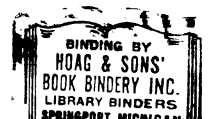
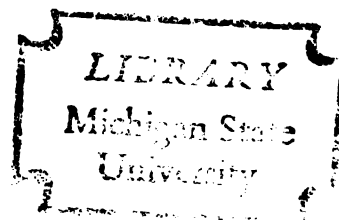


RACE VERSUS BELIEF REVISITED:  
A BI-RACIAL EXAMINATION

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.  
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY  
DALLAS C. WILLIAMS  
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THESIS





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## ABSTRACT

### RACE VERSUS BELIEF REVISITED: A BI-RACIAL EXAMINATION

By

Dallas C. Williams

This research re-examined Rokeach's earlier (1960, 1966) findings that the professed beliefs of a target person had a greater effect on liking than did the target's race in light of the possibility that this relationship was differentially valid for black and white subjects.

A 2 (Race of Ss; Black or White) by 2 (Race of Target Person; Black or White) by 3 (Belief of Target Person; Left, Moderate, Right) factorial design was used to examine the effects of race vs. belief differences among blacks and whites. The 120 Ss, 60 black and 60 white undergraduates, were randomly assigned to one of six experimental conditions. In each condition, two target persons, always of the same race, were rated; one target person expressed views about President Nixon, the other expressed views about the black movement. In each condition, both targets displayed the same political orientation.

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Dallas C. Williams

After all Ss completed this questionnaire, another questionnaire was administered. However, this latter instrument differed as a function of the race of the Ss. For black Ss, the instrument was a questionnaire which attempted to differentiate between those black Ss who choose on the basis of a positive belief about the black movement and the so-called "racist," who seems to act out of a rather undifferentiated hatred of whites. White Ss received a neutral questionnaire with irrelevant materials.

Two analysis of variance were conducted to determine the effects of race vs. belief similarity. Contrary to expectation, no race of Ss X belief of target or race of Ss X race of target interactions reached statistical significance for either raw liking scores or absolute deviation from neutrality. It appeared that the results of both analysis supported Rokeach's earlier finding (i.e., beliefs are more important than race in the areas of interpersonal attraction that have been examined) in that the Ss were more influenced by the content of the statements made by the target person than they were about the race of the target. Thus, the hypothesis that race would be more important to blacks and beliefs more important to whites was not supported. Implications of these findings, especially their generality to other subjects' populations, were discussed.

Approved -  
Lawrence A. Messé

**RACE VERSUS BELIEF REVISITED:**

**A BI-RACIAL EXAMINATION**

**By**

**Dallas C. Williams**

**A THESIS**

**Submitted to  
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## **DEDICATION**

**This thesis is dedicated to my wife, Jackie, and  
my parents.**

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

To be black in America is to question constantly the motives of whites with whom you have contact. Is the clerk just mean, or does he dislike blacks, or dislike me because I am black? Was the apartment really taken or was an excuse given to keep from renting it to a black person? In attempting to explain the motivations or intentions underlying a negative action initiated by someone white, a black person has several alternatives: 1) the white person has a negative personality (i.e. he dislikes people in general); 2) the white person has a negative attitude toward black people; 3) the white person and I have different beliefs; 4) the white person has a negative attitude about me personally. Stated in its general form, the question becomes: considering an attitudinal relation between two people (A and B), which characteristic is more important in A's relation to B, B's race, or B's beliefs?

An argument in support of the greater influence of belief was developed by Rokeach (1960) from earlier work on the authoritarian personality. This view stressed personality differences in cognitive

processes as a central problem of race prejudice. Rokeach (1960), his students, and colleagues were interested in demonstrating that to characterize a person as dogmatic was more inclusive than to characterize him as authoritarian; and that to be highly opinionated was more inclusive than to be highly ethnocentric. The dogmatic-opinionated versus authoritarian-ethnocentric comparison provided differing accounts of hostile racial attitudes. The former distinction emphasizes the importance of the beliefs and opinion one holds; the latter stresses one's group affiliation and ethnic identification. Rokeach argued that white racial attitudes were based more on the assumed dissimilarity of beliefs rather than on the objective racial characteristics of blacks.

Rokeach, Smith, and Evans (1960) conducted an empirical investigation of race versus beliefs as a determinant of anti-black attitudes. White undergraduates at a Northern and Southern college were given descriptions of a pair of target persons. Subjects judged on a nine-point scale how likely they were to become friendly with each of the target persons. The target person varied on race (white or black) and on beliefs (eight in all, four general ones, and four relevant ones). What they found was that subjects preferred whites to blacks when belief was held constant and preferred people who agreed to those who disagreed on the eight belief items when race was held constant. More important, however, the authors' expectations were confirmed,

since belief was found to be a more important determinant of subjects' reactions to the target person than was race. This relationship held regardless of the region of the country.

However, the belief-prejudice interpretation seemed strikingly inadequate primarily for two reasons: 1) the subjects, who were college students and who normally interact with each other in a less hostile environment, may not have perceived any social pressures to discriminate on the basis of race; and 2) it was likely that such a design did not arouse strong feelings or hostility.

Trandis (1961) noted that belief-congruence interpretation of prejudice perhaps is correct for the attitudinal relation "friendship," but seems less applicable to behaviors sampled over a wide range of social distances. Trandis argued that if one considers the wider range of social distances which more accurately reflects the areas in which prejudice operates in the real world, race would be a more important determinant than belief. To test this hypothesis, he administered a social distance questionnaire consisting of a 100-point scale from willingness to marry a person (0-social distance) to willingness to lynch a person (97-social distance). This scale was used to rate each of sixteen stimulus persons who were constructed by factorially combining four characteristics:

Race - - - - Negro or white

Religion - - - - Same or different

Occupation - - - - Coal miner or bank manager

Philosophy - - - - Same or different

Trandis told his subjects of some unspecified beliefs of the target person were similar to or different from their own (e.g., same or different religion). The characteristic corresponding to Rokeach's belief variable in Trandis' study was philosophy.

Not at all surprisingly, the stimulus person receiving the smallest social distance rating for the white University of Illinois undergraduate was someone white, same religion, same philosophy, and a bank manager. The largest social distance was assigned to a Negro of different religion and philosophy who was a coal miner. Moreover, the results confirmed Trandis' criticism of Rokeach's position. Race accounted for social-distance ratings in a ratio of about 4-1 over belief.

Rokeach (1961) responded to Trandis' critique by pointing out the noncomparability of the treatment of belief in the two approaches:

The basic difference between Trandis' method and ours is that while we asked our subjects to respond to specific social stimuli such as "Negro who believes in God" and "white atheist," Trandis asked his subjects to respond to "Negro, same philosophy" and "white, different philosophy." Trandis reports that race is now a far more



important determinant of social distance than belief, quite the opposite to our findings [p. 187].

Byrne and Wong (1962) reported a study which essentially replicated the findings of Rokeach. These authors' findings showed that highly prejudiced white students at the University of Texas assumed greater attitude dissimilarity between themselves and a black stranger than between themselves and a white stranger. These important results suggest a correlation between race and belief which is quite difficult to eliminate in the uncooperative (scientifically speaking) real world. Moreover, in the same article, Byrne and Wong found that attitude similarity resulted in positive ratings, attitude dissimilarity in negative ratings regardless of the prejudice of the students or the race of the stranger.

Two final studies rounded out the controversy. The first, by Trandis and Davis (1965), used a large-scale factor-analytic technique to demonstrate that both race and belief were influential in subject judgment, race more so for intimate kind of behaviors, beliefs more so for less intimate behavior. These findings support the earlier results of Stein et al. (1965) who, although they found the greatest effect for belief, found a significant race effect for intimate social behaviors (e.g., bringing someone home for dinner or being able to date his sister, etc.).

The second study, by Rokeach and Mesei (1966), was conducted in a more realistic interactional situation. Subjects were given a chance to interact with others who were white or black and who expressed attitudes which either agreed or disagreed with their's. Each subject was then asked to state a preference for two of the four confederates (one white and one black who agreed with him; one white and one black who disagreed with him). The results indicated that similarity of belief was considerably more influential in subject choice than race.

In summary, the research cited above on race and belief as determinants of racial attitudes (with the exception of Trandis) leads to the conclusion that in most areas of interpersonal relations, belief is a more important consideration than race. On the face of it, this would seem to diminish the importance of racism and social conflict. Quite the opposite, however, often seems the case in the "real world." According to Rokeach's position, belief dominates race in determination of prejudice. It could be, though, that a large portion of what passes as belief-based hostility is but a cover up for a primary feelings of racial or ethnic hatred.

### The Present Research

Upon reviewing Rokeach's findings, several possible alternative explanations could be advanced, but one is most relevant to the present research. Since there was no indication of the proportion of subjects who were black vs. white the results could be valid only for whites. Given that Rokeach only categorized subjects on the basis of belief, he probably examined only white Ss.

Realizing that the importance of race and belief in determining people's racial attitudes cannot be overemphasized, this research re-examined Rokeach's (1960, 1966) findings in light of the possibilities of a response difference between blacks and whites. In short, it examined which of the two variables, belief or race, is most important to whom (blacks or whites). It was predicted that beliefs would be more important to whites than to blacks and that race would be more important to blacks than to whites. The second prediction follows from the perspective that blacks in this country are the focal point of all discrimination, and, being that focal point, they are constantly aware of race. Another possible explanation as to why race would be more important to blacks than to whites is the awareness, pride, and positive self-image that black people now have of themselves and of other blacks.

## CHAPTER II

### METHOD

#### Subjects

Subjects were 120 (60 blacks and 60 whites) male undergraduates recruited from Lansing Community College and Michigan State University. These students received extra credit or money for participating in this study.

#### Instruments

Three questionnaires were constructed to test the hypothesis. The first questionnaire (presented in Appendix A) was a background information questionnaire administered to all Ss. However, its major purpose was, if possible, to divide black Ss into high and low awareness groups, as indicated by (1) the number of black organizations in which they were members, and (2) their level of involvement in any of these organizations.

The second and most relevant questionnaire (presented in Appendix B) was designed to yield the major dependent measure. This

was a race-belief questionnaire in which Ss received four hypothetical descriptions of target persons. Two of the target persons remained constant across questionnaire conditions. The remaining two targets were varied systematically according to their race and position on two issues (President Nixon and the race movement). In each condition, the two critical target persons were always of the same race, and they both were either left-wing, middle, or right-wing in their opinion concerning the two issues. Subjects of each race were randomly assigned to one of the conditions of race of target and belief of target.

The third questionnaire (presented in Appendix C) was a racism questionnaire designed to measure the extent to which a black subject was evaluating a target on the basis of a positive belief about the black movement versus so-called black "racism," which seems to reflect a rather undifferentiated hatred of whites. Whites received a neutral questionnaire composed of irrelevant materials.

### Design and Procedure

The study employed an experimental design whose dimensions were 2 (Race of Ss; Black or White) by 2 (Race of Is persons; Black or White) by 3 (Belief of Target person; left, middle, or right).

The Ss were told that the E was interested in studying their opinions concerning several social issues affecting them as students.

There was always one black and one white E present. All Es were informally but neatly dressed for the experimental session.

After the Ss had been seated they were told that they would be given three questionnaires and that each one would be passed out separately when everyone had finished a given instrument. All Ss were given as much time as was necessary to complete each questionnaire (this generally did not take longer than 15 min.). After all Ss completed the background information questionnaire they were told by one of the Es that at the beginning of each new questionnaire someone would read the appropriate set of instructions, so that they would be standardized for all persons.

After all Ss completed the first questionnaire they were given a second questionnaire. Their task was to show on a scale from 1 to 9 to what extent they could or could not see themselves becoming friends with each of the four target persons described. After the Ss completed this questionnaire a third questionnaire was administered, but as noted above, this questionnaire differed as a function of the race of the Ss. For black Ss, this was a racism questionnaire which attempted to differentiate between those black Ss who choose on the basis of a positive belief about the black movement and the so-called "racist," who seems to act out of a rather undifferentiated hatred of whites. White Ss received a neutral questionnaire which contained irrelevant materials.

## CHAPTER III

### RESULTS

Because--as the results presented in detail below indicate--the hypothesis was not supported, the background information questionnaire and the racism questionnaire were not used in the analysis of the liking data. Therefore, the results of this study are derived solely from the data collected by the race-belief questionnaire.

To test if the hypothesis that race would be more important to blacks and beliefs more important to whites, two separate analysis of variance tests were conducted. By having Ss respond on a Likert type scale, it was possible to analyze the data in two ways. In the first ANOVA, the S's two liking scores (one for each relevant person) were determined simply by their responses on the scale. In the second ANOVA, the Ss two scores were determined by the degree to which their reactions to each target person was influenced by the independent variable. This score was the degree to which his indication of liking deviated in absolute amount from 5, the neutral point. As an example, if a person's score was 1 his absolute deviation score would now become 4.

Table 1 presents a summary of the analysis of variance of raw scores for liking. It indicates that the hypothesis that race would be more important to blacks and beliefs more important to whites was not supported ( $F_s < 1$  for both the race of Ss X race of target and race of Ss X belief of target interactions, as well as for the 3-way interaction).

TABLE 1.--Summary of ANOVA for Liking Scores.

|                      | df  | MS     | F         |
|----------------------|-----|--------|-----------|
| Race of Subject (A)  | 1   | 3.725  | < 1       |
| Race of Target (B)   | 1   | 17.422 | 3.836*    |
| Belief of Target (C) | 2   | 70.028 | 15.418*** |
| A X B                | 1   | 0.020  | < 1       |
| A X C                | 2   | 3.755  | < 1       |
| B X C                | 2   | 18.143 | 3.994**   |
| A X B X C            | 2   | 2.245  | < 1       |
| Error I              | 108 | 4.542  |           |
| Target Issue (D)     | 1   | 50.728 | 12.944**  |
| A X D                | 1   | 0.070  | < 1       |
| B X D                | 1   | 1.252  | < 1       |
| C X D                | 2   | 16.951 | 4.325**   |
| A X B X D            | 1   | 3.844  | < 1       |
| A X C X D            | 2   | 0.765  | < 1       |
| B X C X D            | 2   | 3.144  | < 1       |
| A X B X C X D        | 2   | 9.908  | 2.528*    |
| Error II             | 108 | 3.919  |           |

\*p < .10; \*\*p < .05; \*\*\*p < .01



The analysis, however, did yield significant main effects for the race of target, belief of target, and issue. Significant effects were also obtained for the race of target X belief of target interaction and belief of target X issue interaction. Inspection of the means relevant to the belief of target X issue interaction (presented in Table 2), indicate that while both issues generated similar patterns of responses, those persons who were right-wing (i.e., in favor of) President Nixon, by far were liked the least.

TABLE 2.--Mean Liking Scores as a Function of Belief of Target and Issue.

|          | Belief of Target |        |       |
|----------|------------------|--------|-------|
|          | Left             | Middle | Right |
| Nixon    | 6.87             | 6.43   | 4.2   |
| Movement | 7.2              | 6.8    | 6.2   |

Table 1 also revealed a marginally significant race of Ss X race of target X belief of target X issue interaction. Table 3 presents the cell means relevant to this effect. From this four-way interaction, an analysis of simple effects was performed. These tests for the Nixon target person revealed significant effects for the belief of target main effect ( $F = 18.15$ ,  $p < .01$ ) and race of target X belief of target interaction ( $F = 2.77$ ,  $p < .10$ ). Further tests

revealed a significant effect for belief of target for both black and white targets (WT  $F = 16.92$ ,  $p < .01$ ; BT  $F = 3.99$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

TABLE 3.--Table of Means for Race of Ss X Race of Target X Belief of Target X Issue.

| Issue: Nixon    |                |                  |        |       |
|-----------------|----------------|------------------|--------|-------|
| Race of Subject | Race of Target | Belief of Target |        |       |
|                 |                | Left             | Middle | Right |
| Black           | Black          | 6.556            | 7.000  | 5.444 |
|                 | White          | 7.900            | 6.000  | 3.100 |
| White           | Black          | 6.455            | 6.333  | 4.545 |
|                 | White          | 6.556            | 6.400  | 4.000 |

| Issue: Movement |                |                  |        |       |
|-----------------|----------------|------------------|--------|-------|
| Race of Subject | Race of Target | Belief of Target |        |       |
|                 |                | Left             | Middle | Right |
| Black           | Black          | 7.333            | 8.000  | 6.000 |
|                 | White          | 7.800            | 6.091  | 6.100 |
| White           | Black          | 6.636            | 7.222  | 7.545 |
|                 | White          | 7.333            | 5.900  | 5.400 |

Marginally significant effects were also found within the race movement target, for the race of target main effect ( $F = 3.31$ ,  $p < .10$ ), belief of target main effect ( $F = .242$ ,  $p < .10$ ) and the race of target X belief of target interaction ( $F = 3.04$ ,  $p < .10$ ). Further

tests revealed a significant effect within liking scores for WT within the movement but not for BT ( $F = 4.56$ ,  $p < .05$ ). See Appendix D for a summary of analysis of simple effects.

A summary of the second ANOVA (presented in Table 4) shows again that the hypothesis was not supported (relevant  $F$ s  $< 1$ ). However, there was a significant race of S main effect found, indicating that black Ss tended to respond more extremely ( $\bar{X} = 2.44$ ) than did white Ss ( $\bar{X} = 2.09$ ).

The only other significant finding observed in the second analysis was a race of target  $\times$  belief of target  $\times$  issue interaction. Table 5 presents the cell means relevant to this effect. A test of simple effects were performed for this interaction; however, these tests failed to show any significant effects within the Nixon target person. However a significant result was found within the movement target person for the belief of target simple main effect ( $F = 2.665$ ,  $p < .05$ ). See Appendix D for summary of the analysis of simple effects.

TABLE 4.--Summary of ANOVA for Influence.

|                      | df  | MS     | F       |
|----------------------|-----|--------|---------|
| Race of Subject (A)  | 1   | 8.358  | 6.4395* |
| Race of Target (B)   | 1   | 1.090  |         |
| Belief of Target (C) | 2   | 3.970  | 2.0693  |
| A X B                | 1   | 0.090  |         |
| A X C                | 2   | 2.995  | 1.0262  |
| B X C                | 2   | .235   |         |
| A X B X C            | 2   | 4.025  | 2.0980  |
| Error I              | 108 | 1.9185 |         |
| Target Issue (D)     | 1   | 2.180  | 2.0580  |
| A X D                | 1   | 1.180  |         |
| B X D                | 1   | 0.470  |         |
| C X D                | 2   | 0.710  |         |
| A X B X D            | 1   | 0.190  |         |
| A X C X D            | 2   | 1.075  |         |
| B X C X D            | 2   | 3.240  | 3.0586* |
| A X B X C X D        | 2   | 0.225  |         |
| Error II             | 108 | 1.0593 |         |

\*P &lt; .05

TABLE 5.--Table of Means for Race of Target X Belief of Target X Issue.

|       |   | Nixon | Movement |
|-------|---|-------|----------|
| B     | L | 2.111 | 2.444    |
|       | M | 2.820 | 2.600    |
|       | R | 2.211 | 1.663    |
| ----- |   |       |          |
| W     | L | 2.277 | 2.390    |
|       | M | 2.449 | 2.697    |
|       | R | 1.813 | 2.373    |

## CHAPTER IV

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The hypothesis that race would be more important to blacks and beliefs more important to whites was not supported. Instead the results of both analyses supported to some extent Rokeach's earlier finding that belief similarity is an important antecedent to liking.

The results of both analysis of variance revealed, however, several unpredicted findings. Therefore tentative interpretation will be given to account for them.

#### Results of the First ANOVA for Liking Scores

The results of the first ANOVA indicated that the targets most preferred were left-wing. This indicates that the Ss, both black and white, had a more positive judgment of the anti-Nixon and pro-movement targets than they did of the right-wing conservative targets. One explanation for this finding could be that the Ss ignore their true feelings toward the hypothetical person in order to appear socially acceptable. Socially acceptable behavior in this context means

"unprejudiced, rational, open-minded and democratic (Cook and Selltiz, 1964, p. 39)." This interpretation suggests that the Ss might have tried to influence the E's opinion of them.

We also found that black targets who supported President Nixon were liked more than white targets who supported President Nixon. One possible explanation could be that the Ss felt that the black target was more honest in his opinion about President Nixon than the white target, thereby suggesting that the black target was given more credibility for saying he was not opposed to President Nixon than the white target. This also would explain why there was a slight tendency (though not significant) for the left-wing white targets to be liked more than the left-wing black targets on the race movement issue.

A test of the simple effects for the race of Ss X race of Is X belief of Is X issue interaction revealed significant belief effects for both black targets and white targets when the issue was Nixon but not the movement. One explanation for this could be that the Nixon issue was a more salient issue than was the movement issue. This could suggest that the Ss didn't fully understand the issue surrounding the movement as well as they did about Nixon.

### Results of the Second ANOVA for Deviation Scores

The results of the second ANOVA revealed that the black Ss were more extreme in their judgment than the white Ss. This finding suggests that the black Ss were more willing to make a non-neutral judgment, whereas the white Ss tended to be more equivocal. The only other at least marginally significant finding (for which a test of simple effects was performed) was the race of Is X belief of Is X issue interaction. The simple effects analysis revealed one significant finding; the belief of Is simple main effect for the movement. One explanation for this (which the means, presented in Table 5, tend to support) is that the Ss appeared to be more conservative in their evaluation of a target on the basis of his statement about Nixon than they were about a target who made a statement about the movement. That is, being for or against Nixon did not influence liking or disliking as much as did being for or against the movement.

### Methodological Considerations

There are several possible reasons why this study did not support the predictions. (1) The instruments, perhaps, were too race related and, as a result, the Ss were too defensive in their responses. (2) The measurements were not refined enough to tap true feelings.



However, this fault is probably true for most paper and pencil tests.

(3) Probably, the most serious problem was that in the present study Ss were required to imagine themselves in a situation other than the one they were actually in, and to respond as if they were in the imagined situation. Data obtained in this fashion typically are interpreted as though they generally reflect the subject's actual behavior. Freedman (1969), however, points out that this interpretation is based on the untenable assumption that there is a close correspondence between subjects' opinions as to what they would actually do in a particular situation and their subsequent behavior in that situation. This is not to deny that some studies have found a significant relationship between subject's verbal expression of behavioral intention and actual behavior (e.g., Silverman and Cochrane, 1971), but for the most part there seems to be little relationship between what subjects say they will do in an imagined situation, and what they in fact do (e.g., LaPiere, 1934; Kutner, Wilkens, Yarrow, 1952).

### Theoretical Consideration

One possible consideration (which this study attempted to assess) is the black Ss' level of awareness. By dividing black Ss into high and low awareness groups it may be possible to affect the

race vs. belief similarity outcome. It was felt that those blacks who would say that the black movement is solely concerned with economic and environmental inequities could not see the movement issue relating to identity. One interpretation of this follows from the notion of power-powerless, where the individual who is low on awareness might conceive racial suppression solely in terms of external factors, such as economic suppression, etc. The person high on awareness might have more of an internal orientation and not only see external factors involved in racial suppression but also recognize the problem of identity associated with such suppression. That is, black Ss high on awareness should respond more on the basis of race and black Ss low on awareness should respond more on the basis of belief.

As mentioned earlier this study attempted to assess the level of black awareness but it appeared that all the Ss were low on this variable (behaviorally defined as the number of black organizations one is a member of or affiliated with and the extent to which one is involved in these or other relevant organizations). Thus, this hypothesis is yet to be tested by obtaining a sample of high awareness black persons.

### Implication for Future Research

The data reported here indicate that for most college students there is a strong positive relationship between belief similarity and friendship. This generalization, however, may not apply to a non-student population.

Further, it could be that race is more important than belief even within the black college-student population, but this phenomenon cannot be demonstrated using laboratory methodology. One reason for this is that Ss' behavior in a laboratory often differs from their behavior in the real world. Studies (summarized, e.g., in Webb, Campbell, Schwartz and Sechrest, 1967) have shown that Ss who are aware that they are being observed or studied react self-consciously, and self-conscious Ss tend to behave atypically or they distort their actual beliefs.

In view of the findings of this and earlier research, however, it appears to be true that, for whatever reasons, blacks and whites do in fact differ in many of their beliefs. A study conducted by Bluementhal et al., for example, found significant differences between what acts black people consider violent and what acts white people consider violent. They found that a large majority of black people consider police procedure such as frisking, which in itself involves little force, as violent, compared to a small percentage of white

people. They also found that a large majority of white people consider sit-ins as an act of violence whereas black people did not. They found no racial difference, however, as a function of whether respondents believed that violence is strong or weak, fierce or peaceful, bad or good, nor were there any differences found as a function of such demographic characteristics as age, education, income, town size, or region. The only semantic difference is what "violence" meant appeared to be between blacks and whites.

The implications of these and other findings suggest that belief congruence is the most frequent determinant of interpersonal attraction. Quite often, however, this does not seem to correspond with what goes on in the real world. Unfortunately because of the reasons mentioned above, we were not able to prove otherwise. However, we have pointed out that blacks and whites do in fact differ in many of their beliefs but the nature and extent of such differences is a matter for further investigation. In any case the realities of racism must not be obscured by these and earlier research findings, which place greater emphasis on belief than race.

## **APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX A**  
**INSTRUMENTS**

## **Demographic Questionnaire**

Administered to All Subjects

Background Information

Part I

Please fill out the following information.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_  
Last First Middle

Age: \_\_\_\_\_ Sex: \_\_\_\_\_ Date of Birth: \_\_\_\_\_

Local Address: \_\_\_\_\_ Telephone Number: \_\_\_\_\_

(Note: If you do not have a telephone please list one where you can be reached)

Permanent Address: \_\_\_\_\_ Telephone: \_\_\_\_\_

City and State: \_\_\_\_\_

1. My religion is: Jewish \_\_\_\_\_  
Catholic \_\_\_\_\_  
Protestant \_\_\_\_\_  
Atheist \_\_\_\_\_  
Other \_\_\_\_\_

2. My race is: Black \_\_\_\_\_  
Caucasian \_\_\_\_\_  
Oriental \_\_\_\_\_  
Other \_\_\_\_\_

3. Party Affiliation: Republican \_\_\_\_\_  
Democrat \_\_\_\_\_  
Other \_\_\_\_\_



4. What is or was your father's occupation? \_\_\_\_\_
5. What is or was your mother's occupation? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Would you please list any organizations you belong to or are a member of and would you describe briefly how active you are in these organizations.
  1. Organization \_\_\_\_\_
    - A. How active are you in this organization?
  2. Organization \_\_\_\_\_
    - A. How active are you in this organization?
  3. Organization \_\_\_\_\_
    - A. How active are you in this organization?
  4. Organization \_\_\_\_\_
    - A. How active are you in this organization?
  5. Organization \_\_\_\_\_
    - A. How active are you in this organization?

## **Race-Belief Questionnaire**

General

Larry is a twenty-two year old college senior. Who is above average in intelligence, and has a very poor academic record. He is very popular, handsome, and somewhat spoiled by women. ~~About~~ his childhood, Larry said: "I seldom sleep more than six hours, and likes to start the day off with a cold shower. I try when possible to work-out about three hours in morning and for two more hours late in the afternoon." About his values he now says:

"I place more emphasis on trying to get better grades so that I may secure a good paying job in the future. I still try to work-out when possible but I devote most of my time to studying."

Directions: On the scale below your task is to circle at best the degree you can or cannot see yourself being friends with the person described above. Make your judgment on a scale from 1 to 9 by circling the number which best expresses your degree of preference. Use the following scale as your guide.

I can't see myself  
being friends with

such a person

UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES

I really don't know

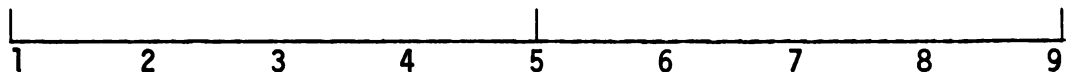
if I could become

friends with such a person

I can very easily  
see myself being

friends with such

a person



General

Pete is a twenty-two year old college senior. Who is planning to attend graduate school. He and his younger brother were raised by permissive parents in New York. Of his childhood, Pete said, "When I was a child, in grade school, I was very outspoken, I was very loud and boisterous and made persistent attempts to dominate my peers and to excel in everything I did." Today he places emphasis on being a "well-rounded person." About his values he now says:

"I can't think of anything more important than having a good friend or having good friends, but I don't think it is possible to have more than a few really close ones.

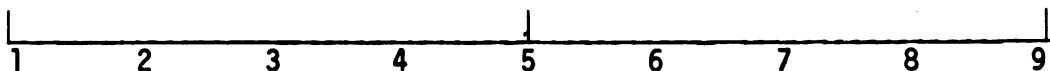
I place little value on material things: such as cars, clothes, etc."

Directions: On the scale below your task is to circle at best the degree you can or cannot see yourself being friends with the person described above. Make your judgment on a scale from 1 to 9 by circling the number which best expresses your degree of preference. Use the following scale as your guide.

I can't see myself  
being friends with  
such a person  
UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES

I really don't know  
if I could become  
friends with such a person

I can very easily  
see myself being  
friends with such  
a person



Left-wing

Michael is a white twenty-two year old college senior. Who is in deepest sympathy with blacks and all other people in their struggle to be liberated. In talking with Michael, he has said, "I must revolt against racism in America, its oppressive institutions and practices, just as I would revolt against any kind of human oppression." Today he places emphasis on the necessity of building alternative institutions. About his values he now says:

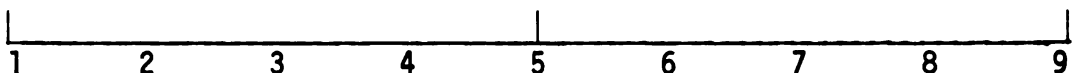
"There is a great need for social change. And in the end anti-black, anti-female, and all form of discrimination or equivalent to the same thing--anti-humanism. The values of life must be maintained against discrimination of any form."

Directions: On the scale below your task is to circle at best the degree you can or cannot see yourself being friends with the person described above. Make your judgment on a scale from 1 to 9 by circling the number which best expresses your degree of performance. Use the following scale as your guide.

I can't see myself  
being friends with  
such a person  
UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES

I really don't know  
if I could become  
friends with such a person

I can very easily  
see myself being  
friends with such  
a person



Left-wing

Michael is a black twenty-two year old college senior. Who is greatly concerned about black people and all other people in their struggle to be liberated. In talking with Michael, he has said, "I must revolt against racism in America, its oppressive institutions and practices just as I would revolt against any kind of human oppression." Today he places emphasis on the necessity of building alternative institutions. About his values he now says:

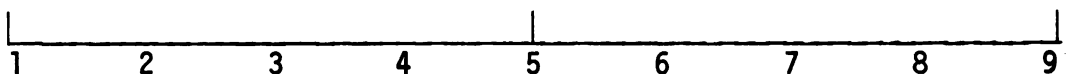
"There is a great need for social change and in the end anti-black, anti-female, and all form of discrimination or equivalent to the same thing--anti-humanism. The values of life must be maintained against discrimination of any form."

Directions: On the scale below your task is to circle at best the degree you can or cannot see yourself being friends with the person described above. Make your judgment on a scale from 1 to 9 by circling the number which best expresses your degree of preference. Use the following scale as your guide.

I can't see myself  
being friends with  
such a person  
UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES

I really don't know  
if I could become  
friends with such a person

I can very easily  
see myself being  
friends with such  
a person



Moderate

Michael is a black twenty-two year old college senior. Who is aware of the problems of racism in America. In talking with Michael, he has consistently said, "I understand that racism exists in America, and I do not support it." Today he places emphasis on the necessity of improving discriminatory institutions. About his values he now says:

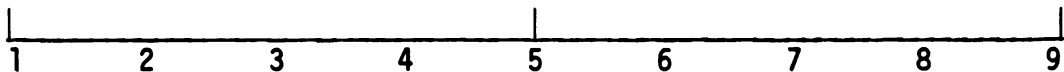
"There is a need for social change because all forms of discrimination are anti-human. The values of life should be against such discrimination."

Directions: On the scale below your task is to circle at best the degree you can or cannot see yourself being friends with the person described above. Make your judgment on a scale from 1 to 9 by circling the number which best expresses your degree of preference. Use the following scale as your guide.

I can't see myself  
being friends with  
such a person  
UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES

I really don't know  
if I could become  
friends with such a person

I can very easily  
see myself being  
friends with such  
a person



Moderate

Michael is a white twenty-two year old college senior. Who is aware of the problems of racism in America. In talking with Michael, he has consistently said, "I understand that racism exists in America, and I do not support it." Today he places emphasis on the necessity of improving discriminatory institutions. About his values he now says:

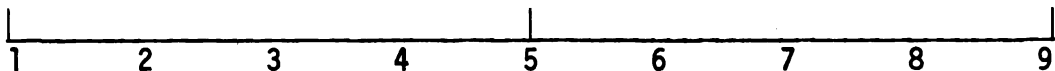
"There is a need for social change because all forms of discrimination are anti-human. The values of life should be against such discrimination."

Directions: On the scale below your task is to circle at best the degree you can or cannot see yourself being friends with the person described above. Make your judgment on a scale from 1 to 9 by circling the number which best expresses your degree of preference. Use the following scale as your guide.

I can't see myself  
being friends with  
such a person  
UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES

I really don't know  
if I could become  
friends with such a person

I can very easily  
see myself being  
friends with such  
a person





Right-wing

Michael is a white twenty-two year old college senior who takes a rather conservative view of racial problems in America. In talking with Michael, he has said "America is not completely oppressive, nor are the practices of her institutions." Today he places emphasis on improving those institutions that need to be improved. About his values he now says:

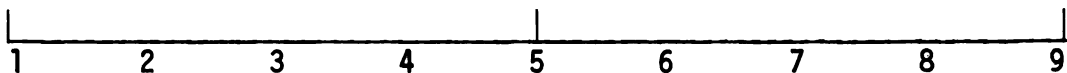
"There is some need for social change but blacks and whites, male and female, are progressing well, especially compared to other countries." He feels that blacks should be very careful in making changes, not just for the sake of making changes.

Directions: On the scale below your task is to circle at best the degree you can or cannot see yourself being friends with the person described above. Make your judgment on a scale from 1 to 9 by circling the number which best expresses your degree of preference. Use the following scale as your guide.

I can't see myself  
being friends with  
such a person  
UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES

I really don't know  
if I could become  
friends with such a person

I can very easily  
see myself being  
friends with such  
a person



Right-wing

Michael is a black twenty-two year old college senior. Who takes a more conservative view of the problems in America. In talking with Michael, he has said "America is not completely oppressive, nor are the practices of her institutions." Today he places emphasis on improving those institutions that need to be improved. About his values he now says:

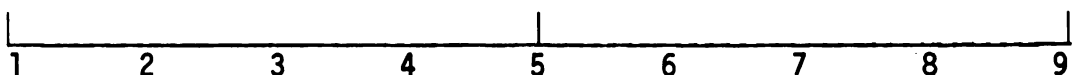
"There is some need for social change but blacks and whites, male and females, are progressing very well, especially compared to other countries." He feels that blacks should be very careful in making changes, not just for the sake of making changes.

Directions: On the scale below your task is to circle at best the degree you can or cannot see yourself being friends with the person described above. Make your judgment on a scale from 1 to 9 by circling the number which best expresses your degree of preference. Use the following scale as your guide.

I can't see myself  
being friends with  
such a person  
UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES

I really don't know  
if I could become  
friends with such a person

I can very easily  
see myself being  
friends with such  
a person



Right-wing

John is a white twenty-two year old college senior. Who believed that President Nixon's attitudes and behaviors will in the long run turn out to be good. In talking with John, he has said, "Nixon is trying to lead this country, step by step, in the right direction." Today he places emphasis on supporting President Nixon. About his values he now says:

"I honestly have full confidence in the present administration and feel no real need to change it."

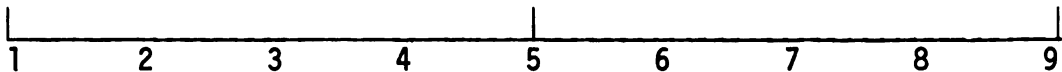
Directions: On the scale below your task is to circle at best the degree you can or cannot see yourself being friends with the person described above. Make your judgment on a scale from 1 to 9 by circling the number which best expresses your degree of preference. Use the following scale as your guide.

I can't see myself  
being friends with  
such a person

UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES

I really don't know  
if I could become  
friends with such a person

I can very easily  
see myself being  
friends with such  
a person



Right-wing

John is a black twenty-two year old college senior. Who believed that President Nixon's attitudes and behaviors will in the long run turn out to be good. In talking with John, he has said, "Nixon is trying to lead this country, step by step, in the right direction." Today he places emphasis on supporting President Nixon. About his values he now says:

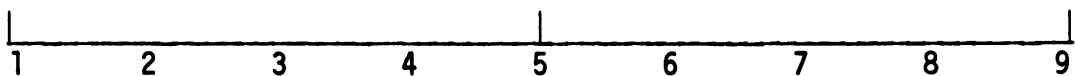
"I honestly have full confidence in the present administration. And I feel no real need to change it."

Directions: On the scale below your task is to circle at best the degree you can or cannot see yourself being friends with the person described above. Make your judgment on a scale from 1 to 9 by circling the number which best expresses your degree of preference. Use the following scale as your guide.

I can't see myself  
being friends with  
such a person  
UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES

I really don't know  
if I could become  
friends with such a person

I can very easily  
see myself being  
friends with such  
a person



Moderate

John is a black twenty-two year old college senior. Who believed that only time will tell if President Nixon's attitudes and behaviors will in the long run turn out to be good or bad. However, he recognizes a need for the President to be a little more responsive to the American people. In talking with John he has said, "Nixon should be trying to with the aid of all American citizens, lead this country in the best direction." Today he places emphasis on political awareness. About his values he now says:

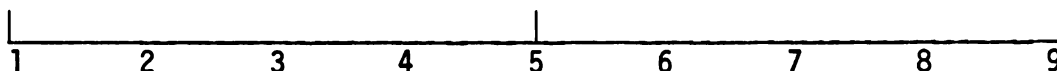
"I place great emphasis on being very objective, and being very careful not to prejudge anyone."

Directions: On the scale below your task is to circle at best the degree you can or cannot see yourself being friends with the person described above. Make your judgment on a scale from 1 to 9 by circling the number which best expresses your degree of preference. Use the following scale as your guide.

I can't see myself  
being friends with  
such a person  
UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES

I really don't know  
if I could become  
friends with such a person

I can very easily  
see myself being  
friends with such  
a person



Moderate

John is a white twenty-two year old college senior. Who believed that only time will tell if President Nixon's attitudes and behaviors will in the long run turn out to be good or bad. However, he recognizes a need for the President to be a little more responsive to the American people. In talking with John, he has said, "Nixon should be trying to with the aid of all American citizens, lead this country in the best direction." Today he places emphasis on political awareness. About his values he now says:

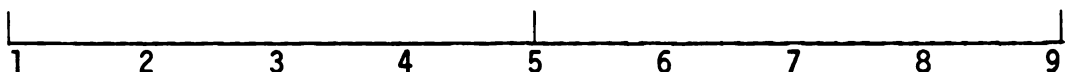
"I place great emphasis on being very objective, and being very careful not to prejudge anyone."

Directions: On the scale below your task is to circle at best the degree you can or cannot see yourself being friends with the person described above. Make your judgment on a scale from 1 to 9 by circling the number which best expresses your degree of preference. Use the following scale as your guide.

I can't see myself  
being friends with  
such a person  
UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES

I really don't know  
if I could become  
friends with such a person

I can very easily  
see myself being  
friends with such  
a person



Left-wing

John is a black twenty-two year old college senior. Who believed that President Nixon's attitudes and behaviors will in the long run turn out to be his greatest downfall. In talking with John, he has said: "Nixon is trying to lead this country, step by step, in the wrong direction." Today he places emphasis on political opposition to President Nixon. About his values he now says:

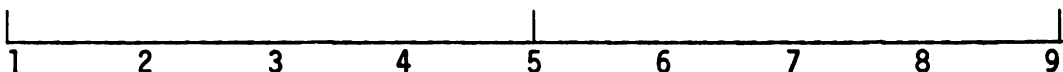
"I honestly have no confidence in the present administration. And if I should have to take to the streets to change it, then I will."

Directions: On the scale below your task is to circle at best the degree you can or cannot see yourself being friends with the person described above. Make your judgment on a scale from 1 to 9 by circling the number which best expresses your degree of preference. Use the following scale as your guide.

I can't see myself  
being friends with  
such a person  
UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES

I really don't know  
if I could become  
friends with such a person

I can very easily  
see myself being  
friends with such  
a person



Left-wing

John is a white twenty-two year old college senior. Who believed that President Nixon's attitudes and behaviors will in the long run turn out to be his greatest downfall. In talking with John, he has said, "Nixon is trying to lead this country, step by step, in the wrong direction." Today he places emphasis on political opposition to President Nixon.

About his values he now says:

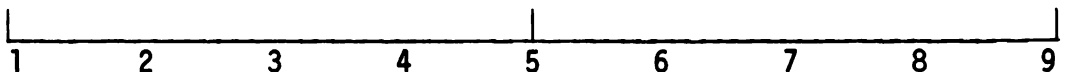
"I honestly have no confidence in the present administration. And if I should have to take to the streets to change it, then I will."

Directions: On the scale below your task is to circle at best the degree you can or cannot see yourself being friends with the person described above. Make your judgment on a scale from 1 to 9 by circling the number which best expresses your degree of preference. Use the following scale as your guide.

I can't see myself  
being friends with  
such a person  
UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES

I really don't know  
if I could become  
friends with such a person

I can very easily  
see myself being  
friends with such  
a person





## **Attitudinal Questionnaire**

# Racism Questionnaire

Administered to black subjects only

## Public Opinion Questionnaire

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 opinion.

Below is a list of statements about various topics. Please check  
 or circle appropriately that which best indicates your opinion.

1. In general, to what extent are white people concerned about giving black people equal opportunities in America?

very much      slightly      very little      not concerned  
 concerned \_\_\_\_\_ concerned \_\_\_\_\_ concerned \_\_\_\_\_ at all \_\_\_\_\_

2. Do you agree that blacks should have nothing to do with whites if they can help it?

strongly      somewhat      somewhat      strongly  
 disagree \_\_\_\_\_ disagree \_\_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_\_

3. Do you agree that participating in American form of government by voting and seeking local and federal offices is an effective way to advance black people?

strongly      somewhat      somewhat      strongly  
 disagree \_\_\_\_\_ disagree \_\_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_\_

4. Do you agree that the present system of American government is capable of solving the race problem in America?

strongly      somewhat      somewhat      strongly  
 disagree \_\_\_\_\_ disagree \_\_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_\_

\*5. Do you agree that all whites are genetically inferior to blacks?

strongly      somewhat      somewhat      strongly  
disagree\_\_\_\_ disagree\_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_

6. Do you agree that through education black people will be accepted into the mainstream of American society?

strongly      somewhat      somewhat      strongly  
disagree\_\_\_\_ disagree\_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_

7. Do you agree that black people should recognize Africa as their mother country?

strongly      somewhat      somewhat      strongly  
disagree\_\_\_\_ disagree\_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_

8. Do you agree that blacks should serve in the Armed Forces?

strongly      somewhat      somewhat      strongly  
disagree\_\_\_\_ disagree\_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_

\*9. Do you agree that all whites cannot really be trusted?

strongly      somewhat      somewhat      strongly  
disagree\_\_\_\_ disagree\_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_

\*Discriminating Items

General Questionnaire  
Administered to white subjects only

Public Opinion Questionnaire

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Local Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone No.: \_\_\_\_\_

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

Below is a list of statements about various topics. Please check  
or circle appropriately that which best indicates your opinion.

1. Police should not hesitate to use force to maintain order.

strongly      somewhat      somewhat      strongly  
disagree \_\_\_\_ disagree \_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_

2. Although our society has to be changed, violence is not a justified means.

strongly      somewhat      somewhat      strongly  
disagree \_\_\_\_ disagree \_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_

3. If people worked hard at their jobs, they would reap the full benefits of our society.

strongly      somewhat      somewhat      strongly  
disagree \_\_\_\_ disagree \_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_

4. Representative democracy can respond effectively to the needs of the people.

strongly      somewhat      somewhat      strongly  
disagree \_\_\_\_ disagree \_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_

5. You can never achieve freedom within the framework of contemporary American society.

strongly      somewhat      somewhat      strongly  
disagree\_\_\_\_ disagree\_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_

6. A group without a clear-cut pattern of leadership cannot function effectively.

strongly      somewhat      somewhat      strongly  
disagree\_\_\_\_ disagree\_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_

7. You learn more from ten minutes in a political protest than ten hours of research in a library.

strongly      somewhat      somewhat      strongly  
disagree\_\_\_\_ disagree\_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_

8. While man has great potential for good, society brings out the worst in him.

strongly      somewhat      somewhat      strongly  
disagree\_\_\_\_ disagree\_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_

9. "The Establishment" unfairly controls every aspect of our lives; we can never be free until we are rid of it.

strongly      somewhat      somewhat      strongly  
disagree\_\_\_\_ disagree\_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_ agree \_\_\_\_

## **APPENDIX B**

### **SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF SIMPLE EFFECTS**

TABLE A1.--Summary of Analysis of Simple Effects for Liking Within Nixon.

|                    | df | MS    | F      |
|--------------------|----|-------|--------|
| Race of <u>S</u>   | 1  | 2.48  |        |
| Race of <u>I</u>   | 1  | 4.67  | 1.10   |
| Belief of <u>I</u> | 2  | 76.78 | 18.15* |
| A X B              | 1  | 2.19  |        |
| A X C              | 2  | 1.44  | < 1    |
| B X C              | 2  | 11.72 | 2.77*  |
| A X B X C          | 2  | 2.24  |        |

\*p < .01

TABLE A2.--Summary of Analysis of Simple Effects for Liking Within Movement.

|                    | df | MS    | F     |
|--------------------|----|-------|-------|
| Race of <u>S</u>   | 1  | 1.39  |       |
| Race of <u>I</u>   | 1  | 14.01 | 3.31* |
| Belief of <u>I</u> | 2  | 10.23 | 2.42* |
| A X B              | 1  | 1.69  |       |
| A X C              | 2  | 3.08  |       |
| B X C              | 2  | 12.87 | 3.04* |
| A X B X C          | 2  | 5.86  | 1.39  |

\*p < .10

TABLE A3.--Summary of Analysis of Simple Effects for Deviation Scores Within Movement.

|                        | df | MS     | F       |
|------------------------|----|--------|---------|
| Race of <u>I</u> (B)   | 1  | 1.4908 |         |
| Belief of <u>I</u> (C) | 2  | 3.9702 | 2.6665* |
| B X C                  | 2  | 1.8923 |         |

\*p &lt; .05



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