

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Title: ATTITUDES OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS TOWARD THREE  
SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS AS AFFECTED BY PARTICI-  
PATION IN AN ETHNIC STUDIES PROGRAM

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Abstract approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Gerald Becker

The purpose of the study was to determine whether taking a course of study about ethnic minorities and racial prejudice in the United States would produce a statistically significant change in the attitudes of white, middle-class high school students toward three ethnic minorities i. e., Blacks, Native Americans, and Chicanos. An additional purpose was to determine whether an extended and in-depth contact with a number of ethnic minority teachers would have the effect of changing students' racial attitudes in the direction of lessened prejudice.

A special Thurstone type attitude inventory was administered to groups of white high school students at the beginning and end of an 18 week school term. The control group, consisting of 118

students, chose to enroll in the regular 11th grade United States history course. A total of 91 experimental group students chose to enroll in a two-part course consisting of a first 9 week class called The Nature of Prejudice, and a second 9 week class in either Black Studies or Native American Studies. The distinguishing characteristic of all experimental classes was that a team of ethnic teachers (students at the local University) participated as equals with the regular high school teachers in all classroom activities.

It was hypothesized that the attitudes towards minorities of the two self-selected groups would be the same at the beginning of the experiment, and that neither the special classes nor the U. S. history class would have any effect on the attitudes of either experimental or control group students.

The data which resulted from the pretest and posttest scores on the attitude inventory were analyzed by applying t-tests, paired t-tests and one-way analysis of variance at the .05 level of significance.

Analysis of the data revealed the following:

1. The scores of both experimental and control group students indicated a positive attitude toward the three ethnic minorities.
2. Native Americans were regarded most positively by both experimental and control group students.

3. Experimental group students were significantly more positive in their attitudes toward minorities before the experiment began than were control group students.

4. Attitudes of experimental group students toward ethnic minorities became slightly less positive after students had completed the special course. The change was not statistically significant and the total score remained definitely positive vis-a-vis ethnic minorities.

5. Attitudes of control group students toward ethnic minorities were unaffected by the course in United States history.

Attitudes of High School Students Toward Three Selected  
Ethnic Groups as Affected by Participation in  
an Ethnic Studies Program

by

Miriam Weitz Orzech

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אם אין אתה, איני ?

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ATTITUDES OF HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS TOWARD THREE  
SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS AS AFFECTED BY  
PARTICIPATION IN AN ETHNIC STUDIES PROGRAM

I. INTRODUCTION

For the past quarter century, relations between the races have been a topic of paramount importance in the United States. Matters pertaining to equal access to jobs, education, housing, the franchise, recreational facilities, etc. all affect our fundamental democratic processes and thus have become frequent subjects for research by scholars in educational institutions. What lies at the root of each of the problems listed above is the question of how members of different races regard each other individually and collectively. In other words, the attitudes which people hold towards those of other groups is a matter of great importance to all of us today.

The project under investigation in this study is one in which white high school students at Crescent Valley High School in Corvallis, Oregon, learned about prejudice and minority groups from both white and minority group teachers. The study attempts to discover whether the attitudes of these students toward minority groups have changed in any way after this experience. Numerous studies have demonstrated that at a very early age, both black and white children not only are cognizant of their own race but are aware of prevailing attitudes and feelings about race. Other studies show that children hold racial

attitudes even in the total absence of personal contact with members of other races.

These attitudes "in a void" are of interest because they provide the context in which this particular investigation of attitude change takes place. Demographically, the state of Oregon is quite homogeneous and the City of Corvallis, Oregon, is even more homogeneous than the state as a whole. Although there exist concentrations of three ethnic minorities i. e., Blacks, Native Americans and Chicanos, within the state these groups constitute a very small percentage of the population. In Corvallis and its environs, members of these minorities are so few in number as to be all but invisible.

Regardless of whether certain groups are physically present in a particular locale, people absorb attitudes about them from the environment. For example, most of us hold definite attitudes concerning gypsies although few Americans have ever met or talked to a gypsy. Newcomb (1950) pointed out that

Although each person's organization of attitudes is in some degree unique, we must not forget that within societies, and within groups in any society, most values are widely shared. (p. 130)

Horowitz (1936) stated the same opinion specifically about black people when he said that

Attitudes toward Negroes are now chiefly determined not by contact with Negroes, but by contact with the prevalent attitude toward Negroes. (p. 34)

Thus, whether or not they live in close proximity to those of other races or religions, Americans hold attitudes towards these groups. Bogardus (1925) demonstrated graphically that Americans even hold attitudes toward fictitious groups.

However, as a national group, we are under certain clear theoretical political constraints regarding what constitutes acceptable attitudes toward those of different races, religions or national origins. Blumer (1966) stated the case thus:

... relations (between racial groups) have always been subject to critical evaluation, from one quarter or another, in terms of a democratic ethic. Since the relations were found wanting on the grounds of humanitarian justice or of democratic rights, they became converted into moral and political problems demanding rectification and change. . . . The pressure of the democratic ethic fixed the direction of scholarly interest and shaped the kinds of "scientific" problems posed for study and research. Generally, race relations research has been set in an ideological framework which presupposes that non-democratic relations are improper; hence, the problems which arise for study centre on the conditions which are presumed to hinder or block the establishment of democratic race relations. (p. 89)

It is this basic democratic ethic which stimulated much of the experimental work to be discussed in Chapter II. The same philosophy formed the basis for the historic Supreme Court decision of 1954, *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka*, and ten years later for the massive research effort commissioned by the Congress of the United States. These two events, in conjunction with the civil unrest of

the time, created the conditions which generated the object of the present study: The Nature of Prejudice project.

Americans have always believed firmly in the power and ability of education to change mankind for the better. This belief, operating in the changed atmosphere of the 1950's and 1960's brought about two major changes in the educational system: 1. the creation of compensatory programs for ethnic minority and disadvantaged white students at all educational levels; and 2. widespread interest in ethnic studies courses at the upper educational levels. Educators were optimistic that by implementing these two programs in integrated school systems, the resulting changes in attitude would bring into being a new era of racial harmony.

The expectation for changed racial attitudes was most justified where the newly integrated schools brought together diverse ethnic groups. As Newcomb (1950) points out

A . . . general principle concerning the direct effects of social influences is that they are most effective in changing attitudes if they are vivid and involve first-hand experience. Those who see injustice, discrimination, or suffering themselves, are more apt to be concerned about it than those who learn of it only indirectly. (p. 202)

However, that hope was slight in situations where integration was impossible. Many localities in the United States are demographically so homogeneous as to preclude opportunities for attitude change based

on interracial contacts.<sup>1</sup> Corvallis, Oregon, the site of this study, is such a community. The present study is concerned with the results of an attempt to provide an artificial "first-hand experience" to students at a local high school.

### The Local Situation: Oregon State University

Oregon State University is a land grant institution in a state with a very small ethnic population. There are only a few places where any substantial numbers of minority people live, and many OSU students come from areas and towns in which no non-white resident lives.<sup>2</sup> Until 1969, Oregon State University was virtually an all-white school which enrolled a small percentage of foreign students and a negligible number of American ethnic minority students. Prior to that time one could have been almost certain that any black student on campus was one of the foreign students from Africa. Today, in 1974, the situation is very much changed.

Although the widespread civil unrest and urban disturbances

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<sup>1</sup> The 1971 Racial & Ethnic Survey of the Oregon Board of Education reports that 8 of Oregon's 36 counties had fewer than 15 Black, Native American, or Chicano schoolchildren in grades K-12.

<sup>2</sup> The Survey (cited supra) reports that in Oregon, 23 counties have less than 15 Black schoolchildren; 11 counties less than 15 Native American or Chicano schoolchildren. Nine counties had no Black schoolchildren, 2 had no Native Americans and 1 had no Chicano.

characteristic of the 1960's did not occur in the state of Oregon, their effects were nevertheless felt in many of the educational institutions. Here, as in the country at large, colleges and universities responded to the events of the 1960's by establishing ethnic studies programs and/or by creating special programs designed to admit to higher education minority students who would not otherwise have qualified. The reaction of Oregon State University was restricted to the latter of these responses.

In 1969 the OSU Faculty Senate initiated a special program which made it possible to admit a small number of Black, Native American, Chicano, and disadvantaged white students who could not meet the regular admission requirements. Financial aid and academic support were provided for these students. Moreover, additional financial aid was made available so that other regularly admissible ethnic students could be persuaded to enter OSU. Since that time the number of ethnic minority students at OSU has increased each year from the initial forty admitted in 1969, until in 1972-73 (the year of the study) such students numbered approximately 100. A special administrative unit, the Educational Opportunities Program (EOP), was established to provide whatever support these students required.

The mere fact of enrolling minority students into a previously predominantly white school did not lead to a marked increase in cross-cultural understanding. On the contrary, ethnic students at OSU

frequently expressed the opinion that they felt the typical white OSU student to be not so much hostile as completely indifferent to them. This impression was supported, at least indirectly, by the consistently small enrollments in the two ethnic studies classes offered on campus during that period. Also, at that time, the teaching faculty of Oregon State included only one black professor and none from either of the other ethnic groups. These factors contributed to a general feeling of alienation among the EOP ethnic students at OSU, and of frustration based on their impression that no one was really interested in them and the unique contribution they could make to the university.

#### The Local Situation: The City of Corvallis, Oregon

Corvallis, Oregon, located in the geographic center of the fertile Willamette valley, has a population of approximately 38,000 residents, of which 15,000 are students. There is only light industry in the town and the main employer is the University itself. The population of the town is almost entirely white middle class. The nearest residential concentration of any ethnic group is located close to the city of Albany, Oregon, about ten miles away. A number of migrant labor camps which house Chicanos are located there.

The public schools of Corvallis reflect the homogeneous racial composition of the town. In 1971 there were only a handful of children from ethnic minority backgrounds in school and only one black teacher

in the school system.<sup>3</sup> Children who were born and brought up in Corvallis would not normally have any contact with persons of ethnic background, or for that matter, foreign background, unless that contact were artificially structured for them.

The social studies curriculum of the public schools does not contain any special material relating to ethnic minorities except where particular teachers might wish to include it on their own initiative. One or two elementary schools use MACOS (Man, A Course of Study) in the sixth grade, but since the central textual example is drawn from the Eskimo culture, that course does not add to the specific knowledge of Corvallis students about any ethnic minorities they are likely to encounter. Prior to the efforts of Ilene Blok, a teacher at Crescent Valley High School, specific subject matter relating to America's ethnic minorities was, for all practical purposes, not included in the Corvallis public school curriculum.

#### Origin of the Nature of Prejudice Project

The Nature of Prejudice project developed directly out of the joint experiences and concerns of the present investigator and a local

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<sup>3</sup>The Survey (cited supra) reports 1.3% of all Benton County school children were Black, Native American or Chicano. In Benton County 10th-12th grades combined there were 4 Black, 6 Native American, and 19 Chicano children.

high school social studies teacher.

The main responsibility of the present investigator as EOP Academic Coordinator, was to arrange all necessary academic supports for the ethnic minority students in the Educational Opportunities Program at OSU. A secondary responsibility was to fulfill requests from both the academic and local communities for speakers who could speak knowledgeably about racial problems. The minority background and intense interest of many EOP students in minority problems uniquely qualified them to speak before these various groups. The most frequent requests for speakers came from Ilene Blok, a member of the social studies faculty at Crescent Valley High School in Corvallis.

In her attempt to expand the educational experience of her students, Ms. Blok repeatedly asked the investigator to identify ethnic minority students from Oregon State University who would speak to her social studies classes about contemporary racial problems. Ms. Blok always specified clear educational objectives which she hoped her students would achieve with the help of the ethnic speaker. In addition she indicated the preparatory material which had been covered by her students and the follow up activities they would perform.

Despite thorough preparation, these speaking engagements were generally frustrating to all parties involved. The high school students

felt that the period of time allotted to presentations by ethnic students was far too brief and that the material presented was much more shallow than they would have liked. On their side, the ethnic speakers felt that the students in the Corvallis community were generally so naive or ignorant of racial history and problems that it constituted a waste of their time to spend even a single period speaking to such students. The speakers often expressed the uncomfortable feeling that they were "on view". Sometimes, ethnic students flatly refused to participate as speakers at any of the local schools. They explained that the experiences they had undergone were too painful for them to present before a group of people whom they did not know, and of whose sympathies they could not be sure.

The constraints imposed by single short class periods and the infrequent visits of ethnic speakers presented problems difficult to overcome. The high school students often expressed embarrassment about speaking out frankly in the presence of the ethnic speakers. Many confided to the teacher, after the speakers had left, that they were just getting to the point of feeling relaxed and ready to ask the questions they really wanted to ask when the class period came to an end. Although some of the ethnic students were definitely more effective speakers than others, all sensed the tension and lack of communication characteristic of the beginning of each new session. After an hour or more of talk, real communication was sometimes

just about to commence.

As a result of the many frustrations and problems indicated above, possible new formats for the study of race relations were sought. The high school students indicated to Ms. Blok a strong desire for an entire course devoted to ethnic minority problems rather than the customary small section included in a social problems course. The ethnic students felt that, though infrequent speaking engagements were "better than nothing", they too would welcome the opportunity for increased contact. Accordingly, the investigator and Ms. Blok worked out a plan that would enable discussions of much greater depth to take place on an extended basis between the ethnic speakers and the high school students.

A proposal which received the joint support of the Crescent Valley High School administration and staff and the entire Educational Opportunities staff was submitted to the Dean of the School of Education at Oregon State University (see Appendix 1). This proposal, which outlined the details of the Nature of Prejudice project as it affected Oregon State University ethnic students and staff, was accepted by Dean Keith Goldhammer. The project as eventually implemented, however, differed in some important details from the original proposal. These differences were related to such things as transportation problems, academic credit for the OSU students, staffing and scheduling problems at Crescent Valley High School, and

different academic calendars used at the two schools. Moreover, additional CVHS teachers became involved as the project developed.

### Theoretical Basis for the Project

The work of Gordon Allport (1954) is much more important to the format of this project than simply providing the title for the high school course: *The Nature of Prejudice*. The teachers concerned were persuaded of the correctness of his theory and decided that Crescent Valley High School provided an excellent place to test out his thesis that

To be maximally effective, contact and acquaintance programs should lead to a sense of equality in social status, should occur in ordinary purposeful pursuits, avoid artificiality, and if possible enjoy the sanction of the community in which they occur. The deeper and more genuine the association, the greater its effect. While it may help somewhat to place members of different ethnic groups side by side on a job, the gain is greater if these members regard themselves as part of a team. (*Nature of Prejudice*, p. 454)

Therefore, a team teaching approach was used throughout the entire length of this project. Immediately after the project was given approval, the Crescent Valley teachers, the investigator, and the OSU ethnic students (hereafter called ethnic teachers) began regular meetings to plan the details of the *Nature of Prejudice* project. The meetings began early in the summer of 1972 and continued on a regular basis throughout the length of the project. The entire course of

study i. e., objectives, teaching materials and methods, and evaluation were all selected at these meetings in which the ethnic teachers and the Crescent Valley teachers met as equals.

The Nature of Prejudice course was structured so that the ethnic teachers would work very closely with the high school students. Arrangements were made so that each ethnic teacher would be with the high school students at least three class periods each week. Special efforts were made so that students and ethnic teachers would be able to get to know one another through frequent small group contact.

Thus, from the very beginning of the project, the four conditions which Allport describes in his work were met. These conditions i. e., equal status contacts, common goals, contact over an extended time period, and positive sanction were all integrated into the course. The high school students, too, regarded themselves as part of the total effort rather than simply as passive recipients of a course of study. The students periodically were asked to evaluate the teaching methods, activities, speakers, teaching materials etc., and to offer suggestions for the future direction of the course.

#### Purpose of the Study

The general purpose of the study was to determine whether taking a course of study about ethnic minorities and racial prejudice

in the United States would produce a statistically significant change in the attitude of middle class, white high school students toward three ethnic minority groups.

The specific purpose of the study was to determine whether an extended and in-depth contact with a number of ethnic minority teachers, following the general principles of Gordon Allport, would have the effect of changing the students' racial attitudes and perceptions in the direction of lessened prejudice.

#### Significance of the Study

This study attempts to evaluate one of the possible methods by which the school can contribute to the change in attitudes, specifically attitudes toward other racial and ethnic groups, so essential to the continued survival of our society.

The events of the last two decades have had a deeply traumatic effect on American society. They have left us not only with a sense of anxiety about the future, but a pervasive feeling that far-reaching and fundamental changes must take place. The prospects of our survival as a democratic society hinge on our collective capacity to bring about these changes. The adequacy and the nature of the needed response in turn will partly depend on the attitudes which define the range of feasible solutions which we perceive as being open to us. Schools, since they are potentially one of the most powerful agents

of change in our society, are in a unique position to bring about the needed attitude changes.

### Definition of Terms

The terms used in this study are defined below.

**Experimental group I:** The students who enrolled in the Nature of Prejudice class and the Black Studies class.

**Experimental group II:** The students who enrolled in the Nature of Prejudice class the the Native American Studies class.

**Experimental group III:** The students who enrolled in the Nature of Prejudice class and the Chicano Studies class. Complete data were not obtained from this group. The group was therefore dropped from the analysis.

**Control group:** The students who enrolled in the regular eleventh grade class in United States history.

**Attitude inventory:** A specially constructed scale containing equal numbers of statements relating to Blacks, Native Americans and Chicanos, designed to measure attitudes toward these groups.

**Attitude index:** The mean score on the attitude inventory representing the subjects' favorable or unfavorable attitude toward the three ethnic groups.

**Prescore-Black:** The mean score on the Black subscale of the attitude inventory representing the degree of favorable or unfavorable

feeling toward black people at the beginning of the study.

Prescore-Native American: The mean score, as above, toward Native Americans.

Prescore-Chicanos: The mean score, as above, toward Chicanos.

Postscore-Black: The mean score on the Black subscale of the attitude inventory representing the degree of favorable or unfavorable feeling toward black people at the end of the study.

Postscore-Native American: The mean score, as above, toward Native Americans.

Postscore-Chicanos: The mean score, as above, toward Chicanos.

Ethnic teachers: The ethnic minority students from Oregon State University who participated as team teachers in the Nature of Prejudice project.

Attitude: The feeling, favorable or unfavorable, toward those belonging to racial or cultural groups different from one's own.

Judges: The thirty seven individuals who participated in the selection process of the statements used in the attitude inventory.

## II. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

### Introduction

For more than one hundred years writers in the various social sciences have been concerned with the question of attitude. The investigation of attitude has been marked by numerous controversies revolving around such questions as the nature of attitudes; attitude formation and development; and attitude change. As early as the 1860's Herbert Spencer, in First Principles (1862), described attitudes as mental states. Other writers, viewing attitudes in physical terms, considered them a state of muscular "readiness". Around the turn of the century considerable investigation into the nature of attitudes was conducted using introspective methods. Although this investigation served the purpose of cementing the concept of attitude into the accepted body of psychological thought, not much progress was made in connecting attitudes with social behavior until Sigmund Freud identified attitudes with emotions and credited them with responsibility for unconscious influence upon our conscious actions.

In the field of sociology, a progression of thought occurred which was similar to that in psychology. Early 20th century sociologists tended to view attitudes as very similar to instincts. The instinct theory was quickly challenged by other sociologists, for it did not give sufficient recognition to the influence of environment or culture

in determining social behavior. The work of Thomas and Znaniecki (1918), while it does not bear directly upon this study, is of interest because their study of Polish peasants fixed the concept of attitude firmly in sociological research. During the next ten years important discussions of the connections between attitudes and behavior appeared in the sociological journals (Faris, 1925; Allport, 1929). By 1932, three of the most widely used instruments to measure attitude had already been developed and were being tested (Bogardus, 1925; Thurstone, 1928; Likert, 1932).

There is a large and very diverse body of literature devoted to discussions of various dimensions of attitude. This literature includes studies dealing with attitude development (Mussen, 1950; Goodman, 1964; Amir, 1969); the discrepancy between attitudes and behavior (LaPiere, 1934; Mussen, 1950; Saenger, 1950; Kutner et al., 1952; Linn, 1965); and the susceptibility of attitudes to change (Gilbert, 1941; Hovland, 1949; Mann, 1959; Litcher, 1969; Yawkey, 1970; Glick, 1972).

All of the factors listed above i. e., the existence of attitudes, the connection between attitudes and behavior, the stability of attitudes, are germane to the present study. Allport has combined these aspects into a widely accepted and frequently used definition of attitude. He states that

an attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related. (Fishbein, 1967, P. 8)

Consistent with Allport this study assumes that attitudes do exist, that attitudes affect the way people behave, and that attitudes can be altered. The rest of this chapter will survey the literature relating to each of these aspects in turn as they relate to racial attitudes.

### Development of Racial Attitudes and Racial Awareness

The question of how and when racial attitudes develop is important for this particular study. The major study, Race Awareness in Young Children (Goodman, 1964) points out that

By age two, or two and a half, children are likely to begin to give evidence of consciousness of (their) own and others' racial characteristics. (P. 252)

Landreth and Johnson in questioning whether such findings would hold equally for children of lower and upper socio-economic status conclude that higher status children incline to perceive skin color in cognitive terms, while lower status children perceive it in affective terms. However, Goodman continues:

...by the age of four nearly all normal children will be at least minimally and occasionally aware of the physical marks of race and many will have developed distinct in-group/out-group orientations. (P. 253)

Concurrent with the development of a child's knowledge about

who he is and what he looks like, is the knowledge of his "place" in the world. According to Clark (1955)

The child's first awareness of racial differences is found to be associated with some rudimentary evaluation of these differences. Furthermore, as the average child learns to evaluate these differences according to the standards of the society, he is at the same time required to identify himself with one or another group. . . . The child therefore cannot learn what racial group he belongs to without being involved in a larger pattern of emotions, conflicts, and desires which are part of his growing knowledge of what society thinks about his race. (P. 23)

Goodman's thesis concerning the very early appearance of racial awareness is supported by the works of Williams (1972) and Moreland (1972). Both researchers found a definite ability in pre-schoolers to identify their own skin color. Both also discovered an unmistakable preference for white skin color by both black and white children. White skin color was the norm accepted by groups of children and was the preferred color among black pre-school children.

Since the largest and most prominent ethnic group in the United States is the Black, it is hardly surprising that the bulk of racial attitude research has focused on attitudes toward black people. Recently however, studies have been published which focus on other groups not previously studied. One such study (Werner, 1968) confirms the findings of Goodman (1952) regarding the early development

of racial awareness and the preference for white skin color in Mexican-American preschool children.

The research conducted by Williams (1972) and Moreland (1972) also lends support to Allport's statement that

The first six years of life are important for the development of all social attitudes, though it is a mistake to regard early childhood as alone responsible for them. A bigoted personality may be well underway by the age of six, though by no means fully fashioned. (P. 282)

From every facet of their environment, children absorb societal values regarding all areas of life, including those of race and culture.

Since attitudes, both favorable and unfavorable appear so early in life, a relevant question to consider is whether or not children must have some direct experience, or direct observation, of attitude objects in order to develop feelings about them. It has been demonstrated (Horowitz, 1936; Litcher, 1969; Yawkey, 1970) that this physical proximity is indeed not necessary for the development of racial attitudes. Thus, it has been assumed in the present study that, although there is virtually no resident ethnic population in the city of Corvallis, the subjects of the study will nevertheless have developed specific attitudes toward ethnic groups.

#### Discrepancy Between Expected and Observed Behavior

One might assume that direct observation of relevant behavior would be the easiest and most accurate method from which to deduce

a particular attitude. That this is not the case has been convincingly demonstrated by several studies. The earliest such study, (LaPiere, 1934) regarded as a classic by many writers in the field, illustrates the divergence between behavior and attitude. In LaPiere's study, a Chinese couple, accompanied by a white man, sought lodging at various hotels. In almost every case they were given accommodations by the white hotelkeepers. Yet, subsequently, these same hotelkeepers overwhelmingly (92%) rejected a request for lodging, by mail, from a Chinese couple. Similar discrepancies between actual behavior and written attitude statements were obtained by Saenger and Gilbert (1950) and Kutner, Wilkins and Yarrow (1952). The former examined the behavior of white adults served by black sales personnel while the latter focused on service received in restaurants by groups of white women who were later joined by a black woman friend.

In each of the cases cited above, there was a pronounced discrepancy between the behavior which might have been expected from each subject on the basis of an attitude inventory, and the behavior which actually occurred. The discrepancy has been labeled by Linn (1965) as being in a positive direction i. e., the subjects possessed conservative, prejudiced attitudes but behaved in liberal, unprejudiced fashion when put into a "real-life" situation.

Linn (1965) performed a much more complicated direct-observation experiment which revealed discrepancies similar to those

found by LaPiere, Saenger, and Kutner, but in a negative direction. His subjects expressed liberal attitudes but behaved in conservative fashion. He found that among a group of white first-year college women who expressed racially liberal attitudes on an attitude survey, a significant number failed to behave in a manner consistent with racial liberalism when asked to pose for photographs with a black male college student. The degree of behavioral liberalism was measured by the willingness of the subject to sign a release allowing the use of the photo under conditions ranging from a highly restricted laboratory use in an academic setting (least liberal) to a nation-wide advertising campaign conducted by the NAACP (most liberal).

Linn's model explains the previous experimental findings as well as the contradictory results he obtained. He attributed the negative direction to the highly personal nature of the interracial relationship required in his study: to the fact that peers, parents and many others would become aware of the action taken by the subject. Linn theorized that these young freshmen women were receiving their first exposure to a "liberal education" and that they embraced racial integration primarily as a sign of intellectual maturity and independence from their parents. In the LaPiere, Kutner, and Saenger studies where the contact was a commercial service of an impersonal type, there was no involvement on a personal level at all. Linn explained that:

... 'racial liberalism' with its associated constellation of attitudes is quite contradictory to the way in which most people have been socialized into our society. Contrary to the University atmosphere, most segments of the American society and the norms associated with them do not see racial integration as being socially acceptable; in fact, integration is probably more often viewed as something either to fear or avoid on a personal level. The... study therefore suggests that discrepant behavior in a negative direction is partially due to a breakdown of unstable attitudes which are part of a social role that has never been behaviorally put to test. (P. 363)

Linn further clarified the discrepancy between racial attitude and expected behavior when he stated that

The level of consistency between racial attitudes and racial behavior is a function of the stability of the attitude and of the degree of social involvement required between the individual and the attitude object. Therefore discrepant behavior in a negative direction will increase if the liberal attitudes have not been tested and the social involvement is high. Discrepant behavior in a positive direction (prejudiced attitude and liberal behavior) will increase if the level of social involvement is low and if the prejudicial attitudes have not been tested. (P. 364)

### Changing Racial Attitudes

The question of the permanence of attitudes holds interest for such diverse groups as advertising executives and social psychologists. Under what circumstances will a change in attitude toward a brand of soap, a political party, sexual mores, or ethnic minorities take place? Are some attitudes, specifically racial attitudes, more firmly integrated into the personality than other attitudes? The body

of literature which deals with overt attempts to change racial attitudes and measure such changes falls into three sections: a) changes brought about by cognitive processes; b) changes brought about by affective processes; and c) changes brought about by a combination of cognitive and affective processes.

#### A. Changes in attitude through cognitive processes only

In communities which do not have ethnic populations it is very difficult to conduct studies which are behavioral in nature. Nevertheless, research has been conducted into the racial attitudes of children living in areas lacking minority populations. Litcher (1969) attempted to compensate for the absence of a resident ethnic population by introducing reading materials with multi-ethnic content into a classroom located in the north-central United States. The subjects were all white middle-class second grade students of average or above average reading ability. Half the students read the regular Scott-Foresman series readers; the other half read identical books except that the pictures and names used were those of ethnic group members. Each child was given a series of tests before and after the experimental period and the results showed that the experimental group children developed markedly more favorable attitudes toward Blacks. Litcher felt that increasing the visibility of Negroes in the curriculum, particularly in areas which lack Negroes as residents, reduced

prejudice among second grade students.

A similar study (Yawkey, 1970), compared children in a racially homogeneous (white) area with children in a racially mixed (black and white) area. This study, in which third grade students read a series of multi-ethnic stories, revealed a marked shift in the direction of more favorable attitudes toward black people. This change in attitude occurred in a group of rural children who had little or no contact with black people, as well as in a group of urban children who had regular, although minimal, impersonal contact with black people.

Little investigation has been done regarding whether it is possible to change attitudes of older school children using overt cognitive methods. Maxon (1973) tested twelfth grade students before and after they participated in a special three week social studies unit on "The Contribution of Minority Ethnic Groups to American Civilization". The course material was presented in a highly structured manner i. e., formal presentations by the teacher followed by group discussions. The data were analyzed according to the following variables: IQ scores above or below 100 on the Otis Gamma test (1939); sex; high or low socio-economic level; and high or low ethnocentrism on a modified form of the California E scale (Adorno, 1950). Maxon's results show that both high and low ethnocentric groups became "more tolerant in the expression of their feeling toward members of minority ethnic groups". Female students "expressed

a highly significant reduction in ethnocentrism", as did students in the high socio-economic category. (P. 16)

It is possible to criticize certain aspects of this study. The Adorno ethnocentrism scale is somewhat dated and the author himself indicates a weakness in methodology, specifically, the characteristics of the participating teacher. Still the effect of even such a brief course on reducing ethnocentrism indicates a need for further research into new curriculum efforts directed at reducing ethnocentrism.

#### B. Change of attitude through affective processes

A number of researchers have attempted to measure social attitudes by placing subjects in highly structured "real life" situations, and then observing subsequent behavior and/or measuring attitudes through tests. Increasing the number of impersonal contacts between groups or placing people in physical proximity to one another will not automatically produce more positive feelings between otherwise hostile or unfriendly groups (Mussen, 1950). Amir (1969) argues that reduction in prejudice is more likely to result when the quality of the contact occurs under "favorable conditions". Favorable conditions include the following:

When there is equal status contact between the members of the various ethnic groups, when the contact is between members of a majority group and higher status

members of a minority group, when an 'authority' and/or the social climate are in favor of and promote intergroup contact, when the contact is of an intimate rather than a casual nature, when the ethnic intergroup contact is pleasant or rewarding, when the members of both groups in the particular contact situation interact in functionally important activities or develop common goals.... (P. 338)

This theory has been called the "contact hypothesis" and is a direct extension of the ideas of Allport (1958).

A difficult problem in any behavioral experiment is to arrange the activity so that the subject is unaware that his behavior is under observation. One test of the "contact hypothesis" was conducted in the following manner by Cook (1971). A group of white college students from southern colleges in the border states were offered part-time jobs in college laboratories. All the students had been tested prior the start of the study and were rated as being definitely anti-Black. After accepting the positions in laboratories, the subjects discovered that the work entailed working very closely with a Black student worker and working less closely with still another Black student. During the several months of the experiment the Black student workers, who were confederates of the experimenter, went to great lengths to develop pleasant working relations with the prejudiced white students. Test results at the end of the period showed that the white students not only developed high regard for their individual student co-workers, but also displayed a significant

increase in positive feelings for Blacks as a group.

In an earlier study involving both black and white high school students, Levine (1969) indicated that contact with students from another group and liking for members of that other group are positively related. Levine stated that

For both groups of students, a circular process appears to be at work wherein contact leads to increased acceptance and generates receptivity for additional contact. (P. i)

Brooks (1972) investigated the attitudes of black and white students at the University of Maryland. His work supports Levine's contention that an increased number of intimate contacts will result in more favorable feelings between groups. He indicated that this effect is even more pronounced for black students than for white students.

A much earlier test of the effects of juxtaposing two groups of people not previously in contact occurred under conditions of urgent practical necessity. Singer (1948) reported that during World War Two, United States military combat platoons, which had always been composed of men of a single race, were integrated in seven divisions. Two of the divisions involved contained mostly men from the southern United States. Both officers and enlisted men were skeptical and didn't think they would like having black soldiers with them in their units. Of the group, 68 were in favor and 124 were not in favor of

the idea of integrating combat units. A marked shift toward a favorable attitude occurred among the soldiers in integrated units after the men had been in combat together. Afterwards, 154 men were in favor while only 37 continued to hold an unfavorable attitude. No soldier reported having a less favorable attitude after integration than before the reorganization took place.

Persuasive as these studies are, at least one study indicates that factors other than a 'favorable' experience are necessary for a decrease in prejudiced attitudes to occur. Mussen (1950) studied a group of inner city boys who attended an inter-racial summer camp for four weeks. Although every aspect of the camp activity was entirely integrated, there was no attempt to structure positive experiences as in the Cook study. Mussen found prejudice to be increased or decreased following an intimate-contact experience depending on the subject's personality variables and on the social factors present. The white campers as a group did not change their attitude toward Blacks; some boys became more prejudiced, some less prejudiced, and some did not change at all. In general, Mussen found that boys with fewer aggressive needs, who were better adjusted to their family, and who did not feel threatened by the camp environment, decreased most in the amount of prejudice shown.

### C. Change of attitude through both cognitive and affective processes

The studies cited above have illustrated attempts to change attitudes through a single force: either cognitive or affective. The three curriculum units cited below combine these two processes in quite frank attempts to alter attitudes of racial prejudice.

A complicated study by Glick (1972), combined a two month long series of cognitive activities such as viewing filmstrips and listening to panel discussions with affective activities such as inter-racial skating parties and visits to inner city schools. At the conclusion of the special curriculum unit, the experimental group of white sixth grade children scored significantly higher than the control group on a scale measuring friendliness toward ethnic groups.

The Minnesota Department of Education has developed a special in-service training course "The Anatomy of Prejudice: Attitudes and Behavior" for the purpose of sensitizing public school faculty and staff members to the manifestations and effects of prejudice. The course, written by Hadfield (1971), combines factual materials with simulations and encounter group experiences. To date, no information is available regarding the effectiveness of this material.

The Dade County (Florida) Public Schools have used a curriculum unit very like the one described in the previous study. The curriculum unit, written by Abrams and Schmidt (1971), is aimed at

the junior-senior high school student. The unit contains sections which deal with the historical, political, psychological and biological aspects of prejudice. It does not appear at this time that any research has been conducted regarding the effectiveness of this course of study in reducing prejudice among high school students.

### III. PROCEDURES

#### Hypotheses

1. There will be no significant difference in the attitudes toward minorities between a group of students who choose to enroll in The Nature of Prejudice sequence (experimental group), and those who choose to enroll in the United States history class (control group).
2. There will be no significant change in the attitudes of students towards minorities after taking the 18 week sequence, The Nature of Prejudice.
3. There will be no significant difference in the attitudes toward minorities between those students who completed The Nature of Prejudice sequence, and those who completed a semester of United States history.

#### Design of the Experiment

An attitude inventory designed to measure attitudes towards Blacks, Native Americans and Chicanos was administered to groups of white high school students at the beginning and end of an 18 week school term. During that period the control group was enrolled in the regular eleventh grade United States history course which lasted for 18 weeks. Concurrently, the experimental group was enrolled in

The Nature of Prejudice sequence. This sequence consisted of a nine week class, The Nature of Prejudice, and a subsequent nine week ethnic studies class. The students could choose among Black Studies, Native American Studies and Chicano Studies. The distinguishing characteristic of the whole Nature of Prejudice sequence was that it was team taught by Crescent Valley High School teachers and a group of ethnic minority students from Oregon State University.

### Population

#### The Experimental School

The town of Corvallis has two high schools which enroll similar cross sections of high school students. Crescent Valley High School was selected as the experimental school because the cooperating teacher, Ilene Blok, was a member of the social studies faculty at the school and two other social studies teachers at the school indicated strong interest in being involved in The Nature of Prejudice project. Also, Mr. Robert Payne, Principal at Crescent Valley enthusiastically supported the project. The choice of the experimental school, therefore, was determined by the willingness of the administration and staff to cooperate in a project which involved a considerable amount of extra administrative work.

The potential population for the study was the entire student

body of Crescent Valley High School. Eleventh grade students were allowed to self-select themselves into the experimental group by electing to enroll in The Nature of Prejudice sequence. All other eleventh grade students were automatically enrolled in a class in United States history which is required for graduation. The Nature of Prejudice sequence also satisfied the graduation requirement. Since The Nature of Prejudice sequence was open to all students in the school, many tenth grade students also elected to take the class. Thus, while the experimental group consisted of almost equal numbers of tenth and eleventh grade students, the control group consisted entirely of eleventh grade students.

Both the experimental and control groups were originally larger than the groups ultimately used for statistical analysis. In experiments involving a pretest and a posttest, it is not always possible to have exactly the same population present on both occasions. Such was the case in this study. The experimental group consisted initially of 135 students but only 91 students were present on both testing days. Similarly, the control group numbered 147 originally, but it was possible to include only 118 in the final group.

### Procedure

This study was conducted during the 1972-73 school year in Corvallis, Oregon. The study consisted of a comparison of the

change in attitudes toward ethnic minorities of two groups of white high school students. Each of the two groups i. e., the experimental and control groups, was tested with a specially designed attitude inventory at the beginning of an 18 week period (pretest) and again at the end thereof (posttest). (See Appendix 2)

#### A. Control Group

The control group consisted of the students enrolled in all the sections of the regular eleventh grade United States history class during the project period. The attitude inventory pretest was administered to the students during the first week of the term. The test was administered in the classrooms either by the regular classroom teacher or by the investigator. Eighteen weeks later the attitude inventory posttest was administered to the students in the same manner as the pretest.

#### B. Experimental Group

The experimental group consisted of the students enrolled in all the sections of the two-part Nature of Prejudice sequence. The Nature of Prejudice sequence consisted of an introductory nine week class called The Nature of Prejudice, and a subsequent nine week ethnic studies class i. e., Black Studies, Native American Studies or Chicano Studies. All the experimental group students took the

Nature of Prejudice class, and then chose one of the ethnic studies classes in order to complete the sequence. The attitude inventory pretest was administered to the students during the first week of the term. The test was administered in the classrooms either by the regular classroom teachers or the investigator.

Immediately after the testing was completed, the ethnic teachers were introduced to the experimental group students in The Nature of Prejudice classes. Each section of the Nature of Prejudice class was taught by a team of three ethnic teachers, two Crescent Valley social studies teachers and one student teacher. Both male and female ethnic teachers were included in the teaching teams except that no Black women from Oregon State University were able to participate in the project.

The Nature of Prejudice course covered various dimensions of the race problem in the United States. Included were such topics as: how prejudice arises, how it is manifested, and how prejudice affects both its victims and those who discriminate. It provided an historic survey of prejudice in the United States, a brief look at the laws germane to discrimination, an examination of institutional racism, and the like.

The basic methods of the class were large group meetings of 60 to 70 students which alternated with small discussion groups led by one ethnic teacher or a Crescent Valley teacher. The large group

meetings were used for the purpose of presenting information to the whole class e. g., watching films, panel discussions, listening to tapes, etc. The material thus presented was discussed in the small groups which numbered about ten students. Instead of a single textbook, a very diverse list of films, articles, taped speeches, activities, guest speakers, panel discussions and simulation games were used.

The Nature of Prejudice class began with a consideration of the language of racism. In order to understand stereotyping and prejudice, the class listened to a tape by Bill Cosby about prejudice. The influence of the mass media was introduced with an article entitled "What's Not So Funny About the Funnies" and continued with some critical watching of popular TV programs such as Mod Squad. The historical background of racism was introduced with a reading "Approved Killing in Mississippi" and followed by listening to a taped recording of a Ku Klux Klan meeting. An important activity was the simulation "Starpower" which graphically demonstrates what it feels like to be a participant in a 'rigged' society.

A major section of the course was an investigation of institutional racism. In addition to seeing the film "To Kill a Mockingbird", the class heard five speakers who addressed themselves to various aspects of the subject. A Protestant minister spoke about 'Religion and Prejudice'; An ROTC officer from Oregon State University spoke on 'Racism in the Military'; a history professor from OSU

spoke about 'History Books and Minorities'; a correctional officer in the Oregon prison system and one of the black ethnic teachers, on separate occasions, discussed 'Racism and the Prisons, the Courts and the Police'. The major class activity which accompanied this section was a critical examination of dozens of textbooks presently or recently in use in the Corvallis school system. Books from all educational levels and from a variety of subject areas were examined as to the amount and type of information they conveyed about minorities.

At irregular intervals a number of excellent films dealing with the general field of racism and prejudice were shown. These included "The Eye of the Storm", "Where is Prejudice?" and "Friendly Game". In addition to all the above activities, students were encouraged to read widely in the contemporary literature. Funds which would have ordinarily been used to purchase a required reading textbook were expended instead on multiple copies of a large number of paperback documentaries, prose and poetry anthologies, novels and biographies. These and other library materials were made easily available to the students for supplementary reading.

It has been pointed out previously that part of the rationale for the structure of this experiment was to provide the opportunity for extended and in-depth contact between the high school students and the ethnic teachers. Some indication of the impact of this contact

upon the students can be gleaned by examining the results of an informal questionnaire which students voluntarily completed at the conclusion of The Nature of Prejudice class. When asked to indicate what they liked most about the class, 65% of one section and 46% of another section named the ethnic teachers. There can be no doubt of the students' enthusiasm for the ethnic teachers because the item mentioned next most frequently was the small group discussion sections led mainly by the ethnic teachers. The percentages in each section were 62% and 43% respectively. In the first section 62% of the students characterized The Nature of Prejudice class as both interesting and important. In the second section 46% of the students chose these same descriptors to characterize the class. When asked whether or not they would advise another CVHS student to enroll in The Nature of Prejudice class, 82% of the first section and 71% of the second section said they would do so.

The first half of the Nature of Prejudice sequence came to an end after nine weeks and the students redistributed themselves into the various ethnic studies classes. The distinguishing characteristic of these ethnic studies classes was that each was team taught by the Crescent Valley teachers and a group of Oregon State University students of the appropriate ethnic minority. The general format used in these classes was much the same as the previous class. There was a decreased use of the large sections in favor of more small

group contact. Each class studied the relevant ethnic minority in more historical detail than had been possible previously. Contemporary literature by writers from each group was emphasized, as were major contributions to society by minority members. The major activity in each class was a visit to the nearest population center of the particular ethnic group. Specifically this meant a trip to the Black ghetto, the Albina District of Portland; to the Warm Springs Indian Reservation near Madras; and to a Chicano migrant labor camp near Albany.

At the conclusion of each ethnic studies class i. e., at the end of 18 weeks, the attitude inventory posttest was administered to the experimental group students.<sup>4</sup> The test was administered in the classrooms by the regular classroom teachers or the investigator.

#### Limitations of the Study

The nature and organization of a public high school such as Crescent Valley imposes constraints on an experimental project of the sort discussed here. Students at Crescent Valley are given much freedom in the selection of courses, and grade level restrictions are

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<sup>4</sup>In the confusion surrounding the end of the semester, a misunderstanding arose as to when the posttest would be given in the Chicano studies class. The test was not administered and that group was lost to the experimental population.

not rigidly followed. In such a situation it was not possible to select students for the two groups using random selection method. Therefore, the original intention of the investigator was to allow complete self-selection of students into either the experimental or the control group. Because of scheduling constraints and other considerations unrelated to a student's interest or lack of interest in The Nature of Prejudice project, this original plan could not be followed. Some students who indicated great interest in the experimental course were unable to fit it into their schedules. Conversely, other students were included in the experimental course because it satisfied a graduation requirement and fit neatly into their schedules.

Although the investigator feels that the majority of the students in the experimental group were actually self-selected, this cannot be factually demonstrated except through statistical analysis of the pre-test scores of the two groups. In any event, the experimenter was not in complete control of the conditions under which the control and experimental populations were selected.

A second limitation is connected to the fact that it was not possible to control the conditions under which the tests were administered to the students. Both the experimental and the control groups actually consisted of a number of separate classes taught by various teachers. Through a breakdown of communication, the posttest for one of the experimental groups i. e., the Chicano, was not

administered at the proper time. This necessitated the removal of these students from the experimental population.

### The Research Instrument

#### Description of the Attitude Inventory

The instrument designed for use in this research was an attitude inventory. It was constructed by the investigator according to the Thurstone method of equal appearing intervals. The attitude inventory contains 45 statements: 15 statements each about Blacks, Native Americans and Chicanos. Each group of 15 statements ranges in affect from "extremely negative" to "neutral" to "extremely positive". Each statement was chosen and assigned a score value according to the Thurstone method. Score values range from 1.0, "most negative"; through 5.0, "neutral"; to 9.0, "most positive". Response choices to be indicated by the subject are "agree", "no opinion", "disagree". The inventory was scored by taking the mean of the score values of all statements with which the subject agreed. The score thus obtained is the general attitude index. The same process was followed for each subgroup of statements to obtain a subscore relating to Blacks, Native Americans or Chicanos.

Examples of statements at each extreme of affect and of a neutral statement follow.

Extreme negative affect--score value: 1.9. "When Mexican-Americans move into a neighborhood, property values begin to go down".

Neutral affect--score value: 5.0. "Black people today are employed in an increasing variety of occupations".

Extreme positive affect--score value: 8.8. "Despite great outside pressure, the Indians have always tried to preserve the positive values of their culture".

A copy of the attitude inventory, the answer sheet and the instruction sheet is included in the appendix. (See Appendices 2 and 3.)

#### Background of the Attitude Inventory

Numerous scales have been developed which attempt to measure attitudes. These are of two main types: projective and 'paper and pencil'. Projective tests have been widely used in, and are primarily appropriate to studies dealing with the behavior and attitude of individual persons (Brown, 1947; Mussen, 1950; Clark, 1955; Goodman, 1964; Williams, 1972). Since the present study is concerned with possible changes in group attitudes, projective testing was considered inappropriate and was therefore not employed.

There are over two hundred 'paper and pencil' scales which attempt to measure attitudes toward a wide variety of social

institutions, concepts, religions, cultures, political ideologies and nationalities (Shaw & Wright, 1967). The investigator examined the scales relevant to racial attitudes to determine if any were appropriate for use in this study. None of the scales examined was considered suitable for the present study for one or more of the following reasons: the scale included items which were 'dated' e.g., references to zootsuiters; the scale included references to issues which are theoretically considered settled e.g., "Should Negroes be allowed the same education as whites?"; the scale contained items so naive or objectionable by present standards that they would not be taken seriously by high school students e.g., "I place the Negro on the same social basis as I would a mule", or "No Negro has the slightest right to resent or even question the illegal killing of one of his race" (Shaw & Wright, P. 361).

Since the present study is concerned with attitudes toward Chicanos and Native Americans as well as black people, it was necessary to locate a scale that would sample attitudes toward all three groups. Such a scale could not be located and consequently a new scale had to be devised.

The methods of attitude scale construction developed by three of the earliest researchers, Bogardus, Thurstone and Likert, are still very widely used today. To each of these methods certain testing situations are more appropriate than others. The present

study was judged to be best served by the Thurstone method of equal appearing intervals, and this method was used to construct a scale that would sample attitudes toward the three ethnic groups under investigation.

The procedure for constructing an attitude scale using the Thurstone method was outlined in detail by Edwards (1957). He summarized the steps in this procedure as follows:

Once a set of attitude statements has been collected, there are two general methods that have been used in development of attitude scales. One of these methods involves the use of a judging group. The judging group is not asked to respond to the statements in terms of their own agreement or disagreement with them, but rather to judge the degree of favorableness or unfavorableness expressed by each statement. These judgments are then used as a basis for determining scale values of the statements upon a psychological continuum. Once the scale values of the statements are known, subjects can then be asked to express their agreement or disagreement with the individual statements. Attitude scores for these subjects can then be obtained based upon the prior knowledge of the scale values of the statements. (P. vii)

#### Construction of the Attitude Inventory

The method outlined above was followed in every detail in constructing the attitude inventory:

1. The first step in constructing an attitude inventory is to gather a large number of statements about the attitude objects. A subset of these statements will comprise the final attitude instrument.

There is widespread agreement among researchers as to the most acceptable form of statements to be used. Thurstone and Chave (1929), Likert (1932), and Edwards (1957) are in general agreement about the criteria to be applied to attitude statements. Edwards listed the criteria which are summarized as follows. Statements should be clear and direct; short (not more than 20 words); contain only one complete thought; and use vocabulary and grammatical construction easily understood by all those likely to respond to the instrument. Statements should not refer to the past; should not be factual or ambiguous; or be such as to be either universally rejected or accepted by subjects. Double negatives and universal words are to be avoided. (P. 13)

Accordingly, the author collected approximately fifty statements about each of the three minority groups under consideration i. e., Blacks, Native Americans and Chicanos. Care was taken that the statements conformed to the above criteria and that each group of statements represented the entire range of affect from extremely favorable to extremely unfavorable. The statements were printed on separate slips of paper and these were separated according to ethnic groups.

The same procedure outlined in step 2 through step 6 below was followed with the statements pertaining to each ethnic group.

2. A group of 37 judges was asked to arrange the statements

according to the degree of favorable or unfavorable feeling expressed in each toward the minority group. The judges were instructed to separate the statements into nine piles. The piles were to be arranged so that the one at the far left contained the most negative or unfavorable statements, the pile in the middle contained neutral statements, and the one at the far right contained the most positive or favorable statements. The judges were told to consider only the meaning of the statements and, though difficult, to disregard their own personal reaction to them.

3. Step three was a correction process designed to eliminate those whom Thurstone & Chave called 'careless judges'. If a judge, for whatever reason (not understanding the sorting instructions properly, lack of interest or strong preconceived notions) placed more than 30% of the statements in any one category, he was defined as 'careless' and therefore eliminated from the judging group. This process resulted in the reduction of the original group of 37 judges to 26 judges each for statements about Native Americans and Chicanos, and 25 judges for statements about Blacks.

It is interesting to note that not all the judges were equally 'careless' in their judgments vis-a-vis each of the groups. Although five judges were eliminated from a single group, and eight additional judges were eliminated from two groups, the judgments of only one person were unacceptable in regard to all three groups.

4. The next step consisted of two computational procedures. The first was to ascertain the level of agreement among the judges regarding the degree of affect expressed by each statement. This was achieved by calculating the interquartile range, or Q value, of the distribution of judgments for each statement. The interquartile range is a measure of the spread of the middle 50% of the judgments. Stated another way, if there is a great deal of agreement among the judges as to whether a statement is favorable or unfavorable, then the Q value will be quite small, conversely, where there is disagreement among the judges, the Q value will be correspondingly large.

The second operation is to calculate the scale value, or S, of each statement. The scale value is a measure of the degree of favorable or unfavorable affect the judges thought was expressed in the statement. The scale value is arrived at by taking the median of the distribution of judgments for each statement. The scale values may range from 1.0 to 9.0, least favorable to most favorable, respectively.

5. Step five was the elimination of those statements with Q values high enough to indicate disagreement among the judges as to whether the statement was favorable or unfavorable to a particular minority group. In the present instance the Q values of statements chosen for the attitude inventory ranged from 0.53 to 3.55. The average Q value of statements for the subgroups Black, Native American and

Chicano, was 2.2, 1.8 and 1.4 respectively, indicating a high degree of unanimity of feeling about the statements.

6. The next step was to make a final choice of statements which would comprise the three subscales. The statements were arranged along a line in order of ascending scale value. As Edwards explains

...both S and Q are used as criteria for the selection of statements to be included in the attitude scale. If a choice is to be made among several statements with approximately the same S values, preference is given to the one with the lowest Q value.... (P. 92)

The final group of statements should, ideally, have the lowest possible Q values and appear at relatively equal intervals along the scale value continuum. This process was repeated identically for the statements relating to each ethnic minority group.

7. The final inventory was prepared by combining the 45 statements (15 in each subscale) and placing them at random using a table of random numbers. Thus, there was no apparent order to the statements as to positive or negative affect or as to ethnic group.

The instructions asked the subject to respond to each statement with a personal opinion, and indicated that there were no right or wrong answers. Anonymity for each subject was promised in verbal instructions before the instrument was distributed and also guaranteed in the data sheet attached to the answer sheet. (See Appendix 3)

### Reliability of the Attitude Inventory

One of the considerations affecting the choice of the Thurstone method for the present study, was the question of its reliability. Specifically, what effect, if any, would the number of judges used have on the reliability of the instrument. Secondly, to what extent would the personal attitudes and individual characteristics of the judges influence the reliability of the instrument. Both of these questions have been extensively studied and the results, cited by Edwards (1957) are summarized below.

Although Thurstone and Chave used 300 judges in their pioneering scale of attitudes toward the church, other researchers have used much smaller groups of judges. They report very high correlations with the scale values obtained when larger numbers of judges were used. Edwards cited a correlation of .95 between the judgments of a group of 72 judges and one of 300 judges. He cited another study in which the judgments of two independent groups of 15 judges achieved a correlation of .99. The number of persons asked to judge the attitude statements for the present study (37) was considered adequate for the construction of an instrument according to the Thurstone method.

The personal attitudes of judges have been investigated as a possible source of distortion in devising an attitude inventory.

Edwards has stated that "A basic assumption of the method of equal appearing intervals is that the scale values of the statements are independent of the attitudes of the judges who do the sorting" (P. 106). He discussed the Hinckley study in which statements about the Negro were judged by Negroes, southern whites and northern whites. The judgments of the two white groups correlated .98 while the judgments of the southern whites and the Negroes correlated .93. Similar studies cited are Beyle, 1932; Ferguson, 1935; Pintner and Forlano, 1937; Eysenck and Crown, 1949; which all report correlations of .98 or .99.

The 37 persons who judged the attitude statements in the present instance were as diverse a group as the investigator could induce to participate in the task. Males and females, college students and faculty members, minority group members, professional people, housewives, secretaries and public school teachers all took part in the judging. The ages of the judges ranged from 19 to 55 years old. This distribution of age, sex and educational background was thought to provide a satisfactory mix of opinion for the computation of scale values for the attitude statements.

#### IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The purpose of the study was to determine whether taking a course of study about ethnic minorities and racial prejudice in the United States would produce a statistically significant change in the attitudes of middle class, white high school students toward three minority groups. A specially constructed attitude inventory was given to the students to ascertain the degree of their prejudice toward the three ethnic groups: Blacks, Native Americans and Chicanos. Each time the attitude inventory was administered to the students, four scores resulted. For the pretest these are the attitude index, PreAI, and a subscore for each ethnic group, PreBl, PreNA, and PreCh. For the posttest, similarly, the scores are designated as PostAI and the subscores as PostBl, PostNA, and PostCh.

The following three hypotheses were tested:

1. There will be no significant difference in the attitudes toward minorities between a group of students who choose to enroll in The Nature of Prejudice sequence (experimental group) and those who choose to enroll in a United States history class (control group).

2. There will be no significant change in the attitudes of students towards minorities after taking the 18 week sequence, The Nature of Prejudice.

3. There will be no significant difference in the attitudes

toward minorities between those students who completed the Nature of Prejudice sequence and those who completed a semester of United States history.

Hypothesis 1 Are the attitudes of experimental and control group students the same at the beginning of the experiment? The attitude inventory pretest scores for 91 experimental group students and 118 control group students were compared by means of t-tests to determine if the two groups were drawn from the same population. The results of these tests are presented in Tables 1 through 2D below. Table 1 compares the pretest AI scores for the experimental and control groups.

Table 1. Comparison of pretest mean attitude index (AI) scores for experimental and control groups.

	N	Mean Attitude Index	Mean AI Control Group N = 118	t-value
Experimental group	91	6.66	6.49	2.17*
Experimental group I	47	6.65	6.49	1.62
Experimental group II	44	6.67	6.49	1.76

\* statistically significant at the .05 level

From the table above we see that the mean of the attitude index scores of the experimental group was higher than that of the control group. This difference was significant at the .05 level. Therefore, Hypothesis 1 was rejected. As can be seen in Table 1, the relation-

ship between the control group and each of the experimental subgroups was virtually identical to that of the control group and the experimental group as a whole. The reduced sample size, however, made the differences not significant at the .05 level in the case of each of the experimental groups.

It should be emphasized here that the method of obtaining the experimental and control groups was not one of random selection but rather of student self-selection. It is clear from the data in Table 1 that the students who chose to enroll in a course about prejudice and ethnic minorities, were already significantly less prejudiced toward ethnic minorities than the control group students. Further discussion of this phenomenon can be found in Chapter V.

The subscores of attitudes toward each minority were calculated from the pretests of the control and experimental group. These scores are presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Pretest subscores of control and experimental groups toward each ethnic minority.

	Control group n = 118	Experimental groups		
		Total group I & II n = 91	Experimental group I n = 47	Experimental group II n = 44
PreBl	6.20	6.39	6.40	6.38
PreNA	7.01	7.26	7.16	7.36
PreCh	6.29	6.37	6.37	6.38

In order to ascertain whether the differences in attitudes which were found to exist between the control group and the experimental groups toward minorities in general (Table 1) existed in equal measure vis-a-vis each of the ethnic groups, the subscores of these groups were compared by means of t-tests. The results are presented in Table 2A.

Table 2A. Comparisons of pretest subscores of control and experimental groups.

	Pre-Black	Pre-Native American	Pre-Chicano
Control n = 118	6.20	7.01	6.29
Experimental groups I & II n = 91	6.39	7.26	6.37
t-values	2.11*	2.07*	0.72

\* statistically significant at the .05 level

The data presented in Table 2A indicate that the students who elected the Nature of Prejudice sequence were significantly more favorable in their attitudes regarding Blacks and Native Americans than the control group students. Experimental group students were more favorably inclined toward Chicanos as well, but this difference was not statistically significant.

The attitude inventory pretest was administered to all experimental group students in the Nature of Prejudice classes. Nine weeks later these classes were divided into the various ethnic

studies classes. The pretest results for all experimental group students were regrouped according to the ethnic studies class later selected by each student: Exp. I = Black Studies, Exp. II = Native American Studies. The data presented in Table 2B below compares the attitudes of these two experimental groups at the beginning of the project.

Table 2B. Comparison of pretest AI and subscores for experimental subgroups.

	PreAI	PreBl	PreNA	Pre Ch
Experimental group I n = 47	6.65	6.40	7.16	6.37
Experimental group II n = 44	6.67	6.38	7.36	6.38
t-values	0.26	0.11	1.76*	0.07

\* statistically significant at the .10 level

Table 2B shows a slight preference in favor of Indians by those students in the experimental group who later selected the Indian Studies course. In order to further check for significantly different attitudes toward the three minorities, paired t-tests were performed comparing, in turn, the subscore for each minority with those of the other two. This was done separately for the control group and for each of the two experimental groups. The results are shown in Table 2C and Table 2D below.

Table 2C. Paired t-test values comparing differences in the pretest subscores toward Native Americans and the other two minorities.

	Pretest Native American subscores (PreNA)		
	Control n = 118	Exp. group I n = 47	Exp. group II n = 44
PreBl	15.4*	6.6*	11.7*
PreCh	11.8*	7.9*	10.7*

\* statistically significant beyond the .01 level

The highly significant t-values shown in Table 2C indicate clearly that all students, both experimental and control, were biased in favor of Native Americans. Although the groups vary in the amount of bias, the positive feeling of the students relative to Native Americans is striking.

On the other hand, all the students tested showed comparable attitudes toward Blacks and Chicanos. Paired t-tests comparing the relevant subscores showed no significant difference at the .05 level.

Table 2D summarizes these findings.

Table 2D. Paired t-test values comparing differences in the subscores toward Blacks and Chicanos, for control and experimental groups.

	Pretest subscore Black		
	Control n = 118	Exp. group I n = 47	Exp. group II n = 44
PreCh	1.60	0.96	0.49

The analysis of the pretest data presented so far reveals several significant differences among the groups, and among the attitudes within the various groups. These differences can be summarized as follows.

1. Compared with the control group, the experimental groups were less prejudiced toward all three ethnic minority groups and significantly so toward Blacks and Native Americans (Tables 1 and 2A).
2. There was a highly significant preference in every group in favor of Native Americans (Table 2C).
3. This preference toward Native Americans was greatest for the students who later chose to enroll in the Native American Studies class, i. e., Exp. II (Table 2B).

Hypothesis 2 Is there any difference in the attitudes of students after they have taken the 18 week sequence of classes? The attitude index scores obtained at the beginning and end of the 18 week Nature of Prejudice sequence were compared by means of t-tests. This was done in order to determine whether the Nature of Prejudice sequence had any effect upon the attitudes of experimental group students. The AIs and the results of the t-tests are presented below.

There was a change in a negative direction over the 18 week period of the AI scores for experimental group students. As can be seen in Table 3, the scores of both experimental groups were

Table 3. Pretest and posttest AI scores for experimental group students.

	Experimental group n = 91	Experimental group I n = 47	Experimental group II n = 44
Pretest AI	6.66	6.65	6.67
Posttest AI	6.55	6.54	6.55
t-value	1.11	0.97	0.69

lower after taking the Nature of Prejudice course than at the beginning of the course. This change however, was not statistically significant at the .05 level. The hypothesis, therefore, could not be rejected.

For a more detailed analysis of changes in experimental group attitudes, the subscores for each ethnic group were compared by means of t-tests. The prescores and postscores and the t-values are presented for each experimental group in Table 4.

Table 4. Comparison of pretest and posttest subscores for the experimental groups.

	Experimental group n = 91	Experimental group I n = 47	Experimental group II n = 44
PreBl	6.39	6.40	6.38
PostBl	6.37	6.41	6.32
t-value	-0.18	0.06	-0.31
PreNA	7.26	7.16	7.36
PostNA	7.01	6.89	7.14
t-value	-2.01*	-1.91	-1.08
PreCh	6.37	6.37	6.38
PostCh	6.26	6.28	6.24
t-value	-0.87	-0.59	-0.64

\* statistically significant at the .05 level

As can be seen from the table, the results shown in Table 3 i. e., the negative change in the AI of experimental group students over the length of the course, is mirrored in the data presented in Table 4. In each case but one, subscores posted by students are lower in the posttest than in the pretest. This was true of student attitudes in both experimental groups and toward each ethnic minority group. The single exception was the attitude toward Blacks of students in the Black Studies class (Exp. I). The positive change however, was negligible, amounting to only 0.01 point.

It should be pointed out that only in the case of attitudes towards Native Americans was the negative change from pretest to posttest significant. Although the negative changes in attitude were not, on the whole, statistically significant, their pervasiveness is striking and requires an explanation. Possible explanations are offered in Chapter V.

In order to see whether changes in attitude comparable to those of experimental group students also occurred in control group students, the scores of control group students were examined. These data are presented in Table 5.

In the case of the control group the results are not as meaningful as with the experimental groups. The overall change in the AI is negligible, amounting to only 0.04 points. This negative change is composed of a negative change in the Black subscore and a small

Table 5. Comparison of pretest and posttest AI and subscores for control group.

	AI	Subscore B1	Subscore NA	Subscore Ch
Pretest	6.49	6.20	7.01	6.29
Posttest	6.45	6.11	7.05	6.30
change	-0.04	-0.09	0.04	0.01
t-value	-0.42	-0.99	0.32	0.06

positive change in each of the Native American and Chicano subscores. All these changes are numerically negligible and not statistically significant. Moreover, a one-way analysis of variance comparing these changes, found them to be not significantly different from one another.

It can be concluded, then, that there was no change in the attitudes of control group students toward ethnic minorities over the length of the experiment.

Hypothesis 3 Are the attitudes of experimental and control group students toward minorities different at the end of the experiment?

Attitude index posttest scores of the control and experimental groups were compared by means of t-tests. The results are presented in Table 6.

Although there is a difference between the posttest AI scores of the control and the experimental groups, the amount (0.09 points) is not large enough to be significant at the .05 level. Therefore, the hypothesis that there will be no difference in the attitudes toward

Table 6. Comparison of posttest AI and subscores for the control and experimental groups.

	AI	Post Bl	Post NA	Post Ch
Control n = 119	6.45	6.11	7.05	6.30
Exp. I & II n = 91	6.54	6.37	7.01	6.26
Difference	0.09	0.26	-0.04	-0.04
t-value	0.88	2.03*	-0.28	-0.32

\* statistically significant at the .05 level

minorities of experimental and control group students at the end of the experiment, must be accepted.

An additional test, an analysis of co-variance, showed that the differences in the posttest scores of the groups were entirely due to the higher pretest scores of the experimental groups. The differences in the posttest scores between control and experimental groups were smaller than in the pretest scores. This is explained by the absence of significant changes in the control group together with the negative changes in the experimental group over the experimental period. The differences are presented in Table 7 below.

Table 7. Differences between control and experimental group AI scores and subscores for pretests and posttests.

	Differences in the			
	AI	Subscore-Bl	Subscore-NA	Subscore-Ch
Pretest <sup>1</sup>	0.17	0.19	0.25	0.08
Posttest <sup>2</sup>	0.09	0.26	-0.04	-0.04

(Difference = Experimental group score less control group score.)

Source: 1. Tables 1 & 2; 2. Table 6

## V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### Summary

The locale in which the present study took place is essentially without a resident ethnic population. Since it is, therefore, virtually impossible for students to learn about other cultures from first-hand contact with members of those cultures, a structured educational experience had to be created. It was hoped that this educational experience would substitute for, and achieve some of the benefits of an integrated group experience.

To this end, the author and a teacher from Crescent Valley High School created the Nature of Prejudice project. The project consisted of a two-part course of study designed for high school students. It comprised a general investigation of the many manifestations and effects of prejudice, followed by a course of study about a specific ethnic group. The absence of local ethnic residents was compensated for through an artificial arrangement which brought ethnic teachers, not otherwise available in the school system, into the Nature of Prejudice classrooms.

This study investigated the attitudes of students toward ethnic minorities after they had taken the special 18 week course of study and had experienced, many for the first time in their lives, close and sustained contact with ethnic minority teachers.

Students were allowed to select either the special Nature of Prejudice course, or the regular United States history course. The 91 students who chose the Nature of Prejudice course constituted the experimental group while the 118 students in U. S. history became the control group. The control group students remained in the U. S. history course for the entire period of 18 weeks. The experimental group students all took the Nature of Prejudice class and then divided into specific ethnic studies classes for the second half of the 18 week program. This division provided the two experimental subgroups.

Both groups were given a specially constructed Thurstone-type attitude inventory designed to sample attitudes toward three ethnic groups; Blacks, Native Americans and Chicanos. The instrument was administered at the beginning and end of an 18 week term in the 1973-73 school year. The attitude instrument yielded four scores for every student each time the test was administered: the general attitude index (AI), and a subscore for each ethnic group.

The data were analyzed by applying t-tests, paired t-tests, and one-way analysis of variance at the .05 level of significance. The analysis follows the general outline below.

1. A comparison of the pretest AIs for the experimental and control groups.
2. A comparison of the pretest AI and the posttest AI for the experimental groups.

3. A comparison of the pretest AI and the posttest AI for the control group.
4. A comparison of the AI of the posttests for the experimental and control groups.
5. Comparisons, as described in #1 through #4, for each ethnic group subscore.

The following three hypotheses were tested:

1. There will be no significant difference in the attitudes toward minorities between a group of students who choose to enroll in The Nature of Prejudice sequence (experimental group) and those who choose to enroll in the United States history class (control group). A comparison of the mean attitude index for the pretest of the experimental and control groups showed a difference, statistically significant at the .05 level, between the groups. Hypothesis I was rejected.
2. There will be no significant change in the attitudes of students towards minorities after taking the 18 week sequence, The Nature of Prejudice. Although a change in the mean attitude index of experimental group students did occur after the Nature of Prejudice sequence, the change was not statistically significant. The Hypothesis, therefore, could not be rejected.
3. There will be no significant difference in the attitudes toward minorities between those students who completed the Nature of Prejudice sequence and those who completed a semester of United

States history. Although there was a difference between the posttest attitude index scores of the control and experimental groups, the amount was not large enough to be significant at the .05 level. The hypothesis, therefore, could not be rejected.

### Findings

The following findings resulted from the data generated at the beginning of the experimental period.

The scores of both the experimental and control groups revealed a positive attitude toward all ethnic minorities.

Native Americans were most favored by both experimental and control group students.

Students who chose to enroll in the Nature of Prejudice sequence were significantly more positive in their attitudes toward ethnic minorities than students who selected an alternate course of study not directly concerned with racial problems.

Experimental group students had significantly more favorable attitudes toward Native Americans and Blacks than control group students.

Within the experimental group, those students who chose the Native American Studies class had a greater preference for Native Americans than other experimental group students or control group students.

From the data generated at the end of the experimental period, and from their comparison with pretest data, we conclude that:

Over the period of the 18 week Nature of Prejudice sequence, there was a downward change i. e., in the direction of a less favorable attitude, in the mean attitude index score of the entire experimental group. The change was not statistically significant and the posttest scores still point to a highly positive attitude toward the three ethnic groups.

Control group students exhibited virtually no change in their attitudes toward ethnic minorities.

The differences in attitude which existed between control and experimental groups at the beginning of the experimental period decreased so that at the end of the period they were no longer significant.

### Interpretations and Conclusions

Three of the above findings merit comment, and, indeed, require an explanation.

The finding that the students who elected to participate in the Nature of Prejudice sequence were significantly more favorable in their attitudes than control group students before the experiment began must be examined. One possible explanation of the higher initial positive scores of experimental group students may be due to

a reactive effect of testing. Experimental group students were aware of the special circumstances under which the Nature of Prejudice sequence was created and of their somewhat special status as students in the class.

A more likely explanation of the finding hinges on the fact of self-selection of students into the special classes. Given the opportunity, students tend to study about subjects toward which they are positively inclined. The investigator strongly suspects that the basic motivation of students electing the Nature of Prejudice sequence was not to cast themselves in the role of devil's advocate, but rather to reinforce an already present interest in and positive attitude toward ethnic minorities.

A second finding revealed in the pretest is the strikingly positive attitude toward Native Americans. Several factors may explain this phenomenon. Indians have always held a fascination for white Americans. In the last century this fascination was mixed with fear, but that fear has long since disappeared from present day thinking. Ever since the discovery of the New World, writers have surrounded Indians with an aura of romanticism. The present emphasis on ecology and interest in living in harmony with nature has reinforced this image.

Numerically, Indians are the smallest of the ethnic groups and pose no economic threat to the white, middle class person. Except

for the relatively small disturbances at Alcatraz and Wounded Knee, Indians have not been the focal point of civic unrest as have Blacks. Neither do they pose the economic threat which the low paid Chicano migrant workers represent to some segments of the American population.

The major finding of the study i. e., that taking a course of study about prejudice and racism resulted in a slightly less favorable attitude toward minority groups, could lead us to a general conclusion that any such course about prejudice and racism would produce a negative effect upon the attitudes of high school students toward ethnic minorities. This conclusion from the objective data runs directly counter to a substantial body of subjective data gathered during the experimental period. At the conclusion of the Nature of Prejudice project at Crescent Valley High School, the overwhelming consensus of those who participated in the project and of those who were aware of it, was that it was highly successful. These opposing pieces of data must be reconciled.

There are at least two possible explanations for the negative change in the attitudes of experimental group students. The first is connected to the structure of the scale itself and to the extremely high initial scores posted by the students.

The nature of a Thurstone scale is such that a 'neutral' attitude is indicated at the midpoint of the scale--5 in our case. A 'completely

positive' score, however, does not lie at the extreme point of the scale. By 'completely positive' we refer to the score resulting from agreement only with all statements having a scale value of 5 or above. The resulting score will therefore be the mean score of the positive statements. In the present case the 'completely positive' value for the attitude inventory as a whole is 7.0 and the comparable subscores for Blacks, Native Americans and Chicanos are 6.9, 7.0 and 7.1 respectively.

Higher scores than these could be achieved only by a process of selection i. e., by failing to agree with statements which, though positive in nature, carried lower score values. An increase in the mean score does not necessarily imply less prejudice. Conversely, a drop in the mean score does not necessarily imply an increase in prejudice.

Arithmetically, scores will be lowered by agreeing with lower valued statements which were excluded before, or by substituting agreement with lower valued statements for higher valued ones. Since the average number of statements agreed with in pretests and posttests remained remarkably constant, students must therefore have agreed with a different subset of statements. (See Table 8.) Specifically, students must have failed to agree with some higher valued statements with which they had agreed before or, conversely, agreed with some lower valued statements with which they had not agreed before.

The observed decreases in the mean scores of the experimental

Table 8. Number of pretest and posttest statements agreed with by experimental and control group students.

	Control				Experimental			
	AI	BI	NA	Ch	AI	BI	NA	Ch
Pretest	15.7	5.8	4.5	5.4	16.0	5.8	4.8	5.4
Posttest	15.7	5.7	4.5	5.4	15.6	5.7	4.8	5.2

groups were numerically small and statistically not significant.

Though the lower scores do not brand the students as prejudiced, they do indicate some change in attitude. The author argues that this may not have been a change in attitude toward ethnic minorities but rather a cognitive change about the concept of prejudice.

A second possible explanation, then, for the decrease in the attitude index is connected to the students' understanding of the concept of stereotyping. It is possible that as the course progressed, students came to realize that prejudice was tantamount to pre-judging people on the basis of their membership in a group rather than as individuals. They may have become more sensitive to generalizations and to stereotypic statements. This represents an increase in sophistication on the part of the students. As a result of the new insights they became wary of statements which, whether positive or negative in nature, tended to 'lump together' all members of a group.

Moreover, having accepted the view that members of minority races were individuals, the students were more ready to see these

individuals possessed not only of virtues but also of shortcomings. They realized that not all Indians could find their way in a forest, and that "If I went on a hunting trip I would much prefer to have an Indian guide than a white guide" was stereotyping and therefore reflected a prejudiced attitude.

The new sophistication resulted in changed reactions to some of the statements. An analysis of the responses to some of the statements showed this effect. Statements as the one cited showed a definite decrease in the frequency of 'agree' and a consequent increase in 'no opinion' and 'disagree' as between the pretest and the posttest.

In contradistinction, statements like "Black people prefer to live among their own kind even if it is in a ghetto" which students rejected before as negative, showed a larger number of agreements in the posttest than in the pretest.

Corroborating the above speculation is the fact that the shift in the composition of the responses took place only in the experimental group. The control group which did not have the benefit of the new insight continued to react to the statements in a naively 'unprejudiced' fashion.

Another possible explanation for the decrease in the scores from pretest to posttest in the experimental groups hinges not on the inferred increase in the sophistication of the students but rather, on the reaction of the students to the members of the various ethnic groups they

met. Support for this explanation comes from the fact that only in the case of the Black subscore for experimental group I students was there an increase from pretest to posttest. In all other cases the posttest subscores decreased and in the case of the total Native American subscore, the decrease was statistically significant at the .05 level. (See Table 4, P. 60.)

Students reacted to the ethnic teachers as individuals. The ethnic teachers differed both individually and as members of their ethnic groups, in their personalities and teaching styles. The Native American teachers as a group were quite different from the black teachers as a group.

All of the black teachers were well versed in the details of the Black Movement, and each was capable of presenting talks on various aspects of Black history and literature. One of the teachers was a senior student in education, one blossomed as a 'natural born' teacher and subsequently entered the teacher training program, while a third had extensive experience speaking to and working with young people. Each of them had a definite and forceful personality and the high school students generally reacted positively to all of them.

The Native American teachers presented quite a different aspect to the students. None of the Native Americans was particularly knowledgeable about Indian culture or history other than that pertaining to his or her immediate tribe. The one Native American woman

was a freshman student, typically quiet and retiring in the school situation. The male Native American teacher was possessed of a rather reserved, authoritarian personality and experienced some difficulty in establishing rapport with the high school students. His background and interests were in a biological field and he became quite uneasy at his inability to carry on discussions that were historical or literary in nature. Neither of the Native American teachers was very knowledgeable about the American Indian movement outside of Oregon and Washington.

Since no attempt was made during the project to assess the effectiveness of the individual teachers, the foregoing comments must be taken as strictly speculative. However, several of the research studies discussed previously indicate that many variables must be considered when racial attitudes are investigated. In real life situations as distinct from simulations such as Linn's and Cook's experiments, the factors of individual personalities and psychological makeup exert powerful influences over cognitive experiences.

#### Suggestions for Further Research

Further research is needed on the effect of schools on racial attitudes. Studies which examine the influence of teachers, curriculum materials, activities, etc. should be undertaken in both racially mixed and homogeneous areas. Studies which are longitudinal in

nature would be especially valuable. A study which would present methodological difficulties, but be extremely interesting, would be to examine the changes in racial attitude which occur in children whose families move rather regularly from one geographic area to another.

Much additional research needs to be done on the influence which special curricula have on racial attitude formation and the persistence of racially prejudiced attitudes. Replications of this study in areas of differing densities of ethnic populations are especially needed. Particular attention should be given to an attempt to verify the author's speculation that a major influence of a course of study about prejudice is to change the attitude of students regarding what prejudice is as well as their attitude to specific ethnic group members. A study which focuses on the influence which 'cognitive' knowledge has on 'affective' feelings would indicate whether acquiring objective knowledge about different kinds of people has any real effect upon attitudes which are largely rooted in emotion.

An important contribution to research about racial attitudes would be studies investigating the many psychological factors which foster or inhibit attitude change. Discovering the relationship between these psychological dimensions and the organization of schools, the training of teachers and school curricula would shed much light on the processes of attitude change.

Behavioral studies in the field of race relations have presented

problems difficult to overcome. Behavioral data could be gathered using simulations e.g., Starpower. Comparative studies could be made after the games have been 'run' by leaders of different ethnic groups. Comparisons of results in areas with and without ethnic minority populations would be most interesting.

A present deterrent to research in the area of racial attitudes is the lack of up-to-date instruments for assessing racial attitudes toward any specific ethnic minority. There are no specific tests of attitudes toward Native Americans or Chicanos. Those tests which exist relative to Blacks or minorities in general, contain stilted, old fashioned language. The existing projective tests, similarly, contain dated photographs or sketches. Research directed at constructing short, easily administered tests of both specific attitudes and general racial attitudes would do much to advance research in the entire field.

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## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX 1

O S U  
Corvallis, Oregon 97331

OREGON STATE UNIVERSITY  
Office of Educational Opportunities

May 22, 1972

TO: Keith Goldhammer, Dean, School of Education, Oregon  
State University

FROM: M. Orzech, Academic Coordinator, Educational  
Opportunities Program  
I. Blok, Crescent Valley High School, Social Studies  
Teacher

SUBJECT: Ethnic Studies Teaching Project at Crescent Valley High  
School

**BACKGROUND:**

For the past three years the Educational Opportunities Program staff has continually received requests to speak at or to provide student speakers for all levels of the public school system in this immediate area. Typically, the students who have participated in these sessions give one of two responses when asked to evaluate their experience: either they feel that the time was well spent as one means of "exposing" sheltered Corvallis children to ethnic minority students; or, that the experience was generally frustrating because the time limitations prevented discussions of any great depth.

This particular project developed from conversations between Ilene Blok, the only Crescent Valley instructor presently teaching ethnic studies classes and myself regarding the value of these experiences for both the student speakers and the high school students. It was, and is our opinion that both groups of students will derive great benefit from this project.

There is clear indication that Corvallis high school students as a group want, and will respond positively to, ethnic studies courses as well as interaction with ethnic students. The Jefferson High School student exchange program is an example of the latter and the increasing number of students electing ethnic courses at Crescent Valley High School is an example of the former.

TO: Dean Keith Goldhammer, cont.

The growing number and variety of requests for ethnic speakers and the positive responses of the public school students and teachers clearly delineates an unmet need for ethnic teachers and courses in the public schools. The project described below can be regarded as a pilot program which responds to this need.

PROJECT:

A selected number of Black, Chicano and Native American students will participate in the planning and actual teaching of a general survey course and a specific course in each of three ethnic studies areas. Each student, in conjunction with the high school teacher and the E.O.P. Academic Coordinator will participate in ALL of the following activities:

1. Definition of the course objectives for both the survey class and a specific ethnic class.
2. Planning of classroom activities to implement the course objectives.
3. Selection of required reading and resource materials.
4. Daily involvement in all classroom activities for as much of the term as possible. (Conflicts between the public school calendar and that of O.S.U. will be resolved individually by all concerned.)
5. Preparation of a written report concerning how effectively the project objectives have been achieved.
6. A weekly seminar for the length of the project. Topics discussed will include on-going evaluations of teaching materials and methods, student responses to activities, ways to improve courses. Students will be held responsible for collateral reading in ethnic studies.

Note: In determining the specifics of each course, consideration will be given to the expressed desires of the Crescent Valley students as well as the capabilities and interests of each student teacher.

TO: Dean Keith Goldhammer, cont.

The tentative listing of ethnic studies courses projected at C.V.H.S. for the 1972-1973 academic year is as follows:

1st. 9 weeks: The Nature of Prejudice (Prerequisite for any of the following courses. Probably will be repeated during the 2nd. and 3rd. terms.)

2nd. 9 weeks: Black studies

3rd. 9 weeks: Chicano studies (this order is tentative)

4th. 9 weeks: Native American studies

#### CREDIT FOR PROJECT PARTICIPANTS:

We expect that most of the students who participate in the teaching project will be registered in the School of Education. However, since we do not wish to restrict the project to only those students, it is necessary that some rather flexible method of assigning credit to the participant be developed. For education majors the following is thought to be appropriate:

Educ. 407 Seminar: one hour each term, fall, winter and spring.

Educ. 406 Project: three hours fall, winter or spring term; to be taken concurrently with the teaching experience at Crescent Valley High School.

Each student will register in the 407 class fall, winter and spring terms. In addition, each student will register for the 406 class in whichever terms the actual teaching is in progress. If appropriate, the same arrangement can be available under the Liberal Studies designation or in whichever academic department in the School of H. & S.S. is most useful to the student.

#### BENEFITS DERIVED FROM THE PROJECT:

1. College educated ethnic minority students will often be called upon to act as spokesmen for their ethnic group. This project will provide comprehensive experience in that role.

TO: Dean Keith Goldhammer, cont.

2. For those students planning a career in teaching, this project will be a good introduction to student teaching. It is particularly important that the experience be in the student's ethnic group. Since it is unlikely in the near future that the typical public school outside the major urban center in this state will have more than one ethnic teacher on its staff, any ethnic teacher will automatically be assigned to teach the ethnic studies courses.
3. Current practice in the School of Education is to provide prospective teachers with as much exposure to public school processes as early as possible in their training. This project will implement that philosophy as well as contribute to the already extensive cooperative efforts between the School of Education and the Corvallis Public Schools.
4. In an insular community such as Corvallis, this teaching experience will provide extensive opportunities for positive interaction between ethnic students and students from the majority culture.
5. The evaluation of the daily teaching experiences and the final results of this project should prove invaluable to the School of Education as it prepares to comply with the new Board of Education directive regarding preparing teachers to teach ethnic minority children with both competence, effectiveness and sympathy.
6. The Office of Educational Opportunities, in initiating this project, hopes that a series of cooperative ventures will follow which will give substance to the Educational Opportunities Program while at the same time it supports the work of the School of Education.
7. Additionally, it should not be overlooked that this project will contribute very naturally to O.S.U.'s efforts toward affirmative action.

TO: Dean Keith Goldhammer, cont.

FEASIBILITY:

Formal expressions of support and pledges of cooperation have already been given by the following people interested in the success of this project:

1. Mr. Robert Payne, Principal, Crescent Valley High School
2. Humanities Department, Crescent Valley High School
3. Dr. Stuart Knapp, Dean of Undergraduate Studies, Oregon State University
4. Mr. Lonnie B. Harris, Director, Office of Educational Opportunities, Oregon State University
5. Educational Opportunities Program staff.

PROJECTED COSTS:

Since the classes are part of the regular curriculum of C.V.H.S., all necessary teaching materials will be supplied by C.V.H.S. The problem of transportation, specifically, getting the student-teachers to and from C.V.H.S. is complicated by lack of public transportation, cars and licensed drivers. The School of Education should underwrite the use of state cars in the same manner that is already available to students in Education 111.

MWO/pe

## APPENDIX 2

BELOW ARE 45 STATEMENTS OF MANY DIFFERENT VIEWPOINTS ABOUT ETHNIC GROUPS. YOU ARE ASKED TO RESPOND TO EACH STATEMENT. THE BEST RESPONSE IS YOUR OWN PERSONAL OPINION. YOU MAY AGREE STRONGLY WITH SOME STATEMENTS, DISAGREE JUST AS STRONGLY WITH OTHERS, AND PERHAPS BE UNCERTAIN ABOUT OTHERS. WHETHER YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH ANY STATEMENT, YOU CAN BE SURE THAT MANY OTHER PEOPLE FEEL THE SAME WAY THAT YOU DO.

PLEASE PLACE AN "X" IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX NEXT TO EACH STATEMENT TO INDICATE WHETHER YOU AGREE, DISAGREE OR HAVE NO OPINION.

1. It is all right to have Black students in my classes but I would rather not date one of them.
2. Most of today's urban problems can be directly traced to the tremendous influx of southern Blacks to the northern cities.
3. It is surprising to me that any Indian still trusts what white people say.
4. It took great courage for blacks in the South to participate in civil rights demonstrations.
5. I might consider dating an Indian but I would never consider marrying one.
6. Special Federal programs such as the Job Corps or Upward Bound are mostly used by Blacks because they can't or won't help themselves.
7. Mexican-Americans tend to have large numbers of children.
8. When Mexican-Americans move into a neighborhood, property values begin to go down.
9. It is not their fault that most Indians are desperately poor.
10. Despite great outside pressure, the Indians have always tried to preserve the positive values of their culture.

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11. Mexican-American migrant workers harvest much of America's fruit and vegetable crops.
12. I would not object to a Black family living next door to me.
13. Black people prefer to live among their own kind even if it is in a ghetto.
14. Blacks are not fully represented in highly skilled jobs because they have been systematically denied access to apprentice training and union membership.
15. Indians love nature but don't really understand how to use or care for it as white people do.
16. The best thing that could happen to the Indians today would be for the government to leave them completely alone.
17. Mexican-Americans/Chicanos are so used to poor living conditions that they wouldn't know how to care for or appreciate nice things if they had them.
18. Black men commit more crimes than white men because they are naturally more violent.
19. Indians are generally shiftless and lazy.
20. In the area of foods, the Mexican-American culture has made a substantial contribution to the culture of the United States.
21. Keeping the Indians on their reservations is in their own best interests. They just can't cope with the complex modern world.
22. There is no reason why black and white people cannot live and work together without friction.
23. Oftentimes a Black person is arrested for something while a white person will get off with a warning after doing the very same thing.
24. Black households are often headed by women.

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25. Mexican-Americans can point with pride to a long and rich cultural tradition.
26. I might consider dating a Mexican-American, but I would never consider marrying one.
27. Mexican-Americans, having two languages to use and two cultures to draw upon, have a richer cultural heritage than most Americans.
28. Indians prefer to live among their own people even if it is on a poor reservation.
29. I would not object to a Mexican-American family living next door to me.
30. Black people today are employed in an increasing variety of occupations.
31. Even though they had inferior weapons and were greatly outnumbered, the Indians showed great military skill.
32. There is no basic difference between the black and white race.
33. I would rather not go out on a date with a Mexican-American.
34. Even when the Blacks have the opportunity to go to good schools they just don't measure up to white achievement levels.
35. Having a Mexican-American as a college roommate would be just fine with me.
36. Mexican-American men exercise great control over their women.
37. If Mexican-Americans and whites lived in the same circumstances, they would each produce the same numbers of good and bad people.
38. There is no point in paying a good salary to an Indian because he wouldn't know how to manage the money anyway.
39. Black people sometimes have been treated unfairly by our court system.

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40. Respect for elders is a highly regarded virtue in the Mexican-American culture.
41. Having an Indian roommate in college would be perfectly all right with me.
42. Even if an Indian were a licensed physician, I would prefer to be treated by a white physician if one were available.
43. Most Mexican-Americans would much rather do nothing than work.
44. The Indians bravely defended their homes and families against the white invaders.
45. If I went on a hunting trip I would much prefer to have an Indian guide than a white guide.



## Appendix 3

	No				No		
	Agree	Opinion	Disagree		Agree	Opinion	Disagree
1				24			
2				25			
3				26			
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