India, the European colonialists were not in the majority as it was here in America. Therefore, they were not able to destroy the culture of the people so completely as was the lot of the slaves in America. Lastly, it is to be recalled that American slavery lasted 250 years and its racist aftermath another 100 years. British Kenya and French Algeria were under

colonial domination for 77 and 125 years, respectively.

The importance of culture is also reflected in some of the past failures of the so-called civil rights movement. Le Roi Jones made this point by stating the "failure of civil rights and black power organizations make very little reference to the totality of black culture" (Barbour, 1968). He also pointed out that the success of the Black Muslims has characteristically been a program that reflected a totality of black consciousness. Thus, the Nation of Islam's program is a form of religion as well as a socio-economic and political program. In concluding as to why there is a need for a cultural base for the Afro-American's protracted struggle in this country, Jones stated:

A cultural base, a black base, is the completeness the black power movement must have. We must understand that we are Replacing a dying culture, and we must be prepared to do this, and be absolutely conscious of what we are replacing it with. (p. 123)

The theme of culture being the basis of the struggle of black people in this country is picked up by Maulana Karenga. He concluded that "a cultural nation is a people with a common past, a common present and hopefully, a common future." He stated further, "Blacks must develop their own heroic images. To the white boy, Garvey was a failure--to us he was perfect for his time and context. To the white boy, Malcolm X was a hate teacher--to us he was the highest form of Black Manhood in his generation" (Barbour, 1968).

Political Nationalism

The political connotations of black nationalism, i.e., "Community Control," "Pro-Black Business," "Think Black," "Vote Black," etc., can be conceptualized as political nationalism. The most salient aspect of the call for black power is the movement for control of the black community.

Black leaders and organizations have moved to gain control and ownership of those institutions that exist or impinge upon the black community. The key institutions that blacks desire to control are business, social service, police, and the schools (Blauner, 1970).

It is of interest to note that the police or law enforcement is perhaps the most difficult institution for blacks to gain control of today. Blauner (1970) concluded that this is due to the police's role of maintaining the colonized status of Afro-Americans. In addition, Blauner stated that of all the established institutions, police departments probably include the highest proportion of individual racists. It is suggested that this fact is no accident, in that, central to the workings of racism (an essential component of colonialism) are attacks on the humanity and dignity of the colonized group.

McKissick (Lincoln, 1968) addressed himself to the need for black people to own and control all institutions in their community.

Ownership of businesses in the ghetto must be transferred to black people--either individually or collectively. All government facilities in the ghetto must be run and operated by black people. For example, the Post Office, the judiciary system, Police Department, Welfare Department, Board of Education, and all other such agencies. (p. 23)

The political dynamics of the existing racial conflict in this country were truly seen by H. Rap Brown when he wrote his famous "Letter from Parish Prison." His first statement was, "I am a political prisoner, jailed for my beliefs--that black people must be free" (Lincoln, 1968). Brown perceived the political nationalistic struggle by blacks and other oppressed people in this country as being total and necessary. This is clearly reflected in his "Note to America" reported by Lincoln (1968):

America, if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your god, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here is my life. But my soul belongs to my people. We shall conquer without a doubt! (p. 68)

Finally, the programs that are designed to ascertain control of the black community--buying up property and businesses, running the schools through community boards, taking over anti-poverty programs and other social agencies, diminishing the racist and arbitrary power of the police--can and must serve to revitalize the institutions of the black community and build up an economic, professional, and political power base.

Militancy

The so-called riots of the summer of 1967 and the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders caused a dramatic increase in the interest in black militancy and race relations. There was a tendency to affix the dynamics or causes of these rebellions to inadequacies possessed by Afro-Americans, as opposed to the colonized society and the racism of white America (Proshansky and Newton, 1968). It is well known and documented that one important characteristic of a militant black person is his "social insight" to perceive and understand the social forces that give rise to Afro-Americans' problems (Marx, 1967; Glock, 1964; and Danzig, 1964). Proshansky and Newton (1968) asserted that ". . . he the black man needs to view the social system and the white man, not himself, as the source of his difficulties." It has been observed by Fanon (1963) and Marx (1967) that militants are much more knowledgeable as to the social forces that determine their status, as opposed to non-militants.

There are many thinkers and writers who have written on the topic of the need for militancy and violence that colonized people have. One of the most important and influential of these writers has been Frantz Fanon. Fanon stated that a colonized group of people must struggle for their political freedom in order to achieve their personal freedom. In this struggle, militancy and violence are necessary in that violence would have a purifying effect (Fanon, 1963). Fanon also stated that armed struggle might be symbolic sometimes. However, it is the commitment to violence rather than the consummation of violent acts which was stressed. It is through this commitment to violence that the evil of violence would be exorcised. He believed that violence is cleansing, but it would be a cleansing pathology. An important point made by Fanon is the idea that because colonialism was imposed through violence, it creates a response, on the part of the colonized, to turning violence inward. This internally directed violence, according to Fanon, must be redirected to external objects. The very positive results of this externally directed violence is that this brings personal freedom and transformation of the society.

Another influential writer on violence was Machiavelli, who did not perceive violence as pathological in nature. Machiavelli believed that in a corrupt society--and there are those who believe that we live in a corrupt society--violence represented the only means of arresting decadence and restoring civil consciousness to the people (Bienen, 1968).

Blauner (1970) advocated the view that the position that violence is wrong today can no longer be defended. He writes:

The liberal, humanist value that violence is the worst sin cannot be defended today if one is committed squarely against racism and for self-determination. For some violence is almost inevitable in the decolonization process; unfortunately racism in America has been so

effective that the greatest power Afro-Americans (and perhaps also Mexican-Americans) wield today is the power to disrupt. (p. 129)

Given that there are those who advocated that violence and militancy are needed and necessary, Leiden (1968) perceived violence as a political power and delineated three categories of how it may come about:

1. It may arise, though rarely, from "spontaneous" causes, from a chance concatenation of events.
2. It may also develop because the process of law enforcement has broken down.
3. Finally, it may be the deliberate result of organization, either by government or by lesser groups or individuals.

It is of interest to observe historically what the strategies of protest have been in this country for Afro-Americans. However, it is more interesting to observe what the white techniques of resistance and repression against blacks have been. The strategies or techniques of opposition to white repression and colonialization used by blacks have varied with the changing structure of American society. Historically, however, each time blacks have tried to revolt against their oppression, white Americans have retaliated with violence.

Wilkinson (1969) speaking about the consistency of white America's behavior stated the following:

. . . despite the changing nature of American socio-cultural structure and the changing pattern of Black techniques of revolt, Whites have employed a relatively familiar form of tactics for the maintenance of a bi-racial caste system. Insurrection brought in lynching, Jim Crow laws, and night-riders. Sit-ins, freedom rides, marches, and the like revitalized these same techniques of repression.

Wilkinson also concluded that she saw the consistency of behavior on the part of whites as representing a technique of cultural survival.

It did not matter whether blacks' protest was a violent one or a non-violent one, the behavior of whites was always the same--extreme violence.

It has been reported by Daly (1969) that as a result of having tried every conceivable tactic to obtain freedom, blacks are highly frustrated. Moreover, this frustration is giving way to the cry of the militant. Daly reported, "The response of whites is a phrase, code words from the politics of fear: Law and Order!"

Techniques for Measuring Black Militancy

Several techniques for measuring militancy and criteria of militancy has been used in the study and measurement of black militancy. In Marx's study (1967) militancy was judged by the commonly held standard of civil rights activities, i.e., participation in peaceful, non-violent demonstrations. In 1964 Marx did a national adult sample in which he combined eight items into an Index of Conventional Militancy to test black militancy. The scale included such items as follows: "In your opinion, is the government in Washington pushing integration too slow, too fast, or about right?" and "To tell the truth I would be afraid to take part in civil rights demonstrations."

Tomlinson (1968) decided that a better way to assess militancy was based on the subjects' expressed sympathy with radical militant black organizations. In other words, those who sympathized with militant black groups were called militants, and those who were antagonistic were called conservatives.

Willis and Goldberg (1969) elected to measure black militancy by developing a Thurstone Scale, with Likert weights, that contained items relating to anti-white feelings, use of violence, integration,

identification with Africa, and the multiple factors connoted by the concept of black militancy.

Kelman and Barclay (1963) combined five items from the F-scale into a measure of militancy (see page 26). Each item a person agreed to, or indicated he had no opinion on, a score of one was given. They reported a very powerful inverse relationship of a narrow perspective to militancy. That is, those persons with a narrow view of the world and the most restricted perspective (agreeing to all five F-scale items) were nonmilitant. Those persons with the broadest perspective (accepting one or none of the F-scale items) were militant.

By and large, most procedures for measuring black militancy have been based upon commonly held standards of civil rights activists.

Sociological Context of Black Militancy

In this section we will try to focus upon some of the major sociological sources and characteristics of black militancy apart from the psychological sources. Obviously, both classes of variables operate concomitantly to influence black militancy. In addition, it is also obvious that the psychological forces are influenced and shaped by the existing social milieu. It is in the interest of simplicity that the two classes of variables are treated under separate headings.

Religion

Militancy varies inversely with institutionalized religions (Allport and Ross, 1967; Glock and Stark, 1966; Lenski, 1961; and Rokeach, 1960). This is due in part because religions have received benefits from the status quo and have supported conservatism. The most important reason, perhaps, that there is an inverse relationship between

the two is that religions usually focus upon concerns of after-life, and the evils of society are ignored. In addition, in Christianity, there is the emphasis upon suffering and acceptance of one's lot. Marx (Feb., 1967) reported an inverse relationship between militancy and religiosity--the greater the religiosity the lower the percentage of militants.

The relationship between institutional religion and the status quo of colonizing black people the world-over, has been commented on by Lomax (1964), who reported, ". . . when the missionaries came to Africa they had the Bible and the people had the land. When the missionaries left, they had the land and the Africans had the Bible."

Region and Community

The most militant blacks, according to Marx (1967), come from the non-Southern parts of the country. The least militant comes from the Deep South, with those from the Border States falling in-between. The most militant blacks come from big cities and the least militant comes from rural backgrounds. The above findings for both region and type of community do not agree with the findings of Willis and Goldberg (1969). They reported that neither geographic location of hometown nor the type of community was related to militancy. However, the difference could be related to the fact that the sample for the Willis and Goldberg study consisted of students at a university, while Marx's results are based on a national sample.

Age and Sex

Marx (1967) reported that young people are more militant than older people and that men are more militant than women. About one out of three under 44 is a militant; this figure decreases to one in ten for those 75

and over. Willis and Goldberg (1969) reported no difference between male and female in militancy. Also, there was no relationship between the number of years a student had been in college and how militant he is.

Education

Education is strongly related to militancy. Increases in education correlated with increases in militancy (Marx, 1967).

Occupation

Marx (1967) reported more militants among the employed as opposed to unemployed or those laid off.

When comparing the relationship when occupations are grouped by prestige, militancy increases from 22 per cent among those in lower-status occupations to 47 per cent among those in higher-status jobs.

Although education is related both to militancy and occupation, it is reasonable to suspect that those in higher-status occupations are more militant because they are more educated. Upon checking on this empirically, Marx found evidence to suggest that even with education held constant, the higher the occupational position, the higher the percentage militant.

The question of the relationship between militancy and status discrepancy (having high education but having a low-status occupation) was investigated by Marx. One would suspect that resentment and militancy would be extremely high. The data do not show that those with high education-low occupation have a greater predisposition for militancy. Actually, of those high in education but low in occupation, only 26 per cent were militant. However, of those high in education and high in occupation, 57 per cent were militant. The effect of education and occupation on militancy is an apparently additive one--the greater the

social status the greater the militancy.

Social Class

Militancy varies directly with social class--the higher the social class the higher the percentage of militants you would expect to find.

It is worth noting that the fact that militancy is greater among the upper social class suggests that the privileged have a broader perspective, derived from their greater education and social involvement. Therefore, these individuals are able to compare themselves and their group in relation to the privileged white population. This idea is substantiated by Merton (1962), who concluded that research on social mobility indicates people realize how far down they were when they begin moving up in class structure.

Obviously, there are other reasons as to why militancy varies directly with social privilege. For one thing, the physical and mental energies of deprived people are occupied in simply staying alive and tending to their day to day needs. The privileged, not having to worry about the more basics of life, can focus upon things such as the inequities of society. In addition, the privileged do not have to worry about economic reprisals due to their financial situation and the possession of occupational skills. Lastly, but most importantly, the privileged have the intellectual and organizational skills and know-how that activism requires.

Hoffer (1964) made similar observations and stated, ". . . those who are awed by their surroundings do not think of change, no matter how miserable their condition" and ". . . the poor on the border of starvation live purposeful lives . . . the goals are concrete and immediate. Every meal is a fulfillment."

Morale and Self-image

Perhaps one of the attributes of militants that is seldom observed is the fact that being militant requires a certain degree of hope or morale--a belief that the situation can improve or be as it should. Militants have a greater degree of morale to sustain themselves. Unless there is a certain degree of morale, the discontent will lead to apathy and despair.

Militants have very positive self-images about themselves and their people (Marx, 1967). Moreover, they believe that blacks are just as capable as, if not superior to, whites. Perhaps, the privileged are better able to resist derogatory stereotypes of the black man, as opposed to the lower status group. Marx (1967) reported upon his observations of the self-image among conservatives, moderates, and militants. He found that among conservatives, about one in four had an unfavorable self-image. Commenting on this point, Rose (1948) concluded that in considering the development of protest in historical perspectives, protest and the development of a positive self-image are intricately tied.

Social Involvement

Militants differ significantly from non-militants in terms of social involvement. Those who interact frequently (visit friends and acquaintances) and read black newspapers and magazines and engage in cultural activities are significantly more militant (Marx, 1967).

Even though lower-status blacks are not as militant as the more privileged group, they can under certain conditions become militant. These alienated and isolated individuals (lower-status) are most likely to be attracted to movements that seek change outside the framework of traditional values. Lipset (1963) spoke to this point:

A greater proportion of people with few proximate concerns as compared to people with many such attachments, tend to be apathetic and uninformed on public matters; but in times of crisis a greater proportion of people with few proximate concerns discard apathy and engage in mass movements outside of and against the institutional order. (p. 64)

Youth and Middle Class

The findings here are that generally militancy is greater among the young and the middle class or relatively more privileged. Zinn (1964) reported that most of SNCC workers are young and disproportionately middle class, or upwardly mobile. Powell (1965) found that ". . . this pattern of upward mobility noted for SNCC and CORE members suggests that exclusion from the entrenched Negro middle class may be an additional factor encouraging militancy just as exclusion by the dominant white society encourages it." However, he also found that SNCC members were both young and disproportionately middle class. Searles and Williams (1962), Matthews and Prothro (1966), Noel (1960), Brink and Harris (1964), and Johnson (1957) have all reported that a greater number of militants is found among the young and the more privileged social groups.

Psychological Context of Militancy

Turning our attention to the psychological variables that influence and are related to militancy, it is necessary to remember that the social variables do play an important role in actualizing the psychological aspects of black militancy.

Intellectual Sophistication

The more intellectually sophisticated blacks perceive themselves and the world they live in quite differently from the intellectually unsophisticated. This sophistication is due to their cognitive powers, set of values, and knowledge of the world.

There are four major indicators of intellectual sophistication that are related to militancy.

1. The F-Scale

The F-scale items can be used to determine general sophistication. Although the F-scale was originally designed to measure authoritarianism (Adorno, et al., 1950), a number of researchers have argued quite convincingly that the items measure intellectual sophistication of breadth of perspective, as opposed to deep-seated personality traits. Kelman and Barclay (1963) are supporters of the above view. They combined the following items from the F-scale into a measure of breadth of perspective:

- (1) Sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped, or worse.
- (2) No weakness or difficulty can hold us back if we have enough will power.
- (3) Reading the stars can tell us a great deal about the future.
- (4) People can be divided into two distinct classes--the weak and the strong.
- (5) Much of our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places.

For each item an individual agreed to, or indicated he had no opinion on, a score of one was given.

Kelman and Barclay reported a very powerful inverse relation to militancy. Among those with a narrow view of the world and the most restricted perspective (agreeing to all five F-scale items), 12 per cent were militant. Seventy-two per cent of those with the broadest perspective (accepting one or none of the F-scale items) were militant. It appears

that intellectual sophistication is a crucial factor in determining militancy. The broader his outlook the more likely an Afro-American is militant.

2. Awareness of the Role of Social Factors

Sophistication also reflects itself in terms of the individual's sensitivity to the way social factors determine their behavior. Put another way, to what extent does a person recognize the degree to which his behavior is contingent upon his socio-cultural environment? Glock (1964) posited the idea that people's attitudes are influenced by their conception of man's nature, especially the importance they place upon the role of social environment.

Militants recognize the role of social forces in determining the low status of blacks in this society. Among those least aware of the effect of social forces, only about 10 per cent are militant. Among those who are aware, over 50 per cent are militant (Marx, 1967).

A very interesting attribute of militancy, in addition to perceiving the social forces that determine behavior, is the perception that problems of blacks are common to blacks as a group rather than as individuals. Danzig (1964) speaking to this point concluded:

What is now perceived as the 'revolt of the Negro' amounts to this: the solidarity of the Negro seeking admission into the white world through unusual achievement has been replaced by the organized Negro insisting upon a legitimate share for his group of the goods of American society. (p. 43)

Perception of the problems of Afro-Americans as group problems and that the rights and privileges of an individual depend upon the status of the group to which he belongs, is a defining trait or characteristic of black militants.

3. Knowledge of Black Culture Figures

Another type of sophistication concerns the possession of knowledge about black cultural personalities. Blacks possessing a greater knowledge about Afro-American history, and important Afro-American political and cultural leaders exhibit a kind of sophistication that is very strongly related to a more positive self-image, the black struggle, and militancy. Marx (1967) reported that blacks who had a knowledge of civil rights leaders and black writers tended to be very militant. More specifically, he reported that among those unable to identify any of the civil rights leaders (M. L. King, James Farmer, Medgar Evers, and Roy Wilkins) only 3 per cent were militant. Among those able to identify all four, 42 per cent were militant. In the case of protest writers (Richard Wright, Ralph Ellison, and Langston Hughes), 16 per cent among those unable to identify any were militant, whereas, for those correctly identifying all three, 57 per cent scored as militant.

Marx then combined the two measures of knowledge of civil rights leaders and protest writers into what he called an "index of knowledge of Negro cultural figures." Using this technique, the percentage militant goes from 3 per cent for those with least knowledge to 60 per cent for those most knowledgeable. It appears that it is the informed black who is militant as opposed to the uninformed black person.

4. Intellectual Values

An important aspect of militancy is the possession of intellectual values. This too is an aspect of the militant's sophisticated perception of himself and how he relates to the world around him. The militant possesses a value system that makes him highly appreciative of intellectual pursuits. He is interested in learning more about the society and world he lives in.

Overview

In dispelling many of the stereotypic perceptions of black militants, most of the studies pertaining to militancy showed that the black militant exceeds the average level of educational attainment of black non-militants, (Marx, 1967; Murphy and Watson, 1967; Tomlinson, 1967; Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968). Moreover, it has been shown by Caplan and Paige (1968) and Marx (1967) that militants identified more strongly with black cultural values and civil rights objectives than those in the community who neither supported nor participated in militant activities. It is also interesting to note the finding that whites probably feel that black militants are anti-white. Marx (1967) reported that there is an inverse relation between militancy and anti-white attitudes. The variables which were most closely related to militancy (intellectual sophistication, high morale, and a positive self-image) correlated negatively with anti-white sentiments. Noel (1964) found that those lowest in anti-white feelings were the most militant proponents of civil rights action. In a sample of four cities, Noel and Pinkney (1964) found that 41 per cent of blacks sampled expressed no particular antipathy toward whites. Based on the studies cited by this researcher, it appears that during the process of becoming militant and developing a black ideology, Afro-Americans do not waste their time with anti-white feelings. Rather, developing a black ideology lifts blacks above being anti-white to being pro-black. It is quite apparent that one can be pro-black and not be anti-white. It appears that the militant black has something of greater value and importance to focus upon than anti-white feelings.

Reasons for Attempting to Increase Black Militancy

After having reviewed some of the research on militancy, perhaps some of the reasons for increasing militancy among Afro-Americans are apparent. First of all, it is the opinion of this writer that becoming militant and developing a black ideology is a self-actualizing process for black people that will determine their survival. Militant blacks are more strongly identified with black cultural values and human rights. In addition, they are better educated and more politically sophisticated than non-militant blacks. Increasing militancy among blacks serves a two-fold purpose of improving blacks' self-image and possibly helping to change this racist society by providing more intellectually sophisticated fighters. Lastly, black militants have greater racial pride, and militancy is inversely related to anti-white attitudes. It seems that the militant black is characterized by a more wholesome self-concept or self-perception. Expressed in terms of the "street" phraseology, the militant has "gotten himself together." In other words, the militant appears to be more secure as an individual in terms of knowing who he is and from whence he came. Thus, to be black and militant is very desirous and positive. To attempt to increase militancy among young non-militant blacks is not a value-free consideration--and it is not to be construed as such. Rather, increasing militancy among blacks is a positive act that may aid in Afro-Americans' actualization of a black ideology.

Hypotheses

This study was designed to examine the functional relationship between values, attitudes, and black militancy. The specific hypotheses

are as follows:

- (1) It is hypothesized that value importance is correlated with black militancy. That is, if the importance of a person's value is known, the same person's militancy, ideologically speaking, can be determined.
- (2) It is also hypothesized that militant changes in the importance of A world at peace and Black value system in the value hierarchy of non-militants will be accompanied by more militant attitudes.
- (3) A lasting change in the hierarchical ordering of values--reflecting more militancy--will be accompanied by changes in attitudes. That is, if a non-militant individual's value hierarchy is changed over time to approximate the value hierarchy of a militant, there should be a corresponding change in the individual's attitudes. More specifically, the attitudes pertaining to cultural nationalism, political nationalism, distrust of whites and the system, and militancy would be more militant in nature.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

With an understanding of Rokeach's Value Theory, a review of the literature pertaining to black militancy, and some of the reasons why increasing militancy among Afro-Americans is desirous and positive, we now turn our attention to how we intended to increase militancy among blacks.

Overview

This research was carried out in two parts. Part I was the development and validation of a value survey that adequately reflected the value system of blacks and discriminated between militant and non-militant blacks. Part II was the utilization of the value survey in a confrontation on the part of the non-militant subjects between their own rankings of the values and that of a reference group, to increase the ranking of the values associated with militancy.

Development of the Value Survey

It was the opinion of the writer that Rokeach's Value Survey did not comprehensively cover all of the important values that comprised the value hierarchy of a militant black individual. Rokeach's Value Survey consists of 18 terminal values and 18 instrumental values. For example, it was anticipated that one of the most important values possessed by a militant black person centered around "togetherness" or "unity of black people" or the "unity of the black community." This is a value that is conceptualized as a striving for and maintaining unity in the family, community, and the "black nation." It was also

anticipated by the author that another value that might be very important and salient for militant black people may be conceptualized around cultural pride. The point is that additional values were deemed necessary to adequately reflect the value system of militant black people. To ascertain whether or not there were important values in the value system of militant blacks that are not being tapped by Rokeach's Value Survey, we interviewed black people in the hope of arriving at a more adequate list of values than that provided by Rokeach's Value Survey.

Subjects and Procedure

With the above in mind, 60 black students at Michigan State University, University of Michigan, and Wayne State University were solicited to ascertain what additional values, if any, should be considered. Each subject was given a questionnaire that defined a value as follows:

The concept of value is defined as a preferred end-state of existence that people strive for or a preferred mode of behavior. To say that a person 'has a value' is to say that he has an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to alternative modes of conduct or end-states of existence.

The instructions to the subjects were to ensure that they understood the definition of the concept of value. Next, they were asked to list and describe the values they thought a militant black person possessed. Lastly, they were asked to try to limit their list, if possible, to 20-25 values (see Appendix B).

Judges. The values from the polling of blacks at the three universities, along with the values from Rokeach's Value Survey, were submitted to a panel of six black judges. The judges were both undergraduate and graduate students at Michigan State University. Each of the

judges was recognized by other blacks on campus as a leader who possessed a very positive black ideology. The instructions to these judges were as follows:

Please go through the list of values and reduce it or make it more concise by performing the following:

1. Pull out all values or statements that are redundant in nature (record the number of the value that makes it redundant).
2. Pull out all values or statements which, in your judgment, are not reflective of a militant ideology.
3. Pull out all statements that describe or get at a value that has been previously described or stated another way. Record the number of the value that previously described or stated the value another way.

Validation of value survey. The resulting values were ready to be tested to determine which values adequately discriminated between militant and non-militant blacks.

Subjects and Procedure. The subjects were 60 black male and female students at Michigan State University. There were a total of 38 terminal values and 33 instrumental values that resulted from the reduction procedures of the panel of judges. The 38 terminal values and 33 instrumental values were divided in half forming two terminal surveys and two instrumental surveys in that it is an impossible task for people to adequately attend to 38 or 33 different items along a psychological scale at one time. A person can be reasonably accurate in ranking 19 values or 17 values in order of their importance to the individual. Each subject was administered four (4) value surveys such that he received all 38 terminal values and all 33 instrumental values to be ranked in order of importance. Value Surveys 1 and 2 each contained 19 terminal values to be ranked in order of importance. Value Surveys 3 and 4 contained

16 and 17 instrumental values, respectively, to be ranked in order of importance. To guard against order effects among the values, groups consisting of four (4) subjects in each were given value surveys in which the terminal values and the instrumental values were randomly presented. That is, 15 different groups, consisting of four (4) subjects each, received Forms 1, 2, 3, and 4 of Value Survey in which the order of the terminal and instrumental values was different. This was accomplished by randomly selecting 19 of the 38 terminal values to comprise Form 1 of Value Survey on 15 different occasions. In each of the 15 cases, the remaining 19 terminal values comprised Form 2 of Value Survey. Randomly selecting 16 of the 33 instrumental values on 15 different occasions resulted in Form 3 of Value Survey. In each of the 15 cases, the remaining 17 values comprised Form 4 of Value Survey.

The subjects were asked to arrange the alphabetized values in order of their importance to them as guiding principles in their lives. They were instructed to work and think carefully to ensure that the end result truly reflected how they felt.

Questionnaire. Affixed to the four Value Surveys that each subject received was a four-item questionnaire designed to classify a black person ideologically as militant or non-militant. The instructions to the subjects were as follows:

Please read the following questions carefully and answer them as completely as possible. Please do not worry about what are the right answers. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions. The best answers are your own personal opinions. Please be as specific in your answers as possible.

The purpose of the questionnaire was simply to provide a means of getting at the ideological orientation of the subjects in order to categorize them as either militant or non-militant. The four questions on the questionnaire are as follows:

1. In your opinion, who are the three most important black leaders and the three most unimportant black leaders? In each case, please state why each individual has been selected.
2. If you were suddenly given \$100,000.00 (tax free), please describe in detail how you would spend it.
3. Please describe the type of neighborhood you would like to live in after completing your formal education. In your description, please include name of city (if possible), size of city, socio-economic level of neighborhood, racial composition of school, type of church, etc.
4. Please rank the following organizations in terms of how important you feel they are to the struggle of black people today.

_____ NAACP

_____ Republic of New Africa

_____ Southern Christian Leadership Conference

_____ Black Panther Party

_____ Urban League

_____ US (Maulana Ron Karenga)

Interrater reliability and Item Analysis. Two black students (one male and one female) at Michigan State University served as raters in this study. Each rater read all of the questionnaires alone and rated each response in terms of its being a militant response or a non-militant response. In the case of all four questions, a militant response was rated 1 and a non-militant response was rated zero. In the case of discrepancies between the two raters, the third party procedure was used to resolve the discrepancy.

The interrater reliability for the militancy--non-militancy classifications determined by obtaining the correlation between raters was +.96.

To ascertain the extent to which each of the four questions was discriminating between militant and non-militant responses, correlations were obtained between the subjects' individual scores for each question and the subjects' total score. The correlations between scores for questions 1, 2, 3, and 4 and the total score were +.33, +.73, +.76, and +.67, respectively. Thus, only questions 2, 3, and 4 were used in discriminating between militant and non-militant subjects. In delineating the subjects in the two groups (militant and non-militant), only the two extreme ratings were used. That is, subjects who received a rating of 3 ($N = 18$) by the raters were classified, ideologically, as militants. Subjects who received a rating of zero ($N = 13$) by the raters were classified, ideologically, as non-militants. Subjects classified as militants or non-militants comprised the militant group and non-militant group, respectively. There were a total of 13 subjects who received a rating of 1 and a total of 10 subjects who received a rating of 2. There were a total of six subjects who were disqualified for either failing to complete the questionnaire or not following instructions.

Value Survey Analysis. The value surveys for the subjects in the militant and non-militant groups were analyzed using a one-way routine designed to compute the median rankings of each value for the two groups and to test the significance of the difference between the militant and non-militant groups for each value ranked.

A total of 18 terminal values and 18 instrumental values were selected to comprise the instrumental and terminal value surveys. These

values were selected because of their high chi square values or due to their "face validity" in being associated or not associated with a militant ideology. The latter reason was particularly important in those instances in which there were extremely low chi square values. Those values with low chi square values also served the function as "filler" values to complete the value survey. The values comprising the terminal value survey are as follows:

Terminal Value Survey

- _____ A sense of accomplishment (lasting contribution)
- _____ A world at peace (free of war and conflict)
- _____ Anti-exploitation (totally against oppression of people)
- _____ Anti-materialism (lack of excessive love for material things
of this world)
- _____ Black control of community
- _____ Black value system (a perpetuation of a black value system)
- _____ Confidence (know your abilities, sure of yourself)
- _____ Economic awareness (knowledge of economy)
- _____ Equality (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all)
- _____ Experience (knowledge through experience)
- _____ Family security (taking care of loved ones)
- _____ Humanity (love for humanity)
- _____ Mature love (sexual and spiritual intimacy)
- _____ Self-control (control of yourself physically and mentally)
- _____ Self-respect (self-esteem)
- _____ Separation (complete separation from whites)
- _____ Socialism (theory of collective or governmental ownership)
- _____ True friendship (close companionship)

The values comprising the instrumental value survey are as follows:

Instrumental Value Survey

- _____ Able to lead as well as follow
- _____ Aggressiveness (self-assertive)
- _____ Analytical (able to analyze situations)
- _____ Anti-hypocritical (practice what you preach)
- _____ Communication (at various levels, brother on street, to whites, formally, etc.)
- _____ Courageous (standing up for your beliefs)
- _____ Decisiveness (able to think and behave quickly under pressure)
- _____ Dedicated and hard working (willing to die for the struggle)
- _____ Distrust (distrust of whites and system)
- _____ Faith (belief in self, cause and people)
- _____ Forgiving (willing to pardon blacks)
- _____ Humility (humble in spirit, freedom from arrogance)
- _____ Respectful (showing deference)
- _____ Responsibility (independent, reliable)
- _____ Role play (indulgent in role play out of necessity)
- _____ Sincere (honest, real, pure)
- _____ Strategy (skillful executioner of strategies)
- _____ Violence (appreciation of the necessity of violence for change)

The composite rank order for each of the values for the two groups, chi square values, and significance test values are presented in Table 1 and Table 2.

Table 1
Medians and Composite Rank Orders of Terminal Values

	<u>N = 18</u> Militant Med. Rank		<u>N = 13</u> Non-militant Med. Rank		Median $X^2 =$	Test P =
A sense of accomplishment	13.50	13	6.75	4	4.130	0.040
A world at peace	15.00	16	3.75	1	4.130	0.040
Anti-exploitation	9.50	9	8.25	10	0.023	1.000
Anti-materialism	9.00	8	14.25	16	5.465	0.018
Black control of community	7.50	5	7.00	6	0.023	1.000
Black value system	5.50	2	11.00	15	2.590	0.106
Confidence	4.50	1	7.00	7	0.023	0.879
Economic awareness	11.00	10	10.25	14	0.074	1.000
Equality	12.00	12	6.75	5	4.130	0.040
Experience	8.50	7	9.25	12	0.074	1.000
Family security	7.50	6	4.88	2	2.072	0.148
Humanity	15.00	17	8.25	11	4.130	0.040
Mature love	13.50	14	7.00	8	4.470	0.026
Self-control	6.00	3	7.00	9	0.074	1.000
Self-respect	6.00	3	5.75	3	0.001	1.000
Separation	11.50	11	17.78	18	3.697	0.053
Socialism	15.83	18	17.69	17	3.400	0.065
True friendship	13.50	15	9.25	13	1.700	0.191

Table 2

Medians and Composite Rank Orders of Instrumental Values

	<u>N = 18</u> Militant		<u>N = 13</u> Non-militant		Median $X^2 =$	Test P=
	Med.	Rank	Med.	Rank		
Able to lead as well as follow	8.00	9	10.25	13	0.074	1.000
Aggressiveness	10.00	12	10.75	14	0.001	1.000
Analytical	4.50	2	6.00	4	0.023	0.879
Anti-hypocritical	9.00	10	9.00	10	0.074	1.000
Communication	6.50	7	6.00	5	0.023	1.000
Courageous	5.00	3	6.00	6	0.023	0.879
Decisiveness	7.00	8	7.25	9	0.074	1.000
Dedicated and hard working	5.50	4	6.00	7	0.023	1.000
Distrust	11.17	15	15.00	17	3.697	0.053
Faith	3.50	1	5.75	2	0.212	0.645
Forgiving	11.00	13	9.25	12	0.074	1.000
Humility	12.50	17	9.00	11	2.072	0.148
Respectful	9.50	11	5.75	3	1.700	0.191
Responsibility	5.50	5	4.25	1	0.493	0.485
Role play	14.17	18	14.88	16	0.048	1.000
Sincere	5.50	6	7.00	8	0.023	0.879
Strategy	11.00	14	10.75	15	0.001	1.000
Violence	12.00	16	15.33	18	2.590	0.106

Main Study

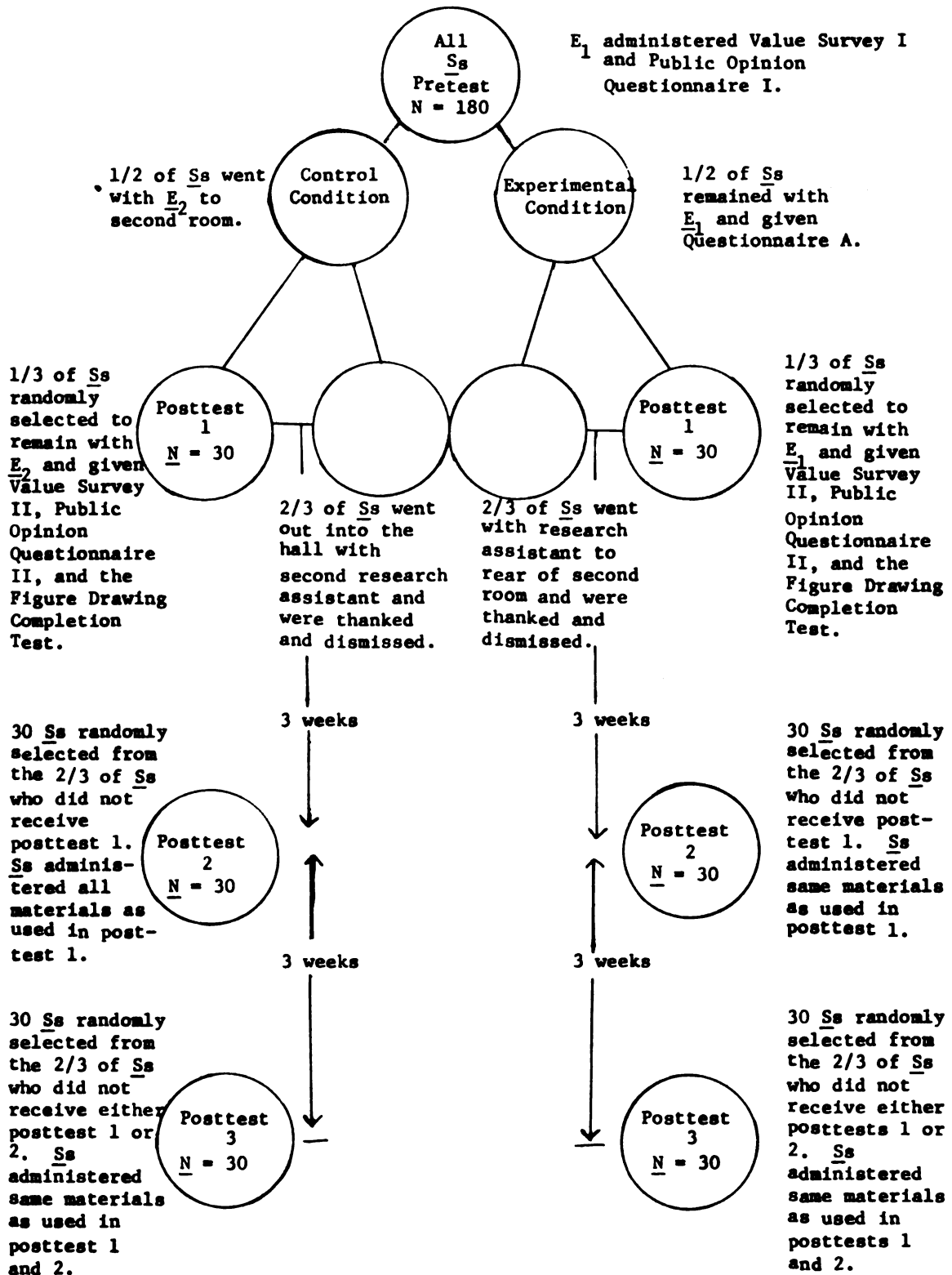
With the development and validation of the value survey, we may now turn our attention to the main part of the study. Here, we are concerned with creating a confrontation on the part of the non-militant subjects between their own rankings of the values and that of a reference group to increase the ranking of the values associated with militancy.

Subjects. The subjects were 180 black male and female undergraduates at Southern University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

Procedure.

Experimenters. There was a male experimenter for the experimental group and a second male experimenter for the control group. Each experimenter was given instructions as to what he was to do and when to do it (see Appendix C).

Experimental Design. The design for this study necessitated that all subjects received the pretest at the same time. The pretest was followed by the treatment and posttests 1, 2, and 3 such that every subject was randomly selected for each posttest and participated in no more than one posttest. All subjects for both the experimental and control conditions were equal in terms of militancy in that only subjects classified as ideologically non-militant were selected. Thus, we assumed that subjects selected for posttests 1, 2, and 3 were all equal in terms of being non-militant. The design for this study is diagrammed as follows:



The Experimental Condition. The experimental experimenter read aloud the instructions to Value Survey I as the subjects read the instructions to themselves. The instructions were as follows:

This is a scientific study of value systems. There are no right or wrong answers in this study. The best answer is your own personal opinion.

This questionnaire is intended not only to gather new scientific facts, but also as a teaching device. In return for your cooperation, we hope to provide you with some interesting insights into yourself.

Below is a list of 18 values arranged in alphabetical order. Your task is to arrange them in order of their importance to YOU, as guiding principles in YOUR life.

Study the test carefully. Then place a 1 next to the value which is most important for you, place a 2 next to the value which is second most important, etc. The value which is least important should be ranked 18.

When you have completed ranking all of the values, go back and check over your list. Feel free to make changes. Please ensure that the end result truly reflects how you feel.

Affixed to the last part of Value Survey I were the three questions used to discriminate ideologically between militant and non-militant blacks (see Appendix D). Upon completion of Value Survey I, the subjects were given Public Opinion Questionnaire I. The Public Opinion Questionnaire I (Mathis, 1971) consisted of attitude questions designed to measure attitudes toward (1) cultural nationalism, (2) political nationalism, (3) distrust of whites and the system, and (4) militancy. (See Appendix E.) Once again, the instructions were read aloud to the subjects by the experimenter as the subjects read the instructions to themselves. The instructions were as follows:

This is a scientific study of the attitude of black students. There are no right or wrong answers in this study. The best answer is your own personal opinion.

Below is a list of statements about various topics. Please check or circle appropriately to indicate your opinion. In the case of the five symbols (A, SA, ?, D, and SD), they stand for "Agree," "Strongly Agree," "Uncertain," "disagree," and "Strongly Disagree," respectively.

The terms "Negroes" and "Black" are used in this questionnaire interchangeably with the same connotation. Neither term should present a negative attitude toward the person(s) referred to in the statement.

Reliability of Public Opinion Questionnaire I. The reliability of the four scales used in the Public Opinion Questionnaire was ascertained by Mathis (1971) using Cronbach's Coefficient alpha. This index was used because it has been shown not to be significantly distorted by test length. The four scales comprising the Public Opinion Questionnaire differ in length. The scales used to measure cultural nationalism, political nationalism, distrust of whites and system, and militancy had coefficients of .72, .85, .93, and .71, respectively. Mathis also checked to determine if each of the scales was measuring a distinct level of psychological awareness. He reported that although there is some overlapping in meaning among the four scales, each scale can be perceived as a distinct level of psychological awareness. It is possible to assume that these subscales are logically distinct and independent measures.

Experimental Manipulation. Upon the completion of Public Opinion Questionnaire I and Value Survey I, the experimenter split the subjects in half randomly. One-half of the subjects went with a second experimenter to another room. The remaining one-half was given Questionnaire A. The experimenter read Questionnaire A aloud as the subjects read to themselves. Questionnaire A presented information to the

subjects about "the value systems of black students here at Southern University." To arouse inconsistency between two terminal values, Questionnaire A pointed out that "black students here at Southern who are not oriented toward helping black people and the black community ranked A world at peace 1st and Black value system 15th." Questionnaire A explained those findings by stating the following:

Those blacks who ranked A world at peace 1st seem to be saying that they are more concerned about a world at peace than they are about the oppressive conditions black people are forced to live under. Moreover, they appear to be extremely unrealistic in their idealistic belief that there can be a world at peace before working to eradicate the oppressive conditions that their people are forced to live under day in and day out. In addition, they appear to believe that somehow "things will get better" for blacks without their actively working to forcefully change the oppressive conditions under which blacks exist.

Those blacks who ranked Black value system 15th do not seem to have a value system intricately concerned with the welfare and development of black people. It seems as though they are saying that they are somewhat ashamed of being black and really not interested in developing a black peoplehood.

The subjects were presented with Table 1, which showed the averaged rankings of A world at peace and Black value system by blacks at Southern University who are oriented toward helping blacks and the black community and blacks who are not oriented toward helping the black community. The subjects were then invited to spend a few minutes comparing their own rankings with those shown in "Table 1."

Finally, in addition to being told that blacks who were oriented toward helping blacks and the black community ranked A world at peace 16th and Black value system 2nd, the subjects were told that those blacks also possessed a very positive black ideology. More specifically, the subjects were told that those blacks "seemed to perceive and

understand the political, economical, and social forces of our society that give rise to present-day problems of black people." In addition, the subjects were told that such individuals "identified quite strongly with black cultural values and human values."

Questionnaire A appears below just as it was presented to the subjects under the experimental condition by the experimenter.

QUESTIONNAIRE A

Now I would like to tell you some things we have already found out about the value systems of black students here at Southern University. I am sure that you would like to know what they are.

Black students were asked to fill out value system scales and their responses were obtained and averaged. One of the most interesting findings was that black students here at Southern who are oriented toward helping black people and the black community ranked the value, "A world at peace," 16th. Those black students who were not oriented toward helping black people and the black community ranked "A world at peace" 1st.

It seems that what blacks, who are oriented toward helping other blacks and the black community, are saying is simply that freedom from war and conflict (a world at peace) as an end is not realistic or practical at this point in time. Moreover, these blacks are saying that until we can eradicate the present oppressive conditions and problems that blacks are forced to deal with on a day-to-day basis, they cannot realistically focus more on "A world at peace" (free of war and conflict) as opposed to the oppressive conditions closer to them right in their own community.

Those blacks who ranked "A world at peace" 1st seem to be saying that they are more concerned about a world at peace than they are about the oppressive conditions black people are forced to live under. Moreover, they appear to be extremely unrealistic in their idealistic belief that there can be a world at peace before working to eradicate the oppressive conditions that their people are forced to live under day in and day out. In addition they appear to believe that somehow "things will get better" for blacks without their actively working to forcefully change the oppressive conditions under which blacks exist.

A second finding of interest is the fact that black students who are oriented toward helping other blacks and the black community ranked "Black value system" 2nd. Those black students who were not oriented toward helping black people and the black community ranked "Black value system" 15th.

It appears that blacks who are oriented toward helping other blacks and the black community identify with and perpetuate a black value system. In other words, they appear to be directed by a value system that is concerned with the welfare and development of a black peoplehood.

Those blacks who ranked "Black value system" 15th do not seem to have a value system intricately concerned with the welfare and development of black people. It seems as though they are saying that they are somewhat ashamed of being black and really not interested in developing a black peoplehood.

Table 1. Average Rankings of "A World at Peace" and "Black Value System" by Black SU students.

	Blacks oriented toward helping blacks and black community.	Blacks not oriented toward helping blacks and black community.
A World at Peace	16	1
Black Value System	2	15

Feel free to spend a few minutes comparing your own rankings of "A world at peace" and "Black value system" with those black students who are oriented toward helping black people and the black community, shown in Table 1. Your rankings will be found on Value Survey I.

PLEASE STOP AND WAIT FOR FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS. DO NOT TURN YOUR PAGE.

We have another major finding which we think is also interesting. The average results of the blacks showed that those black students at SU who ranked "A world at peace" 16th and "Black value system" 2nd out of the 18 values, also possessed a very positive black ideology. More specifically, not only were they oriented toward helping black people and the black community, they seemed to perceive and understand the political, economical, and social forces of our society that give rise to present-day problems of black people. In addition, these individuals identified quite strongly with black cultural values and human values.

To summarize, the results showed that blacks at SU who were oriented toward helping blacks and the black community, and in addition, who possessed a very positive black ideology ranked "A world at peace" 16th and "Black value system" second, as shown in Table 1.

Lastly, we want to know the extent to which you agree with our interpretation of the data pertaining to the values, "A world at peace" and "Black value system".

(Please circle one number)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
I agree strongly with this interpretation					I'm not sure	I disagree strongly with this interpretation				

PLEASE LOOK UP FRONT WHEN YOU HAVE FINISHED.

Posttest 1. The experimenter upon completing Questionnaire A, randomly divided the group in thirds. The experimenter kept one-third of the group for posttest 1 and sent the other two-thirds of the group to the rear of the second room with an assistant. Upon reaching the rear of the second room, the assistant collected all questionnaires and pencils, thanked the subjects, and dismissed the subjects.

For the remaining one-third of the students with the experimenter, Value Survey II was administered. Value Survey II consisted of the 18 terminal and 18 instrumental values. The task of the subjects was to rank the values in order of their importance to them. (See Appendix F.)

Upon completion and collection of Value Survey II, Public Opinion Questionnaire II was administered. Public Opinion Questionnaire II was the same as Public Opinion Questionnaire I, designed to measure attitudes toward (1) cultural nationalism, (2) political nationalism, (3) distrust of whites and the system, and (4) militancy.

Following the post attitudinal measures, the Figure Drawing Completion Test was administered (see Appendix G). The main purpose of the figure drawing test was to get the subjects to focus upon this task as opposed to the manipulation of the values. The secondary purpose of the figure drawing test was to guard against contamination over time that might have occurred by subjects under the experimental condition talking to subjects under the control condition as to what they were asked to do and what it meant.

The Control Condition. Upon the division of the original group of subjects by the experimenter, the second experimenter for the control condition took 1/2 of the original group to the front center section of the second room. After collecting Value Survey I and Public Opinion

Questionnaire I from all subjects, the experimenter randomly split the group into thirds and designated 1/3 of the group for control group posttest 1. The remaining 2/3 of the group went out into the hall with an assistant. In the hall, the assistant collected all pencils, thanked the subjects for their cooperation and time, and dismissed them.

The subjects selected to remain in the room were administered Value Survey II by the experimenter for the control condition. They did not receive Questionnaire A as the subjects under the experimental condition did. Following the completion of Value Survey II, the subjects were administered the Public Opinion Questionnaire II and the Figure Drawing Completion Test. Finally, the subjects were thanked for their cooperation and dismissed.

Militancy Classification of Subjects. As mentioned earlier, affixed to the back of Value Survey I were the three questions used to discriminate ideologically between militant and non-militant blacks (see Appendix D). Once again, two raters were used to read the questionnaires of all of the subjects and they rated each answer in terms of its being a militant or non-militant response. A militant response was rated 1 and a non-militant response was rated zero. The third party procedure was used to resolve all discrepancies in rating between the two raters. The inter-rater reliability for the militancy and non-militancy classifications determined by obtaining the correlation between raters was +.97. Militant subjects were all subjects who received a rating of 2 or 3 out of a possible total of 3. Non-militant subjects were operationalized as all subjects who received a rating of zero or 1 out of a possible total of 3. All subjects used in this study were rated as ideologically non-militants. Thus, it was necessary to rate all subjects who

participated in posttest 1 along the militancy--non-militancy continuum after collecting the data. The subjects used for both conditions in posttest 1 were randomly selected from all of the subjects rated as non-militant under the two conditions. This procedure had to be used given that it was impossible to ascertain ideological data on the subjects prior to administering Value Survey 1 to the subjects.

Posttest 2. The subjects for the experimental condition of posttest 2 were randomly selected from the experimental condition subjects who did not receive posttest 1 and were rated as non-militants. More specifically, 30 non-militant subjects were randomly selected from the group of non-militant subjects under the experimental condition, who did not receive posttest 1, to be the subjects for posttest 2. For the control condition, 30 non-militant subjects were randomly selected from among the non-militant subjects who did not receive posttest 1 to be the subjects for posttest 2. The selection procedure for both conditions was such that a subject could only be selected for one posttest. Upon the selection of subjects to be solicited for posttest 2, the subjects were contacted by phone from information obtained from Value Survey I and tested three weeks following posttest 1. During posttest 2, subjects under the experimental and control conditions were administered Value Survey IIA and Opinion Questionnaire IIA. Value Survey IIA was identical to Value Survey II and required the subjects to rank the 18 terminal and 18 instrumental values in terms of their importance to the subjects. Public Opinion Questionnaire IIA was identical to Public Opinion Questionnaire II, which measured attitudes toward (1) cultural nationalism, (2) political nationalism, (3) distrust of whites and the system, and (4) militancy.

Posttest 3. The subjects used for the experimental condition of posttest 3 were randomly selected from the experimental condition subjects who did not receive posttest 1 or posttest 2 and were rated as non-militants. That is, 30 non-militant subjects were randomly selected from the group of non-militant subjects under the experimental condition, who did not receive posttest 1 or posttest 2, to be the subjects for posttest 3. Under the control condition, 30 non-militant subjects were randomly selected from among the non-militant subjects, who did not receive posttest 1 or posttest 2, to be the subjects for posttest 3. Posttest 3 occurred six weeks after posttest 1. Subjects under both the experimental and control conditions in posttest 3 were administered Value Survey IIB and Public Opinion Questionnaire IIB. Value Survey IIB and Public Opinion Questionnaire IIB were identical to Value Survey IIA and Public Opinion Questionnaire IIA, respectively.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

This study was designed to test three basic hypotheses: (1) that value importance is correlated with black militancy; (2) that militant changes in the importance of A world at peace and Black value system in the value hierarchy of non-militants will be accompanied with more militant attitudes; and (3) that a lasting change in the hierarchical ordering of values--reflecting more militancy--will be accompanied with changes in attitudes. We will present the data which test hypothesis 1 first, the data which test hypothesis 2 second, and the data which test hypothesis 3 last. Before we present the data which test hypothesis 1, however, we need to examine whether or not the ranking of the values by the subjects under the experimental and control conditions differed significantly on the pretests.

Analysis of Pretest Values

It should be recalled that all subjects solicited in this study were classified by raters as ideologically non-militant. In addition, only subjects who received a rating of 0 or 1 out of a possible total of 3 were classified as non-militants. Based upon this classification, the author made the assumption that, in terms of militancy, all subjects under both the experimental and control conditions were equal. If this was the case, it was reasonable to expect no overall significant differences between the experimental and control subjects in their pretest ranking of the values. Tables 3 - 8 present medians and composite rank orders of all pretest values for the experimental and

control conditions. Ideally, we would expect no significant differences between the two conditions in the ranking of all of the 36 values; unfortunately this was not the case. There were a total of four values (Anti-materialism, Black control of community, Black value system, and Communication) in which there were significant differences between the two conditions. However, each of these differences was significant in only one of the three samples and neither of these four values approached significance in either one of the other two samples. Therefore, it seems reasonable that these few "significant" differences between the two conditions occurred by chance. Thus, it is safe to conclude that overall there were no significant differences between the two conditions in the rankings of the values for the pretests.

Table 3
COMPARISON OF MEDIANS AND COMPOSITE RANK ORDERS
OF THE PRETEST TERMINAL VALUES FOR GROUP 1

	Group N = 28		28		Median Test P=
	Experimental Med	Rnk	Control Med	Rnk	
A sense of accomplishment	7.50	8	7.63	7	.869
A world at peace	7.00	7	4.40	2	.684
Anti-exploitation	13.00	14	12.75	15	1.000
Anti-materialism	13.75	15	16.05	17	.002
Black control of community	15.00	17	11.67	13	.007
Black value system	10.83	13	11.00	12	.902
Confidence	3.17	1	6.00	4	.507
Economic awareness	10.10	10	11.75	14	.350
Equality	4.10	3	2.67	1	.869
Experience	7.00	6	8.94	10	.859
Family security	3.50	2	6.13	6	.139
Humanity	8.17	9	8.67	9	.895
Mature love	10.30	12	10.38	11	.000
Self-control	7.00	5	6.00	5	.666
Self-respect	6.70	4	4.67	3	.495
Separation	17.63	18	17.60	18	.000
Socialism	14.90	16	14.88	16	.000
True friendship	10.17	11	7.75	8	.344

Table 4
COMPARISON OF MEDIANS AND COMPOSITE RANK
ORDERS OF THE PRETEST INSTRUMENTAL VALUES FOR GROUP 1

	Group N = 28		28		Median Test P=
	Experimental		Control		
	Med	Rnk	Med	Rnk	
Able to lead as well as follow	3.17	1	5.07	3	.000
Aggressiveness	11.50	12	13.00	14	.790
Analytical	7.17	7	9.00	8	.422
Anti-hypocritical	9.83	10	9.50	9	.000
Communication	7.00	6	7.17	5	.000
Courageous	5.00	3	3.50	2	.593
Decisiveness	7.50	8	9.83	10	.282
Dedicated	11.83	13	8.50	7	.423
Distrust	15.25	17	17.00	18	.055
Faith	5.25	4	3.50	1	.181
Forgiving	9.00	9	11.00	13	.785
Humility	13.25	14	10.75	12	.060
Respectful	10.23	11	10.38	11	.000
Responsibility	6.00	5	6.10	4	.000
Role-playing	14.83	16	14.50	16	.000
Sincere	4.25	2	7.50	6	.108
Strategy	13.50	15	14.00	15	.787
Violence	16.83	18	16.79	17	.582

Table 5
COMPARISON OF MEDIAN AND COMPOSITE RANK
ORDERS OF THE PRETEST TERMINAL VALUES FOR GROUP 2

	Group N = 29		25		
	Experimental		Control		Median Test
	Med	Rnk	Med	Rnk	P=
A sense of accomplishment	10.80	13	8.63	9	.165
A world at peace	6.33	5	9.63	10	.425
Anti-exploitation	14.25	15	13.29	13	.586
Anti-materialism	15.55	16	15.08	17	.557
Black control of community	10.00	11	13.33	15	.109
Black value system	8.67	8	13.33	14	.006
Confidence	6.33	6	6.00	4	.000
Economic awareness	9.38	10	9.67	12	.000
Equality	3.75	1	6.13	5	.062
Experience	8.88	9	7.88	7	.402
Family security	4.40	2	4.25	2	.968
Humanity	7.80	7	8.00	8	.860
Mature love	10.60	12	9.67	11	.557
Self-control	5.38	4	4.00	1	.738
Self-respect	5.00	3	4.33	3	.705
Separation	17.59	18	17.54	18	.000
Socialism	15.88	17	14.42	16	.586
True friendship	11.00	14	7.25	6	.101

Table 6
COMPARISON OF MEDIAN AND COMPOSITE RANK
ORDERS OF THE PRETEST INSTRUMENTAL VALUES FOR GROUP 2

	Group N = 29		25		Median Test
	Med	Rnk	Med	Rnk	
Able to lead as well as follow	6.63	5	6.63	5	.000
Aggressiveness	10.25	11	10.25	12	.000
Analytical	10.00	10	9.33	8	.320
Anti-hypocritical	9.88	9	8.75	6	.586
Communication	9.75	8	8.75	7	.770
Courageous	5.25	3	5.63	4	.000
Decisiveness	8.92	7	9.75	10	.446
Dedicated	8.80	6	10.25	11	.292
Distrust	16.78	18	16.13	17	.491
Faith	4.40	2	3.67	2	.738
Forgiving	11.33	13	11.42	13	.000
Humility	12.00	14	13.25	14	.586
Respectful	10.60	12	9.67	9	.557
Responsibility	5.67	4	3.25	1	.052
Role-playing	14.60	15	14.33	15	.000
Sincere	3.20	1	4.67	3	.613
Strategy	15.00	16	14.33	16	.320
Violence	15.63	17	17.61	18	.101

Table 7
COMPARISON OF MEDIAN AND COMPOSITE RANK
ORDERS OF THE PRETEST TERMINAL VALUES FOR GROUP 3

	Group N = 23		22		
	Experimental		Control		Median Test
	Med	Rnk	Med	Rnk	P=
A sense of accomplishment	6.75	6	8.17	8	.899
A world at peace	9.00	10	6.00	5	.647
Anti-exploitation	11.75	13	12.50	13	.889
Anti-materialism	14.63	16	14.50	16	.826
Black control of community	13.60	15	12.50	12	.879
Black value system	12.00	14	13.00	14	.673
Confidence	4.33	1	6.50	7	.301
Economic awareness	11.20	12	13.67	15	.181
Equality	6.25	5	4.75	3	.291
Experience	8.00	8	9.83	11	.181
Family security	5.60	2	4.50	2	.444
Humanity	9.00	9	9.70	10	.658
Mature love	9.00	11	6.36	6	.178
Self-control	5.75	3	4.83	4	.647
Self-respect	5.75	4	3.83	1	.280
Separation	17.73	18	17.58	18	.000
Socialism	16.33	17	16.70	17	.437
True friendship	7.75	7	9.50	9	.658

Table 8
COMPARISON OF MEDIAN AND COMPOSITE RANK
ORDERS OF THE PRETEST INSTRUMENTAL VALUES FOR GROUP 3

	Group N = 23		22		
	Experimental		Control		Median Test
	Med	Rnk	Med	Rnk	P=
Able to lead as well as follow	5.67	3	5.50	4	.899
Aggressiveness	10.00	9	11.00	13	.899
Analytical	7.67	7	9.50	9	.465
Anti-hypocritical	10.67	11	9.75	10	.444
Communication	10.00	10	7.83	7	.048
Courageous	3.75	2	4.50	2	.889
Decisiveness	7.67	6	8.50	8	.665
Dedicated	14.00	15	12.00	14	.647
Distrust	16.25	18	14.50	15	.454
Faith	3.13	1	4.00	1	.889
Forgiving	12.25	13	10.00	11	.454
Humility	11.67	12	10.00	12	.647
Respectful	9.00	8	6.36	5	.178
Responsibility	6.25	5	6.50	6	.000
Role-playing	14.75	16	15.50	17	.889
Sincere	6.00	4	5.00	3	.868
Strategy	13.63	14	15.00	16	.301
Violence	15.20	17	17.58	18	.181

Test of First Hypothesis

This study, it should be recalled, attempts an ideological analysis of black militancy. More specifically, the researcher posited the view that black militancy is a multi-dimensional phenomenon with at least the following major aspects: cultural nationalism, political nationalism, distrust of whites and the system, and militancy. The Public Opinion Questionnaire was designed to measure the attitudes toward the major aspects of black militancy. The first hypothesis predicts that value importance is correlated with black militancy.

The primary test for the first hypothesis are the Pearson product-moment correlations between the pretest value importance for the two values that the researcher attempted to manipulate and the pretest attitudes measuring black militancy. More specifically, the primary support for the first hypothesis rests upon (1) the correlations between the pretest value for A world at peace and the pretest values for Cultural Nationalism, Political Nationalism, Distrust of whites and system, and Militancy; and (2) the correlations between the pretest value for Black value system and the pretest values for Cultural Nationalism, Political Nationalism, Distrust of whites and system, and Militancy. It is assumed that if the importance of the values is related to the indices of black militancy for the pretest, the value importance of the values would be related to the indices of black militancy for the posttests also. Table 9 shows the correlations between the pretest values and attitudes for all subjects. As indicated, Black value system was significantly correlated in a positive direction with Cultural Nationalism, Political Nationalism, Distrust of whites and system, and Militancy. Note that the

signs for all correlations between values and attitudes for all analyses in this research have been changed (negative correlations became positive and vice versa) to reflect the hypothesized positive relationship between value importance and intensity of the attitudes. Table 9 also indicates that A world at peace was not significantly correlated with any of the indices of black militancy. However, the fact that Black value system was significantly correlated with all four indices of black militancy does lend support to the hypothesis that value importance is correlated with black militancy.

The secondary finding that lends support for the first hypothesis is the fact that there were a total of 22 other significant correlations between the pretest value importance and the indices of black militancy for the terminal values: Anti-exploitation, Black control of community, Confidence, Equality, Humanity, Self-control, Self-respect, Separation, Socialism, and True friendship were all significantly correlated with one or more of the attitudes measuring black militancy (Table 10). Table 11 reveals that there were 13 significant correlations between value importance of the instrumental values and the attitudes measuring black militancy. Thus, for all of the values, there were a total of 36 significant correlations between value importance and attitudes measuring black militancy, and it appears that the data support the hypothesis that value importance is correlated with the attitudes measuring black militancy.

Table 9
Correlations between Pretest Values
and Attitudes for all Subjects

N = 149

	Cultural Nationalism		Political Nationalism		Distrust of Whites and system		Militancy	
	r	p	r	p	r	p	r	p
<u>A world at peace</u>	.0499	.2715	-.0057	.4726	.0117	.4433	-.0574	.2418
<u>Black value system</u>	.1417	.0413	.2204	.0033	.1869	.0108	.2358	.0018

Table 10

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PRETEST TERMINAL VALUES AND ATTITUDES

N = 149

	Cultural Nationalism		Political Nationalism		Distrust of whites and system		Militancy	
	<u>r</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>p</u>
A sense of accomplishment	-.0094	.4543	-.0306	.3546	.0004	.4979	-.0481	.2787
A world at peace	.0499	.2715	-.0057	.4726	.0117	.4433	-.0574	.2418
Anti-exploitation	.1385	.0449	.0971	.1177	-.0253	.3790	.0735	.1850
Anti-materialism	.1272	.0598	.0655	.2120	-.0205	.4016	.0751	.1796
Black control of community	.1497	.0332	.3801	.0001	.2604	.0006	.3375	.0001
Black value system	.1417	.0413	.2204	.0033	.1869	.0108	.2358	.0018
Confidence	-.0274	.3692	-.0965	.1192	.1665	.0205	-.1160	.0781
Economic awareness	-.0076	.4632	-.0693	.1990	-.0475	.2813	-.0285	.3641
Equality	.1943	.0084	.0946	.1240	.0443	.2946	.0468	.2841
Experience	.1251	.0629	-.0788	.1682	.0163	.4212	.0541	.2546
Family security	-.0898	.1364	-.1190	.0729	-.1111	.0872	-.0433	.2987
Humanity	-.0498	.2717	-.1976	.0075	-.1017	.1069	-.2317	.0021
Mature love	-.1017	.1070	-.0248	.3812	.0148	.4286	.0154	.4255
Self-control	-.2331	.0020	-.2399	.0015	-.1074	.0946	-.1764	.0151
Self-respect	-.1732	.0167	-.2345	.0019	-.1018	.1067	-.1143	.0811
Separation	.0208	.3999	.1255	.0624	.2338	.0019	.2367	.0017
Socialism	-.1450	.0378	-.0097	.4527	-.0436	.2977	.0929	.1282
True friendship	-.1355	.0485	.0757	.1778	-.0496	.2727	-.1469	.0359

Table 11

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PRETEST INSTRUMENTAL VALUES AND ATTITUDES

N = 150

	Cultural Nationalism		Political Nationalism		Distrust of whites and system		Militancy	
	<u>r</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>p</u>
Able to lead as well as follow	-.0538	.2552	-.0890	.1377	-.0577	.2402	-.0898	.1355
Aggressive- ness	-.0105	.4489	.0472	.2817	-.0614	.2261	-.0020	.4903
Analytical	-.0017	.4918	-.0964	.1188	-.0103	.4497	-.0919	.1302
Anti- hypocritical	.1160	.0774	.0819	.1579	-.1125	.0838	.0337	.3401
Communication	.0553	.2492	-.1204	.0698	-.2065	.0053	-.1639	.0218
Courageous	-.1064	.0960	-.0250	.3798	-.0770	.1730	-.0304	.3549
Decisiveness	-.0877	.1412	-.0885	.1391	-.0616	.2254	.0176	.4150
Dedicated and hard working	.0138	.4331	.0552	.2498	.0651	.2129	.1660	.0205
Distrust	.1105	.0876	.2830	.0002	.3552	.0001	.3315	.0001
Faith	.0651	.2127	.0849	.1492	-.0491	.2740	-.0342	.3380
Forgiving	-.0654	.2119	.0142	.4312	.0972	.1168	-.0605	.2295
Humility	-.0673	.2050	.0359	.3304	.0422	.3029	-.1059	.0971
Respectful	-.1011	.1076	-.1031	.1031	-.0342	.3379	-.1559	.0275
Responsi- bility	-.1175	.0747	-.0631	.2204	-.1254	.0619	-.0090	.4561
Role-play	.0421	.3032	.1004	.1092	.1337	.0503	.0488	.2754
Sincere	-.0555	.2485	-.1272	.0593	-.1474	.0350	-.2707	.0004
Strategy	.0151	.4267	-.0246	.3817	.0310	.3522	.0432	.2987
Violence	.2573	.0007	.0813	.1597	.2179	.0035	.3679	.0001

Test of Second Hypothesis

The second hypothesis predicted that militant changes in the importance of A world at peace and Black value system in the value hierarchy of non-militants will be accompanied with more militant attitudes. Tests for this hypothesis consisted of one-way analyses of variance of A world at peace and Black value system (summarized in Tables 12 and 13, respectively), and correlations between the changes in the importance of the two values and changes in the intensity of the attitudes for posttest 1. From Tables 12 and 13, it is apparent that the manipulation produced significant differences between the experimental and control conditions for both A world at peace and Black value system at posttest 1.

To determine whether or not changes in A world at peace and Black value system that reflect a greater degree of militancy will be accompanied with more militant attitudes, correlations between the changes in the importance of the two values and the changes in the intensity of the attitudes were obtained, as shown in Table 14. Change scores were obtained for all subjects for posttest 1 under the experimental condition by subtracting the ranking of each value during pretest from the ranking of the same value during the posttest. Change scores for the attitudes measuring Cultural Nationalism, Political Nationalism, Distrust of Whites and system, and Militancy were obtained for each subject by subtracting the subject's four pretest attitude scores from the same subject's four posttest attitude scores. Thereupon, the changes in the importance of the values were correlated with the changes in the attitudes measuring Cultural Nationalism, Political Nationalism, Distrust of Whites and

system, and Militancy. Note that a positive correlation is one in which the value increases in importance and the attitude score increases, or vice versa; a negative correlation is one in which the value increases in importance as the attitude score decreases, or vice versa.

In Table 14 A world at peace is negatively related to all of the attitudes measuring black militancy. Moreover, the table shows that the correlations between this value and the attitudes measuring Cultural Nationalism and Political Nationalism are significant. In addition, the correlations between A world at peace and the attitudes measuring Distrust of whites and system and Militancy were marginally significant. Since the manipulation was specifically trying to reduce the importance of A world at peace, the value should vary inversely with the attitudes measuring black militancy.

In the case of Black value system, the correlation between the value and the attitudes measuring Militancy was the only significant correlation. However, it should be noted that the correlations between Black value system and the attitudes measuring both Political Nationalism and Distrust of Whites and system were marginally significant. The fact that the correlations between Black value system and the attitudes are positive is salient in that a change in the value to reflect a greater degree of militancy would be accompanied by an increase in the attitude score--a positive correlation. Thus, it appears that changes in the importance of Black value system to reflect greater militancy were accompanied by an increase in militant attitudes. In summary, both the one-way analyses and the correlations between changes in the values and attitudes tended to support the view that changes in the importance of A world at peace and Black value system will be accompanied by more militant attitudes.

Table 12

One-way analysis of A world at peace

	N	Experimental	N	Control	p
Posttest 1	28	9.500	27	5.667	.0095
Posttest 2	29	6.517	22	6.636	.9379
Posttest 3	21	8.143	22	7.455	.685

Table 13

One-way analysis of Black value system

	N	Experimental	N	Control	p
Posttest 1	28	6.857	27	10.889	.0035
Posttest 2	29	7.483	22	14.182	.0001
Posttest 3	21	10.286	22	12.227	.189

Table 14

Correlations between the Changes in the Importance
of the Values and Changes in the Intensity of the Attitudes
for all Subjects under the Experimental Condition
at Posttest 1

N = 78

	Cultural Nationalism		Political Nationalism		Distrust of whites and system		Militancy	
	r	p	r	p	r	p	r	p
A world at peace	-.2124	.0293	-.2792	.0061	-.1747	.0606	-.1635	.0736
Black value system	.0001	.4995	.1544	.0858	.1699	.0660	.2629	.0092

Test of Third Hypothesis

The third hypothesis states that a lasting change in the hierarchical ordering of values--reflecting more militancy--will be accompanied by changes in attitudes. That is, if there is a lasting change in the hierarchical ordering of the values, there should be a corresponding change in the attitudes. More specifically, the attitudes pertaining to cultural nationalism, political nationalism, distrust of whites and the system, and militancy should increase in militancy.

Upon observing Tables 12 and 13, we note that beyond posttest 1, the only significant difference between the experimental and control conditions occurred in the analysis of Black value system at posttest 2. This difference between the experimental and control conditions, however, was quite large and significant.

Table 15 presents the correlations between changes in the importance of Black value systems and changes in the intensity of the attitudes for posttest 2. It can be seen that changes in the importance of Black value systems were significantly correlated with changes in the intensity of the attitudes measuring Political Nationalism and Militancy. In addition, the correlation between Black value system and attitudes measuring Distrust of Whites and the system were marginally significant. Thus, it appears that as Black value system increases in importance, there is a corresponding increase in the intensity of the attitudes significantly correlated with the value.

Finally, it appears (as indicated by Tables 12 and 13) that the effects of the manipulation had dissipated by posttest 3. Results for both values did not even approach significance. Thus, it was not

necessary to investigate any relationship between the two values manipulated and the attitudes given that the manipulation had no effect upon the subjects at that point in time. However, Tables 16 - 19 present the results from the one-way analyses of the attitudes measuring Cultural Nationalism, Political Nationalism, Distrust of Whites and system, and Militancy. These results are presented to show that the manipulation did not have any significant effect upon the attitudes. It is of interest to note that although there were significant differences between conditions for the values at posttests 1 and 2, there were no significant differences between conditions for any of the attitudes. More will be said about these findings in the next chapter.

In conclusion, it seems clear that the data did not allow for an adequate test of the prediction that a lasting change in the hierarchical ordering of the values would be accompanied with similar changes in the attitudes, since no lasting change occurred.

Table 15

Correlations between Changes in the Importance of
Black value system and Changes in the Intensity
of the Attitudes for Posttest 2
under the Experimental Condition

N = 29

	Cultural Nationalism		Political Nationalism		Distrust of whites and system		Militancy	
	r	p	r	p	r	p	r	p
Black value system	.0645	.3652	.4481	.0057	.2729	.0687	.3607	.0231

Table 16

One-way analysis of Cultural Nationalism

	N	Experimental	N	Control	p
Posttest 1	28	21.300	27	22.533	.066
Posttest 2	29	22.896	22	22.000	.218
Posttest 3	21	20.696	22	20.500	.769

Table 17

One-way analysis of Political Nationalism

	N	Experimental	N	Control	p
Posttest 1	28	24.600	27	25.633	.213
Posttest 2	29	25.779	22	26.520	.255
Posttest 3	21	26.696	22	26.136	.608

Table 18

One-way analysis of Distrust of whites and system

	N	Experimental	N	Control	p
Posttest 1	28	28.500	27	29.133	.474
Posttest 2	29	28.655	22	27.800	.349
Posttest 3	21	28.522	22	27.864	.547

Table 19

One-way analysis of Militancy

	N	Experimental	N	Control	p
Posttest 1	28	37.433	27	38.800	.418
Posttest 2	29	37.241	22	36.920	.848
Posttest 3	21	37.652	22	37.227	.823

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

The results of the tests of the three hypotheses revealed the following: (1) there was no overall significant difference between the pretest ranking of the values by subjects in the experimental and control conditions; (2) value importance was positively correlated with attitudes measuring black militancy; (3) changes in the importance of values that reflect greater militancy were associated with more militant attitudes. The data did not allow for an adequate test of the prediction that a lasting change in the hierarchical ordering of the values would be accompanied by similar changes in attitudes, since no lasting value change occurred.

The first hypothesis stated that value importance is correlated with black militancy. The value, A world at peace was not significantly correlated with any of the attitude scales measuring black militancy. However, Black value system was significantly correlated in a positive direction with attitude toward black militancy. In addition, there were 36 other significant correlations between the pretest value importance and the attitude scales measuring black militancy.

Results of the test of the second hypothesis showed that there were significant differences between the experimental and control conditions for both A world at peace and Black value system at posttest 1. More specifically, in the case of A world at peace, the subjects under the experimental condition ranked the value significantly higher (indicating a decrease in importance) than subjects under the control condition.

Conversely, Black value system was ranked significantly lower (indicating an increase in importance) by subjects within the experimental condition. The correlations between the changes in the importance of the two values and the changes in the intensity of the attitudes were all significant or marginally significant in all cases, except for the relationship between Black value system and Cultural Nationalism.

The results of the test of the third hypothesis did not allow for an adequate investigation of the prediction that a lasting change in a value would be accompanied by consistent changes in the attitudes measured, since no lasting value change occurred. In addition, there were no significant differences between the experimental and control conditions for the attitudes measuring black militancy.

The findings from the tests of the first two hypotheses of this study support previous empirical studies which have concluded that values are correlated with attitudes. Smith (1949) found a relationship between values and attitudes toward Russia. Sanai (1952) found correlations between a person's values and a general political attitude of radicalism. Evans (1951) reported a relationship between a person's values and anti-semitism. In a national survey of values and attitudes, Rokeach (1968) reported that people who supported George Wallace for President in 1968 ranked Equality significantly lower than did people who supported other Presidential candidates. In addition, he reported that people who ranked Equality high were significantly more favorable toward free medical care.

The finding that militants differed in their values and attitudes from non-militants has significance for the contemporary black movement, given the assumption that these differences manifest themselves in

overt behavior. A significant aspect of the attempt to create solidarity among black people presupposes a change in some of the attitudes that black people presently hold about themselves and the white majority. The results of this research support the view of many blacks who believe that Afro-americans must develop more militant attitudes through their own educational programs, which are designed to make them more aware of the social, political, and economic realities of this society. The need for the development of positive attitudes is reflected by the large number of educational programs designed to teach black people about their past, present, and future. It is for this reason that the Nation of Islam's program, for example, is a form of religion as well as a socio-economic and political program. The success of the Muslims' program is due in part to the fact that it reflects a totality of black consciousness. This totality of black awareness can only be achieved by blacks through the development of positive black attitudes.

It seems apparent that black educational programs designed to correct many of the inaccurate attitudes and values about black people can have far-reaching results. For example, there are many people who still hold attitudes about black men and women which are not true. The attitude that the black male is psychologically impotent and castrated has been perpetuated not only by social scientists but through the mass media, and is accepted by both blacks and whites alike. However, there are those who argue that this assault on black masculinity is made precisely because black males are men; not because they are impotent. This is a very important distinction to be realized. It is further argued that the black male is feared sexually and occupationally, and

must be destroyed as a man to "protect" the white world. While the attempt to destroy the black male has obviously failed, the myth of his demasculinization lingers on. The fear of black male power can be seen in the unrelenting determination on the part of white America to create in fiction what it has been unable to obtain in the empirical world.

The attitudes held by many people about the black woman are also cruel and deceptive. The common belief that the black woman is the dominant figure in the family really disguises the oppression of black women in this society. Black women are discriminated against on the basis of their sex, their race, and their location in the working class strata of this upper-class dominated society. These are just two examples of the need for programs designed to change many of the existing inaccurate and deleterious attitudes and values about black people. The relationship between values and attitudes hypothesized in this research could be utilized in the development of such educational programs.

Since we were able to test the first and second hypotheses but not the third, we must raise the question of why the manipulation did not work better than it did. It appeared that there was no measurable effect of the manipulation by posttest 3. Why was there no stability of change over time for the values? The most plausible explanation for the results obtained rests with the manipulation and design used in this study.

In an effort to understand how the manipulation and design may have caused the results obtained in this research, we will now consider in detail the research by Rokeach. Rokeach (1971) reported research in which he observed long-range changes for values, attitudes, and behavior. More precisely, he manipulated the values of Freedom and Equality of

Michigan State University freshmen enrolled in two small residential colleges on campus: James Madison College for students interested in social sciences, and Lyman Briggs College for students interested in the natural sciences. The manipulation was described at the beginning of this study (see p. 4): the subject was exposed to information about inconsistent relationships which already existed in his value-attitude system, and of which he was unaware. Posttests were obtained at intervals of 3 weeks, 3-5 months, and 15-17 months. Rokeach reported significant differences between the two conditions for values and attitudes at 3 weeks, 3-5 months, and 15-17 months. In addition, he reported significant differences between the subjects under the two conditions in their joining behavior of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Finally, Rokeach presented data that he used to explain the long-range change for the subjects under the experimental condition by demonstrating that subjects who were "dissatisfied" changed their average rankings of Equality and Freedom significantly more than those who reported they were "satisfied". Rokeach concluded with the statement that "...the finding that relatively enduring changes in values, attitudes, and behavior can be brought about as a result of a rather brief experimental treatment has important implications for the fields of political science and propaganda, as well as for the fields of education and therapy."

The research by Rokeach is extremely impressive and valuable to say the least. This is a very significant statement considering the fact that Rokeach has empirically demonstrated that the manipulation caused the change in values, which was followed by changes in attitudes and eventually by changes in behavior. The clear demonstration that

the manipulation eventuated in changes in behavior is surely the most impressive and significant aspect of Rokeach's research.

We now turn our attention to a comparison between the research reported by Rokeach (1971) and the present research. It was stated earlier that the most plausible explanation for the results obtained in this study rests with the design and the manipulation used. The design of the present study was one in which all subjects received the pretest and only one of the three possible posttests. That is, every subject was randomly selected for each posttest and participated in no more than one posttest session. In the present study, posttest 1 occurred immediately following the manipulation; posttest 2 occurred 3 weeks later and posttest 3 occurred 6 weeks later. The manipulation used in this study was identical in kind as that used by Rokeach.

One plausible explanation concerning the failure of the manipulation is that perhaps, for the first time, the real strength or potency of this kind of manipulation was shown. Since no subject under the experimental condition participated in more than one posttest, there was no opportunity for any "carry-over" from one posttest to another. It is quite reasonable to expect subjects to remember the task and purpose of this kind of research, given the saliency of the task (ranking values) and the topic (freedom, equality, black militancy, etc.).

In the case of Rokeach's design, the subjects could have participated in all three posttests. Moreover, it is reasonable to speculate that there would be a great deal of "carry-over" from posttests 1, 2, or 3 that would remind the subject what was expected of him. This is particularly salient since the manipulation clearly indicates to the subject the inconsistencies among his values or between his value and

attitudes. This carry-over from posttest to posttest could possibly serve as motivation to the subject to change his values and attitudes given that the subject knows what is expected of him.

The second point of concern pertains to the possible contamination effect in Rokeach's research. It is quite possible that under the experimental condition, subjects discussed among themselves the purpose of the research and what was expected of them. It is not unreasonable to suspect that some contamination occurred since both colleges are small residential colleges which follow the "living-learning" philosophy of education. The students live in this small college area, have their classes within the college area, and generally spend a great deal of their time together from day to day. It may very well be that part of Rokeach's results reflect some of the contamination that resulted from "rap" sessions among the subjects. In the present research, the Figure Drawing Completion Test was designed to force the subjects to focus upon an irrelevant aspect of the experiment. It was anticipated that this task would help guard against contamination over time by the subjects discussing the research. Finally, the subjects used in the present research were from a more heterogeneous environment than Rokeach's. Approximately half of the sample of students lived off-campus, while the other subjects were from scattered dormitories on campus.

The third point of concern about Rokeach's findings is the large attrition rate among the subjects in his experimental condition. Although attrition is almost unavoidable in most research and a sizable attrition rate is found in the present research, it is more of a concern in Rokeach's research since his sample is a heterogeneous one. The present research used a homogeneous sample and subjects were randomly

assigned to conditions after being matched by pretest values. At posttest 1 in Rokeach's study there were 152 subjects in the experimental condition. At posttest 2 there were 108 subjects and at posttest 3 there were 115 subjects--a loss of 29% and 24% of the original sample, respectively. It is possible that those subjects lost from the analyses could have had their values changed in the opposite direction, or could have been at variance with the other subjects to the extent that the differences between the two conditions could have been nullified. Given that Rokeach's sample was heterogeneous and the present research had a homogeneous sample, it appears that factors that were missing in the present research might have operated in Rokeach's. This speculation is based upon the assumption that one would expect change to be easier with a homogeneous sample as opposed to a heterogeneous one. The factors that may be accounting for the differences between the results of the two studies may include biasing "carry-over" effects of the repeated posttests with the same subjects, and the contamination effects from the collaboration among the subjects. Of course, it is impossible to specify exactly the differences that account for the diversity of results of the two studies, and thus, the previous speculations must be examined with caution. These and other observations must await further research.

A very interesting finding that deserves some discussion is that there was no attitude change in any of the three posttest-experimental conditions. If the manipulation worked for the values, why was there no significant differences between experimental and control conditions for attitudes? One possible explanation is that the design did not allow enough time to detect attitude change. In other words, had there been a fourth posttest, the attitude change may have occurred. It is possible

that a fourth posttest administered 3 months after the manipulation might have resulted in the attitude change. This speculation is supported by the findings of Rokeach's (1971) research. Rokeach reported a " sleeper " effect in which there were no changes in the attitudes at posttest 1 (3 weeks), but significant changes in the attitudes for the experimental group at posttest 2 (3-5 months) and posttest 3 (15-17 months), suggesting long-range attitude change.

A second explanation that can be offered to account for the fact that there was no attitude change is that the number of subjects employed was too small. Although having more subjects under the two conditions could have perhaps made the differences between the two conditions more salient, it seems unlikely that the sample size could have exerted any great effect.

A related explanation of the results pertains to the practical significance of the relationship between values and attitudes. Even though the correlations between changes in the importance of the values and changes in the intensity of the attitudes were significant, the correlations were small and only accounted for a moderate amount of black militancy. That is, based upon the size of the correlations found in these analyses, it is clearly not sufficient just to change values to cause non-militants to become more militant over time.

The last explanation as to why there was no attitude change pertains to the idea that there was no perceived instrumentality of the attitudes measuring black militancy with respect to Black value system and A world at peace. Or, there was no non-verbalized association between the attitudes measuring black militancy and the values manipulated. Rosenberg (1960) presented a very cognitive explanation of perceived

instrumentality: people are said to have beliefs about how an attitude relates to a value. However, the idea is that a person's attitude toward an object is determined by what the object can do in terms of the person's values. Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum (1957) described the relationship between a value and an attitude from a more behavioristic point of view. Osgood, et al. do not require any awareness of the relationship between an attitude and a value. A person may just feel that an attitude and a value go together, without realizing why. The explanation being offered is that if neither Rosenberg's perceived instrumentality or Osgood's non-verbalized association between the attitudes and the values occurred, there could be no attitude change expected.

The most probable explanation and most preferred explanation by the author is that the design did not allow sufficient time to detect the attitude changes between the two conditions. However, the answer to the question of why there was no attitude change must also await further research.

Discussion of Future Research

The methodological questions and the issues raised concerning the potency of the cognitive manipulation used in this research can only be answered by further research. It seems that the questions raised as a result of the comparison between the results from this research and the results from the research by Rokeach must be answered. One possible way to resolve the differences between the two designs is conduct a large study of value-attitude change in which half of the subjects are tested using the within-group design of Rokeach and the other subjects are tested using the between-group design of the present research. Comparing the results from the two designs would show, hopefully,

whether or not there are any factors of a biasing nature operating. In addition, the results should show any differential decaying effects of the manipulations used in the two designs, if any. Posttests would be at 3 weeks, 5 months, and 18 months after the manipulation to ensure that the stability and duration of both the values and attitudes could be measured. Finally, a behavioral index of the value-attitude change would be used to determine if there were any behavioral differential between the two designs. It is anticipated that such a study would resolve the questions raised in this study and hopefully raise new questions.

Theoretical and Practical Significance

In conclusion, we should point out the theoretical and practical significance of this research. This study has demonstrated that there is a significant relationship between values and attitudes measuring black militancy. In addition, this study has also demonstrated that changes in the importance of values are related to changes in the intensity of attitudes toward black militancy. The questions raised by this study pertaining to the potency of Rokeach's cognitive manipulation, and the possible differential effects of Rokeach's design and the design used in this research have tremendous theoretical significance. It seems that the differences between the two studies can only be resolved by further research. Turning our attention to the practical significance of this study, evidence obtained in this research indicates that it appears to be possible to predict black militancy based upon a knowledge of the importance of the values. It should be added, however, that the prediction would be significantly enhanced if other factors

which determine black militancy were known. There appears to be enough evidence that suggests that factors other than the importance of the values are significant. Obviously, the findings of this research could have far-reaching consequences in both a positive and negative sense to the black liberation movement. The importance of a person's values could be used in the assessment and selection of blacks for a specific position or job or as a tool for identifying the ideological weaknesses of a person or group of persons. After identifying the ideological weaknesses, black educational programs could be concentrated to suit the needs of the individual. Obviously, there are grave ethical considerations involved in the use of value-attitude change research in the manner described. However, such problems can be resolved if the psychologists are really in the service of the people. It is the author's view that a black value system is the only value system that is viable to black people, and the knowledge of the relationship between values and black militancy is indispensable.

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LIST OF REFERENCES

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Rokeach Value Survey

Terminal Values:

A COMFORTABLE LIFE (a prosperous life)
AN EXCITING LIFE (a stimulating, active life)
A SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT (lasting contribution)
A WORLD AT PEACE (free of war and conflict)
A WORLD OF BEAUTY (beauty of nature and the arts)
EQUALITY (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all)
FAMILY SECURITY (taking care of loved ones)
FREEDOM (independence, free choice)
HAPPINESS (contentedness)
INNER HARMONY (freedom from inner conflict)
MATURE LOVE (sexual and spiritual intimacy)
NATIONAL SECURITY (protection from attack)
PLEASURE (an enjoyable, leisurely life)
SALVATION (saved, an eternal life)
SELF-RESPECT (self-esteem)
SOCIAL RECOGNITION (respect, admiration)
TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close companionship)
WISDOM (a mature understanding of life)

Instrumental Values:

AMBITIOUS (hard-working, aspiring)
BROADMINDED (open-minded)
CAPABLE (competent, effective)
CHEERFUL (lighthearted, joyful)
CLEAN (neat, tidy)
COURAGEOUS (standing up for your beliefs)
FORGIVING (willing to pardon others)
HELPFUL (working for the welfare of others)
HONEST (sincere, truthful)
IMAGINATIVE (daring, creative)
INDEPENDENT (self-reliant, self-sufficient)
INTELLECTUAL (intelligent, reflective)
LOGICAL (consistent, rational)
LOVING (affectionate, tender)
OBEDIENT (dutiful, respectful)
POLITE (courteous, well mannered)
RESPONSIBLE (dependable, reliable)
SELF-CONTROLLED (restrained, self-disciplined)

APPENDIX B

Value Questionnaire

Instructions: Below you will find a definition of what we mean by the concept value.

Value - The concept of value is defined as a preferred end-state of existence that people strive for or a preferred mode of behavior. To say that a person "has a value" is to say that he has an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to alternative modes of of conduct or end-states of existence.

Your task is to read and re-read the above definition and ensure that you understand it. Next, you are to list and describe the values you feel that would be possessed by a black militant or a militant black individual. Try to limit your list, if possible, to 20-25 values.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
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APPENDIX C

Instructions for Experimental Group Experimenter

1. Pass out Value Survey I and pencils.
2. Read aloud the instructions to Value Survey I as the subjects read the instructions to themselves.
3. Do not collect Value Survey I. They need it to refer to later.
4. Pass out Public Opinion Questionnaire I.
5. Read aloud the instructions to Public Opinion Questionnaire I as the subjects read the instructions to themselves.
6. Split group in half.
7. Send 1/2 of group (control group) with Control Experimenter to room 106.
8. Pass out Questionnaire A to remaining half.
9. Read Questionnaire slowly and carefully to subjects as they read it to themselves.
10. Please write your name at the top on the front of Questionnaire A.
11. Collect Value Survey I, Public Opinion Questionnaire I, and Questionnaire A.
12. Keep 1/3 of group for posttest and send 2/3 of the group to the rear of room 106 with assistant.
13. Upon reaching rear of room 106, assistant will collect all materials (including pencils), thank them for their cooperation, and dismiss them.
14. The 1/3 remaining in 108 will be given posttest 1.
15. Pass out Value Survey II.
16. Read instructions to subjects as they read to themselves.
17. Collect Value Survey II.
18. Pass out Public Opinion Questionnaire II.

19. Collect Public Opinion Questionnaire II.
20. Pass out Figure-drawing test.
21. Read instructions to Figure-drawing test to subjects as they read to themselves.
22. Collect Figure-drawing test.
23. Collect pencils.
24. Thank subjects for their cooperation and time.

Instructions for Control Group Experimenter

1. Upon splitting of group, take 1/2 of original group to 106. Have subjects sit down front in center section.
2. Collect Value Survey I and Public Opinion Questionnaire I from all subjects separately.
3. Split group into thirds and take 1/3 of group for control group posttest 1. The other 2/3 will leave with assistant to go out into hall. The assistant will collect all pencils and thank them for their cooperation and time and dismiss them.
4. Give remaining 1/3 in 106 Value Survey II and read instructions.
5. Collect Value Survey II.
6. Pass out Public Opinion Questionnaire II and read instructions.
7. Collect Public Opinion Questionnaire II.
8. Pass out Figure-drawing test.
9. Read instructions for Figure-drawing test to subjects as they read to themselves.
10. Collect Figure-drawing test and all materials (pencils).
11. Thank subjects for their cooperation and time and dismiss them.

APPENDIX D

Value Survey I

Name _____

Local Address _____

Telephone No. _____

This is a scientific study of value systems. There are no right or wrong answers in this study. The best answer is your own personal opinion.

This questionnaire is intended not only to gather new scientific facts, but also as a teaching device. In return for your cooperation, we hope to provide you with some interesting insights into yourself.

Below is a list of 18 values arranged in alphabetical order. Your task is to arrange them in order of their importance to YOU, as guiding principles in YOUR life.

Study the list carefully. Then place a 1 next to the value which is most important for you, place a 2 next to the value which is second most important, etc. The value which is least important should be ranked 18.

When you have completed ranking all of the values, go back and check over your list. Feel free to make changes. Please ensure that the end result truly reflects how you feel.

- _____ A sense of accomplishment (lasting contribution)
- _____ A world at peace (free of war and conflict)
- _____ Anti-exploitation (totally against oppression of people)
- _____ Anti-materialism (lack of excessive love for material things of this world)
- _____ Black control of community
- _____ Black value system (a perpetuation of a black value system)
- _____ Confidence (know your abilities, sure of yourself)
- _____ Economic awareness (knowledge of economy)
- _____ Equality (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all)
- _____ Experience (knowledge through experience)
- _____ Family security (taking care of loved ones)
- _____ Humanity (love for humanity)
- _____ Mature love (sexual and spiritual intimacy)
- _____ Self-control (control of yourself physically and mentally)
- _____ Self-respect (self-esteem)
- _____ Separation (complete separation from whites)
- _____ Socialism (theory of collective or governmental ownership)
- _____ True friendship (close companionship)

When you have finished this page, go on to next page.

Below is another list of 18 values. Arrange them in order of importance, the same as before.

- _____ Able to lead as well as follow
- _____ Aggressiveness (self-assertive)
- _____ Analytical (able to analyze situations)
- _____ Anti-hypocritical (practice what you preach)
- _____ Communication (at various levels, brother on street, to whites, formally, etc.)
- _____ Courageous (standing up for your beliefs)
- _____ Decisiveness (able to think and behave quickly under pressure)
- _____ Dedicated and hard working (willing to die for the struggle)
- _____ Distrust (distrust of whites and the system)
- _____ Faith (belief in self, cause and people)
- _____ Forgiving (willing to pardon blacks)
- _____ Humility (humble in spirit, freedom from arrogance)
- _____ Respectful (showing deference)
- _____ Responsibility (independent, reliable)
- _____ Role play (indulgent in role play out of necessity)
- _____ Sincere (honest, real, pure)
- _____ Strategy (skillful executioner of strategies)
- _____ Violence (appreciation of the necessity of violence for change)

When you have finished this page, go on to next page.

Directions: Please read the following questions carefully and answer them as completely as possible. Please do not worry about what are the right answers. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions. The best answers are your own personal opinions. Please be as specific in your answers as possible.

1. If you were suddenly given \$100,000.00 (tax free), please describe in detail how you would spend it.
2. Please describe the type of neighborhood you would like to live in after completing your formal education. In your description, please include name of city (if possible), size of city, socio-economic level of neighborhood, racial composition of schools, type of church, etc.

3. Please rank the following organizations in terms of how important you feel they are to the struggle of black people today.

_____ NAACP

_____ Republic of New Africa

_____ Southern Christian Leadership Conference

_____ Black Panther Party

_____ Urban League

_____ US (Maulana Ron Karenga)

When you have finished, please look up front and wait for further instructions.

APPENDIX E

Public Opinion Questionnaire I

Name _____

Local Address _____

Telephone No. _____

This is a scientific study of the attitudes of black students. There are no right or wrong answers in this study. The best answer is your own personal opinion.

Below are a list of statements about various topics. Please check or circle appropriately to indicate your opinion. In the case of the five symbols (A, SA, ?, D, and SD), they stand for "Agree", "Strongly Agree", "Uncertain", "Disagree", and "Strongly Disagree", respectively.

The terms "Negroes" and "Blacks" are used in this questionnaire interchangeably with the same connotation. Neither term should present a negative attitude toward the person(s) referred to in the statement.

A. Cultural Nationalism

1. Which name do you prefer being called?

Negro_____ Colored_____ Black_____ Yellow_____

2. What color do you think Jesus was?

White_____ Brown_____ Black_____ Yellow_____

3. Do you think blacks (Negroes) should identify themselves with Africa by wearing African styled clothes?

Strongly Disagree_____ Disagree_____ Agree_____ Strongly Agree_____

4. Do you approve of black (Negro) women wearing Afro-hair styles?

Strongly Disapprove_____ Disapprove_____ Approve_____ Strongly Approve_____

5. Do you approve of black (Negro) men wearing Afro-hair styles?

Strongly Approve_____ Approve_____ Disapprove_____ Strongly Disapprove_____

6. Do you believe that blacks (Negroes) have more to be proud of than any other ethnic group in America?

Strongly Agree_____ Agree_____ Disagree_____ Strongly Disagree_____

7. Do you feel that black (Negro) school children should study an African language?

Strongly Disagree_____ Disagree_____ Agree_____ Strongly Agree_____

B. Political Nationalism

1. Do you feel that blacks (Negroes) should patronize black (Negro) business whenever possible?

Strongly Agree ____ Agree ____ Disagree ____ Strongly Disagree ____

2. Do you agree that black (Negro) Americans should insist that schools in black neighborhoods have black (Negro) principals?

Strongly Disagree ____ Disagree ____ Agree ____ Strongly Agree ____

3. Do you feel that black (Negro) parents should have the final word as to what is taught to their children in the public schools?

Strongly Disagree ____ Disagree ____ Agree ____ Strongly Agree ____

4. Do you think that educated blacks (Negroes) who have good jobs should try to use their talents and leadership ability to help other blacks (Negroes)?

Strongly Agree ____ Agree ____ Disagree ____ Strongly Disagree ____

5. Do you feel that blacks (Negroes) should try to get money for setting up businesses that will be run by blacks (Negroes) in the black community?

Strongly Agree ____ Agree ____ Disagree ____ Strongly Disagree ____

6. Do you feel that stores in the black (Negro) communities should be owned and run by blacks?

Strongly Disagree ____ Disagree ____ Agree ____ Strongly Agree ____

7. Do you believe that schools with mostly black (Negro) children should have mostly black teachers?

Strongly Agree ____ Agree ____ Disagree ____ Strongly Disagree ____

8. Do you feel that blacks (Negroes) should set up a separate black nation in America?

Strongly Agree ____ Agree ____ Disagree ____ Strongly Disagree ____

9. Do you think that blacks (Negroes) should form their own political party?

Strongly Disagree ____ Disagree ____ Agree ____ Strongly Agree ____

C. Distrust of Whites and System

1. Do you think that whites in the North are more concerned about giving blacks (Negroes) a better break than whites in the South?
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Disagree____ Strongly Disagree____
2. Which would you say was more important to you being black (Negro) or being American?
Being black (Negro)____ Being an American____ Both____ Neither____
3. Do you think that whites in the South are more concerned about giving blacks (Negroes) a better break than whites in the North?
Strongly Disagree____ Disagree____ Agree____ Strongly Agree____
4. In general, to what extent are white people concerned about giving black (Negro) people equal opportunities in America?
Very Much concerned____ Slightly concerned____ Very little concerned____ Not concerned at all____
5. Do you expect things to get better or worse for blacks (Negroes) in the next five years or stay about the same?
Much better____ Better____ Worse____ Much worse____
6. To what extent can whites be trusted to help solve the racial problems in America?
Not at all____ Slightly____ Not too much____ Very much____
7. Do you feel that blacks (Negroes) should serve in the Armed Forces?
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Strongly Disagree____ Disagree____
8. If the United States got into a World War today, would you personally feel that this country was worth fighting for?
Strongly Agree____ Agree____ Strongly Disagree____ Disagree____
9. Do you believe that the present system of American government is capable of solving the race problem in America?
Strongly Disagree____ Disagree____ Agree____ Strongly Agree____
10. Do you feel that participating in the American form of government by voting and seeking local and federal offices is an effective way to advance black interests?
Strongly Disagree____ Disagree____ Agree____ Strongly Agree____

11. Do you feel that blacks (Negroes) should have nothing to do with whites if they can help it?

Strongly Disagree_____ Disagree_____ Agree_____ Strongly Agree_____

D. Militancy

- | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|----|---|
| SA | A | ? | D | SD | 1. It is just as misleading to think that all whites are alike as it is to think that all blacks or people of any race are alike. |
| SA | A | ? | D | SD | 2. In the case of death (violent), each black man should take two or three honkies with him. |
| SA | A | ? | D | SD | 3. The entire concept of Black Militancy should only be used as a threat to the white power structure; actual militant procedures should never be executed. |
| SA | A | ? | D | SD | 4. Black Militancy is a <u>must</u> in the formation of a Black revolution. |
| SA | A | ? | D | SD | 5. Abernathy is more of a leader than H. Rap Brown was. |
| SA | A | ? | D | SD | 6. All whites are prejudiced against Negroes. |
| SA | A | ? | D | SD | 7. Every Negro should buy himself a gun. |
| SA | A | ? | D | SD | 8. Kill the Honky in the street! |
| SA | A | ? | D | SD | 9. Blacks in America have more in common with others in America than they do with most Africans. |
| SA | A | ? | D | SD | 10. Medals and honors should be given to blacks who show outstanding ability in the destruction of whites. |
| SA | A | ? | D | SD | 11. Whites should keep their noses in their own business and leave black's business alone. |
| SA | A | ? | D | SD | 12. Blacks should arm themselves and kill as many whites as possible. |
| SA | A | ? | D | SD | 13. All blacks should go along hand and hand with the white man in order to achieve equality. |
| SA | A | ? | D | SD | 14. The Negro doesn't have to give his life for a country that won't give him all of his rights and first-class citizenship. |

- SA A ? D SD 15. Progress in civil rights has opened opportunities for a better life for Negroes; complete equality can be achieved by preserving the system we have today.
- SA A ? D SD 16. Integration as a goal in this society will not work to the advantage of the black man.
- SA A ? D SD 17. Contributions of white and black culture can be mutually enriching and should be exchanged by blacks and whites by getting to know each other better.
- SA A ? D SD 18. Blacks should teach and train their children for physical combat against the white man.
- SA A ? D SD 19. Most white people are not racist--they are just unfamiliar with Negroes and their problems.
- SA A ? D SD 20. Negroes, because of past sufferings, have a right to attack society in open revolution; it's the only way they'll be recognized.
- SA A ? D SD 21. Whites who approach blacks in a friendly manner are trying to further exploit the black man.
- SA A ? D SD 22. Blacks should not be schooled in white culture; should not wear western dress; nor study western composers or authors.
- SA A ? D SD 23. Blacks should kill whites in order to prevent whites from killing blacks.
24. Many different terms have been used to describe the events that took place in Newark, Detroit, Watts, and other places. Which of the following terms do you think best describes what happened?

Riot_____ Rebellion_____ Civil disorder_____ Hoodlumism_____

25. Some people say that the events in Newark, Detroit, and Watts helped the blacks (Negroes); others say it hurt. What do you think?

Helped a great deal_____ **Helped some**_____ **Hurt some**_____ **Hurt a great deal**_____

26. Do you approve of violence as a means of helping the black (Negro) cause?

Strongly Disapprove _____ **Disapprove** _____ **Approve** _____ **Strongly Approve** _____

When you have finished, please look up front and wait for further instructions.

APPENDIX F

Value Survey II

Name _____

Local Address _____

Telephone No. _____

On the next few pages you will find two value surveys which you have seen before. Even though you have responded to them before, it is important that we find out how you feel about them NOW. Do not worry about how you answered before to the value surveys. Simply mark each one according to how you feel about them RIGHT NOW.

* * * * *

INSTRUCTIONS

On the next page are 18 values arranged in alphabetical order. Your task is to arrange them in order of their importance to YOU, as guiding principles in YOUR life.

Study the list carefully. Then place a 1 next to the value which is most important for you, place a 2 next to the value which is second most important, etc. The value which is least important should be ranked 18.

When you have completed ranking all of the values, go back and check over your list. Feel free to make changes. Please ensure that the end result truly reflects how you feel.

- _____ A sense of accomplishment (lasting contribution)
- _____ A world at peace (free of war and conflict)
- _____ Anti-exploitation (totally against oppression of people)
- _____ Anti-materialism (lack of excessive love for material things of this world)
- _____ Black control of community
- _____ Black value system (a perpetuation of a black value system)
- _____ Confidence (know your abilities, sure of yourself)
- _____ Economic awareness (knowledge of economy)
- _____ Equality (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all)
- _____ Experience (knowledge through experience)
- _____ Family security (taking care of loved ones)
- _____ Humanity (love for humanity)
- _____ Mature love (sexual and spiritual intimacy)
- _____ Self-control (control of yourself physically and mentally)
- _____ Self-respect (self-esteem)
- _____ Separation (complete separation from whites)
- _____ Socialism (theory of collective or governmental ownership)
- _____ True friendship (close companionship)

When you have finished this page, go on to next page.

Below is another list of 18 values. Arrange them in order of importance, the same as before.

- _____ Able to lead as well as follow
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- _____ Communication (at various levels, brother on street, to whites, formally, etc.)
- _____ Courageous (standing up for your beliefs)
- _____ Decisiveness (able to think and behave quickly under pressure)
- _____ Dedicated and hard working (willing to die for the struggle)
- _____ Distrust (distrust of whites and the system)
- _____ Faith (belief in self, cause and people)
- _____ Forgiving (willing to pardon blacks)
- _____ Humility (humble in spirit, freedom from arrogance)
- _____ Respectful (showing deference)
- _____ Responsibility (independent, reliable)
- _____ Role play (indulgent in role play out of necessity)
- _____ Sincere (honest, real, pure)
- _____ Strategy (skillful executioner of strategies)
- _____ Violence (appreciation of the necessity of violence for change)

When you have finished this page, please go on to next page.

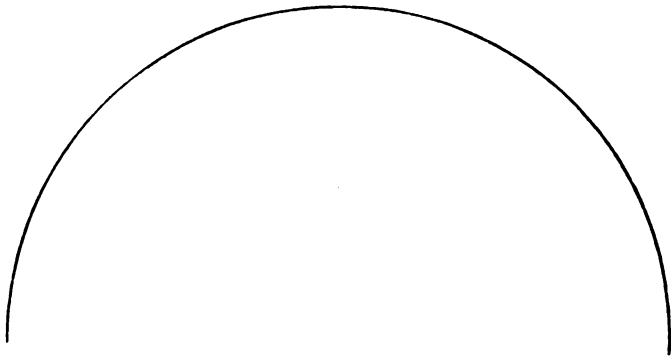
APPENDIX G

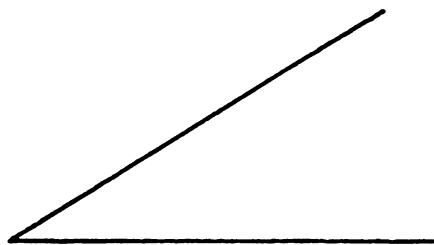
Drawing Completion Test

Name _____

On each of the following three pages you will find part of a drawing which you are to complete, making it as realistic and creative as possible. Please spend about one minute on each of the drawings.







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