

BIASED REPORTING STYLES AS A TEST FOR
THE POTENCY OF RACIAL LABELS

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THESIS



ABSTRACT

BIASED REPORTING STYLES AS A TEST FOR THE POTENCY OF RACIAL LABELS

By

Calvin R. Matthews

The present research examined the effects of race of subject, race of author and racial labels on subjects' responses to journalistic products. Past research results concerning labels and stereotypes were reviewed. From these results it was shown that various labels and stereotypes may or may not be taken as offensive, depending on circumstances. The present research extends this issue to the third person. That is, the potency of a racial label may well depend upon who is using the label.

Black and White subjects participated individually in this study by reading a fake article that described an incident in which a small group of Blacks or Whites were depicted as hijacking a plane. Each article, which referred to the hijackers as "niggers," "hunkies," or no racial label, contained the picture of a White or Black author. To measure one's attitude toward the article, each subject was asked to rate an article according to the quality of the report. After handing in all material, each subject then filled out a questionnaire which measured recall of what actually was depicted in the hijacking story.

It was hypothesized that: (a) Subjects of both race would tend to respond differently to an author depending on the label used in an article. (b) Comprehension and ratings would also differ as a result of the two-way interactions of the independent variables (race of subject, race of author, and racial label used).

Although the general hypothesis for comprehension was not supported, results provided some support for the hypothesis: (a) As for comprehension, both Black and White subjects tended to remember more from articles written by an author of their own race. (b) Overall, comprehension was less when an author used the associated label of members of the opposite race. (c) Although just the opposite was predicted, it was found that subjects of both races tended to remember more from articles containing their associated label.

As for the ratings, Black subjects rated articles higher than White subjects and overall the Black author was rated higher than the White author. The "nigger" label was rated lower than the "hunky" label suggesting that the "nigger" label was a more negative stimulus. There were no significant two-way interactions for White subjects, but there was a tendency to rate articles lower when the hunky label was used by no author.

Overall, results indicated that racial labels can be taken as offensive and some labels are more potent than others. In this study the "nigger" label tended to be the more negative stimulus and

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the race of the author and the race of subject were significant variables in this determination.

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DEDICATION

To the greatest couple on earth, my parents,
Mr. and Mrs. Washington Matthews Sr.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

One Sunday evening two black undergraduate "brothers" were jiving about the past Sunday night in a conversation that went like this:

Dig it man--the niggers really got down last night. I mean the niggers really partied hard. Man, you just can't beat niggers having a good time.

Such lines are very common among young blacks and they are hardly ever taken as offensive by other Blacks. Yet, the same words could have been stated by a White student, Chinese, Mexican or any member of another ethnic group attending the same party, and more then likely the response would have been entirely different. As a matter of fact, it would not be very wise to test to see. This is not to suggest that all labels are taken as offensive because as this literature review indicates, there are labels with pleasant associations as well.

Various labels are witnessed in all ethnic groups. Whether the subjects are Black, White, Italian, Jewish, Catholic, Irish-American, French-Canadian, or even White Anglo-Saxon Protestants, there are still labels like spook, hunky, wop, kike, papist, harp, cannuck, and wasp that would be taken as offensive if used in a similar fashion. Not only can these obvious labels be taken as offensive, but mere proper racial titles may act like potent symbols especially if they

arouse ethnic association. Such labels can be traced back to Biblical time during the days of Samson.

The Bible reveals that during Biblical time, just the name Philistine brought hatred from the Israelites, who had been in bondage under the Philistines for 40 years. Thus the potency of the label was due to an avalanche of stereotypes associated with the label. The Philistines were considered foreign oppressors who worshipped idols. Therefore, the label was considered representative of something unfavorable to the Israelites. This same type of resentment also occurred when a Jew was called a Samaritan. Jews saw the Samaritans as being of a different racial stock and having a different manner of worship. So for reasons of this order, various labels took on stereotyped images that tend to block out concrete reality. That is, because of the potency of the labels, persons tend to overlook important features, many of which could offer a sounder basis of judgment.

Thus when Jesus met the woman of Samaria at the well and asked her for a drink, she answered,

How is it that thou, being a Jew, askest drink of me, which am a woman of Samaria? For the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans.

Jesus did not let the label fade out her qualities as a human being in having the right to the tree of life. So whether the resentment was due to racial, religious, or ethnic differences the fact that they existed was reality and their continuation travels with time itself. Even today, to some, the label Philistine symbolizes belonging

to a despised class which is guided by material rather than intellectual values.

It is an important problem for social psychologists to explain how a single label can block out or destroy so much, that is, so many important qualities. In order for a nation to continue to grow and prosper, its people must stress and focus their attention on the more important things in our society. Thus, in the United States, where various racial labels are numerous, one can only imagine how many important thoughts and ideas are wasted as a result of a potent racial label. Thus, it is to questions relevant to this issue that the present research was addressed: Are there labels offensive to Blacks and Whites? If so, why and how potent are they? Are some labels considered more potent than others, that is, do some labels tend to mask the potential influence of additional information more than others? If so, do the potency of these same labels depend upon who is using the label?

Allport (1958) refers to such labels as "Labels of primary potency" that abstract from concrete reality some one feature and assemble different concrete realities only with respect to this one feature. Such labels may point to an irrelevant physical handicap such as cripple or blindness. Lee (1950) gives as example where a blindman had applied for a position as typist.

I knew a man who had lost the use of both eyes. He was a "blindman." He could also be called an expert typist, a conscientious worker, a good student, a careful listener, a man who wanted a job. But he couldn't get a job in the department store order room where employees sat and typed orders which came over the telephone. The personnel man was impatient to

get the interview over. "But you're a blindman," he kept saying, and one could almost feel his silent assumption that somehow the incapability in one aspect made the man incapable in every other. So blinded by the label was the interviewer that he could not be persuaded to look beyond it.

The label of primary potency is exceedingly salient here. Although the blind man meets job requirements, the fact that he is blind stands out in the personnel man's mind. Thus the label "blind" had distracted his attention from concrete reality. Therefore, the Blindman was discriminated against by a misclassified label that had power to bias his judgment negatively.

Ethnic labels, typically, have the same effect, especially when they refer to some highly visible feature such as Oriental, Black or European. Thus, ethnic labels may act like labels of primary potency in distracting attention from concrete reality.

Not only is the potency of labels like "nigger" and "hunky," salient, but even proper names, which ought to invite us to look at the individual person, may act like ethnic symbols of primary potency if the names have ethnic associations. Razran (1936) did a study of ethnic dislikes and stereotypes in which (30) photographs of college girls were shown on a screen to 150 students. The ethnic descents of the 150 subjects were: 63 Anglo-Saxon, 24 German, 15 Irish, 9 Scandinavian, 9 Slav, 6 French, 6 Jewish, 3 Dutch, 3 Spanish, 3 Hungarian, and 3 Greek. This group were so stratified to represent the ethnic composition of the white population in this country.

The subjects rated the girls on a scale from one to five for beauty, intelligence, character, ambition, general likability. Two

months later the same subjects were asked to rate the same photographs and fifteen additional ones. This time five of the original photographs were given Jewish surnames, five Italian, and five Irish and the remaining girls were given names chosen from the signers of the Declaration of Independence and from the Social Register.

When Jewish names were attached to photographs there occurred the following changes in ratings:

- decrease in liking;
- decrease in character;
- decrease in beauty;
- increase in intelligence;
- increase in ambition.

For those photographs given Italian names there occurred:

- decrease in liking;
- decrease in character;
- decrease in beauty;
- decrease in intelligence.

Thus a mere proper name leads to prejudgments of personal attributes. The individual is fitted to the prejudiced ethnic category, and not judged in his own right.

The Irish names also brought about depreciated judgment, but not as great as the case of the Jews and Italians. The falling likability of the "Jewish girls" was twice as great for "Italians" and five times as great as for "Irish." It should also be noted that the "Jewish" photographs caused higher ratings in intelligence and in ambition, findings which demonstrate that not all stereotypes of out-groups are unfavorable. There are also pleasant associations with the labels Black Velvet, Black Queen, and Sweet Chocolate, terms that could indicate a pleasant association for the subject using the label.

For instance, the statement, "he is a fine nigger" made from one Black to another could make some Black men blush and would be taken as highly complimentary.

Brigham (1971) also presented a review of various conceptualizations of stereotypes in social psychological research wherein theoretical approaches linking ethnic stereotypes to negative attitudes and to discriminatory behavior are discussed. Some of the reasons given for the negative attitudes toward stereotypes are: incorrect generalizations, categorizations, product of a "faulty" thought process, and their resistance to change. This idea of a stereotype is also a label that could very well encompass incorrect generalization, or categorization. Furthermore, this connotation of a label or stereotype could fluctuate depending on who is using it. Brigham also reviews research on stereotyping and stereotypes; the reviewer is referred to this work for further information on this related area of research.

Hayakawa (1941) states that some labels are more salient because of their emotional tone. That is the label could have been used in a way that conditioned people to fear something associated with the label. Hayakawa gave the example of an introduction: "John Doe is an ex-convict . . . he's a criminal!" The implication that he's a criminal is a much higher level of abstraction wherein this association sometimes causes emotional reaction. Even though John Doe may have undergone a complete reformation--or, for that matter, may have been unjustly imprisoned in the first place--results show that, nevertheless, he may wander in vain, looking for a job.

From Schoenfeld (1942) it should also be noted that the salience of the emotional toned label could possibly be explained by the "kernel of truth" hypothesis which in essence here would assert that the probability of committing a criminal act is greater among ex-convicts than among the general population. Even though this may or may not be the case there are researchers like La Piere (1936) who would oppose this view and assert that a stereotype could exist without a "kernel of truth."

Allport (1958) also asserted that "Just the mention of 'communist,' 'Negro,' 'Jew,' 'England,' 'Democrats,' will send some people into a panic of fear or a frenzy of anger."

This reminds the researcher of the 60's when the labels "Black Panthers" or "militant Blacks" would make some people shiver because of their associations with acts like riots and burning. The label "Klu Klux Klan" could also be considered emotional toned because of its association with acts like lynching and burning. At times, these labels would make people buck their eyes just to hear them.

From this, it seems evident that some labels are more potent because of classical conditioning, that is along with the label came associated beliefs and meaning that was either pleasant, unpleasant, or neutral.

The researcher became interested in the issue of the potency of racial label as a result of overhearing the conversation that was reported at the beginning of this thesis, which actually took place between two Black undergraduates. Assuming that the labels, "nigger"

and "hunky," are highly unpleasant for Blacks and Whites, respectively, when used by a member of a different race, the researcher decided to study their potency in affecting responses to journalism. It was predicted that not only would the two labels be potent, but their potency would also depend upon who was using the label.

Hovland and Weiss (1951) conducted a study which investigated the extent to which the past behavior of a speaker was used by targets in making mand-tact¹ discriminations of the speaker's present communication. They showed a persuasive message was more effective in changing attitudes when the communicator was very credible than when his credibility was questionable. In this study, identical belief statements about atomic submarines were said to be made by J. Robert Oppenheimer (a communicator who tacts) and Prova (a communicator who mands). As expected, the audience altered their own beliefs in the direction of the persuasive message to a greater extent with the tacting communicator than with the manding communicator. Thus, Hovland's and Weiss's study has implications for the present research in that the most credible message was judged as the most favorable. Therefore, it follows that the extent to which a racial label is accepted as positive can also depend on the credibility of the source. That is, in the present study, it was reasoned that the source credibility of a speaker would be determined by the extent to which the target of the

¹Mand-Tact discriminations may be further explained in Hovland's and Weiss's *The influence of source credibility on communication effectiveness*, Publ. Opin, Quart., 1951, 15, 635-650.

message (the subject) perceived that he and the communicator had common bonds--e.g., a common racial heritage.

In the present research three fake newspaper articles were constructed that used the labels, "nigger" or "hunky" or no label. These articles--supposedly written by either a Black or a White, or an author whose race was not identified--were read and rated by either a Black or White subject. From the perspective outlined above, it was hypothesized that, in general, subjects of both races would tend to respond differently to an author depending on the label used in an article. It was expected that a subject who read an article that was written by an author of a different race would tend (a) to get most offended and (b) remember less about information in the article if the persons described in the story (by the slang racial label) were of the same race as the subject. Four other predictions were also made.

1. Comprehension will be higher when subjects read articles written by authors of their own race.
2. In general, subjects of both races will tend to remember less from articles containing their associated label.
3. Comprehension will be less when authors use the associated label of members of the opposite race.
4. Subjects of both races will tend to rate the quality of articles containing their associated label lower.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Subjects

One hundred and eighty undergraduate males in Baton Rouge, Louisiana (90 Black subjects from Southern University and 90 White subjects from Louisiana State University) participated in the study in partial fulfillment of a research requirement in introductory psychology courses. Subjects of each race were assigned by chance to one of three groups (2 experimental and 1 control). The sixty subjects in each group were tested individually.

Material

Three fake articles, supposedly drawn from an underground newspaper, were used as stimulus essays in this study. These articles describe an incident in which a small group of Blacks or Whites were depicted as hijacking a plane. An underground newspaper was used as the source in an effort to make such an article seem more real. That is, it was assumed that these articles, which often contained slang racial labels, would arouse suspicion if they were attributed to more regular journalism sources. The picture of a White person or a Black person--supposedly the author--was attached to the stimuli of 2/3 of the subjects; the remainder read the same stimuli but the author of the article was not identified.

Also the article referred to people as "nigger," "hunky" or no racial label was used. These manipulations yielded a total of nine different combinations of articles, as listed in Appendix A.

Four rating scales (Appendix B) were developed to assess the subjects' perception of the quality of the report. The rating scales allowed responses on each item, that ranged from 1 to 5, with a low score representing a less favorable rating. Thus, the overall rating score (R score, Table 1) which was the sum of the responses to the four items could yield a minimum of 4 points for the least possible favorable reaction and a maximum of 20 points for the most favorable reaction.

The second test for the potency of the two labels "nigger" and "hunky," was a questionnaire (see Appendix C), which consisted of ten questions that measured recall of what actually was depicted in the hijacking story, was constructed. Since three of the items were worth 2 points (since they asked for compound answers), the questionnaire score (Q score, see Table 1), could vary from 0 to 13, with a 0 representing no recall of the story and 13 representing the highest amount of recall. Both the rating scale and questionnaire were tested for reliability. The items on both scales were fairly homogeneous in terms of how the individuals responded; that is, the intercorrelations were quite high for both scales. The α coefficient was computed for the rating scale yielding a reliability coefficient of .87. The Kuder-Richardson and Hoyt coefficient yield a reliability of .81 for questionnaire.

Design

A 2 x 3 x 3 factorial design was employed in which race of subject (Black or White) x race of author (Black, White, or no author) x racial label in article (nigger, hunky, or no label) were the independent variables that were examined. Below (Figure 1) is a graphic representation of the design with the three independent variables labeled as in Table 1. There were ten subjects in each cell of the design.

		NL			<u>L</u> HL			NOL		
<u>ROS</u>	<u>ROA</u>	BA	WA	NOA	BA	WA	NOA	BA	WA	NOA
	WS									
	BS									

Figure 1.--A 2 x 3 x 3 Factorial Design Whereby ROS x ROA x L.

Procedure

Each subject reported individually and was given one of the nine stimulus articles to read. He was told that this article was taken from a past issue of an underground newspaper and the researcher wanted him to read it. After reading the essay, the subject was asked to rate the articles on the quality of the report. He was told that he did not have to discuss his ratings and that all his responses

would be kept confidential. After handing in the essay, the subjects were asked to fill out a questionnaire which consisted of ten questions that measured his understanding of what actually happened during the hijacking. They were then thanked for their participation and excused from the session.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

An information score (Q score, see Table 1) and a rating score (R score see Table 1) were the two dependent variables which were used to examine the hypotheses. The Q score was a measure of subject's comprehension of material in the various articles and the R score measured a subject's attitude toward an article. Since the initial step was to assess the effect of the three independent variables--race of subject (Black and White), racial labels (nigger, hunky, and no label) and race of author (Black, White, or not identified)²--on subjects' responses to the dependent variables, a separate 2 x 3 x 3 analysis of variances (Tables 2 and 3) were performed.

In addition a correlation coefficient of the overall Q scores with the R scores was computed to examine the extent to which the amount of comprehension was related to the judgment of an article. Results yielded a correlation of .12 which was not significant. Thus, it appears that a subject's likes and dislikes of an article did not relate to his amount of comprehension.

The low correlation between R scores and Q scores made multi-variate analysis of variance unnecessary. That is, the potency of

²The various label notations, e.g., BA and WA etc., used to identify the independent variables are listed in Table 1.

the two racial labels would not have been better determined by considering both comprehension and attitude together, since a person's attitude toward an article told one very little about the ability to comprehend other material in an article.

TABLE 1.--Labels for Identification of the Various Dependent and Independent Variables.

Questionnaire Score	Q Score
Rating Score	R Score
Black Subjects	BS
White Subjects	WS
Black Author	BA
White Author	WA
No Author	NOA
Nigger Label	NL
Hunky Label	HL
No Label	NOL
Race of Subject	ROS
Race of Author	ROA
Labels	L

From the overall analysis of variance for Q scores, summarized in Table 2, a significant three-way interaction was predicted, since it was expected that a subject reading an article written by a member of the opposite race containing his associated label would tend to get offended and remember less in that condition. However, results did not support this hypothesis in that there were no significant three-way interaction for Q scores, but the three two-way interactions

were significant. The significant ROA x ROA interaction is pictured in Figure 2. Tests of simple effects (Winer, 1971, pp. 347-351) were performed separately for the ROS at each level of ROA (i.e., BA, WA, and NOA). These tests supported the prediction that comprehension would be higher when articles were read by a member of the author's own race. For the ROS at BA ($F = 5.85$, $df = 1/162$, $p < .05$), Black subjects tended to remember significantly more than White subjects in this condition, and for ROS at WA ($F = 2.08$, $df = 1/162$, $p < .05$) the trend was just the opposite; White subjects tended to comprehend significantly more than Black subjects from the White author. For ROS at NOA, no significant difference was found. Simple effects for ROA at BS ($F = 2.96$, $df = 2/162$, $p < .10$) showed that comprehension did differ for Black subjects as a function of the race of the author. The Newman-Kuels test performed on the three means in this condition indicated that Black subjects remembered significantly more from the Black author ($q = 3.49$, $p < .10$), while comprehension from articles written by a White author or no author was about the same for Black subjects. ROA at WS was not significant; that is, there was no significant difference in amount of comprehension for White subjects with regards to the race of the author.

The interaction, ROS x L (depicted in Figure 3) yielded significance at the .002 level. Therefore, tests of simple effects were performed for the ROS at the HL, NL, and NOL. These tests yielded exactly the opposite of what was predicted. That is, for ROS at NL

TABLE 2.--Overall Analysis of Variance Table of the Q Scores with a Presentation of Eta² Correlations Between the Independent and Dependent Variables.

Sources	SS	DF	MS	F	p	ETA ²
ROS	.05	1	.05	.01	ns	0
ROA	.84	2	.42	.11	ns	0
L	.74	2	.37	.09	ns	0
ROS x ROA	38.93	2	19.47	5.00	.008	.05
ROS x L	50.70	2	25.35	6.51	.002	.06
ROA x L	85.22	4	21.31	5.47	.0005	.10
ROS x ROA x L	14.07	4	3.51	.90	.464	.02
ERROR	631.10	162	3.90			.76
TOTAL	821.66	179				

($F = 6.85$, $df = 1/162$, $p < .01$), results show that Black subjects remembered significantly more than White subjects when the label "nigger" was used. For ROS at HL ($F = 6.15$, $df = 1/162$, $p < .05$) the trend was the same; that is, White subjects tended to remember significantly more than Black subjects when the label "hunky" was used. For ROS at NOL, there was no significant difference in amount of comprehension. Simple effects were also computed across labels for each race of subject; that is, L at BS and L at WS. For L at BS ($F = 3.50$, $df = 2/162$, $p < .05$) results showed that comprehension did differ for Black subjects as a function of the label used. The Newman-Kuels test on these means ($q = 3.72$, $p < .05$) revealed that Black subjects remembered more when the NL was used as opposed to the HL, while there were no significant difference between the use of the HL and NOL. Comprehension also differed for L at WS ($F = 3.12$, $df = 2/162$, $p < .05$).

Thus, the Newman-Kuels test ($q = 3.53$, $p < .05$) showed that White subjects remembered significantly more when the HL was used as opposed to the NL. Again, no significant difference was found between the use of the NL or NOL.

Also, in the Q score analysis the ROA X L interaction (displayed in Figure 4) yielded significance at .005 level. Simple effects were performed for ROA at each label and for L at each race of author. For the ROA at NL ($F = 6.85$, $df = 2/162$, $p < .01$), and ROA at HL ($F = 4.92$, $df = 2/162$, $p < .01$), results indicate that comprehension for both the NL and HL differed as a function of the race of the author. The Newman-Kuels test on the means showed that comprehension was significantly higher when the BA used the NL as opposed to when the WA used the NL ($q = 5.11$, $p < .01$). Also, interesting to note is that comprehension for the NOA using the NL was significantly greater than when a WA used the NL ($q = 2.95$, $p < .05$). This suggests that the NL is more potent when used by a WA. This test also showed that for the ROA at HL, comprehension was significantly greater when a WA used the HL than when a BA used the HL ($q = 4.20$, $p < .01$). For ROA at NOL, no significant difference was found ($F = .03$, $df = 2/162$, ns). Analysis of simple effects for L at WA ($F = 5.13$, $df = 2/162$, $p < .01$) and L at BA ($F = 5.72$, $df = 2/162$, $p < .01$) indicated that for each race of author, comprehension did vary as a function of the label used. The Newman-Kuels test on the means of this simple effect showed that for L at BA, comprehension was significantly higher than a BA used the NL as opposed to when the BA used the HL ($q = 4.77$, $p < .01$). Comprehension was also greater when the BA used the NL as opposed to when he used the NOL ($q = 2.84$, $p < .05$).

This was not predicted. The trend was expected to be just the opposite. That is Black and White subjects would tend to remember less when their associated label was used. For the L at WA, comprehension was significantly greater when the WA used the HL as opposed to when WA used the NL ($q = 5.13$, $p < .01$) and subjects remembered more when the WA used NOL as opposed to the WA using the NL ($q = 2.50$, $p < .10$). Thus, comprehension for authors of both races was significantly higher when the author used his associated racial label, than when he used the associated label of the member of the opposite race.

The overall analysis of variance for R scores (summarized in Table 3), yielded significance at less than the .01 level for all overall effects except the ROS X ROA interaction. Mean difference shows that Black subjects rated the articles significantly higher than White subjects (means were 11.13 and 9.03, respectively). As a whole, articles written by the Black author were rated significantly higher than articles written by either the White author or the unidentified author, as indicated by the Newman-Kuels test on the means (11.17, 9.50 and 9.58, respectively; $q = 4.39$ and 4.19 ; for both comparisons $p < .01$). There was no significant difference between the overall rating of the White author or no author. Also results indicate that the NL was more potent than the HL or NOL. That is, when the NL was used, an overall mean rating of 8.82 was obtained compared to 10.75 and 10.68 when the hunky label and no label was used. Thus, analysis of mean differences show that when the NL was used, articles were rated significantly lower than when the HL or NOL was used ($q = 5.08$ and 4.89 respectively, $p < .01$).

TABLE 3.--Overall Analysis of Variance Table of the R Scores with a Presentation of Eta² Correlations Between the Independent and Dependent Variables.

Sources	SS	DF	MS	F	p	ETA ²
ROS	198.45	1	198.45	21.60	.0005	.07
ROA	105.83	2	52.92	5.76	.004	.04
L	144.53	2	72.27	7.87	.001	.05
ROS x ROA	45.63	2	22.82	2.48	.087	.02
ROS x L	202.80	2	101.40	11.04	.0005	.07
ROA x L	480.53	4	120.13	13.08	.0005	.17
ROS x ROA x L	153.67	4	38.42	4.18	.003	.05
ERROR	1488.30	162	9.19			.52
TOTAL	2819.75					

Since the ROS X ROA X L interaction for R scores (Figure 5, Table 3) was significant at the .003 level, analysis of simple effects and appropriate Newman-Kuels tests were performed in order to break down this interaction. Since the overall two-way interactions are contained within this interaction, they will not be discussed further. The simple effects analysis of the three-way interaction showed that Black subjects tended to rate articles significantly different as a function of the race of the author ($F = 7.48, p < .01$). Black subjects also tended to rate articles differently as a function of the racial label used in an article ($F = 17.66, p < .01$). However, the simple interaction of these variables was not found to be significant for Black subjects. Since the ROA for BS was significant at the .01 level, the Newman-Kuels tests were performed on the various means for each variable (Table 4).

TABLE 4.--R Score Means for ROS X ROA X L.

		NL	HL	NOL	
BS	BA	12.80	15.10	10.60	12.33
	WA	6.20	14.60	9.00	9.93
	NOA	6.70	9.60	15.60	10.63
		8.56	13.10	11.73	
WS	BA	10.30	9.30	8.90	9.50
	WA	7.80	9.40	10.00	9.06
	NOA	9.10	6.50	10.00	8.53
		9.06	8.40	9.63	

Newman-Kuels tests on the marginals indicate that Black subjects rated the articles written by the Black author significantly higher than the articles written by the White author ($q = 5.27$, $p < .01$) and also significantly higher than the articles written by NOA ($q = 4.00$, $p < .01$). There were no significant difference in the rating of the WA and NOA for Black subjects ($q = 1.27$, ns). This result supports the prediction that subjects would rate articles written by an author of his associated race higher than articles written by an author of the opposite race.

This same analysis performed on marginal means for the label variables for Black subjects indicates that Black subjects tended to rate articles using the NL significantly lower than articles using the HL ($q = 8.25$, $p < .01$) and also significantly lower than articles

using the NOL ($q = 5.76, p < .01$). There was no significant difference in the rating of articles using the HL and NOL for Black subjects ($q = 2.49, ns$). Again, these results indicate that the NL was a negative stimulus for Black subjects while the use of the HL did not seem to make any difference.

The simple effects analysis for the three-way interaction also showed that for White subjects, there was no significant simple main effects, but there was a marginally significant ROA X L interaction ($F = 2.16, p < .10$). Further analysis revealed that for White subjects, ratings did not differ for articles written by a BA or WA as a function of the racial label used in the articles ($F = .57$ and 1.41 respectively, ns). But interesting to note, articles with NOA using the various labels caused variation in ratings ($F = 3.60, p < .05$). For the L within NOA effects the Newman-Kuels test indicated that when the NOA used the HL in an article, White subjects tended to rate the articles significantly lower than when the NOA uses the NOL or NL ($q = 3.68$ and $2.74, p < .05$ and $.10$ respectively). There was no significant difference in the ratings when the NOA used NOL and when the NOA used the NL in an article. It should also be noted here that even though significance at the $.10$ level is presented, at least 5 percent will be significant by chance alone. Thus, this significance is also presented in lieu of the possible trends of further research.

Computing the simple effects for ROA with each label condition revealed that only the HL yielded a marginally significant effect

for White subjects ($F = 2.95$, $p < .10$), indicating that ratings tended to differ as a function of the HL being used by the various authors. Unexpectedly, however, Newman-Kuels tests revealed that there was no significant difference found between the ratings when a BA used the HL compared to when a WA used the HL ($q = .11$, ns). Instead a significant lower rating occurred when a nonidentified author used the HL as opposed to when a BA or a WA used the HL ($q = 2.95$ and 3.05 , respectively; $p < .05$).

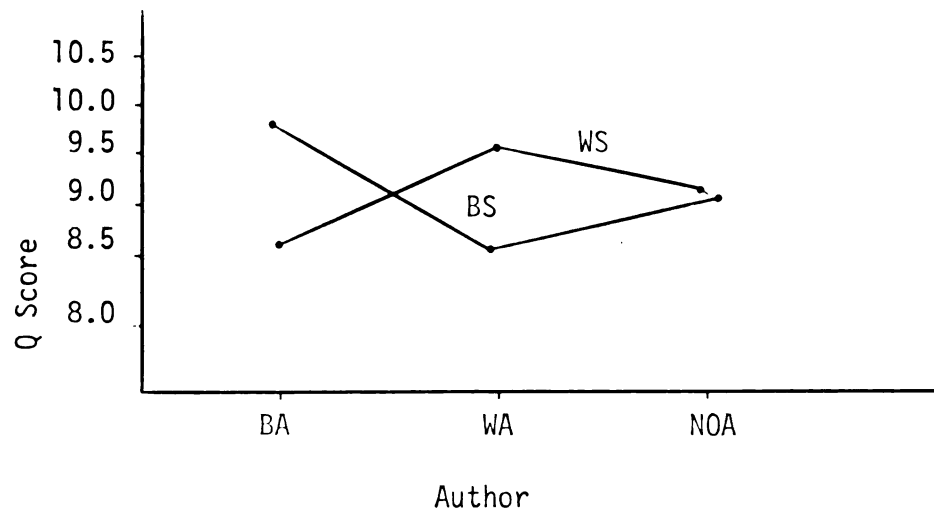
SUMMARY

Since there was no significant three-way interactions for Q scores, the general hypothesis was not confirmed, but there were significant two-way interactions for Q scores. As predicted, the overall results indicated that both Black and White subjects tended to comprehend more from articles written by an author of their own race as opposed to an author of the opposite race; and comprehension was about the same for both races when there was no author. For the ROS X L interaction, however, results yielded just the opposite of what was predicted. Subjects of both races tended to remember more from articles containing their associated label. Also, for the ROA X L interaction, comprehension for the BA and WA was higher when they used their associated label in an article.

As for the R score, main effects indicated that Black subjects rated articles higher than White subjects and the Black author was rated higher than the White author. The NL was rated significantly lower than the HL, suggesting that the NL was a more negative stimulus.

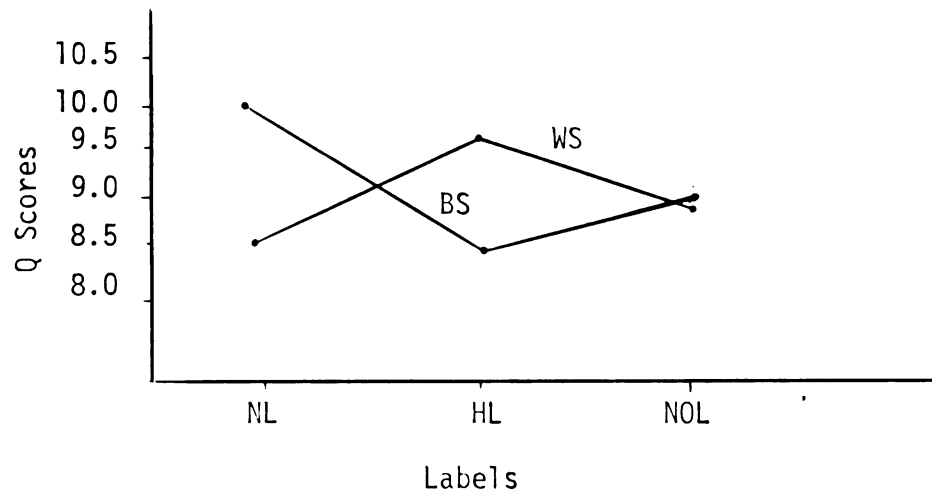
For Black subjects the ROA was a significant factor since they tended to rate the BA higher than the WA or NOA. Also, Black subjects rated the NL significantly lower than the HL or NOL.

For White subjects neither the ROA nor L yielded significant simple main effects but the simple interaction was marginally significant. White subjects tended to rate articles with the NOA using the HL significantly lower than the BA or WA using any label.



		BA	WA	NOA	
Race of Subject	BS	9.80	8.56	9.20	9.18
	WS	8.56	9.60	9.30	9.15
		9.18	9.08	9.25	

Figure 2.--ROS x ROA for Q Scores.



		NL	HL	NOL	
Race of Subject	BS	9.90	8.56	9.10	
	WS	8.56	9.83	9.06	9.15
		9.23	9.20	9.08	

Figure 3.--ROS x L for Q Scores.

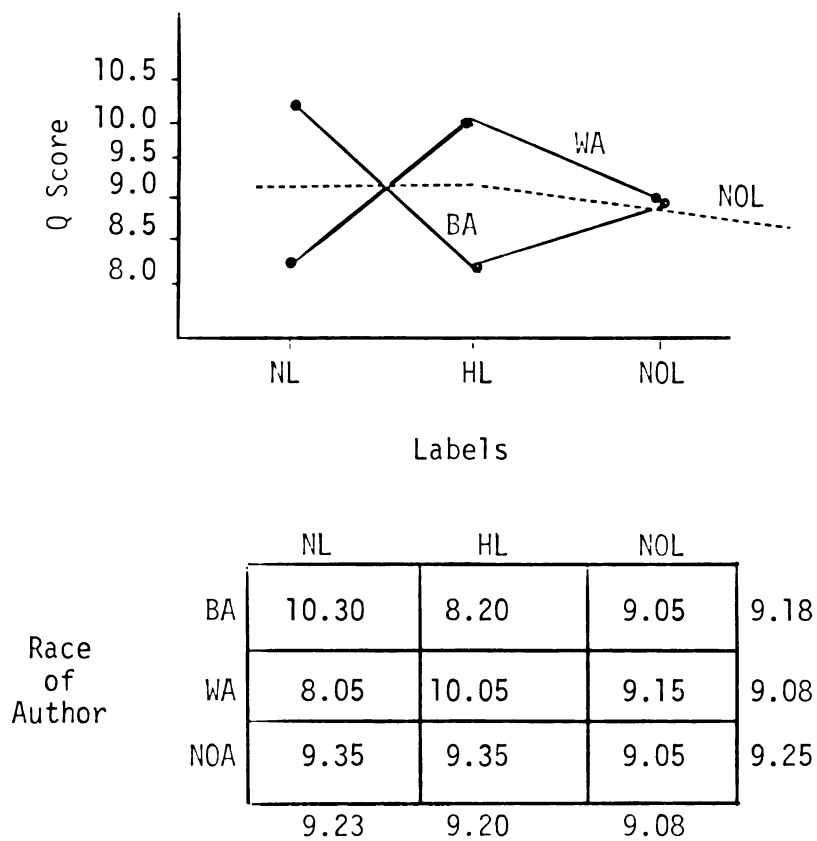


Figure 4.--ROA x L for Q Scores.

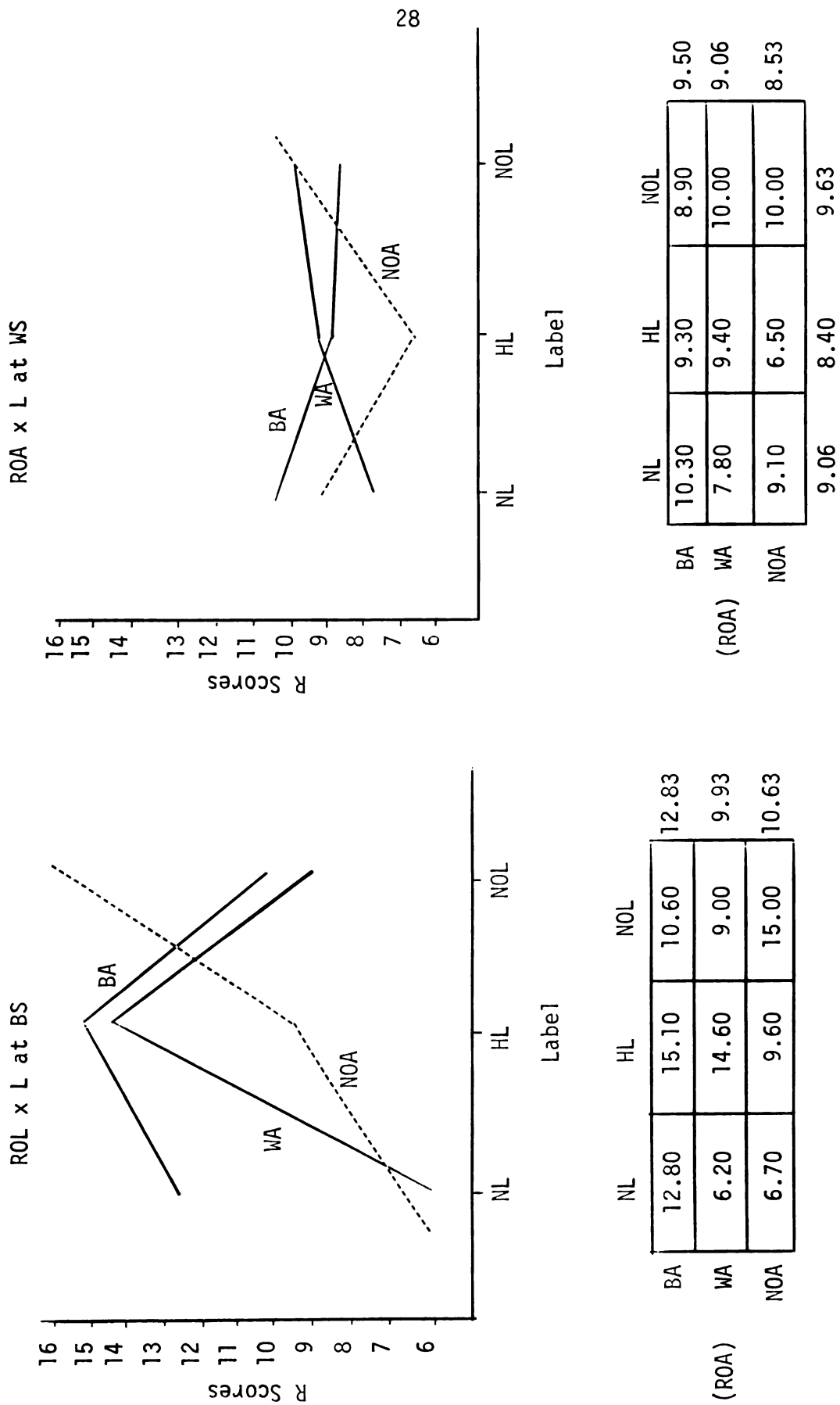


Figure 5.--ROS x ROA x L for R Scores.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

In general, it was predicted that subjects reading articles written by an author of a different race containing the subjects' associated label would remember less about other information in the articles. The rationale behind the statement was that the label is usually taken as offensive and screens out other information that may be important. However, this hypothesis was not confirmed since the Q score analysis yielded no significant three-way interaction. This could be attributed to several factors. First, it should be considered that reading an article using these labels could easily be taken differently from the use of the label in the opening conversation. That is, the label is more often used around someone the speaker knows or friends of a friend, whereas these articles were written by authors who were total strangers to the subjects. Secondly, the measure of offense does not necessarily seem to lie in a lack of comprehension. This was partially confirmed in the earlier insignificant correlation between Q scores and R score, suggesting that whether one liked or disliked an article did not determine how much detailed information he would remember from the article. Thus, some of the subjects who disapproved of an article remembered more instead of less.

This variation in response could be subjects' reactions to the race of their experimenter who in this case was a member of their associated race. That is, subjects may have gotten less offended by the article, considering the experimenter was a member of his own race and effects could have been different if a member of the opposite race issued out articles to subjects with such labels.

Also, from talking to some of the Black students about the articles and tallying the individual items on the R scores for the condition where the WA used the NL, it could clearly be seen that 9 out of 10 felt that the article was moderately poor to extremely poor on language usage and overall construction, style, and organization, and all 10 felt that the article was extremely unfair.

Yet some of the students claim to have been drawn closer just "to see what such a racist guy was saying about us." Others felt that "I just couldn't get over the fact that this White guy was literally calling us a 'nigger' in this day and time." On the other hand, some of the Black students felt that they should not waste their time concentrating on such a degrading article. Thus, for the most part, it seems as though Black subjects remembered less in this condition because of offensiveness and mere lack of interest in the article. But whatever the reason, the mean was only 8.2 when BS read an article written by a WA using the NL compared to 11.2 when BS read an article written by a BA using the NL.

With regard to the two-way interaction, results indicated that both races remembered more from an author of their own race (Figure 2).

This was predicted; thus it is assumed that subjects were drawn closer and could relate more to a member of their own race and the mere fact of having the author's picture on the article for Black subjects especially could have made such an article more interesting. However, it was not predicted that subjects of both races would remember more when their associated label was used in an article (Figure 3). At any rate, this could have been due to the fact that subjects of both races were drawn closer to an article containing their associated label when the author was a member of their own race regardless to whether they got offended or not. Subjects could have also related more to their associated label, especially when it was used by a member of their own race.

In Figure 4, it is evidenced that comprehension from the author of both races was highest when an author used his associated label and lowest when the author used the associated label of members of the other race. Again, subjects could relate to a label if used by the proper author, thereby yielding a more positive response.

From analysis of R score it was found that, overall, Black subjects rated the articles higher than White subjects. This may be due in part to a difference in dimensionality of judgment among Blacks and Whites. That is, it's possible that White subjects would be less extreme in their judgment in rating these articles.

Also, another indication that the NL was a more negative stimulus is that overall, the NL was rated significantly lower than the HL. It should also be noted that the BA was rated significantly

higher than the White author suggesting that it is probably more acceptable by subjects in general when the BA used both labels, considering the fact that labels were not a significant factor for White subjects. Thus, White subjects didn't tend to rate a BA significantly lower because he used the HL label. But Blacks did rate articles using the NL significantly lower than articles using the HL. Further, from Figure 5, one can see that the lowest rating given by Black subjects occurred when the WA used the NL (Mean 6.20).

For White subjects, a significantly lower rating was given when the NOA used the HL and overall White subjects rated the NOA condition lower than the BA and WA condition. The rationale behind this rating may be due to the feeling that if one should write such an article then he should certainly not be ashamed to identify himself as the author. Writing such an article without identifying yourself should automatically deserve a low rating. Since the analysis of R scores have tended to suggest that the NL has a more negative effect, then what can we account for this?

One account for the negativeness of the NL may be due to Pavlov's theory of Classical Conditioning. That is, along with the labels come associated meanings to which people have become conditioned to believe, just as Pavlov's salivating dog. Whereas the dog became conditioned to the point of salivating at the ring of a bell (associated it with food), so did some of the Black subjects associate the use of the NL by the WA with racism. Thus an article could easily be prejudged and rated low because of the potency of a racial label.

Considering the opening conversation and the Q Score and R Score for a BA using the NL, indications are strong that the NL is not as potent here, especially to Black subjects. The decrease in the potency of the label may be partly due in an acceptance of the label from a BA as merely relating in Black terms. Also, the NL does not carry the above classical conditioning in this case; that is, the term has not been recently used by Blacks as a label to look down on or degrade another Black.

Thus, in general, the ROA and L were significant factors in determining the rating of articles for Black subjects and the interaction of ROA X L influenced (to a lesser extent) the rating of articles for White subjects. For White subjects it was specifically the NOA using the HL that yielded a low rating. For both races of subjects, the three two-way interactions were significant factors in determining a subject's amount of comprehension.

Therefore, the study confirmed that some labels are more potent than others and in this instance, it was the NL. Potent labels can result in negative and positive results depending on who uses them and (for further research) how and where they are used.

When labels are used in a negative manner they can be very degrading and tend to block people's minds from concrete reality (Allport, 1954). Therefore, to help avoid such distortion, desensitization is essential, wherein more positive approaches should be made to reverse the meaning of the label. This is not saying that people should be treated as Pavlov's dog, but that the need for the

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desensitization of their false perceptions are basically identical to the "need" to stop the salivation of the dog. A good example of a label that has been desensitized is the label "Black." At one time in recent history, many Blacks considered it very degrading to be called "Black" even by another Black. But now the trend has almost completely reversed. Now, most are proud to be Black and consider it one of the most beautiful qualities in the world. The label has been desensitized by such things as music by James Brown, "Say it Loud I'm Black and I'm Proud" and the popular expression "Black and Beautiful" which led on to the day of the election of a "Miss Black America."

If a label is already used positively then it should be continued. That is, if I used the NL in a sense where I was really relating to a group of Black students, then the use of the label is satisfactory. Certainly Lee (1972) made this statement in a speech to a Black audience: "You've got to get your head together, nigger!" and the Black audience only cheered him.

As stated above, further research could possibly reveal that the offense of a label depends also upon how it is used and where it is used. For example, one of the same Black guys who was only laughing while using the NL in the opening conversation may well get offended if his friend said the same thing among a group of his White friends.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

ARTICLES



Author

Louisiana Underground Press
August 28, 1973

DELTA 747 PLANE HIJACKED TO AFRICA BY THREE BLACKS

Tel AUIP (UBA)--Guess what three niggers really got it together yesterday getting away with \$20,000. They hijacked a Delta 747 bound for Marshall, Texas from Jackson, Mississippi, ordered the crew to Africa and forced a landing at the Algeria's Municipal Airport. Algeria's security captured the three hijackers and all 119 white passengers and crew without firing a shot. Now, the niggers have been released in Algeria and no trace of the money nor the brothers can be found.

All passengers were released today and returned safe to the United States. One witness told the reporters what happened.

He stated that the three hijackers boarded the plane in Jackson and stationed themselves as one in the center, back and front of the airline. All three hijackers pulled out 38 caliber pistols and ordered everyone to sit still and place their hand on the back of their seats. The nigger at the back then grabbed a 300 pound white lady around the neck and threatened to blow her brains out if the money wasn't there within forty-five minutes. The lady turned out to be actress Liza Minelli's mother who was vacationing in Texas.

At any rate, man, all three of the niggers got it together somehow with the Africans and nothing can be found of the money or the hijackers.

It was later discovered that one of the niggers was from Batesville, Connecticut, and the two others were from Waco, Texas. It is believed that they were working for the leaders of Algeria for political reasons.



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Louisiana Underground Press
August 28, 1973

Black Author

DELTA 747 PLANE HIJACKED TO ENGLAND BY THREE WHITES

Tel AUIP (UBA)--Three Mississippi hunkies described as tall and blonde wearing jumper suits really got it together and hijacked a Delta 747 bound for Africa from Jackson, Mississippi, wherein \$20,000 was demanded. They then ordered the 747 to flight and forced them to land at London's Municipal Airport. London security captured the three hijackers and all 119 Black passengers and crew without firing a shot. The flight had been chartered for a special group of Black students and stars on tour to Africa. Now, the hunkies have been freed and no trace of the money or the hijackers can be found.

Upon returning to the United States, one of the passengers told reporters what happened. He stated that the three hijackers boarded the plane in Jackson and stationed themselves as one in the center, back and front of the airliner. All three hijackers pulled out 38 caliber pistols and ordered everyone to sit still and place their hand on the back of their seats. The hunky at the back then grabbed a 300 pound Black lady around the neck and threatened to blow her brains out if the money wasn't there within forty-five minutes. The lady turned out to be the mother of Black Panther leader Bobby Seals, who was traveling with the group.

At any rate, man, all three of the hunkies got it together somehow with the Europeans and nothing can be found of the money or the hijackers.

It was later discovered that one of the hunkies was from Batesville, Connecticut, and the other two were from Waco, Texas. It is believed that they were working for the leaders of England for political reasons and the money was to aid private schools in the South.

Louisiana Underground Press
August 28, 1973

White Author

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Louisiana Underground Press
August 28, 1973

Black Author

DELTA 747 PLANE HIJACKED TO CUBA BY 3 MEN

Tel (AUIP) - (UBA)--Three men got away with \$20,000 yesterday in an airline hijacking. They hijacked a Delta 747 bound for Marshall, Texas, from Jackson, Mississippi, ordered the crew to Cuba and forced a landing at the Cuba Municipal Airport. Cuba's security captured the three hijackers and all 119 passengers and crew without firing a shot. The hijackers have now been released and no trace of the money nor the hijackers can be found.

All passengers were released today and returned safe to the United States. One witness told the reporters what happened.

He stated that the three hijackers boarded the plane in Jackson and stationed themselves as one in the center, back and front of the airliner. All three hijackers pulled out 38 caliber pistols and ordered everyone to sit still and place their hand on the back of their seats. The man at the back then grabbed a 300 pound lady around the neck and threatened to blow her brains out if the money wasn't there within forty-five minutes. The lady turned out to be the Lee Trevino's mother who was vacationing in Texas.

At any rate, all 3 of the hijackers got away and no trace of the money can be found.

It was later discovered that one of the hijackers was from Batesville, Connecticut, and the two others were from Waco, Texas. It is believed that they were working for Cuban leaders for political reasons.

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APPENDIX B

RATING FORM

RATING

Would you please rate the article you have just read on the quality of the report with respect to the following. Check one of the ratings for each question.

1. How would you rate this article on language usage and overall construction?

- a. ☐ Exceptionally good
- b. ☐ Moderately good
- c. ☐ Average
- d. ☐ Moderately poor
- e. ☐ Extremely poor

2. How would you rate this article on style and organization?

- a. ☐ Exceptionally good
- b. ☐ Moderately good
- c. ☐ Average
- d. ☐ Moderately poor
- e. ☐ Extremely poor

3. Overall, how clear and understandable do you feel that this article is?

- a. ☐ Exceptionally clear
- b. ☐ Moderately clear
- c. ☐ Average
- d. ☐ Moderately unclear
- e. ☐ Extremely unclear

4. How fair and unopiniated do you feel this article is?

- a. ☐ Very fair
- b. ☐ Moderately fair
- c. ☐ Average
- d. ☐ Moderately unfair
- e. ☐ Extremely unfair

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. The Plane was hijacked from _____ to _____.
2. What was the name of the plane? _____.
3. What reason was given for the act of hijacking?

4. Who captured the hijackers and how many passengers were freed? _____
5. Where were the three hijackers originally from?

6. Who were the hijackers believed to have been working for?

7. What type pistol did the three man have? _____
8. State the verbal threat that was expressed to the lady held as hostage? _____
9. Who was the lady? _____
10. How much time were the officials given to bring the ransom?

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