



RACE AND BELIEF AS DETERMINANTS
OF DISCRIMINATION

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RACE AND BELIEF AS DETERMINANTS OF DISCRIMINATION

BY

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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION AND HYPOTHESES

The study of prejudice or intolerance reactions may be seen as but one facet of the larger problem of the investigation of beliefs or attitudes. It has been proposed that ... "there is a general factor of prejudice or tolerance which tends to unify the reactions of an individual toward members of all minority groups." (4, p 1030) Adorno et al support this hypothesis in reporting high (.69 to .83) interrcorrelations between subscales of the Ethnocentrism (E) Scale. The E Scale was devised to measure anti-ethnic attitudes toward several outgroups, including Negroes. These authors postulated an "authoritarian personality" structure based upon psychoanalytic personality theory.

In contrast to this type of analysis which dealt primarily with hostility toward ethnic groups, the Belief-thought model designed by Rokeach (7,8,9) represents an attempt to formulate a theory of personality in purely structural terms rather than in functional terms, through the study of the role of belief and belief-systems in general intolerance. According to this viewpoint the manifestation of ethnic prejudice, as in any other intolerance reaction, is essentially the subject's response to perceived threat to his organized belief-systems. Since the present study was part of the series of studies investigating aspects of the belief-thought model, a brief description of the structure and characteristics of the belief-disbelief systems is given.

More complete treatment is available in publications by Rokeach. (7,8,9)

Dogmatism has been defined as "(a) a relatively closed cognitive organization of beliefs and disbeliefs about reality, (b) organized around a central set of beliefs about absolute authority which, in turn, (c) provides for a framework for patterns of intolerance and qualified tolerance toward others. A cognitive organization is considered to be closed to the extent that there is (a) isolation of parts within the belief system and between belief and disbelief systems, (b) a discrepancy in the degree of differentiation between belief and disbelief systems, (c) dedifferentiation within the disbelief system, (d) a high degree of interdependence between central and peripheral beliefs, (e) a low degree of interdependence among peripheral beliefs, and (f) a narrowing of the time perspective." (7, p 195) There are conceived to be two interdependent parts in the cognitive system. (1) The belief system which contains "all the sets, or expectancies or hypotheses which a person may have at any given time which he accepts as true, to one degree or another. The disbelief system is conceived to be composed of a series of disbelief subsystems rather than just a single one within which are represented all the sets, expectancies, or hypotheses which a person at any given time accepts as false, to one degree or another." (9, p 229) Each of the disbelief subsystems is thought to lie along a continuum of similarity

to the corresponding belief subsystem. The relationship between "the extent of a person's rejection of each disbelief subsystem and the adherents thereof" and the similarity-dis-similarity continuum is referred to as the disbelief gradient. (9, p 230) "Persons adhering to disbelief subsystems most similar to one's own belief system...are likely to be in greater conflictful contact with each other and hence are most likely to be perceived as threatening to the validity of the belief system." (8, p 7)

On the basis of this theoretical system, the Dogmatism Scale (8) was designed to differentiate persons in terms of degree of closed cognitive structure independent of the ideological camp one belongs to. The Opinionation Scale (8) evolved from the desire to measure the tolerance-intolerance aspect of closed systems. However, it should be noted that intolerance as defined by the Opinionation Scale refers to the rejection, or qualified acceptance of other persons who disagree and agree, respectively, with one's views. This broad conception of intolerance should be differentiated from the concept as used in the Ethnocentrism Scale where it refers to acceptance or rejection of ethnic groups.

A sociological experiment by Westie (10) gave results which are related to Rokeach's theoretical approach. Westie's questionnaire technique took into account the class and occupational status of the prejudice-object, the Negro, as well as the class and status of the white respondents. The

subjects were asked to respond on five social distance scales to "a Negro doctor", "a Negro ditch digger", and so forth rather than to general conceptions of "Negroes". The findings revealed that the higher the status of the Negro the less the social distance expressed by white respondents from three socioeconomic levels. It was also reported that social distance is least when both Negro and white have high socioeconomic status. The study seemed to point out that reaction to the Negro may be relative to more factors than race, per se. It might be said that the respondent's expectations or beliefs about occupation or class combined with beliefs about race to determine the perception of desirability of the object.

The present study was designed to investigate the broad hypothesis that a subject's intolerance reactions generally are made more in terms of belief rather than ethnic criteria. One's intolerance reaction to a Negro, for example, may be influenced by (a) the subject's beliefs about Negroes, and (b) the extent to which the subject perceives the beliefs of the Negro as disagreeing with his own beliefs. Consider, for example, the following remark by a white southerner who explained why he had to kill a Negro boy who persisted in saying, among other things, that he was "as good as a white man".

... "Well, what else could we do? He was hopeless. I'm no bully, I never hurt a nigger in my life. I like niggers--in their place--I know how to work 'em." (6, p 50)

If this statement may be accepted as face value, it may be

hypothesized that the man's beliefs were extremely threatened by the verbalized attitudes of the Negro boy. In effect the boy was not killed simply because he was a Negro, but because he was a Negro who held and expressed the "wrong" beliefs.

The present study of belief-intolerance is designed to test the following hypotheses which were derived from the Belief-thought model.

Hypothesis I. In situations wherein it is possible to respond in a discriminatory manner to social stimuli both on the basis of race and belief, the discriminatory response will be based more on the belief than on the race characteristics of the stimuli. That is, if belief is a more important factor in reaction to individuals than is race, a white subject will be more favorable to a Negro who agrees with his beliefs than to another white person who holds contrary beliefs.

Hypothesis II. If belief is a more important factor than race in intolerance reactions, subjects scoring high on measures of ethnic prejudice as well as subjects scoring low in ethnic prejudice should respond primarily in terms of belief rather than race.

Hypothesis III. Extent of preference of whites over Negroes is expected to correlate more highly with the E Scale than with either the Opinionation Scale or the Dogmatism Scale. This is expected since the E Scale is designed to estimate ethnic prejudice, the Dogmatism and Opinionation Scales are designed to estimate intolerance toward others

depending on whether they agree or disagree with one's views.

Hypothesis IV. The absolute degree of rejection for Negroes should correlate more highly with the E Scale than with the Opinionation or the Dogmatism Scales. That is, the higher the E Score, the lower the "acceptance" ratings that will be given to Negroes.

Hypothesis V. The extent to which persons holding to one belief are preferred to persons who hold an opposed belief should correlate more highly with the Opinionation Scale and the Dogmatism Scale than with the E Scale. According to the Belief-thought model, the higher the degree of dogmatism, the greater the degree of isolation between belief and disbelief systems. "Cognitive manifestations of isolation would be... the degree to which one emphasized the differences rather than the similarities between belief and disbelief systems..."

(9, p 230-231) (Italics mine)

Hypothesis VI. (a) Degree of acceptance of persons who agree with one's beliefs should correlate more highly with Opinionation and Dogmatism Scales than with the E Scale.

(b) Degree of rejection of persons who disagree with one's beliefs should correlate more highly with Opinionation and Dogmatism Scales than with the E Scale. "With an increase in dogmatism we assume an increase in the absoluteness of beliefs in positive and negative authority, and an increasing rejection or acceptance of people depending upon whether they agree or disagree with one's belief-disbelief system."

(8, p 8) (*Italics mine*) As was stated earlier, the Opinionation Scale was designed specifically to deal with that sort of belief-intolerance which is a part of the larger structure of closed systems.

Hypothesis VII. Responses to social stimuli which have both race and belief characteristics are expected to be primarily in terms of belief rather than race (Hypothesis I). Therefore, such responses should correlate more highly with the Opinionation and Dogmatism Scales than with the E Scale. Theoretically, this trend is expected since the Opinionation and Dogmatism Scales represent measures of intolerance on the basis of beliefs agreed with and disagreed with. On the other hand, the Ethnocentrism Scale represents a measure of intolerance based upon ethnic rather than belief criteria.

Hypothesis VIII. The greater the rejection of people--white and Negro, those who agree and those who disagree with one's views--the greater will be the degree of Opinionation and Dogmatism. Since it is posited that persons high in Dogmatism and Opinionation emphasize differences between issues, people, et cetera, (as a function of degree of isolation between the belief-disbelief systems); it is expected that as the degree of Opinionation and Dogmatism increases, there would be an increasing tendency to rate more highly people who agree with the subject's beliefs and to reject more strongly those people who disagree with the subject's beliefs. A low opinionated person, on the other hand, is expected to

be highly accepting of people who agree and people who disagree. That is, the low opinionated person will be, theoretically, relatively highly accepting of other people regardless of their beliefs.

Hypotheses III and IV are both essentially concerned with attitudes toward Negroes. Instead of one statement, these two separate hypotheses were formulated to maintain clarity in reporting results since different types of scores were used in the analysis of results for the two hypotheses. For the same reason, Hypotheses V and VI, and Hypotheses VII and VIII, respectively, were stated as four separate hypotheses rather than as two more general ones.

CHAPTER II. DESIGN AND PROCEDURE

Sixty five¹ native, white subjects in Introductory Psychology at Michigan State University were given a battery of Likert-type personality tests among which were included (a) the Dogmatism Scale (8)², (b) the Opinionation Scale (8), (c) the six item anti-Negro section of the Ethnocentrism Scale (1, p 142). Tests were administered anonymously under group conditions. Three degrees of agreement and three degrees of disagreement were employed. The absence of a zero point made neutral responses impossible. Responses to a Race-Belief Questionnaire, which is described below, were also obtained.³

The Race-Belief Questionnaire

Eight social issues were used in the questionnaire; four issues pertaining to segregation and four "neutral"⁴ issues. A pair of different statements was made for each of the eight issues.

On the first page of the Race-Belief Questionnaire the

1 Seventy four subjects were originally tested. The tests of nine subjects were discarded since they were either members of a minority group, or did not complete the questionnaire.

2 Dogmatism scores were available for only 54 subjects.

3 The full questionnaire is presented in the Appendix.

4 "Neutral" as defined for this study means four issues not directly concerned with segregation or the race question; i.e. God, communism, labor, socialized medicine.

subject was asked to check the one statement that he most agreed with for each pair of the eight beliefs. For example, the subject could check either (a. I am for socialized medicine.), or (b. I am against socialized medicine.). This initial check list was used later in the analysis as an independent measure of the stand each subject took on each of the eight issues.

The subjects then responded to the Race-Belief Questionnaire which carried these instructions.

The following is a study of what the general public thinks and feels about a number of important social and personal questions. In the questionnaire below are a number of paired statements. Your task is to express the degree to which you can or cannot see yourself being friends with each of the two persons described in each pair. Make your judgments 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

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

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Let us take an example: Circle the number which best expresses your degree of preference for 1a and 1b.

1a A person who likes classical music. 123456789
1b A person who likes popular music. 123456789

Your task is simply to circle the number which best expresses how much you can see yourself being friends with the person described. Remember, encircle one number after "a" and one number after "b" for each pair in the questionnaire. Please assume that the two persons described in each pair are alike in all other respects.

The beliefs used in the questionnaire are listed below.

Neutral Beliefs

- 1 a A ____ who is for socialized medicine.
b A ____ who is against socialized medicine.
- 2 a A ____ who believes in God.
b A ____ who is an atheist.
- 3 a A ____ who is a communist.
b A ____ who is anti-communist.
- 4 a A ____ who is pro-labor unions.
b A ____ who is anti-labor unions.

Segregation Beliefs

- 5 a A ____ who is for immediate desegregation.
b A ____ who is for gradual desegregation.
- 6 a A ____ who believes that fraternities and sororities should be interracial.
b A ____ who believes that each race should have its own fraternities and sororities.
- 7 a A ____ who believes that, fundamentally, all races are equal.
b A ____ who believes that there are fundamental differences between races.
- 8 a A ____ who believes that Negroes should be allowed to own homes anywhere they want to.
b A ____ who believes that Negroes should be allowed to own homes only in certain areas.

These statements were varied systematically throughout the form so that the variables--white, Negro, for-belief, against-belief--appeared equally often, and also were placed as the first statement in the pair an equal number of times. Thus for each one of the eight issues, 6 combinations of pairs are possible, as is shown on page 13. Thus, 48 pairs were employed, covering eight issues.

For each subject, separate sets of scores were obtained for the four segregation beliefs and the four neutral beliefs. Both absolute scores¹ and difference scores² were obtained from the data. A letter notational system was adopted to refer to the different kinds of scores.

R difference score: A race score composed of the total "differences" in rating between whites and Negroes when belief is held constant. The larger the score, the greater the favorableness toward whites as compared to Negroes.

B difference score: A belief score composed of the total "differences" in rating between those agreed with and those disagreed with when race is held constant. The larger the score, the greater the favorableness toward those agreed with as compared with those disagreed with.

R-B difference score: A race-belief score composed of the total "differences" in ratings to a pair of stimuli where-in race and belief are both varied simultaneously.

N: The total absolute score given Negroes with the same belief-preferences as the subject.

n: The total absolute score given Negroes with beliefs contrary to those professed by the subject.

W: The total absolute score given whites with the same belief-preferences as the subject.

w: The total absolute score given whites with beliefs contrary to those professed by the subject.

1 For any one belief-statement the absolute score consists of the numerical rating (from 1 to 9) circled by the respondent. Absolute score will hereafter refer to the total (by each individual) of such ratings for the variable in question. An illustration of the derivation of an absolute score is given on page 13.

2 A difference score refers to a numerical value obtained by subtraction between a pair of statements. Difference score will hereafter refer to the total (for each individual) of such differences for the variable in question. An illustration of the derivation of a difference score is given on page 13.

WwNn: A race-belief score composed of the total absolute ratings given to whites and Negroes regardless of agreement or disagreement.

In every case the assigning of capital letters or lower case letters indicates that the subject was "for" or "against" the belief, respectively. This judgment was possible by noting each subject's responses to the initial belief-preference sheet.

The derivation of the various scores is illustrated below. Assume first, for the sake of illustration, that on the initial preference sheet, the subject had checked the response, "I am for immediate desegregation", as one belief he agreed with. Assume next that he encircled the following in each of the six pairs given below.

Section 1: Race Scores

A Negro who is for immediate desegregation. 1234~~5~~6789
A white person who is for immediate desegregation. 12345~~6~~789

The R difference score is white - Negro. $7-5 = 2$
The absolute scores are: $W = 7$, $N = 5$

A white person who is for gradual desegregation. 12~~3~~456789
A Negro who is for gradual desegregation. 1~~2~~3456789

The R difference score is white - Negro. $3-2 = 1$
The absolute scores are: $W = 3$, $n = 2$

Section 2: Belief Scores

A white person who is for immediate desegregation. 12345~~6~~789
A white person who is for gradual desegregation. 12~~3~~456789

The B difference score is white minus white. $7-3 = 4$
The absolute scores are: $W = 7$, $w = 3$

A Negro who is for gradual desegregation. 123456789
 A Negro who is for immediate desegregation. 123456789

The B difference score is Negro minus Negro. $6-4 = 2$
 The absolute scores are: $N = 6, n = 4$

Section 3: Race-Belief Scores

A white person who is for immediate desegregation. 123456789
 A Negro who is for gradual desegregation. 123456789

The R-B score is "immed." minus "grad.". $8-6 = 2$
 The absolute scores are: $W = 8, n = 6$

A Negro who is for immediate desegregation. 123456789
 A white person who is for gradual desegregation. 123456789

The R-B score is "immed." minus "grad.". $8-6 = 2$
 The absolute scores are: $N = 8, w = 6$

The absolute race-belief score used in the analysis of results was obtained by adding the four absolute scores (N,n,W,w) from Section 3; that is, from the pairs set up to vary race and belief. This represents the extent to which the subject would like to be friends with all persons, regardless of race and belief.

From the preceding three sets of examples it should be clear that absolute scores--W,w,N,n--could be obtained from pairs set up for Race (Section 1), or Belief (Section 2), or Race-Belief (Section 3). The subscripts "r, b, rb" will be used to designate which section the absolute scores were obtained from.

The following combinations of the absolute scores were made for the purposes of analysis.

- WN_b The total absolute score given people who disagree with the subjects beliefs. The greater the score, the greater the degree of liking of whites and Negroes who disagree with one's beliefs; the smaller the score the less the degree of liking of whites and Negroes who disagree with one's beliefs. The subscript "b" means that the score was obtained from pairs wherein belief is varied, race held constant.
- WN_b The total absolute score given people who agree with the subjects beliefs. The greater the score the greater the degree of liking of whites and Negroes who agree with one's beliefs. Again, the subscript "b" means that the score was obtained from pairs wherein belief is varied, race held constant.
- Ww The total absolute score given to whites who agree and whites who disagree with one's beliefs. The subscript "r" means that the scores are obtained from pairs wherein race is varied, belief held constant.
- Nn The total absolute score given to Negroes who agree and Negroes who disagree with one's beliefs. The subscript "r" means that the scores are obtained from pairs wherein race is varied, belief held constant.

As illustrated below, it is also possible to obtain race scores and belief scores in an indirect fashion; that is, from pairs not specifically set up for this purpose. This involves comparing the ratings across pairs of statements, rather than staying within the original pair. Consider, for example, the following four pairs:

(1)		(3)		Subtracting across:
W for immed.		N for immed.		
deseg.	9	deseg.	8	$9-8 = R_b$ score of 1
w for grad.		n for grad.		
deseg.	7	deseg.	6	$7-6 = R_b$ score of 1
(2)		(4)		
W for immed.		w for grad.		
deseg.	9	deseg.	5	$9-5 = B_r$ score of 4
N for immed.		n for grad.		
deseg.	9	deseg.	5	$9-5 = B_r$ score of 4

As explained earlier, the origin of the indirect scores can be identified by the subscripts, "r" referring to the difference scores between two paired items set up to measure race; "b" referring to the difference scores between two paired items set up to measure belief.

The difference scores used in the analysis of data were, in each case, the "direct" scores derived from the pairs set up to measure the variable in question. (examples given on page 13) The indirect scores, illustrated above, were correlated with the direct scores for the sole purpose of obtaining reliability coefficients. These correlations for the difference scores and for the absolute scores are shown in Table 1.

It was seen that the direct and indirect difference scores are fairly highly related (.73 to .83). Thus, we may conclude that the race and belief scores have satisfactory reliability. Furthermore, it does not seem necessary to also compute correlations between the indirect scores and other variables since it would give us essentially the same results as those obtained with the direct scores.

The relationships between the direct and indirect absolute scores (Table 1) are also of such a degree (.89 to .95) to indicate satisfactory reliability and, further, that separate correlations between the indirect absolute scores and other variables would be redundant.

The Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was

TABLE 1

Reliability Coefficients for Difference Scores and
Absolute Scores on Segregation and Neutral Beliefs

A. Difference Scores N = 65		
Correlating:	Segregation	Neutral
R_r and R_b	.31	.73
B_b and B_r	.89	.86
B. Absolute Scores N = 65		
Correlating:	Segregation	Neutral
Nn_r and Nn_{rb}	.93	.93
Ww_r and Ww_{rb}	.95	.91
NW_b and NW_{rb}	.89	.92
nw_b and nw_{rb}	.92	.94

used in the analysis of results for all hypotheses. For Hypothesis I, the t test for correlated means was used in the analysis of some data.

CHAPTER III. RESULTS

First shown, in Table 2, are the correlations between: the Opinionation and Dogmatism Scales (.47); the Opinionation Scale and the Ethnocentrism Scale (.23); the Dogmatism Scale and the Ethnocentrism Scale (.22). The correlations among these variables are in the same general range as those reported elsewhere by Rokeach. (8)

Hypothesis I. If belief is a more important factor in reaction to individuals than is race, then in situations wherein it is possible to respond in a discriminatory manner to social stimuli both on the basis of race and belief, the discriminatory response will be based more on the belief than on the race characteristics of the stimuli. These correlations are given in Table 3. The correlation of the belief (B) and race-belief (R-B) scores for both neutral and segregation beliefs are quite high, .74 and .91, respectively, and both are significant beyond the 1% level of confidence. Notice that neither the race (R) and race-belief (R-B) correlations (.00 and -.19), for the R and B scores correlations (-.10 and -.22), respectively, reached statistical significance. A trend toward negative correlations between the R scores and the R-B scores was apparent; however, this was not statistically significant.

Table 4 shows, for the whole group, the mean acceptance score of Negroes (Nn), the mean acceptance score of whites

TABLE 2

Correlations Between the Ethnocentrism Scale,
Opinionation Scale, and the Dogmatism Scale

	N	Opinionation	Ethnocen.
E Scale	65	.23	--
Dogmatism Scale	54	.47	.22

TABLE 3

Correlation Coefficients of Direct and Indirect
Scores for Neutral and Segregation Beliefs

Correlations Between Race-Belief (R-B) Scores and:									
N		Segregation Beliefs				Neutral Beliefs			
		R	R _b	B	B _r	R	R _b	B	B _r
Total Group	65	.00	.06	.74*	.76*	-.19	-.17	.91*	.89*
Low E Group	33	-.24	-.24	.79*	.82*	-.13	-.10	.89*	.90*
High E Group	32	.08	.01	.69*	.69	-.19	-.18	.88*	.78*

* P. < .01

TABLE 4

A Comparisons Between Acceptance of Negroes and of Whites
 B Comparisons Between Acceptance of People With Similar
 Beliefs and People With Dissimilar Beliefs

Segregation Beliefs N = 65				
A.	Nn	Ww	B.	wn WN
Mean	51.48	54.00	41.75	61.77
S.D.	11.45	10.22	14.69	9.18
t**	3.00*		13.71*	

* $P < .01$

Neutral Beliefs N = 65				
A.	Nn	Ww	B.	wn WN
Mean	47.66	50.14	33.35	62.94
S.D.	9.54	9.12	13.32	8.18
t**	3.31*		19.47*	

* $P < .01$

**The standard error of the difference formula which takes into account the correlation between observations was used in this analysis.

(Ww), and the t ratio between the mean acceptance of whites and Negroes. Also shown are the mean acceptance scores of people who agree with one's beliefs (WN), people who disagree with one's beliefs (wn), and the t ratio between these two means. While both sets of differences are statistically significant, it is to be noticed however, that differences obtained in the comparisons between people who "agree" and "disagree" are much larger. In contrast, the differences between acceptance of Negroes and acceptance of whites is relatively small. These data may be regarded as supporting Hypothesis I, which is to the effect that the discriminatory response is based more on the belief than on the race characteristics of the stimuli.

Hypothesis II. If belief is a more important factor than race in intolerance reactions, subjects high in ethnic prejudice as well as subjects low in ethnic prejudice should respond primarily in terms of belief rather than race. Separate correlations for high E and low E groups (scoring above or below the median Ethnocentrism score) were computed between direct and indirect difference scores. This was a necessary check to see if the trend of relationship for either high or low E groups was different from the correlations for the total group. As shown in Table 3, the correlations between the neutral race-belief (R-B) score and the race (R) and belief (B) scores was not generally changed from the correlations on the total group. On the segregation beliefs, for

both direct and indirect scores, there were inverse correlations (not significant) between the race-belief scores and the race scores for the low E group. This trend was not seen in the correlation for the total group. The relationship for the high E group between the race-belief and race scores was not appreciably different from the correlations for the total group.

The results for Hypothesis II were also analyzed in a different way. Table 5 shows the distribution of responses for the high and low E groups on each of the eight beliefs for the race-belief pair wherein the Negro holds to the same belief as the subject and the white holds to the opposing belief. If the respondent gave the "Negro who agreed" a higher rating than the rating given to the "white person who disagreed", it was assumed he was responding in terms of belief. If the subject gave the "Negro who agreed" a lower rating than the "white person who disagreed", it was assumed that the subject was responding in terms of race. It is not clear what meaning one can ascribe to instances in which equal ratings were given to the "Negro who agreed" and the "white who disagreed". From inspection of these data it would seem to indicate that high and low E scorers both generally respond in terms of belief rather than race when both variables are present.

Hypothesis III. Extent of preference of whites over Negroes should correlate more highly with the E Scale than

TABLE 5

High and Low Ethnocentrism Groups Differential Responses When
the Negro Agrees, and the White Disagrees
With the Subject's Beliefs

Belief*	Low E Group N = 33							
	Neutral				Segregation			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Negro rated higher than white	23	26	33	21	20	22	29	21
Negro rated equal to white	10	7	0	11	9	10	4	9
Negro rated lower than white	0	0	0	1	4	1	0	3

Belief*	High E Group N = 32							
	Neutral				Segregation			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Negro rated higher than white	16	29	30	21	22	25	18	20
Negro rated equal to white	10	2	1	6	9	2	4	4
Negro rated lower than white	6	1	1	5	1	5	10	8

*Belief key

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Socialized medicine | 5. Segregation |
| 2. Atheism | 6. Fraternities and Soror. |
| 3. Communism | 7. Races Differ |
| 4. Unions | 8. Housing |

with either the Opinionation Scale or the Dogmatism Scale. As indicated in Table 6, correlations between the race scores and the E Scale were significant beyond the 1% level of confidence for both neutral and segregation beliefs. The correlations between R scores and Dogmatism and between R scores and Opinionation are not significantly different from zero; therefore the results may be regarded as supporting this hypothesis.¹

Hypothesis IV. Degree of rejection for Negroes should correlate more highly with the E Scale than with the Opinionation or Dogmatism Scales. As shown in Table 7, for both neutral and segregation beliefs the correlations between "attitudes toward Negroes" (Nn) and the E Scale was significant beyond the 1% level of confidence and higher than the comparable correlations with Opinionation and Dogmatism. The consistently negative correlations between the Opinionation Scale and the absolute R score for Negroes was in accord with theoretical expectancy, although no specific hypothesis was made concerning this point. No hypotheses were made concerning the relationship between the absolute R score for whites (Ww) and the E Scale, Opinionation Scale and Dogmatism Scale. Implications of the negative correlations between these variables will be considered later in the Discussion

¹ The reader is asked to ignore for the present the results found regarding belief or lack of belief in God shown in Table 6 and the subsequent tables. We will discuss these particular correlations and their significance in a later chapter. (p 43)

TABLE 6

Correlations of the Ethnocentrism Scale, Opinionation Scale,
and Dogmatism Scale With a Score Showing the
Extent Whites are Preferred to Negroes

Correlating R Score &:	N	Segreg. Beliefs	Neutral Beliefs	God-Atheist Belief
E Scale	65	.41*	.41*	.39*
Opinionation Scale	65	-.03	-.02	.04
Dogmatism Scale	65	.09	.02	.21

* $P < .01$ for a one-tailed test

TABLE 7

Correlations of Ratings Given Negroes (Nn) and Whites (Ww),
Respectively, With the Ethnocentrism Scale, Opinionation Scale
and Dogmatism Scale

	N	(Nn) _r			(Ww) _r		
		Seg. Beliefs	Neut. Beliefs	G-Ath. Belief	Seg. Beliefs	Neut. Beliefs	G-Ath. Belief
E Scale	65	-.36*	-.33*	-.23**	-.12	-.05	-.06
Opin. Scale	65	-.17	-.29**	-.30*	-.13	-.26**	-.29**
Dog. Scale	54	-.13	-.10	-.31**	.00	-.02	-.24**

* $P < .01$ for a one-tailed test

** $P < .05$ for a one-tailed test

chapter. In view of the results obtained, Hypothesis IV may be generally regarded as supported.

Hypothesis V. The belief intolerance scores, representing the extent to which persons holding to one belief are preferred to persons who hold an opposed belief, should correlate more highly with the Opinionation Scale and the Dogmatism Scale than with the Ethnocentrism Scale. For both neutral and segregation beliefs the correlations were in the predicted direction, as can be seen from Table 8. However, the correlation between the neutral beliefs B score and the Opinionation Scale was the only one to reach the 5% level. The trend was in the predicted direction, but if evaluated in terms of statistical criteria, the hypothesis does not seem to be supported.

Hypothesis VI. (a) Degree of acceptance of persons who agree with one's beliefs should correlate more highly with Opinionation and Dogmatism Scales than with the E Scale. (b) Degree of rejection of persons who disagree with one's beliefs should correlate more highly with Opinionation and Dogmatism Scales than with the E Scale. The results are shown in Table 9. With respect to (a), the negative correlations, for both neutral and segregation beliefs, between the (NW) scores and the Opinionation Scale and the Dogmatism Scale are not significant. Moreover, they are not consistent with theoretical expectancy. According to theory, the higher the degree of Opinionation, the more should be the acceptance

TABLE 8

Correlations of the Extent One Belief is Preferred to Another Belief With the Ethnocentrism Scale, Opinionation Scale, and Dogmatism Scale

Correlating B Score &: N	Segreg. Beliefs	Neutral Beliefs	God-Atheist Belief
E Scale 65	.03	-.03	-.11
Opinionation Scale 65	.13	.26**	.29**
Dogmatism Scale 54	.17	.17	.30**

* $P < .05$ for a one-tailed test

TABLE 9

Correlations of the Ethnocentrism Scale, Opinionation Scale, and Dogmatism Scale With Ratings Given People Whose Beliefs Agree (NW) and People Whose Beliefs Disagree (nw) With the Subjects' Beliefs

		(NW) _b			(nw) _b		
	N	Seg. Beliefs	Neut. Beliefs	G-Ath. Belief	Seg. Beliefs	Neut. Beliefs	G-Ath. Belief
E 65		-.28	-.21	-.20	-.22	-.13	.01
Scale							
Opin. 65		-.25	-.10	-.04	-.12	-.34*	-.29**
Scale							
Dog. 54		-.01	.06	.10	-.04	-.11	-.25**
Scale							

* $P < .01$ for a one-tailed test

** $P < .05$ for a one-tailed test



of people who agree with one's views. With respect to (b), the negative correlations between Opinionation and the acceptance of people who disagree with one's views is in accord with our hypothesis. The obtained correlations shown in Table 9 indicate that the higher the degree of Opinionation, the less the acceptance of people regardless of whether they agree or disagree with one's beliefs.

To further investigate implications of the above findings, other related correlations were computed. Table 10 shows the relationship between ratings given people who agree with one's beliefs (NW) and ratings given people who disagree with one's beliefs (nw). These correlations, for both neutral and segregation beliefs, were significant beyond the 1% level of confidence. These findings seem to indicate that people tend to be accepted regardless of whether they agree or disagree with one's beliefs, or rejected regardless of whether they agree or disagree with one's views.

Table 10 also shows the correlations between acceptance of Negroes (Nn) and acceptance of whites (Ww). These correlations, for both neutral and segregation beliefs are highly significant. These results seem to indicate that expressed acceptance or rejection of people tends to be made regardless of race. The more the acceptance of Negroes, the more the acceptance of whites; conversely, the more the rejection of Negroes, the more the rejection of whites.

Part (a) of the hypothesis was not confirmed by the data.

TABLE 10

A. Correlations Between Scores Given People Who Agree With
the Subjects' Beliefs and People With Contrary Beliefs
N = 65

Correlating:	Segregation	Neutral
(NW) _b & (nw) _b	.60*	.43*

* $P < .01$

B. Correlations Between Absolute Scores Expressing the Degree
of Acceptance of Negroes and of Whites
N = 65

Correlating:	Segregation	Neutral
(Nn) _r & (Ww) _r	.81*	.79*

* $P < .01$

Part (b) was confirmed only by the Opinionation results. The correlations between (nw) and the Dogmatism Scale were not significantly different from zero and thus did not confirm the hypothesis.

Hypothesis VII. Responses to social stimuli which have both race and belief characteristics should correlate more highly with the Opinionation and Dogmatism Scales than with the E Scale. As can be seen from Table 11, the results for neutral and segregation beliefs differ from each other. The segregation R-B score showed no significant relationship to any of the three tests. However, for neutral beliefs the correlations between the R-B score and the Opinionation Scale was significant beyond the 1% level of confidence. The correlation between the R-B score and the Dogmatism Scale was in the predicted direction, but did not reach significance. Thus the results for the segregation R-B scores did not uphold the hypothesis; whereas the results from the neutral beliefs R-B score tend to uphold the hypothesis with respect to Opinionation but not with respect to Dogmatism.

Hypothesis VIII. The greater the rejection of people--white and Negro, those who agree and those who disagree with one's views--the greater will be the degree of Opinionation and Dogmatism. As shown in Table 12, the correlations were all in the predicted direction. Since the value necessary for significance (one-tailed test) at the 5% level was .21 and the correlations between the E Scale, Opinionation

TABLE 11

Correlations of the Ethnocentrism Scale, Opinionation Scale,
and Dogmatism Scale With Social Stimuli Having Both Race and
Belief Characteristics

Correlating Race- Belief Score and:	N	Segreg. Beliefs	Neutral Beliefs	God-Atheist Belief
E Scale	65	.01	.00	.01
Opinionation Scale	65	-.07	.32*	.30**
Dogmatism Scale	54	.00	.17	.34*

* $P < .01$ for a one-tailed test

** $P < .05$ for a one-tailed test

TABLE 12

Correlations of the Ethnocentrism Scale, Opinionation Scale,
and Dogmatism Scale With the Rejection of People--White and
Negro--Those Who Agree and Those Who Disagree With the
Subjects' Beliefs

Correlating (NnWw) _{rb} &:	N	Segreg. Beliefs	Neutral Beliefs	God-Atheist Belief
E Scale	65	-.26**	-.20	-.19
Opinionation Scale	65	-.20	-.28**	-.27**
Dogmatism Scale	54	-.03	-.06	-.23**

**A value of .21 is significant at the .05 level on a
one-tailed test where N is 60.

Scale, respectively, and the absolute race-belief scores ranged from $-.20$ to $-.28$, it may be said that these correlations were significant. However, the results were not entirely as predicted since the E Scale, for both neutral and segregation beliefs, correlated more highly with the absolute race-belief scores than did the Dogmatism Scale. The correlations between Dogmatism and the absolute race-belief scores were not significantly different from zero.

CHAPTER IV. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Before consideration of the conclusions, some limitations of the present study should be indicated. The available northern college sample represents a rather selective range of intellectual and age levels. Thus, strictly speaking, the results should not be generalized carelessly to other dissimilar groups.

Table 13 shows the obtained distribution of Ethnocentrism scores, segregation race difference scores and neutral race difference scores. The range of scores in each section is adequate. However, interpretation of the correlations from these scores should take into consideration the fact that all these distributions appear positively skewed. Most of the subjects express relatively low anti-ethnic attitudes. The apparent absence of ethnic prejudice may be genuine; however such responses may also be at least partially the result of the subject's awareness of, and verbal compliance with the college social norms stressing tolerance. If the study were undertaken in a somewhat different social climate, the results might be different.

The six-item, anti-Negro section of the Ethnocentrism Scale was used instead of the full twenty item scale. More reliable results may be expected when the longer form of this test is used.

Names of the subjects were not requested in the hope

TABLE 13

Obtained Distributions of Ethnocentrism Scores, Segregation
and Neutral Scores Showing the Extent Whites are Preferred
to Negroes
N = 65

		<u>Ethnocentrism Scores</u>					
<u>Score</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Score</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Score</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Score</u>	<u>N</u>
6	5	12	5	18	2	24	3
7	8	13	3	19	1	25	1
8	7	14	3	20	1	26	0
9	9	15	1	21	2	27	1
10	1	16	2	22	1	28-32	0
11	3	17	3	23	2	33	1

		<u>Segregation Race Scores</u>					
<u>Score*</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Score</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Score</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Score</u>	<u>N</u>
2**	1	11	7	18	2	33	1
4	1	12	4	19	1	39	1
6	2	13	4	22	1		
8	2	14	2	23	1		
9	1	15	3	24	2		
10	26	16	2	25	1		

		<u>Neutral Race Scores</u>			
<u>Score*</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Score</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Score</u>	<u>N</u>
2**	1	14	4	20	2
8	1	15	1	22	1
10	34	16	1	33	1
11	3	17	1	34	1
12	5	18	2		
13	5	19	2		

*To avoid minus numbers, a constant of 10 was added to each subject's Segregation and Neutral score.

**When a number does not appear under "score", there were no frequencies for that score number.

that anonymity made possible more "truthful" responses to the items. There was no way to estimate this source of error. One other regrettable drawback in paper and pencil attitude studies is the inability to determine or control the saliency of the attitudes to the person in question. With the highly structured, impersonal situation the assumption was necessarily made that the beliefs used did have some degree of meaning to the individuals tested, or that the subjects did have some already existing opinions on the issues. The validity of such an assumption may be open to question.

The results (Hypothesis I and II) suggest that intolerance reactions may involve belief as well as race criteria; that is, that reaction to the Negro may be based upon more than just attitudes toward race, per se. In fact, it was found that quantitatively larger discriminations were made on the basis of belief criteria than on the basis of race criteria. Other related data showed that for this sample, regardless of the degree of ethnocentrism, the majority of subjects tended to respond primarily in terms of belief when both race and belief criteria were present.

The extent to which whites are preferred to Negroes (Hypothesis III) and also the degree of anti-Negro attitude (Hypothesis IV) were both significantly related to the Ethnocentrism Scale. The consistently negative--and approximately equal--correlations between the degree of Opinionation and degree of acceptance of Negroes, and acceptance

of whites, respectively, suggests that the Opinionation Scale is not primarily an anti-ethnic attitude measure. The relationship of these ethnic attitude variables with the Dogmatism Scale was too low to be meaningful.

As mentioned above, there were consistently negative correlations between the Opinionation Scale and the absolute race scores. This was according to theoretical expectancy, since, as the degree of opinionation increases, the tendency to emphasize the differences between beliefs about people, issues, and so forth increases. It would be expected that the more highly opinionated person would tend to answer in extremes; that is, to rate "high" those persons with identical beliefs and rate low those persons with dissimilar beliefs. The low opinionated person is more accepting of peoples' beliefs and thus tends to give favorable ratings to the person who agrees with his beliefs, while not strongly rejecting the person with contrary views. Since this score involved the addition of ratings given to those who "agreed" and "disagreed", the highly opinionated person would end up with a lower total score than the low opinionated person.

There were high and significant correlations between acceptance of Negroes and acceptance of whites. High correlations were also found in degree of acceptance of people who agree with the subjects belief as compared to people who disagree with the subjects beliefs. These results lend support to the current hypothesis that reaction to ethnic

groups may be part of a generalized hostility toward people. It has been found (4) that subjects who tend to reject one ethnic group tend to reject other ethnic groups as well. This is especially interesting since Hypothesis VI (a), which is somewhat related to this question, was not confirmed. The results showed no apparent relationship between the degree of Opinionation and Dogmatism and the acceptance of persons with similar beliefs. Hypothesis VI (b) was confirmed in that the higher the degree of Opinionation and Dogmatism, the less the acceptance of people whose beliefs are contrary to those of the subject.

It becomes apparent from an examination of the results that the Dogmatism Scale--and to a lesser extent the Opinionation Scale--was in general not highly supportive of the hypotheses relating to belief intolerance. More specifically, there were no statistically significant correlations between Dogmatism and either the ethnic or belief intolerance measures derived from the race-belief questionnaire. The Opinionation Scale correlations were in some comparisons significantly as predicted; however, the results were not entirely consistent with Belief-thought model analysis as explained earlier.

One possible explanation for these unexpected findings may be traced to the experimental design. Dogmatism and Opinionation are concerned primarily with qualified tolerance and general intolerance, which may be thought of as a kind of readiness for hostile rejection. The present questionnaire

design, strictly speaking, does not specifically deal with rejection of people, rather it deals only with expressed readiness to "be friends". A lack of desire for friendship does not necessarily suggest hostility or intolerance. Thus, this may result in a dilution of the effect of Dogmatism and Opinionation.

One way to (tentatively) investigate the plausability of such reasoning as an explanation for the generally unimpressive correlations with Opinionation and Dogmatism would be to compute the same correlations on a belief which has considerable emotional salience--ideally a belief which was so "emotionally loaded" that disagreement with the subject's view would be threatening to him and would thus maximally arouse his hostility toward dissenters. Belief in God versus atheism was chosen as the one pair of beliefs among the eight that might be expected on a priori grounds to be highly loaded emotionally.¹ In each table in the Results chapter the correlations titled "God-atheist" are given in relation to the Ethnocentrism Scale, Opinionation and Dogmatism Scales. The following results were obtained.

¹ The same might be said for the communism issue. The God-atheism issue rather than the communism issue was selected for separate analysis because it was expected that in the case of the former there would still be wide individual differences in degree of hostility toward atheists; in the case of the latter it was anticipated that hostility toward communists is widespread and institutionalized. Hence, there is not enough room for individual differences to play a significant role.

The race difference score correlated significantly at the 1% level with the E Scale but was not significantly related to either Opinionation or Dogmatism. The absolute race score for Negroes (Nn) was significantly related to all three tests and, contrary to prediction, was more highly related to Dogmatism and Opinionation than to the E Scale. The absolute race score for whites (Ww) was significantly related to Opinionation and Dogmatism, but not to the E Scale. This trend was essentially the same as noted in the correlations for all eight beliefs.

Some substantiation for the proposed hypothesis was seen in the results of the belief difference scores correlations as shown in Table 8. Belief difference correlations relationship to Dogmatism was approximately doubled; while the correlation between the belief difference score and Opinionation remained about the same.

Somewhat less encouraging are the results from the absolute belief scores. (a) Correlations between "acceptance of people who agree with one's beliefs" was not significantly related to either Opinionation or Dogmatism. The same trend toward inverse correlations of (NW) with the Ethnocentrism Scale was present. The predicted negative correlations between Opinionation and Dogmatism and the "acceptance of people who disagree with one's beliefs" were significant at the 5% level of confidence.

Correlations between Opinionation and Dogmatism and the

race-belief difference scores were significantly in the predicted (positive) direction. Correlations between Opinionation and Dogmatism and the absolute race-belief scores were significantly (5%) in the predicted positive direction.

In comparing the results of the correlations for the total eight beliefs in relation to correlations for only the God-atheist belief, it becomes apparent that these new correlations are still relatively low and unimpressive. However, some changes from the total group correlations were noted. The Dogmatism Scale was significantly related to ethnic intolerance and belief intolerance and to discriminations made to social stimuli having both race and belief characteristics. Relationships between the Opinionation Scale and the scores for the God-atheist issue were essentially the same as those noted for all eight beliefs. It seemed that increasing the possible salience of the issue affected only the correlations concerning Dogmatism, but not the correlations concerning Opinionation.

Considering the total results it seems that the only area that has not been at least tentatively confirmed was in relation to the absolute belief scores. The belief-thought model analysis prediction that persons high in Opinionation and Dogmatism would be more accepting of persons who agreed with their beliefs was not upheld.

CHAPTER V. SUMMARY

The purpose of this experiment was to explore the relative influence of race and belief as determinants of discrimination and to relate belief and race discrimination to three different measures of intolerance--the Ethnocentrism Scale, the Opinionation Scale, and the Dogmatism Scale. The following hypotheses were tested:

- Hypothesis I In situations wherein it is possible to respond in a discriminatory manner to social stimuli both on the basis of race and belief, the discriminatory response will be based more on the belief than on the race characteristics of the stimuli.
- Hypothesis II If belief is a more important factor than race in intolerance reactions, subjects high in ethnic prejudice as well as subjects low in ethnic prejudice should respond primarily in terms of belief rather than race.
- Hypothesis III Extent of preference of whites over Negroes should correlate more highly with the Ethnocentrism Scale than with either the Opinionation Scale or the Dogmatism Scale.
- Hypothesis IV The degree of rejection for Negroes should correlate more highly with the Ethnocentrism Scale than with the Opinionation Scale or the Dogmatism Scale.
- Hypothesis V The extent to which persons holding to one belief are preferred to persons who hold an opposed belief should correlate more highly with the Opinionation Scale and the Dogmatism Scale than with the Ethnocentrism Scale.
- Hypothesis VI (a) Degree of acceptance of persons who agree with one's beliefs should correlate more highly with Opinionation and Dogmatism Scales than with the Ethnocentrism Scale.
(b) Degree of rejection of persons who disagree with one's beliefs should correlate more highly with Opinionation and Dogmatism Scales than with the Ethnocentrism Scale.

Hypothesis VII Responses to social stimuli which have both race and belief characteristics should correlate more highly with the Opinionation and Dogmatism Scales than with the Ethnocentrism Scale.

Hypothesis VIII The greater the rejection of people--white and Negro, those who agree and those who disagree with one's views--the greater will be the degree of Opinionation and Dogmatism.

A questionnaire, including the Opinionation Scale, the six-item version of the California Ethnocentrism Scale, as well as a race, belief, race-belief paired questions form concerning eight current social issues, was administered to 65 Elementary Psychology students at Michigan State University. The Dogmatism Scale was administered to 54 of these students at a separate class session.

Hypothesis I was upheld as the results indicated that subjects' discriminatory responses seemed to be based more on the belief than on the race characteristics of the stimuli.

The results for Hypothesis II indicated that, regardless of anti-ethnic attitude, subjects' generally expressed more acceptance of those persons--whether Negro or white--who agreed with their beliefs. These subjects tended to rate lower those persons--Negro or white--with contrary beliefs.

Hypotheses III and IV were confirmed in that the extent of preference of whites over Negroes, and the degree of rejection of Negroes, respectively, were both significantly related to the Ethnocentrism Scale, but not to the Dogmatism and Opinionation Scales.

Dogmatism and ethnocentrism are not significantly related to degree of acceptance of persons holding contrary beliefs. Opinionation is significantly related to degree of acceptance of persons holding one kind of contrary beliefs but not another. Thus, Hypothesis V is only weakly upheld by the data.

Hypothesis VI. (a) was not confirmed since there was not a positive relationship between acceptance of people who agree with one's views and the Opinionation and Dogmatism Scales. Rather, these results, and other related correlations seemed to indicate that the higher the Dogmatism and Opinionation the greater the tendency to reject persons regardless of whether they agree or disagree. Part (b) of Hypothesis VI was partially confirmed as rejection of persons with dissimilar beliefs was significantly related to Opinionation. However, degree of rejection of persons with dissimilar beliefs was not apparently related to Dogmatism.

Hypothesis VII was in general not (statistically) confirmed since response to social stimuli with race-belief characteristics correlated significantly only with the Opinionation Scale and then only in relation to neutral beliefs. Dogmatism showed no essential relationship to these scores for either segregation or neutral beliefs.

Hypothesis VIII was in general not (statistically) confirmed since rejection of people--white and Negro--who agree and disagree with one's beliefs was significantly

related to Opinionation only in relation to neutral beliefs. The correlations of this variable with Dogmatism were not significant.

The suggestion was made that the present experimental design--which is concerned with readiness to "be friends" may be diluting the full effect of Opinionation and Dogmatism since these latter variables are primarily concerned with qualified tolerance and intolerance toward others. A lack of willingness to be friends is not necessarily indicative of a hostile kind of intolerance. Some substantiation for this explanation was seen in the analysis of correlations for one belief (regarding belief in God versus atheism) chosen as the one most likely to evoke hostility as a concomitant of difference in opinion. In the re-analysis, Hypotheses III, IV, V, VI-b, VII, and VIII were confirmed at a statistically significant level. (Hypotheses I and II are not concerned in the re-analysis.)

Replication of the experiment would be recommended. However, some modification may be desirable. Due attention should be given to the problem of using a scale which measures rejection as well as acceptance.

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Please fill in the following information. DO NOT SIGN YOUR NAME

Date _____ Sex _____ Date of Birth _____

City and State of Birth _____

Race or national extraction _____

Listed below are 8 pairs of statements about some current social and personal issues. Your task is to place a check (✓) mark in front of the one statement in each pair that you most agree with. Please mark one statement of each pair.

1. ☐ I believe in God.
☐ I am an atheist.
2. ☐ I am for immediate desegregation.
☐ I am for gradual desegregation.
3. ☐ I am for socialized medicine.
☐ I am against socialized medicine.
4. ☐ I believe that there are fundamental differences between races.
☐ I believe that, fundamentally, all races are equal.
5. ☐ I am anti-communist.
☐ I am a communist.
6. ☐ I believe that fraternities and sororities should be interracial.
☐ I believe that each race should have it's own fraternities and sororities.
7. ☐ I am **pro-labor** unions.
☐ I am **anti-labor** unions.
8. ☐ I believe that Negroes should own homes only in certain areas.
☐ I believe that Negroes should be allowed to own homes anywhere they want to.

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The following is a study of what the general public thinks and feels about a number of important social and personal questions. In the questionnaire below are a number of paired statements. Your task is to express the degree to which you can or cannot see yourself being friends with each of the two persons described in each pair. Make your judgments 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										I can very easily see myself being friends with such a person
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		

Let us take an example: Circle the number which best expresses your degree of preference for 1a and for 1b.

- 1a. A person who likes classical music. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 1b. A person who likes popular music. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Your task is simply to circle the number which best expresses how much you can see yourself being friends with the person described. Remember, encircle one number after "a" and one number after "b" for each pair in the questionnaire. Please assume that the two persons described in each pair are alike in all other respects.

- 1 A Negro who is for socialized medicine. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
A white person who is for socialized medicine. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 2 A white person who is for immediate desegregation. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
A Negro who is for gradual desegregation. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 3. A white person who is an atheist. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
A white person who believes in God. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 4 A white person who believes that fraternities and sororities should be interracial. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
A Negro who believes that fraternities and sororities should be interracial. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 5 A Negro who is a communist. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
A white person who is anti-communist. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 6 A Negro who believes that there are fundamental differences between races. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
A Negro who believes that, fundamentally, all races are equal. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 7 A white person who is pro-labor unions. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
A Negro who is pro-labor unions. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 8 A Negro who believes that Negroes should own homes only in certain areas. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
A white person who believes that Negroes should be allowed to own homes anywhere they want to. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 9 A Negro who is for socialized medicine. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
A white person who is against socialized medicine. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 10 A Negro who is for gradual desegregation. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
A Negro who is for immediate desegregation. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 11 A white person who believes in God. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
A Negro who believes in God. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 12 A Negro who believes that fraternities and sororities should be interracial. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
A white person who believes that each race should have its own fraternities and sororities. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

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

I can very
easily see my-
self being
friends with
such a person.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- | | |
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| 13 A white person who is a communist. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| A white person who is anti-communist. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| ----- | |
| 14 A Negro who believes that there are fundamental differences
between races. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| A white person who believes that there are fundamental differ-
ences between races. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 15 A white person who is anti-labor unions. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| A Negro who is pro-labor unions. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 16 A Negro who believes that Negroes should be allowed to own homes
anywhere they want to. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| A Negro who believes that Negroes should own homes only in
certain areas. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 17 A white person who is for socialized medicine. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| A Negro who is against socialized medicine. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 18 A white person who is for <u>gradual</u> desegregation. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| A white person who is for <u>immediate</u> desegregation. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 19 A white person who is an atheist. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| A Negro who is an atheist. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 20 A Negro who believes that each race should have its own frat-
ernities and sororities. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| A white person who believes that fraternities and sororities
should be interracial. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 21 A Negro who is anti-communist. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| A Negro who is a communist. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 22 A white person who believes that, fundamentally, all races are
equal. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| A Negro who believes that, fundamentally, all races are equal. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 23 A Negro who is anti-labor unions. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| A white person who is pro-labor unions. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 24 A white person who believes that Negroes should be allowed to
own homes anywhere they want to. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| A white person who believes that Negroes should own homes only
in certain areas. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 25 A Negro who is against socialized medicine. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| A Negro who is for socialized medicine. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 26 A white person who is for <u>immediate</u> desegregation. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| A Negro who is for <u>immediate</u> desegregation. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
| 27 A Negro who is an atheist. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 |
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| 28 A white person who believes that each race should have its own
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I can't see
myself being
friends with
such a person

I can very
easily see my-
self being
friends with
such a person

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
29 A Negro who is anti-communist. A white person who is anti-communist.								1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
30 A white person who believes that there are fundamental differ- ences between races. A Negro who believes that, fundamentally, all races are equal.								1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
31 A Negro who is pro-labor unions. A Negro who is anti-labor unions.								1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
32 A Negro who believes that Negroes should be allowed to own homes anywhere they want to. A white person who believes that Negroes should be allowed to own homes anywhere they want to.								1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
33 A white person who is against socialized medicine. A white person who is for socialized medicine.								1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
34 A white person who is for <u>gradual</u> desegregation. A Negro who is for <u>gradual</u> desegregation.								1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
35 A Negro who believes in God. A white person who is an atheist.								1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
36 A Negro who believes that fraternities and sororities should be interracial. A Negro who believes that each race should have its own frat- ernities and sororities.								1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
37 A white person who is a communist. A Negro who is a communist.								1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
38. A Negro who believes that there are fundamental differences between races. A white person who believes that, fundamentally, all races are equal.								1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
39 A white person who is pro-labor unions. A white person who is anti-labor unions.								1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
40 A Negro who believes that Negroes should own homes only in certain areas. A white person who believes that Negroes should own homes only in certain areas.								1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
41 A Negro who is against socialized medicine. A white person who is against socialized medicine.								1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
42 A white person who is for <u>gradual</u> desegregation. A Negro who is for <u>immediate</u> desegregation.								1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
43 A Negro who believes in God. A Negro who is an atheist.								1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
44 A Negro who believes that each race should have its own frat- ernities and sororities. A white person who believes that each race should have its own fraternities and sororities.								1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	

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

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- 45 A white person who is a communist. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
A Negro who is anti-communist. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 46 A white person who believes that there are fundamental differences between races. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
A white person who believes that, fundamentally, all races are equal. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 47 A white person who is anti-labor unions. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
A Negro who is anti-labor unions. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 48 A Negro who believes that Negroes should be allowed to own homes anywhere they want to. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
A white person who believes that Negroes should own homes only in certain areas. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

PLEASE TURN TO THE NEXT PAGE FOR
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FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS

The following is a study of what the general public thinks and feels about a number of important social and personal questions. The best answer to each statement below is your personal opinion. We have tried to cover many different and opposing points of view; you may find yourself agreeing strongly with some of the statements, disagreeing just as strongly with others, and perhaps uncertain about others; whether you agree or disagree with any statement, you can be sure that many other people feel the same as you do.

Mark each statement in the left margin according to how much you agree or disagree with it. Please mark every one. Write +1, +2, +3, -1, -2, -3, depending on how you feel in each case.

+1: I AGREE A LITTLE

-1: I DISAGREE A LITTLE

+2: I AGREE ON THE WHOLE

-2: I DISAGREE ON THE WHOLE

+3: I AGREE VERY MUCH

-3: I DISAGREE VERY MUCH

-
- ___1. Negroes have their rights, but it is best to keep them in their own districts and schools and to prevent too much contact with whites.
 - ___2. It's perfectly clear that the decision to execute the Rosenbergs has done us more harm than good.
 - ___3. Any intelligent person can plainly see that the real reason America is rearming is to stop aggression.
 - ___4. It's just plain stupid to say that it was Franklin Roosevelt who got us into the war.
 - ___5. It's simply incredible that anyone should believe that socialized medicine will actually help solve our health problems.
 - ___6. Any person with even a brain in his head knows that it would be dangerous to let our country be run by men like General MacArthur.
 - ___7. Plain common sense tells you that prejudice can be removed by education, not legislation.
 - ___8. A person must be pretty stupid if he still believes in differences between the races.
 - ___9. A person must be pretty ignorant if he thinks that Eisenhower is going to let the "big boys" run this country.
 - ___10. It would be a mistake ever to have Negroes for foremen and leaders over whites.
 - ___11. The truth of the matter is this! It is big business which wants to continue the cold war.
 - ___12. Anyone who is really for democracy knows very well that the only way for America to head off revolution and civil war in backward countries is to send military aid.
 - ___13. There are two kinds of people who fought Truman's Fair Deal program: the selfish and the stupid.
 - ___14. It's the fellow travellers or Reds who keep yelling all the time about Civil Rights.
 - ___15. Make no mistake about it! The best way to achieve security is for the government to guarantee jobs for all.
 - ___16. History will clearly show that Sir Anthony Eden's victory over the Labour Party in 1955 was a step forward for the British people

1. The first part of the report discusses the general situation of the country and the progress of the work in the various departments. It also mentions the results of the recent elections and the state of the economy.

2. The second part of the report deals with the internal affairs of the country, including the administration of justice, the education system, and the health services. It also mentions the progress of the various public works projects.

3. The third part of the report discusses the external affairs of the country, including the relations with the neighboring countries and the international community. It also mentions the progress of the various diplomatic missions.

4. The fourth part of the report deals with the financial situation of the country, including the state of the treasury, the public debt, and the progress of the various financial reforms.

5. The fifth part of the report discusses the social situation of the country, including the state of the population, the progress of the various social reforms, and the results of the various social surveys.

6. The sixth part of the report deals with the military situation of the country, including the state of the armed forces, the progress of the various military reforms, and the results of the various military exercises.

7. The seventh part of the report discusses the progress of the various public works projects, including the construction of roads, bridges, and railways, and the progress of the various irrigation and reclamation projects.

8. The eighth part of the report deals with the progress of the various educational reforms, including the establishment of new schools, the improvement of the existing schools, and the progress of the various educational surveys.

9. The ninth part of the report discusses the progress of the various health reforms, including the establishment of new hospitals, the improvement of the existing hospitals, and the progress of the various health surveys.

10. The tenth part of the report deals with the progress of the various judicial reforms, including the establishment of new courts, the improvement of the existing courts, and the progress of the various judicial surveys.

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+1: I AGREE A LITTLE

-1: I DISAGREE A LITTLE

+2: I AGREE ON THE WHOLE

-2: I DISAGREE ON THE WHOLE

+3: I AGREE VERY MUCH

-3: I DISAGREE VERY MUCH

- _17. A person must be pretty short-sighted if he believes that college professors should be forced to take special loyalty oaths.
- _18. It's the radicals and labor racketeers who yell the loudest about labor's right to strike.
- _19. Negro musicians may sometimes be as good as white musicians, but it is a mistake to have mixed Negro-white bands.
- _20. It's perfectly clear to all decent Americans that Congressional Committees which investigate communism do more harm than good.
- _21. The American re-armament program is clear and positive proof that we are willing to sacrifice to preserve our freedom.
- _22. It's the people who believe everything they read in the papers who are convinced that Russia is pursuing a ruthless policy of imperialist aggression.
- _23. It is foolish to think that the Democratic Party is really the party of the common man.
- _24. Thoughtful persons know that the American Legion is not really interested in democracy.
- _25. This much is certain! The only way to defeat tyranny in China is to support Chiang Kai-Shek.
- _26. It is mainly those who believe the propaganda put out by the real-estate interests who are against a federal slum clearance program.
- _27. You just can't help but feel sorry for the person who believes that the world could exist without a creator.
- _28. Manual labor and unskilled jobs seem to fit the Negro mentality and ability better than more skilled or responsible work.
- _29. It's perfectly clear to any thinking person that the way to solve our financial problems is by a soak-the-rich tax program.
- _30. It's already crystal-clear that the United Nations is a failure.
- _31. A person must be pretty gullible if he really believes that the communists have actually infiltrated into government or education.
- _32. It's usually the trouble-makers who talk about government ownership of public utilities.
- _33. It's all too true that the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer.
- _34. A study of American history clearly shows that it is the American businessman who has contributed most to our society.
- _35. It's mostly those who are itching for a fight who want a universal military training law.
- _36. Only a misguided idealist would believe that the United States is an imperialist war-monger.
- _37. The people who raise all the talk about putting Negroes on the same level as whites are mostly radical agitators trying to stir up conflict.

+1: I AGREE A LITTLE

-1: I DISAGREE A LITTLE

+2: I AGREE ON THE WHOLE

-2: I DISAGREE ON THE WHOLE

+3: I AGREE VERY MUCH

-3: I DISAGREE VERY MUCH

_38. History clearly shows that it is the private enterprise system which is at the root of depressions and wars.

_39. Even a person of average intelligence knows that to defend ourselves against aggression we should welcome all help--including Franco Spain.

_40. It is very foolish to advocate government support of religion.

_41. It's mostly the noisy liberals who try to tell us that we will be better off under socialism.

_42. Anyone who's old enough to remember the Hoover days will tell you that it's a lucky thing Hoover was never re-elected.

_43. Anybody who knows what's going on will tell you that Alger Hiss was a traitor who betrayed his country.

_44. Only a simple-minded fool would think that Senator McCarthy is a defender of American democracy.

_45. It's the agitators and left-wingers who are trying to get Red China into the United Nations.

_46. Most Negroes would become overbearing and disagreeable if not kept in their place.

Date Due

4 Jun 59

~~JAN 6 1961~~

JUN 8 1961

MAJ 19 1962

DEC 9 1963

FEB 10 1965

~~APR 16 1968~~

061 29 1370

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