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FIVE COLLEGE DEPOSITORY

CROSSING THE COLOR LINE

A comparative analysis of white student attitudes
toward self and minorities

A Dissertation Presented

By

DRUCILLE H. STAFFORD

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

February 1986

CROSSING THE COLOR LINE


A comparative analysis of white student attitudes toward
self and minorities

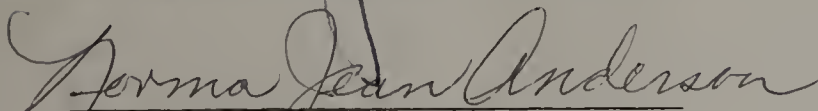
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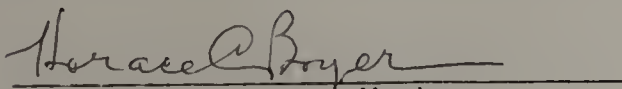
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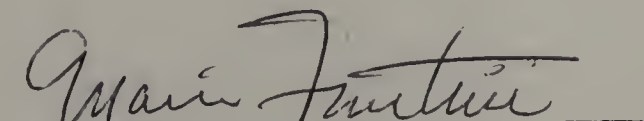
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To my mother, Eleise Moore who always made me expect the best of myself and started me on the path that led to the completion of this goal.

ABSTRACT

CROSSING THE COLOR LINE: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF
WHITE STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD SELF AND MINORITIES

February, 1986

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The purpose of the study was to examine, analyze, and compare attitudes of white students in Montgomery County, Maryland public schools who were bused for school desegregation with white students from contiguous residential areas of similar socio-economic status who were not bused for school desegregation. Attitudes of self-concept, racial attitudes toward Blacks, and school were weighed. The racial attitudes separated themselves into two distinct factors, liberalism (having, expressing, or following views or policies that favor the

freedom of individuals to act or express themselves in a manner of their own choosing) and social activism (causing or initiating social action or change).

The data was collected by testing 211 students who were in grades seven, eight, and nine. Data was analyzed by sex, grade level, busing, and years bused for school desegregation. The data is included in tabular form in the study.

The findings in self-concept did not reveal any significant differences related to busing. The findings in racial attitudes toward Blacks showed that girls were more liberal toward Blacks than were boys, and that boys who were bused for school desegregation were more social activists than any other sub-group. The findings on attitudes toward school showed no significant differences related to busing.

The recommendations include future studies to determine the relationship between sex and attitudes toward Blacks. There is also a need to repeat this study with another population to determine whether or not the findings are consistent in other geographic and socio-economic areas.

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C H A P T E R I

INTRODUCTION

Despite the fact that in 1954 the Supreme Court declared the "separate but equal" doctrine unconstitutional, the majority of Black and white students continued to attend segregated public schools (Bentley, 1981). While economic or class differences were more than significant factors mitigating against desegregation, restrictive housing covenants, politically motivated geographic boundaries and the emergence of private and parochial schools designed to avoid desegregation demonstrated the presence of deep seated racial prejudice (Bentley, 1982; McClendon & Pestello, 1982).

Discussions regarding the advantages and disadvantages of desegregation have received a great deal of attention before and especially since the 1954 Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (Kansas) decision (Marcus & Sheehan, 1978). Advantages and disadvantages include these benefits of desegregation for Black students: the increase in achievement levels when Blacks have been bused for desegregation, the positive self

concepts of Blacks as the result of busing, the attitudes of Black students toward school as a result of desegregation and numerous tangential issues (Bell, 1981; Bentley, 1982; Miller, 1979; Weissbach, 1977). For example, in the influential 1972 study by Jencks (p. 31), it was stated:

Many people believe on the basis of scanty evidence that exposing children to people unlike themselves helps to develop tolerance and understanding They assume this will be a good thing for society in the long run, even if it increases tension in the short run. We know no way to judge the validity of the latter argument.

This statement epitomizes the ideas of many people with regard to the issue of desegregation (Bogardus, 1967; Patchen, 1982). Interestingly, empirical studies regarding the attitudinal affects of desegregation on white students are in short supply, to say the least, and those that do exist are those with white students in the majority (Bennett, 1981; Miller, 1979; Weinberger, 1975).

Problem Statement

This research will address student attitudes with a view towards explicating possible differences between white students whose initial school experience, kindergarten through second grade, occurred in a segregated or mono-racial setting with those white students whose initial school experience took place in an integrated or bi-racial environment.

Hence, the major hypothesis of this study evolves around the assumption that white students, whose initial school experience included an integrated school environment, possess a greater constellation of positive attitudes toward themselves and minority students than those white students whose initial school experience occurred in a segregated school setting (Patchen, 1982; St. John, 1975; Weinberg, 1977).

Definition of Terms

Attitude - a predisposition to respond toward a person, idea, or object in a particular way

Behavior - the actions or reactions of persons under specified circumstances

Bethesda Chevy Chase feeder school - the elementary and middle schools whose students attend Bethesda Chevy Chase High School

Black - a member of an ethnic group having dark skin: especially Negroid

Desegregate - to abolish racial segregation

Extended family - spouse, children and other relatives related by blood or marriage

Integrated school - a school where 40% or more of the student body consist of Black students

Liberal - having, expressing, or following views or policies that favor the freedom of individuals to act or express themselves in a manner of their own choosing

Magnet school - school with an exemplary educational program that will result in the voluntary integration of the students enrolled

Prejudicial Behavior - manifestation of discriminatory behavior toward other racial groups

Racism - the notion that one's own racial stock is superior

Segregated school - a school where 39% or less of the student body consist of Black students

Self-concept - attitudes that are dependent upon feelings about self. "The individual as known to the individual" (Rosenberg 1967, p.27).

Social activist - causing or initiating social action or change

Social class - stratum whose members share similar economic, political, and cultural characteristics

Social distance - the comfort level a person experiences with the proximity of another person

Value - a principle, standard, or quality considered worthwhile or desirable

White - a member of an ethnic group having comparatively pale complexion: specifically Caucasian

General Background Information

There exists in our society a vocal group of people who speak loudly in favor of segregated institutions for students (Bell, 1980; Holtzman, 1972; Jencks, 1972). This group comes from varying economic strata. The voices come not only from rural and blue collar workers, but also from some of the most affluent neighborhoods in the country (Burgess, 1981). Some of these proponents view segregation in terms of social class elitism (Bentley, 1982). This group is interested in their children associating with children of their class structure. Social class elitists are in the minority of vocal segregationists because their view is not always

supported by their own kind (Popper & Brandt, 1982; Shapiro, 1982; Tatel, 1982).

In opposition to the segregationists in this society, there are also persons who espouse desegregation. In Weinberg's (1977) Chance to Learn he stated: "millions of minority parents and children are self-aware of their rights and increasingly skilled in contending for those rights. The schools cannot long resist such a momentous fact" (p. 363). Most desegregationists, both Black and white, feel that it is to the benefit of all children to attend desegregated schools. It has been agreed that since we live in a multi-ethnic society, students need to be introduced to all segments that comprise our culture as early in life as possible to avoid forming irreversible bias regarding racial or ethnic groups (Banks, 1969; Bentley, 1982; Sachedeva, 1972). In addition to these reasons for desegregation, research indicates that schools with majority white populations have the greatest amount of fiscal resources, smaller class sizes, more senior staff, and students who come to school from home environments that instill a motivation for learning (Bentley, 1982; Weissbach, 1977). There is a dearth of studies assessing

the attitudes of white students in desegregated school settings and they are almost nonexistent when white students were in the minority (Patchen, 1982).

A history of desegregation and the subsequent busing for student desegregation also requires in-depth research. The history of desegregation, the effects of school busing, and the development of magnet schools as a desegregation tool all have an impact on this study since this author will be examining the attitudes of white students who were bused for school integration to a magnet school in a minority community. Weinberg (1977) states that the strongest white anti-busing proponents are those who never objected to a Black child getting on a bus and traveling many miles past segregated white schools to arrive at the local Black school. The anti-busing contingency feels secure busing Black students for segregation but vehemently opposes the transportation of white students for integration (Bentley, 1982). Until the 1971 Swann v. Mecklenberg Board of Education (Swann) decision, the courts had not addressed the issue of busing for integration. However, following the Swann decision, where busing for integration was held constitutional, whites demonstrated violent opposition to

it. There was no way to anticipate the unpopularity of this decision at that time since only 42.1% of this nation's students walked to school (Weinberg, 1977). The connotation of busing after Swann meant more than transportation and busing became an inflammatory rallying cry for segregationists (Bentley, 1982). Suddenly, the neighborhood school became a sacred symbol. It mattered not how decayed the facility or how antiquated the instructional materials. The neighborhood school began to symbolize homogeneity and school propinquity (McClendon & Pestello, 1982; Weissbach, 1977). The country began to look at ways of making busing palatable through the delivery of exemplar education at the end of the bus line. Magnet schools became a popular option of how to provide this (Levine, & Moore, 1976).

Limitations of the Study

This research will examine the attitudes of white students who initially attended integrated schools in comparison to the attitudes of white students whose initial school experiences were in segregated school environments. More specifically the research will examine the current attitudes held by the white students who attended Rosemary Hills Elementary School, Montgomery County Public Schools, Maryland, and were bused for integration during the 1975-1979 school years. Their attitudes will be contrasted with those of white students, who lived in economically comparable and contiguous census tracts, but were not bused for integration. The students in the study must attend Montgomery County Public Schools and must have continuously attended the Bethesda Chevy-Chase high school cluster elementary schools.

Order of Presentation

Chapter Two reviews selected literature as it relates to school desegregation and methods used for school integration in Montgomery County, Maryland.

Chapter Three reviews selected literature on the general development of attitudes and their measurement.

Chapter Four consists of methodological issues for the design of the study. This includes the attitude measurement instruments including strengths, problems, and shortcomings.

Chapter Five explains the findings, summary, and conclusions of the research. Chapter Six explores the recommendations for further study as a result of this study.

C H A P T E R I I

PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: SELECTED HISTORY OF LEGAL AND JUDICIARY PRECEDENTS

Introduction

Although the history of public school desegregation predated the 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson Supreme Court decision, that decision may be regarded as putting into motion legal and judiciary forces that eventually led to its reversal in 1954. While the focus of Plessy v. Ferguson was on equal access of the races to interstate transportation, it legalized separate but equal facilities for Blacks (Bell, 1980; Reuther, 1982; Sullivan, 1972). The consequence of this decision was that it influenced state legislatures throughout the southern and border states to institutionalize the already existing segregated, but not equal facilities including separate educational facilities for Blacks (Jewell, 1976; Posilkin, 1979).

In general, this 1896 Supreme Court decision severely compromised the Emancipation Proclamation which freed Blacks from bondage during the Civil War in that it was responsible for systematically disenfranchising

Blacks for the next 60 years. With respect to public education, it served as the legal foundation for separate but unequal school systems until it was reversed by Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (Brown) in 1954. The Court held: "that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place" (Bell, 1980 p. 92). Brown consisted of four separate cases (Bell, 1980). In the first case that constituted part of the Brown decision, and the originator of the name that identifies all of the cases, facilities were regarded as equal, but the charge was that segregation per se was socially and psychologically damaging to children. The second case, Gebhart v. Belton, a Delaware case, alleged that substantial inequalities exist with separate schools for white and Black students. The third and fourth cases Briggs v. Elliott (1955) from South Carolina and Davis v. County School Board from Virginia were cases in which equal facilities were sought. A fifth case identified with Brown, is Bolling v. Sharp (1954) a Washington, DC case, where the contention was that Congress was not adhering to the Fifth Amendment by supporting segregation (Drury & Ray, 1965). The decisions, even though delivered at the same time, were

judicially separate. The first four cases involved the states and the Fourteenth Amendment. The Fourteenth Amendment states that the Negro is a citizen of both the United States and the state in which he lives. Therefore he could not be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; whereas Bolling v. Sharp (1954) involved the Congress and the Fifth amendment. The Fifth amendment states that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. The Supreme Court in considering these cases felt that social, psychological, and intangible factors other than educational facilities were at issue (Wilkinson, 1979). The Supreme Court overturned the lower court decisions in the cases that constituted Brown and held the same in Bolling v. Sharp (1954) since the Court felt it could not impose decisions on the states that it would not impose on the federal government. With these decisions, it was affirmed that neither the states nor the federal government could discriminate against school children on the basis of race (Zirkel, 1978).

Separate Schools In The State Of Maryland

Maryland was one state that began the education of Black students prior to Plessy v. Ferguson (1896).

Jewell (1976) cites the history of Maryland's separate but equal schools:

The 1872 (Maryland) Legislature repealed, amended and re-enacted the School Law of the State with the significant addition of Chapter XVIII, 'Schools for Colored Children'. This required the opening in each election district of one school. . . for all colored youth between six and twenty years of age (p.61).

The average daily attendance had to be at least fifteen students for the school to be maintained. The laws governing school operations and curriculum for colored children would be the same as in schools for other students. The funding for colored schools was from specific state monies designated for that purpose along with additional taxation of colored persons that was used to supplement state funding.

Prior to 1872, most Black students were denied an education in Maryland. With this newly enacted legislation, there were 210 Black schools serving 12,000 students in the state of Maryland by 1874 (Jewell, 1976).

Montgomery County Desegregation History

It is difficult to determine when separate schools for Black students were established in Montgomery County. Local Board of Education records suggest that they were established prior to 1872 (Jewell, 1976). Even at that early historical period, Montgomery County was on the leading edge of educational philosophy in the state. These early records indicate that the first Black school in the state was established and funded by Quakers in a section of the County known as Sandy Spring.

In August 1872, following state guidelines, the local School Board opened five schools for colored students, one in each of its election districts. In 1874 the expansion of colored schools began, and by 1880 there were 23 colored schools, which expanded to 32 by 1909 with the enrollment at some being high enough to require two teachers (Jewell, 1976). Montgomery County continued the practice of separate but equal schools until ended by the Supreme Court ruling of 1954. Following the Court decision, the Board of Education established a bi-racial

advisory committee to begin the process of desegregating schools. In less than two weeks, the committee was disbanded until the state amended its legislation regarding the legality of separate but equal. Montgomery County began integration in 1954 by closing four elementary schools, formerly for colored students. Black students from these schools were sent to previously all white schools. The systematic closing of colored schools continued until June of 1961 with the closing of George Washington Carver High School, the last segregated school in the County.

Methods of School Integration

Freedom of Choice

Freedom of choice was the predominant means utilized for integration of schools in the south (Ruether, 1982; Zirkel, 1978). School officials in districts using freedom of choice placed the burden of integration on Black students who were required to choose to attend a white school.

Freedom of choice was held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in Green v. County School Board (1968) (Wilkinson, 1979). This case involved New Kent County, Virginia, a 50% Black school district, which had used only freedom of choice to achieve integration. In 1968, 85% percent of the Black students in New Kent County were still attending the all Black school. The Court found this unconstitutional and ordered the school district to develop an effective desegregation plan (Zirkel, 1978).

Busing

There are several Supreme Court decisions that led to busing for school integration. The first was the interpretation of Green v. County School Board (1968) followed by the decision rendered in Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg, Board of Education, (1971) (Swann) a North Carolina case, where the Court held that a school district may require busing to a school other than the one closest to the student's home to achieve desegregation. In rendering this decision the Supreme

Court never anticipated the extent of the opposition against compulsory busing for integration but the Court, at the time of the Swann decision, had been hearing seventeen years of avoidance of Brown and felt that some stronger measures had to be taken (Wilkinson, 1979). The other major busing decision occurred during the same year. McDaniel v. Barresi (1971) involved Clark County, Georgia, where the School Board was mandated to take whatever steps necessary, including busing, to end vestiges of the dual school system because this school system had previously operated a dual school system (Zirkel, 1978).

By the early 1970s, 65% of all school children in the nation were being transported to schools. At this time, busing was not designed to integrate schools but to transport students to school. Busing did not become controversial until it was expanded into the northern states and was seen as a way to overcome the effects of previous discrimination (Bentley, 1982). Busing was opposed for many reasons, but the primary ones had to do with: (a) class conflict, (b) parents not having immediate access to a school out of their immediate

community, (c) elimination of the neighborhood school, (d) lack of control over school program, and finally (e) the ratio of Blacks at the end of the bus line (Bentley, 1982).

Magnet Schools

Magnet schools became a popular way to desegregate schools in the north. White parents became resistant to school integration under conditions where Blacks were a significant portion of the student population (Alston & Crouch, 1978). The magnet school concept was one method of integration whose foundations were not based solely on judicial mandate. The advantages of magnet schools were in the incentives provided for students to voluntarily attend (Levine & Eubanks, 1980). Some incentives were: (a) increased materials, (b) smaller classes, (c) highly qualified staff, and (d) special programs. McMillan (1980, p. 8) gives several definitions of magnet schools:

The federal courts have defined magnet schools as those having a 'distinctive program of study' that will attract a voluntary cross section of students from all racial groups. Federal regulations define them as those with a 'special curriculum' capable of attracting

substantial numbers of students of different racial backgrounds. Educators have defined them as schools offering a 'variety of educational offerings' that will result in voluntary integration of the students enrolled.

In Keys v. School District No. 1, Denver, Colorado (1973), magnet schools were used as a remedy for previous desegregation and the Supreme Court upheld this remediation (McMillan, 1980; Zirkel, 1978). This was followed by a federal court decision in Boston, in 1975, ordering the school system to develop magnet schools to enable integration of the city's schools.

Magnet schools were seen as a way to develop integration plans without the stigma that forced busing had fostered (McMillan, 1980). Magnet schools were a particularly valuable tool in large school districts since they could draw on a large diverse population (Bentley, 1982). Many authors have opinions on what factors create effective magnet schools. Some of the factors mentioned are: (a) systemwide administrative support, (b) outstanding leadership from building administrators, (c) attractive facilities, (d) active recruitment, (e) resources, (f) planning time, (g) low pupil-teacher ratio, (h) systemwide policy on admissions,

(i) parent involvement, and (j) alternative programs (Franklin, 1977; Levine & Moore, 1976; Levine & Eubanks, 1980; McMillan, 1980).

Even though magnet schools have had a positive effect on school desegregation, they have been most effective when they are a part of broader integration effort (Levine & Moore, 1976; McMillan, 1980). Evaluations of most programs thus far indicate that parents feel supportive of and believe in the magnet school concept (Stanley, 1982). Although magnet schools located in the Black community generally fail to attract large numbers of white students, they are now in operation in many school districts nationally and are making an impact on both voluntary and mandatory school desegregation (Bentley, 1982).

Desegregation - Montgomery County, Maryland 1970's

In 1974, two unrelated events started the movement towards magnet schools as a voluntary desegregation alternative in Montgomery County, Maryland. The events began with a population shift in the late 1960s. The

southern area of Montgomery County which borders on the northern most tip of Washington, DC witnessed the beginnings of a rapid change in population. A major cultural infusion took place as political refugees from Cuba and other immigrants began moving into the county along with large numbers of Blacks from the District of Columbia and rural northern Montgomery County. The immigrants shared the usual dilemma of learning a new language, living with a different value system, finding employment, housing, and education for their children. Many of these refugees came from affluent, well educated families in their own countries. However, the inability to speak English handicapped them in terms of being able to use the skills they had brought with them to support their families (Sorensen, 1974).

Moderately priced and multi-family housing was most available in this southern portion of Montgomery County, which, in turn influenced the newcomers to settle in this geographic area. Their housing quickly became overcrowded as both refugees and the new Black population began the practice of extended family living. Also, these new arrivees were in competition for housing with

many residents from the northern section of Montgomery County whose homes had been razed or condemned for new developments. The communities and schools became quickly aware of their changing populations and formerly all white schools were experiencing a change in both language and color of their clientele (Leet, 1974).

One of the first county-wide impacts of this population change was the formation of a community based agency to serve the needs of the concentration of non-English speaking students in the Takoma-East Silver Spring area. However, the Rosemary Hills area that received the largest concentration of Blacks did not have the same broad-based community involvement. This area was left to fend for itself in an environment that was almost as different for Blacks as the language/culture difference was for the newly arrived immigrants in this county.

In the spring of 1972, the Montgomery County Public School Superintendent recognized the shift in the Black population and its effects on Rosemary Hills Elementary School (Posilkin, 1979). Rosemary Hills had an enrollment that was 41% Black while the county's total

minority population was only 17%. This school was projected to reach a 50% Black population by September 1972 (Posilkin, 1979). The Superintendent proposed that the School Board close Rosemary Hills and disperse the Black students to four adjacent schools (Elseroad, 1972). The Superintendent feared that once the school reached 50% Black, whites would flee from the community even though research, at that time, had shown that white flight was a myth (Sullivan, 1969).

The community in which Rosemary Hills is located contained a 415 unit apartment-town house complex that was desegregated by open housing mandates in Montgomery County (Green, 1974). This complex attracted a large number of Blacks and whites who were active in the civil rights movement. They led a campaign to prevent the closing of Rosemary Hills and requested the Board of Education to come up with other alternatives to reduce racial imbalance (Sorensen, 1974). While the Board of Education was exploring alternatives, the minority population at Rosemary Hills continued to rise. By the fall of 1974, the Board of Education and Superintendent's efforts notwithstanding, Rosemary Hills had a population

that had increased to 74% Black, 12% Hispanic and only 14% white.

Two community actions designed to enable the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to intervene were initiated during 1974. The first action was a law suit filed by the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People against the Department of Health, Education and Welfare citing its failure to monitor desegregation in Montgomery County and the second was an administrative complaint to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare brought by the citizens who live in the Rosemary Hills area (Rosemary Hills P.T.A., 1974). The purpose of these actions was to have the Department of Health, Education and Welfare review the desegregation policies of Montgomery County Public Schools. These actions caused the local school board to look at ways of shifting student populations and at the same time maintain community support.

The review by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare found that Montgomery County Public Schools was not in violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act

of 1964 because the concentration of minority students in a small number of schools resulted from shifting populations and housing patterns, rather than from de-jure actions. The county was warned, however, that it should be careful that any future decisions made by the Board of Education not exacerbate the situation.

The Board of Education responded to this report by stating that integrated education is one of the important goals of Montgomery County Public Schools. All children should be given the opportunity to receive equal educational opportunities. The Board of Education issued a report entitled: Quality Education/Racial Balance.

The report said in part:

A primary objective of the Board is to address conditions of minority group disproportion in schools. The Board is particularly concerned about schools in which total minority enrollment exceeds 50%. The Board will seek feasible measures to be implemented as soon as reasonably possible, by which the proportion of minority students can be decreased and that the proportion of non-minority students increased in schools that now have minority enrollment in excess of 50%. When a school exceeds or is expected to exceed by 20% from the countywide minority average, planning should commence to address any trend toward racial disproportion. (cited in Montgomery County Public Schools, 1978 Feb. 27, p. 1)

This report by the Board of Education prompted scrutiny of all schools with minority populations 20% above the county-wide average.

In February and March of 1976, the Montgomery County Public School Board of Education passed resolutions that resulted in desegregation plans for 28 schools. These plans utilized a variety of approaches toward desegregation including grade level reorganization and school pairings. In 1977, the Board further expanded its resolutions to include identification and development of magnet schools in Montgomery County Public Schools.

When the magnet school concept began in Montgomery County Public Schools, with extensive community involvement and school board resources, the following concepts were followed:

- To serve through a variety of carefully tailored programs the unique needs of the children and adults of an urban community. These programs will reflect and respond to the diverse social, economic, ethnic, and racial character of the community,

- To assure that the planning and implementation of the educational programs support the integrity and cohesiveness of the community,

- To attract to the community or retain in the community those who may and will choose to live in a heterogeneous urban community if its educational programs are valid, unique, attractive, and of high quality.

The formation of magnet schools brought with it a focus on the budget process with communities mandating to the Board of Education that the budget should include support of the magnet school concept. Without additional funding, the community planning efforts for magnet schools would be a waste of time (Montgomery County Public Schools [MCPS], 1974). The communities issued a directive to the Board of Education that the Board's budget should include funds for magnet areas or mini-school systems. In response to community concerns, the Board of Education released an options paper (MCPS, 1976) looking at ways to racially integrate the lower county. Jointly, in 1976, the Board and communities decided on two major options: grade level reorganization and magnet schools.

Rosemary Hills: A Grade Level Reorganized Magnet School

Rosemary Hills Elementary School was one of the schools that was included in the desegregation plan. The school had a minority percentage above 40% in 1972 and and by 1975 that figure had increased to 87%. Drastic steps had to be taken to meet Board of Education guidelines for an acceptable racial balance at this school. Rosemary Hills Elementary School was built in 1956 as the first desegregated school in Montgomery County Public Schools (Leet, 1974). In line with the Board's guidelines, the school was grade re-organized as a Primary School Early Childhood Learning Magnet school (MCPS, 1976a and MCPS, 1976b). It was to become a kindergarten through second grade school designed to serve a wider geographic area than previously. The magnet was originally designed to serve as a primary school for both Larchmont and Chevy Chase Elementary Schools in addition to its own local service area (see appendix A). Prior to grade level reorganization,

Rosemary Hills had a minority population of 87%, Chevy Chase a minority population of 3%, and Larchmont, a minority population of 8%. The grade level reorganization was the first step in creating a magnet school. It was decided that the primary magnet school would have the following advantages: (a) a better chance for student success by reorganizing the school on a three year rather than seven year span, (b) staff would be able to concentrate on identification of developmental needs followed by appropriate educational plans, (c) greater concentration in specialized instructional materials and methods appropriate to this age group, and (d) greater opportunities to interact with children of various cultures of similar age.

As part of the magnet program, it was decided to extend half-day kindergarten to an all day kindergarten program. This was the first offering of all day kindergarten in Montgomery County Public Schools. The Board felt that in adding all day kindergarten to the Primary school magnet would enable the school to receive community support since white students were to be transported to a formally identifiable minority school.

On September 1, 1976, the buses started rolling beginning the first day of a voluntary desegregation and magnet school plan in Montgomery County Public Schools.

The Local School Board versus the State Board and
Rosemary Hills Primary School

Rosemary Hills worked successfully as a magnet school from 1975 to 1981 but during this period there was an increase in the minority enrollment. In 1975 there were 79% minority which decreased to 54% in 1976 and 40% in 1977. This reduction was due to the grade reorganization of Rosemary Hills when it was changed from a kindergarten, first, second and third grade school in 1975 to a kindergarten, first and second grade school in 1976. Then gradually the percentage of minority students increased to a high of 55% in 1981.

During the 1980-81 school year, the local Board began the process of redefining its racial-balance policy. One of the first actions in 1981 was to declare that a school would not be considered racially imbalanced unless it exceeded by 40% percent the county-wide minority population. The county wide minority population

during this period was 22% (Mitric,1981). This action was not accepted by the Rosemary Hills communities since they felt that a disproportionate burden for intergration would be placed on certain schools, including Rosemary Hills.

The reorganization and the magnet school concept came to an abrupt end as a result of decisions made by the Local Board of Education during the 1980-1981 school year (Muscatine, 1981a). The Board decided to change the previously established kindergarten through second grade organization that was present at Rosemary Hills and third through sixth grade organization that was present at Chevy Chase Elementary school as well as several other schools in Montgomery County. In January 1982, against the recommendation of the Superintendent of Schools and the wishes of communities, the School Board voted to close Rosemary Hills Elementary School and send its students to three other elementary schools and to return Chevy Chase Elementary School to a kindergarten through sixth grade school (Muscatine, 1981b). These decisions were made to accomodate the following situations: (a) the minority population at Rosemary Hills increased from

47% to 55%, (b) a large number of white students were allowed to transfer out of Rosemary Hills because the school did not provide a half-day kindergarten program during the 1979-1980 school year, the demand for half-day kindergarten was utilized by white parents to avoid having their children bused to a school with a high minority population (Tolber, 1980), (c) a small vocal minority of parents who lived in the geographic boundaries of Chevy Chase Elementary School, whose children were being bused to Rosemary Hills, lobbied the Board of Education to return their school to a kindergarten through sixth grade school, (d) one of the original schools had closed (Larchmont) and new communities were involved in the busing, and (e) finally, but far from being the least significant, there was the threat that \$825,000 in federal funds designed to implement the desegregation policy of the school district would be withheld because the school district was not following its own integration policy. The specific charge under which the money would be withheld was that the School Board supported transfers in the 1979-1980 school year that adversely affected racial balance within

certain schools including Rosemary Hills (Mitric, 1981).

On June 30th 1982, the Maryland State Board of Education reversed the local Board of Education decision stating that: (a) the primary burden for integration would fall on minority students from the Rosemary Hills Community, (b) the decision was not consistent with the Quality Education/Racial Balance Policy of Montgomery County Public Schools (White, 1982), and (c) applying its own criteria, the Board did not demonstrate that Rosemary Hills Elementary School was the preferred closure option (Caldwell, 1982; Muscatine & White, 1982b).

C H A P T E R I I I

PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: CONCURRENT ATTITUDE DEVELOPMENT AND MEASUREMENT

Introduction

It is now over 30 years since Brown, and there have been many changes in the tenor of the country during this period. The study will examine white attitudes towards Blacks in this country as a result of desegregation. Furthermore the study will attempt to demonstrate that there are ways to change the attitudes of whites towards Blacks, and that used properly, they may help change the social direction of this country.

The United States has put a man on the moon and sent a craft into space to land again on solid ground. With this enormous technical knowledge, we have not increased our knowledge of human interaction to enable us to solve the negative human interactions that threaten us with constant social upheaval.

Attitudes

Attitudes are the basis for explaining why we react to certain stimuli in a specific manner. They are the foundation upon which social scientists predict the behavior of an individual or a group of individuals (Oppenheim, 1966). Society needs to understand that attitudes are learned (Evans, 1965). The society structures the way individuals are taught to respond to what is or is not acceptable. These factors, constantly interacting with one another, determine the attitudes that individuals will have in their adult lives.

Attitude Development

Attitudes develop as a result of life experiences. Attitudes are the sum of ones experiences and determine how a person will react to similiar experiences in the future (Newcome, Turner & Converse, 1965). Attitudes are learned as a result of what happens to a person in his/her life (Evans, 1965). Oppenheim (1966) feels that society's understanding of attitudes is in a very primitive state. His research states:

Although we tend to perceive them (attitudes) as straight lines running from positive, through neutral, to negative feelings. . . . There is no proof, however, that this model of a linear continuum is necessarily correct, though it does make things easier for measurement purposes (p. 107).

When an attitude is developing in a child, the child perceives what is happening in his/her environment and how the adults in his/her environment expect him/her to react to certain stimuli (Campbell, 1967). This marks the beginning of attitude development. The other aspect is the child's personal perception of what is important. When the child begins to make his/her own decisions about what is important, his/her dependence lessens and he/she can make unique choices about his behaviors. Although the home has to take the primary responsibility for attitude formation, other societal influences play an important part, especially the school, the church and the community (Evans, 1965). As the child tries out values that are part of one norm and not another, he/she must then decide which ones will become his/her own.

Early attitude development is controlled and/or determined by parents and is sometimes a by-product of other primary concerns. For example, a child is kept

away from matches until he/she learns that fire is harmful and parents hold children by the hand until they learn to look both ways before crossing a street. These and other security measures help to form the sum total of the child's attitude toward his/her environment as well as attitudes about various aspects of it. An overprotective parent may foster an attitude of fearfulness or timidity on the part of the child. Very often in the developmental years, the child will experience differences between attitudes of one group (home) versus another group (church or school), but research has shown that the home attitudes generally are the ones that the child develops as his/her own (Evans, 1965).

Attitudes are not stagnant nor do they move in a straight line. They may ebb and flow, change direction and move in erratic patterns. They can be compared to a wave moving across a body of water having swells and depressions (Oppenheim, 1966). This may explain why people change attitudes as their information base changes or explain why people seem to react differently in differing situations.

As people mature they seem to respond to certain

stimuli in a consistent manner because these responses have been successful and/or efficient in the past. In addition, people are quite aware of why they react the way they do (Kiesler, Collins & Miller, 1969). The intensity of attitudes vary in relation to the importance of the stimuli.

Attitudes can change with social distance. If a person has an attitude regarding race, he/she may respond one way if the discussion is concerned with whom he/she would sit with in a restaurant and another way if the discussion is concerned with interracial dating (Kiesler et al., 1969). One discussion may elicit the response that he/she would feel comfortable having a meal with anyone of his/her social class of any race in a restaurant but the idea of going out in a social setting with anyone other than a person of his/her own race and social status may be deplorable to him/her (Campbell, 1967). Attitudes relating to social distance set forward the behaviors by which a person will interact with neighbors, community and the world. Attitudes are reinforced by beliefs and elicit either positive or negative reactions that help determine a person's behavior (Newcomb et al., 1965; Oppenheim, 1966; Oskamp, 1977).

Attitude Functions

Attitudes have many functions. They can be abstracted as a means of reaching a desired goal. For example, the author's present goal is to complete this study and to earn a doctoral degree: therefore, the author will assume the attitude of a researcher.

Another function of an attitude is to defend one's ego. In a work situation one may feel that if a subordinate is allowed unusual latitude he/she will not respect his/her supervisor. Therefore, the supervisor reacts in a certain way to protect him/herself and to maintain his/her ego balance (Newcomb et al., 1965).

Attitudes express a person's values. For example, some members of this American society, believing in self-determination for weaker countries, opposed America's invasion of Grenada in 1984. Others, who believe the United States must protect weaker nations believe the invasion was justified.

Attitudes alter a person's perceptions and help determine how a person views his/her world. For example,

knowing that a Black has never served as president of the United States led many to believe that Jesse Jackson, who ran in presidential primaries in 1984, would not win the Democratic nomination or become the next president of the United States (Kretch & Crutchfield, 1958; Newcome et al., 1965). These examples serve to illustrate how attitudes control expectations and how a person responds to new information (Bracy & Wilson, 1977; Campbell, 1967; Oskamp, 1977).

Attitudes versus Behavior

How does one differentiate between attitudes and behaviors? Since it has been discussed how attitudes can shape behaviors, attitudes may be seen as a motivator of behavior or factors which contribute to observable behavior (Kresler et al., 1969). Behaviors are attitudes that are implied in certain situations (Jones, 1972). If a child fears swimming at a beach, his behavior upon going to the beach may be to cry and hold on to his mother. The same child who will cry at a beach may love to swim in a backyard pool. Factors influencing the child's attitude at the beach may be the depth of the

water, the saltiness of the water, the feel of the sand, and a lack of other children with whom to play.

Therefore, the same attitude is not being seen due to other stimuli present in the environment. Kiesler et al. (1969 p.25) studies state "not that studies show inconsistency between behavior and attitude but between behavior in two different situations". It is possible to predict behaviors from attitudes but without a great deal of precision. This may happen because one is not always aware of the forces that contribute to a certain attitude (Kiesler et al., 1969).

Attitudes Toward Self

There are many kinds of attitudes including attitudes towards one's self. Self-concept is defined as an attitude that is dependent upon feelings about self. Attitudes toward other people, both those in authority and his/her peers, are likely to depend on feelings about self (Evans, 1965).

The early development of children's feelings about self evolve around who they are in relationship to size of body and how their attributes are valued. A new

dimension enters the picture as children begin school. The new dimension includes feelings about how well the child feels he/she can do a task (Evans, 1965; Kiesler et al., 1965). Therefore, self concept enlarges to accommodate a view of self influenced by the school environment. How a child's self concept develops may be largely determined by task accomplishment. Since self concept is reflexive, the child's concept of him/herself will determine how he/she behaves in many different environments (Rosenberg, 1967).

It has been demonstrated by research that a person who has many failure experiences will see him/herself as a failure and will anticipate failure; he/she expects to fail and he/she fails (Kiesler et al., 1969). Self-concept is best defined by Rosenberg (1967 p.27) "as the individual as known to the individual".

There has been much theorizing by social psychologists and educators relating to self-concept. Theories about self date back to the 1933 writings of Freud and continues into today's literature (Evans, 1965). This is because man is constantly trying to understand him/herself in relationship to the world in which he/she lives (Cohen, 1964). If man had a better

understanding of self, then he might be able to turn a person's failures into successes (Kiesler et al., 1969). Improved understanding of self and behaviors resulting from self may one day enable man to nullify our penal codes and reform schools and assist more persons to become productive citizens.

Attitudes and Race

Attitudes relating to race are expressed in many different ways. The United States has been viewed by many as racist because of its demonstrated behaviors toward Blacks. Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford (1950 p.385) in Authoritarian Personality provided an explanation of prejudice:

Prejudiced subjects tend to report a relatively harsh and more threatening type of home discipline which was experienced as arbitrary by the child. Related to this is a tendency apparent in families of prejudiced subjects to base interrelationships on rather clearly defined roles of dominance and submission. . . . adoption of a rigid and externalized set of values. . . . underlying resentment against them (parents) recurs in the attitudes to authority and social institutions. . . . Prejudiced individuals thus tend to display 'negative identification' with the weak along with their positive though superficial identification with the strong.

Adorno et al. (1950) and other researchers feel that prejudiced attitudes and behaviors may fulfill basic personality needs (Mussen, 1950; Pettigrew, 1958). Research on personality needs being met through prejudice are difficult to find in more recent literature.

Racism and prejudicial behavior usually manifest themselves as discriminatory behavior toward other racial groups (Weissback, 1977). Racism is a phenomenon which tends to be influenced by: (a) geographic region, (b) educational attainment, and (c) age of the person. Many researchers argue that southerners tend to be more prejudiced than northerners, that a college education tends to reduce the amount of prejudice in the individual, and the younger a person is, the less he is pre-disposed to racial prejudice (Smith, A.W., 1981; Weissback, 1977). Similiar studies undertaken by Alston and Couch (1979) indicate that even in the north the size of the political area has very little impact on prejudice. The studies cited above found that prejudice is not more prevalant, necessarily, in a small mining town in Pennsylvania than it would be in Philadelphia. In addition it has been demonstrated that the amount of

education received by an individual does not, in itself, reduce racial prejudice in geographic areas outside of the south (Alston & Couch, 1979).

Research indicates that racial prejudice tends to be reduced when individuals of different ethnic groups interact during their formative years even though that same literature does not specify any particular method that is most effective in minimizing racial prejudice (Musson, 1950). The evidence suggests that white children tend to have less prejudice when they have contact with Black children at an early age (Sachdeva, 1972). The optimum age is not resolved in the literature. Wassbach (1977) argues that discriminatory attitudes begin to be acquired during the pre-school years. His research indicates that children learn racial discrimination early in life. Consequently, they develop strong positive attitudes about themselves and other members of their race and simultaneously have a negative reaction to other races, especially Blacks. Patchen (1982) argues that racial attitudes of children are a direct result of the racial attitudes of parents.

Weinberg's (1983) The Search For Quality Integrated Education leads one to believe that if children have a

positive racial experiences in the pre-school years and these experiences are in a desegregated environment, then the children will have the best chance of being free of prejudice. Patchen (1982), exploring this concept further, argues whites who have positive attitudes towards Blacks during their formative years tend to have positive racial attitudes in high school. St. John (1978) identifies the early elementary years as those where racial contact is most beneficial since at this age racial prejudice is more an awareness of racial differences rather than racial hostility.

In support of these theorists, Mussen (1950) concludes that when working with eight to fourteen year olds, contact with Blacks did not diminish prejudice without intervening variables. Sachdeva (1972) found that when white students either ignorant of or indifferent to prejudice were exposed to Black students, the daily contact with Blacks as peers enhanced positive attitudes of whites toward Blacks. By contrast Bullock (1976) reported that whites who were in schools that fostered attitudes of hostility toward the practice of desegregation as they were experiencing desegregation, tended to be more prejudiced than students who were

attending segregated schools. Lundberg and Dickson (1964) reported that the American society is the cause of anti-Black prejudice in the United States.

Since anti-Black prejudice exists in the United States, what are our best methods for combating racial prejudice? Is there one way that has not been examined thoroughly that can be used to change the prejudice that exists in this country against Blacks? Weissbach (1977) reports Brown has been the basis for changing the structure of prejudice against Blacks. Since the Brown decision, researchers are finding that overt discrimination against Blacks in the last 20 to 30 years is diminishing. Researchers have examined many outcomes of desegregation including: (a) racial prejudice, (b) academic achievement, (c) self-concept, and (d) student motivation (Marcus & Sheehan, 1978). These foci indicate that students who have interracial contact feel more positive about their school environment (Weinberg, 1977).

Implicit in the definition of democracy is the need for all children to develop healthy racial attitudes. The attitudes of white children tend to become more negative toward Blacks as they grow older (Banks, 1969). The research has shown that white children, isolated from

Blacks during their formative years, have difficulty establishing positive social interaction with Blacks when they become adults (Bentley, 1982). The Coleman Report (as cited in Holtzman, 1972 p.52) found that white students who attended integrated schools valued their Black classmates. Weinberg (1974) reported that in segregated school environments, white students receive a racist education which inculcates superiority and therefore, racial prejudice becomes harder to modify.

It is clear that during the past 20 to 30 years, there has been a great deal of support for integration (Alston & Knapp, 1971; Weissbach, 1977). "To prevent us from either continuing to move toward two societies Black versus white, separate but unequal" (Report of the National Council on Civil Disorders, 1968 p.1) and to reach a goal of forward movement with attitudes of racial tolerance, we need to examine more effective ways to increase racial tolerance of whites towards Blacks (Taylor, Sheatsley, & Greeley, 1978). The research that has been generated since 1956 supports the concept that white tolerance and acceptance for desegregation is in inverse proportion to the Blacks attending their school (Smith, A.W., 1981). It is necessary for society to

again change negative racial attitudes by affecting the positive values from their life experiences (Bynner, Cashdan, & Commins, 1972). Most research reviewed for this study tends to suggest that researchers have examined positive racial attitudes of white students only when white students are in the majority (Bennett, 1981; Holtzman, 1972; Sachdeva, 1972). Sullivan (1972) points out the dilemma this country faces if children are taught that racial isolation is the natural order of things. Given the above attitude, the country will make no progress towards a better society until persons are judged by what they are and not by the color of their skin (Sullivan, 1972). This researcher agrees with Weinberg (1982) and others who support the concept that children, when exposed to members of another ethnic group early in life, will have fewer prejudices than children without similar experiences and feels that these contact years can be as late as four to seven years of age if the environment that the child is in is supportive of a desegregated experience. It is believed that the positive interaction between students of differing ethnic backgrounds will make a statistical difference in the prejudicial attitudes held by white students who have had

racial interaction in the early years over those white students who did not have that experience.

Measurement of Attitudes

In order to look at change in attitudes, it is necessary to examine how attitudes are measured. In explaining the measurement of attitudes, Green (1967 p. 725) writes: "Attitude is a hypothetical or latent variable, rather than an immediately observable variable . . . it is an abstraction from a large number of related acts or responses". In other words, if an individual has an attitude about school busing, it will not become evident until a busing issue emerges. This particular attitude may be specific to the busing issue or if the same person has attitudes regarding school busing and having schools segregated by race, we may determine that his/her attitudes are anti-integration with busing contributing only in part to the total attitude.

Attitudes are measured on a linear continuum with an understanding that if a person knows he is being evaluated on a specific attitude, it is possible for the person to provide responses that he/she wants the

examiner to perceive. As much as possible, the questions need to be phrased so the respondent is unaware of the value of his/her response. This will require questions to be worded in an indirect manner. All will not be lost even if the respondent perceives what is asked for and responds in a manner that he/she wants the examiner to perceive, as his/her true attitudes, rather than his/her actual attitudes. This kind of response often gives information as to how a population wants to be perceived with regard to a specific attitude (Jackson, 1978; Thurstone, 1959). If the issue being examined is school integration, the respondent may have racist attitudes, but may answer in a manner that indicates that he/she has liberal views, because he/she may be feeling social pressure to be liberal and may be in the process of changing his/her attitudes (Thurstone, 1959).

The opinions that a person has regarding social issues become the basis for the measurement of attitudes. Researchers must be certain that they only measure one attitude at a time (Thurstone, 1959). If the attempt is made to measure several attitudes using the same instrument the wrong attitude or only part of several attitudes may end up being measured (Oppenheim, 1966).

Campbell's study (cited in Green, 1967 p.726) showed that the measurement of social attitudes is only as valid as the consistency of the respondents answers to questions that support the same value. When attitudes are measured, the respondent is expected to accept or reject an opinion as related to a set of objects or situations with social values (Green, 1967; Thurstone, 1959). This determines the selection or development of an attitude scale by which repeated use of the instrument will give similiar results to persons holding the same attitudes about a similar issue (Green, 1967). In the selection or the development of an instrument the questions should be meaningful and generate excitement from the respondents (Oppenheim, 1966).

Attitude Scales

Borgadus Scale

In 1925, the beginnings of the development of attitude measurement occurred. Floyd A. Alport and D. A. Hartman had students write individual views on social topics. The topics were then ranked from one end of the

continuum to the other by an independent panel of judges (Kiesler et al., 1969). In the same year, Borgadus developed the first attitude scale to explore social distance using the system developed by Alport and Hartman (Oskamp, 1977). The Borgadus scale allowed judgements to be gathered from respondents on how comfortable they were with persons of another ethnic group. The respondent answered a series of questions that indicated how close a specific racial group could come into the respondent's personal life space (Kiesler, 1969; Oskamp, 1977). Later uses of this type of scale have been expanded to include social groups and is no longer limited only to racial groups. The scale is still judged to be a highly reliable measure of general social distance. The main criticism is that of the questionable linearity using unequal distances (Newcomb, Turner, & Converse, 1965; Oppenheim, 1966; Oskamp, 1977).

The original scale asked such questions as: (a) Would you have an (1) English (2) Pole (3) Negro (4) Chinese etc., as a visitor to your country on one end of the continuum; and (b) Would you have an (1) English (2) Pole (3) Negro (4) Chinese etc., related to you through marriage at the other end of the continuum (Bracy &

Wilson, 1977). Borgadus (1967 p. 43) states "there has been an immeasurable decrease in social distances" due to "growth in communication between racial groups," but "data of this study do not indicate that racial distances in our country will disappear entirely in any foreseeable future." The results of Borgadus' 40 year study indicates his scale is still useful. Triandis (1964) has refined the Borgadus scale so that currently it may be used to measure the following dimensions: respect, marital acceptance, friendship acceptance, social distance, and superordination. The modification and expansion of the conceptual base is seen as a major improvement over the original scale (Oskamp, 1977).

Thurstone Scale

The next step in scale development was the Thurstone scale, which was developed in 1928. Thurstone developed a method by which there would be equal intervals between natural choices. To determine the amount of attitude difference between one respondents attitude and another, he scaled his attitudes on a eleven point continuum. Using a panel of judges, each statement

was ranked from most favorable to least favorable. Those statements where judges could not agree were discarded (Kiesler et al., 1969; Oppenheim, 1966; Oskamp, 1977). The Thurstone scale is best used to determine group differences and there is high reliability from the data. The major problem with Thurstone's scale is the use of panels of judges to rank each item. The process is too time consuming to allow for efficient test item development. Therefore, it has not been extensively used (Oskamp, 1977).

One of the original Thurstone scales which measured attitudes about church measured only one attitude at a time. Sample items from this scale follow: at one end of the continuum was the statement "I believe the church is the greatest institution in America today". In the middle of the continuum: "Sometimes I feel that the church and religion are necessary and sometimes I doubt it". At the other end of the continuum: "I think the church is a parasite on society" (Thurstone & Chase, 1929 reproduced in Robinson & Shaver, 1973 p. 711).

Likert Scale

Likert developed the next major scale in 1932 (as reported in Oskamp, 1977 p.29). The major advantage of Likert's scale is that it ranks the respondents agreement or disagreement with an item along a five point continuum from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The Likert scale does not require a panel of judges to rank the questions and therefore, is much easier to develop (Oskamp, 1977). In utilizing the Likert technique, an item analysis is required to make certain all items measure the same attitudes. The scale is still very popular and has a major advantage of allowing the subtler attitudes to be explored (Oppenheim, 1966; Oskamp, 1977).

Guttman Scale

The Guttman scaleogram analysis (1944) was developed to provide each score with a unique meaning (Oskamp, 1977). Guttman's underlying concept was that there are many levels of understanding and each of these levels is based on previous learning. For example, one must understand numbers to understand single digit

addition; to understand double digit addition (Kiesler et al., 1969). The Bogardus scale is an example of the Guttman type instrument as only one attitude dimension is examined at a time and is referred to as an unidimensional instrument (Kiesler et al., 1969; Oskamp, 1977). The basic difference between the Guttman scale and the Thurstone and Likert scales is that the latter two have the potential to explore more than one attitude at a time. Oppenheim (1966) feels this contributes to inaccurate measurement.

Semantic Differential

In 1957, Osgood and colleagues developed the Semantic Differential which is a scale in itself. The scale has the respondent mark a point on a seven point continuum using opposite adjectives. For example, the adjectives may be good-bad, fast-slow, or large-small. The respondent is to choose how he feels regarding an attitude in relationship to the adjectives. There are three dimensions where individuals make semantic judgments: evaluative (affective), potency (cognitive), and activity (cognitive) dimensions. This scale is easy

to use for both the researcher and the respondent (Oskamp, 1977). In 1967, Triandis modified this scale to include behavioral components of attitudes and thereby increasing the use of the Semantic Differential.

Other Attitude Scales

Other methods of attitude scaling have been developed, but they are not discussed universally in the literature. The measures used in this research report are the major attitude scaling methods.

The only other self-report method that needs elaboration is Taylor and Parker's attitude report question (1964, as reported in Oskamp, 1977 p.43). It is a single, open-ended, general question, such as: "How do you feel about school integration?" or "How do you feel about the American arms policy?". There would be a rating scale at the end of the sentence requesting the respondent to rate the question on a continuum from very favorable to very unfavorable. The method has high reliability; its weakness may be that it can only be used to measure global concepts (Oskamp, 1977).

There have been several types of instruments

designed to measure global concepts or a specific attitude about a social value. These scales have a high reliability if they are being used to measure what they were designed to measure (Newcomb et al., 1965). The major concern for the researcher is to select the most appropriate scale. The use of an appropriate scale will assure that the responses received will relate to the attitude variable that is to be measured (Green, 1967).

C H A P T E R I V

DESIGN OF THE STUDY: METHODOLOGY

Hypotheses

The researcher established three general hypotheses for the study:

Hypotheses One: white students who were a racial minority in grades kindergarten, one, and two will have a more positive attitude toward Blacks in grades seven, eight, and nine when compared with the attitudes of white students whose school experience was one where they were the racial majority.

Hypotheses Two: white students who have been bused to achieve desegregation in grades kindergarten, one, and two will have a more positive self-concept in grades seven, eight, and nine than those white students who remained in the neighborhood school without the experience of desegregation.

Hypothesis Three: white students who were not bused for desegregation in grades kindergarten, one, and two, but lived under the threat of being bused to achieve desegregation will have the most negative attitudes

toward Blacks in grades seven, eight, and nine.

Characteristics of Respondents' Schools

Rosemary Hills Primary School was a kindergarten, grade one, two, three school with 79% Black students in school year 1975-76. With the deletion of grade three in 1976-77 the Black student population was reduced to 54%. Prior to 1975 Rosemary Hills student population was 87% Black and served students in grades kindergarten through six from the local school community. This situation was remedied through grade level reorganization and busing of white students for the purpose of desegregation. At the end of second grade both Black and white students were reassigned to elementary schools located in white communities where whites were the majority of the student population. Group One consists of white students who were bused from the Bethesda, Chevy Chase, and Kensington sections of Montgomery County to Rosemary Hills (Rosemary) for three grades: kindergarten, grades one and two (see Appendix A).

During 1975 to 1977 several other schools housed white students who also lived in the Bethesda, Chevy

Chase, and Kensington sections of Montgomery County. They remained in their majority white neighborhood schools for their elementary school experience. These white students who remained in the local neighborhood school consist of two distinct populations. Group two lived without the threat of busing for desegregation attending Somerset and Westbrook elementary schools (see Appendix B) and group three lived under the threat of being bused for desegregation attending Bethesda, Lynnbrook, North Chevy Chase (N.C.C.) and Rollingwood (Rolling) elementary schools (see Appendix C).

Characteristics of Respondents

The study involved seventh, eighth and ninth grade students at Westland Middle School (seventh and eighth grades) and Bethesda Chevy Chase High School (ninth grade). The students who constitute groups one, two, and three include all white students who began Montgomery County Public Schools in kindergarten, grade one or grade two and remained for their entire school history in a Bethesda Chevy-Chase High School feeder school.

Group One

The first group are those white students bused for desegregation to Rosemary Hills Primary School in grades kindergarten through grade two, in school years 1975 to 1979. This group consists of 92 students. 32 of these students spent three years at Rosemary Hills, 41 spent two years at Rosemary Hills and 19 spent one year at Rosemary Hills.

Group Two

The second group are the 91 white students who were not threatened with busing for school desegregation in school years 1975 to 1979. Fifty of these students attended Somerset and 41 attended Westbrook elementary schools.

Group Three

The third group are the 123 white students who were threatened with being bused for school desegregation in school years 1975 to 1979. They attended the following elementary schools: Bethesda 34, Lynnbrook 22, North Chevy Chase 39, and Rollingwood 28.

The total number of respondents in each of the three groups was affected since permission had to be obtained from the parent for a student to participate in the study (see Appendix D). Two hundred thirty-one students received parental permission to be tested for this study. There were 80 students for whom permission was not received. The sample of students is summarized in Table 1 by the percentage of Blacks in the schools from 1975 to 1979.

Table 1

Percent of Black Students in School Populations

Schools in the Study	Grade Level	Percent of Black Students				
		1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Group One						
Rosemary	Kgn.-3	78.9	(75-76)			
	Kgn.-2 (76-79)		54.0	40.2	41.7	45.1
Group Two						
Somerset	Kgn.-6	.7	6.4	6.1	5.1	8.1
Westbrook	Kgn.-6	.6	.6	.3	.9	.6
Group Three						
Bethesda	Kgn.-6	2.9	4.3	2.9	2.6	4.7
Lynnbrook	Kgn.-6	4.0	3.0	1.6	2.0	6.2
N.C.C.	Kgn.-6	5.7	15.3	16.0	15.1	15.6
Rolling	Kgn.-6	10.2	11.5	19.9	19.7	20.3

Analytic Sample

Students were from comparable and contiguous socio-economic areas whose similarity was determined through census data gathered on residential areas from the 1980 census (see Table 2). They lived during the years 1975-1984 in the Bethesda, Chevy Chase, or Kensington sections of Montgomery County.

The students in the tested population lived in census tracts with a median family income range between \$32,000 and \$59,000. The median income range for families in Montgomery County is between \$13,000 and \$72,000. The difference between low income and high income census tracts is \$27,000 for the study and \$59,000 for the County. Montgomery County has 149 census tracts; 77 of these are lower economically than those selected for the study and two are economically higher than those in the study.

Montgomery County has census tracts with a low of one and eight-tenths percent minority to a high of 65% minority. This study includes census tracts from one and eight-tenths to nine percent minority. Of the 149 census tracts 94 have over nine percent minority and none have less than one and eight-tenths percent minority.

Table 2

Census Tract Data on Students in the Study

SCHOOL	CENSUS TRACT	% MINORITY	MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME 1980
Group One			
Rosemary Hills	52.00	7.6	\$52,158
	53.00	1.8	\$59,588
	54.00	2.8	\$48,807
Group Two			
Somerset	55.00	4.0	\$54,485
	56.02	9.0	\$39,250
Westbrook	56.01	2.5	\$41,954
	56.02	9.0	\$39,250
	57.02	3.7	\$53,251
Group Three			
Bethesda	46.00	6.5	\$38,036
	47.00	3.6	\$44,637
Lynnbrook	50.00	5.9	\$32,367
NCC	41.00	5.3	\$44,540
	51.00	5.1	\$47,880
Rollingwood	52.00	7.6	\$52,158

There were 211 students tested in this study out of a possible group of 306 students; 70.2% of the potential group were examined (see Table 3). Seven students or two percent received permission for testing but were not tested due to the permission being given late or scheduling difficulties. Nine or two and four-tenths percent were denied parent permission for testing and 84 or 25.4% did not respond to the request for participation in the study. At seventh grade 78 students were tested, at eighth grade 89 students were tested and at ninth grade 64 students were tested.

Upon examination of the parameters designated for the study fourteen students were deleted from the final data analysis. The students that attended Rock Creek Forest along with six individual students who attended Bethesda, North Chevy Chase, Rosemary Hills, and Somerset did not live in census tracts that met the demographic parameters of this study and therefore were deleted. The remaining students in the study number 67 in group one, 73 in group two and 75 in group three.

Table 3

Grade Level and Grouping of Pupils Tested

Grade Seven

Group 1			
Rosemary Hills	23	Total	23
Group 2			
Somerset	14		
Westbrook	17	Total	31
Group 3			
Bethesda	5		
Lynnbrook	5		
North Chevy Chase	5		
Rollingwood	3	Total	18

Grade Eight

Group 1			
Rosemary Hills	23	Total	23
Group 2			
Somerset	15		
Westbrook	12	Total	27
Group 3			
Bethesda	12		
Lynnbrook	8		
North Chevy Chase	7		
Rollingwood	6	Total	33

(table continues)

Grade Nine

Group 1

Rosemary Hills	21	Total	21
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Group 2

Somerset	6		
Westbrook	9	Total	15

Group 3

Bethesda	6		
Lynnbrook	2		
North Chevy Chase	11		
Rollingwood	5	Total	24

		Grand Total	215
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Data-GatheringVariables

The attitudes held by the students in the study toward school, toward self and toward Blacks are the dependent variables of this study.

The independent variables in this study are busing for school desegregation and the threat of busing for school desegregation. Busing in this study refers to white students who were required to attend a school outside of their neighborhood for the sole purpose of

reducing the percentage of Black students in the receiving schools.

Three separate instruments were administered to each of the groups in the study (see Appendix E). Instrument number one measured self-concept, instrument number two measured attitudes towards Blacks, and instrument number three measured attitudes toward school.

Instrument number one "The Way I Feel About Myself" is a 35 item scale that measures self-concept through measurement of the following sub-categories: prowess, behavior, anxiety, popularity, physical attributes, and intelligence (see Appendix F). The scale uses the yes - no format adapted from the Piers-Harris self-concept scale.

Instrument number two which measured white attitudes towards Blacks is Woodmansee and Cook's (1967) Multi-factor Racial Attitudes Inventory (see Appendix G). Nine subscales, consisting of a total of 90 items, from the Multi-factor Racial Attitude Inventory (MRAI) was used to describe attitudes about integration policy, personal interaction with Blacks, and non-categorical beliefs about Blacks. Private rights, local autonomy, integration practices and gradualism constituted the

policy items. Interracial contacts, close personal relationships, and superior status relationships were explored in the personal interaction subscales. Non-categorical beliefs or prejudices were addressed in the derogatory beliefs and Black inferiority subscales. The instrument uses an agree-disagree format. Due to the age of the respondents the following sub-scales were deleted: Approaches to Racial Equality, Black Superiority, Black Militance and Black Intermarriage. The instrument was normed on college students and older populations therefore with permission from Dr. Cook (Woodmansee & Cook, 1967) certain items were age appropriately reworded. This test has been used exclusively on white populations.

The third instrument was based on the "Quality of School Life" by Joyce Epstein. It is a 19 item instrument entitled "My Life At School" has been widely used in recent research to assess the student's attitudes toward school, relationships with teachers and commitment to learning (see Appendix H). This scale uses both a true-false and multiple-choice format. This instrument has been used with over 1200 fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth grade students in Montgomery County, Maryland.

Data Analysis

The data were analyzed to determine group differences per the following groups:

1. (a) children bused for desegregation (b) children remaining in home school with no desegregation threat (c) and those children remaining in home school with the threat of desegregation

2. children bused for desegregation versus children remaining in the home school

3. number of years bused for desegregation

4. grade of respondents

5. sex of respondents

The deviation of each subscore of the self-concept scale, the school attitude scale and the racial attitude scale made possible the ranking and correlating of deviation for a closer examination of attitude. The study adhered to McConahay's (1978) methodological considerations of a comparison group that is statistically identical. The attitudes of three groups were measured:

1. White students bused to Rosemary Hills where

they became the minority.

2. White students from Somerset and Westbrook who were never bused and were never threatened with the possibility of busing for desegregation.

3. White students from Bethesda, Lynnbrook, North Chevy Chase and Rollingwood who were never bused but lived through their primary years with the threat of being bused for desegregation.

C H A P T E R V

FINDINGS

A review of the instruments administered to the students in the study will be found in this chapter with specific information regarding the sub-tests used. The remainder of the chapter will give the detailed findings of the study and possible reasons for the specific results.

Dependent Variables

The following sub-tests were used to measure student attitudes on self-concept, racial attitudes, and attitudes about school:

Self-Concept (Adapted from Piers-Harris
Self-Concept Scale)

Behavior

Prowess

Anxiety

Popular

Smart

Looks

Racial Attitudes (Adapted from Woodmansee & Cook's
Multi-Factor Racial Attitudes Inventory)

Integration-Policy

Ease in Interracial Contacts

Black Inferiority

Subtle Derogatory Beliefs

Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships

Local Autonomy

Private Rights

Gradualism

Acceptance in Status Superior Relationships

School Attitudes (Adapted from Joyce Epstein's
Quality of School Life Scale)

School

Class

Teacher

Variable Reduction

A principal components analysis with varimax rotation was performed on each of the three tests (Nie, 1983). Four factors were identified: one for self concept, two for racial attitudes, and one for school attitudes. Details of these analyses are discussed below.

Self-Concept

One significant principal component accounting for 47.2% of the variance was extracted from the six self-concept sub-tests (see Table 4). The correlations of the subscores with the factor (see Table 5) suggest that the self-concept factor was determined primarily by Popularity and Intelligence, with the other scores contributing less to the factor's definition.

Table 4

Principal Components Analysis of Self-Concept

Factor	Eigenvalue	Percent of Variance	Cum. Percent
1	2.82902	47.2	47.2
2	.93702	15.6	62.8
3	.76600	12.8	75.5
4	.65563	10.9	86.5
5	.46511	7.8	94.2
6	.34722	5.8	100.0

Table 5

Self-Concept Factor Loading

Sub-test	Factor I Self-Concept
Behavior	.64741
Prowess	.66727
Anxiety	.58742
Popular	.77892
Smart	.76794
Looks	.65018

Racial Attitudes

Two significant factors accounting for 51.3% of the variance were extracted from the nine racial attitudes scores (see Table 6). The factor loadings reported in Table 7 suggest that Factor I represents a traditionally liberal (having, expressing, or following views or policies that favor the freedom of individuals to act or express themselves in a manner of their own choosing) dimension. Factor II is interpreted to represent a social activism (causing or initiating social action or change regarding race relations) dimension.

Table 6

Racial Attitudes Principal Components Analysis

Factor	Eigenvalue	Percent of Variance	Cum. Percent
1	3.35437	37.3	37.3
2	1.26129	14.0	51.3

Table 7

Racial Attitudes Factor Loading

Sub-tests	Factor I Liberal	Factor II Social Activist
Policy	.67657	.27006
Ease	.36280	.44932
Black	.56227	.37026
Subtle	.35139	.65086
Close	.78127	.09994
Local	.22635	.65769
Rights	.19200	.56212
Gradualism	.14732	.74886
Superior	.83618	.03345

School Attitudes

The principal components analysis of school attitudes produced one principal component that was statistically significant, accounting for 72.1% of the variance of the three scores (see Table 8).

Table 8

School Attitudes Principal Components Analysis

Factor	Eigenvalue	% of Variance	Cum. %
1	2.16436	72.1	72.1
2	.47579	15.9	88.0
3	.35982	12.0	100.0

The factor analysis was interpreted to represent general school attitudes since the three sub-tests were about equally weighted in the score (see Table 9).

Table 9

School Attitudes Factor Loading

Sub-tests	School Attitudes
Teacher Attitudes	.83609
School Attitudes	.83518
Class Attitudes	.87626

Summary of Measures

The four measures: self-concept, liberalism, social activism, and school attitudes were used as dependent variables in the following analysis. The low intercorrelations among these measures (see Table 10) suggest that there was little redundancy among the measures.

Table 10

Correlation Among the Four Dependent Measures (n = 209)

Measures	Self-Concept	Liberal	Activist
Liberal	.16		
Activist	-.04	.00	
School	.42	.05	.02

For the purpose of this study the four factor scores were computed by the SPSS program (Nie, 1983), with the sample means set to zero and the standard deviations set at 1.00. The descriptive data presented show the cell deviations from the sample mean.

Independent Variables

This study analyzed the following independent variables to determine if any factors showed significant deviation between the groups. Analysis determined whether any attitude differences on self, Blacks and Liberalism, Blacks and Social Activism, and school could be contributed to a student being bused for school desegregation. The independent variables are:

1. Group by Grade - this analysis examined groups of students by the factors of busing for school integration, threatened with busing, and isolation from the busing issue (busing groups) and the current grade of the student.

2. Group by Sex - this analysis examined the busing groups correlated with the sex of the student.
3. Bused vs. Not Bused - this analysis examined all students who were bused for school desegregation vs. all other students in the study.
4. Years Bused - this analysis examined the number of years a student was bused to Rosemary Hills.

Analysis by Group and Current Grade of the Student

The first analysis was performed to examine students according to the pre-defined groups and the current grade of the student. Group one were students who were bused to Rosemary Hills for the sole purpose of desegregation, this population had 65 students tested. Group two were students who attended schools who were

isolated from the racial desegregation issues, this population had 69 students tested. Group three were students who attended schools that were threatened with busing for desegregation, this population had 75 students tested. The data was analyzed in conjunction with the current grade of the student. Grade seven, eight and nine students were involved, 21 were bused grade seven students, 23 were bused grade eight students, and 21 were bused grade nine students; 27 were isolated grade seven students, 27 were isolated grade eight students and 15 were isolated grade nine students. The last sub-group were the students who were threatened with busing, the population consisted of 18 grade seven students, 33 grade eight students, and 24 grade nine students. Analysis was done to determine if there was a correlation between the attitudes of groups and the grade of the student. The researcher examined the effects of these conditions on the attitudes of these differing groups toward self, (see Table 11), Blacks and Liberalism (see Table 12), Blacks and Social Activism (see Table 13), and school (see Table 14).

Table 11

Self-Concept by Group and Current Grade Differences

Means for Group and Current Grade on Self-Concept

Busing Status	Current Grade			Total
	Seven	Eight	Nine	
Bused	0.25 (21)	-0.10 (23)	-0.15 (21)	-0.00 (65)
Bus Threat	-0.05 (27)	-0.09 (27)	-0.15 (15)	0.01 (69)
No Threat	0.15 (18)	-0.26 (33)	0.21 (24)	-0.01 (75)
Total	0.10 (66)	-0.16 (83)	0.16 (60)	-0.00 (209)

(table continues)

Analysis of Variance of Self-Concept by Group and Current Grade

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif. of F
Group	0.022	2	0.011	0.011	0.989
Current Grade	3.465	2	1.734	1.697	0.186
Group x Current Grade	3.816	4	0.954	0.934	0.445
Total	211.476	208	1.017		

Table 12

Liberalism by Group and Current Grade Differences

Means for Group and Current Grade on Liberalism

Busing Status	Current grade			
	Seven	Eight	Nine	Total
Bused	-0.24 (21)	-0.14 (23)	0.43 (21)	0.01 (65)
No Threat	-0.23 (27)	-0.11 (27)	-0.08 (15)	-0.15 (69)
Bus Threat	0.15 (18)	0.03 (33)	0.22 (24)	0.12 (75)
Total	-0.13 (66)	-0.06 (83)	0.66 (60)	-0.00 (209)

(table continues)

Analysis of Variance of Liberalism by Group and Current
Grade

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif. of F
Group	1.878	2	0.939	0.936	0.394
Current Grade	3.668	2	1.834	1.828	0.163
Group x Current Grade	2.682	4	0.670	0.668	0.615
Total	209.610	208	1.008		

Table 13

Social Activism by Group and Grade Level Differences

Means for Group and Current Grade on Social Activism

Busing Status	Current Grade			Total
	Seven	Eight	Nine	
Bused	0.20 (21)	0.38 (23)	-0.15 (21)	0.15 (65)
No Threat	-0.39 (27)	0.03 (27)	-0.29 (15)	-0.20 (69)
Bus Threat	0.24 (18)	-0.11 (33)	0.11 (24)	0.04 (75)
Total	-0.02 (66)	0.07 (83)	-0.08 (60)	-0.01 (209)

(table continues)

Analysis of Variance of Social Activism by Group and
Current Grade

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif. of F
Group	4.668	2	2.334	2.391	0.094
Current Grade	1.148	2	0.574	0.558	0.556
Group x Current Grade	6.093	4	1.523	1.560	0.186
Total	206.899	208	0.995		

Table 14

School Attitudes by Grade Level and Group Differences

Means for Group and Current Grade on School Attitudes

Busing Status	Current Grade			Total
	Seven	Eight	Nine	
Bused	0.22 (21)	-0.36 (23)	0.23 (21)	0.02 (65)
No Threat	0.13 (27)	-0.53 (27)	0.43 (15)	-0.06 (69)
Bus Threat	0.09 (18)	-0.22 (33)	0.51 (24)	0.09 (75)
Total	0.15 (66)	-0.36 (83)	0.39 (60)	0.02 (209)

(table continues)

Analysis of Variance of School Attitudes by Group and
Current Grade

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif. of F
Group	0.943	2	0.471	0.532	0.588
Current Grade	21.462	2	10.731	12.114	0.000*
Group x Current Grade	1.698	4	0.425	0.479	0.751
Total	201.168	208	0.967		

* $p < .05$

Results by Group and Current Grade

Results of this study show that whether a white student was bused for school desegregation, not bused for school desegregation, or threatened with being bused for school desegregation had no effect on attitudes toward self, Blacks and Liberalism, Blacks and Social Activism, or school.

In analysing the students by both group and current grade level there were no significant findings in the interactions on self-concept, attitudes toward Blacks and Liberalism, and Blacks and Social Activism.

In the factor on school attitudes there was a positive correlation between grade level and attitude toward school (0.000). Ninth grade students are more positive toward school (0.39) and eighth grade students are the most negative (-0.36). The finding could be due to the fact that ninth grade students are engaged in the new challenge of high school and eighth students who are the end of the elementary school years have lost motivation and will hopefully revitalize when they reach grade nine.

Even though the literature has made no reference to busing having a positive effect on student attitudes toward Blacks this researcher thought that there would be positive findings in this area. The results in the area of social activism by group was not significant at the $.05$ level but the tendency toward a difference was emerging ($.09$) with the bused students being the most positive (0.15) and the students who were isolated from

the busing issue being the most negative (-0.20). A larger population studied may emerge with a statistically significant difference.

Analysis by Group and Sex

An analysis was performed to examine the group of the student and sex of the student. There were 38 males and 27 females who were bused, 35 males and 33 females who were isolated with no threat of being bused and 29 males and 45 females who faced the possibility of being bused for school desegregation. These variables were analyzed to determine if male and female attitudes varied dependent on their group toward self (see Table 15), Blacks and Liberalism (see Table 16), Blacks and Social Activism (see Tables 17), and school (see Table 18).

Table 15

Self-Concept by Group and Sex

Mean Group and Sex Differences of Self-Concept

Busing Status	Sex		
	Male	Female	Total
Bused	0.06 (38)	-0.09 (27)	-0.00 (65)
No Threat	-0.24 (35)	0.26 (33)	-0.00 (68)
Bus Threat	-0.35 (29)	0.19 (45)	-0.02 (74)
Total	-0.16 (106)	0.14 (101)	-0.01 (207)

(table continues)

Analysis of Variance of Self-Concept by Group and Sex

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif. of F
Group	0.218	2	0.109	0.109	0.897
Sex	4.818	1	4.818	4.825	0.029*
Group x Sex	4.949	2	2.475	2.478	0.086
Total	210.488	206	1.022		

Table 16

Liberalism by Group and Sex

Mean Group and Sex Differences of Liberalism

Busing Status	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
Bused	-0.14 (38)	0.22 (27)	0.01 (65)
Bus Threat	-0.39 (35)	0.12 (33)	-0.15 (68)
No Threat	-0.36 (29)	0.44 (45)	0.12 (74)
Total	-0.29 (102)	0.28 (105)	0.00 (207)

(table continues)

Analysis of Variance of Liberalism by Group and Sex

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif. of F
Group	1.813	2	0.906	0.963	0.383
Sex	16.022	1	16.022	17.029	0.000*
Group x Sex	1.636	2	0.818	0.869	0.421
Total	209.394	206	1.016		

* $p < .05$

Table 17

Social Activism by Group and Sex

Mean Group and Sex Differences on Social Activism

	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
<hr/>			
Busing Status			
<hr/>			
Bused	0.27 (38)	-0.03 (27)	0.15 (65)
No Threat	-0.37 (35)	-0.02 (33)	-0.20 (68)
Bus Threat	-0.25 (29)	0.25 (45)	0.06 (74)
<hr/>			
Total	-0.10 (102)	0.10 (105)	0.00 (207)
<hr/>			

(table continues)

Analysis of Variance of Social Activism by Group and Sex

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif. of F
Group	4.463	2	2.231	2.320	0.101
Sex	2.027	1	2.027	2.108	0.148
Group x Sex	6.086	2	3.043	3.163	0.044*
Total	205.825	206	0.999		

* $p < .05$

Table 18

School Attitudes by Group and Sex

Mean Group and Sex Differences on School Attitudes

Busing Status	Sex		
	Male	Female	Total
Bused	-0.22 (38)	0.35 (27)	0.02 (65)
No Threat	-0.14 (35)	0.02 (33)	-0.06 (68)
Bus Threat	-0.25 (29)	0.30 (45)	0.08 (74)
Total	-0.20 (102)	0.22 (105)	0.01 (207)

(table continues)

Analysis of Variance of Busing Status and Sex Differences
on School Attitudes

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif. of F
Group	0.462	2	0.231	0.246	0.782
Sex	8.940	1	8.940	9.508	0.002*
Group x Sex	1.842	2	0.921	0.979	0.377
Total	200.494	206	0.973		

* $p < .05$

Results by Group and Sex

The analysis of self-concept was statistically significant (0.029), girls (0.14) have a better self-concept than boys (-0.16). Even though group by sex was not statistically significant (0.086) it was close with girls who were bused having the lowest score of all

girls (-0.09) and boys who were bused having the highest score for all boys (0.06). A larger sample may tend to bring significance to these scores.

In the analysis of Liberalism (0.000) girls are significantly more positive (0.28) than boys toward Blacks (-0.29).

In the analysis of social activism group by sex was significant (0.044), with boys who were bused scoring highest (0.27) as social activists, and boys isolated from busing scoring the lowest (-0.37). In the examination of the difference of differences between the groups, there was the least amount of difference between girls and boys who were bused .30, followed by those who were not threatened with busing .35 with the greatest sexual difference occurring between girls and boys who were threatened with busing .50. It is obvious that busing has made a difference the male attitudes toward social activism.

The examination of attitudes toward school, girls are more positive about school than boys with the difference between girls and boys being .44.

Analysis by Students Bused

The following analysis examined the attitudes of the 65 students who were bused, versus the attitudes of the 152 students who were not bused. This analysis was performed to determine whether busing for school desegregation alone was a significant factor in student attitudes toward self (see Table 19), Blacks and Liberalism (see Table 20) Blacks and Social Activism (see Table 21), and school (see Table 22).

Table 19

Self-Concept by Busing Differences

Mean Busing Differences on Self-Concept

Bused	Not Bused	Sample Mean
-0.00 (65)	0.01 (152)	0.00 (217)

Analysis of Variance of Bused by Self-Concept

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif. of F
Busing	0.008	1	0.008	0.008	0.930
Total	215.300	216	0.997		

Table 20

Liberalism by Busing Differences

Mean Busing Differences on Liberalism

Bused	Not Bused	Sample Mean
0.01 (65)	-0.00 (152)	0.00 (217)

Analysis of Variance of Bused by Liberalism

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif. of F
Busing	0.010	1	0.010	0.010	0.921
Total	216.973	216	1.005		

Table 21

Social Activism by Busing Differences

Mean Busing Difference on Social Activism

Bused	Non-Bused	Sample Mean
0.15 (65)	-0.07 (152)	-0.00 (217)

Analysis of Variance of Bused by Social Activism

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif. of F
Busing	2.167	1	2.167	2.186	0.141
Total	215.285	216	0.997		

Table 22

School Attitudes by Busing Differences

Mean of Busing on School Attitudes

Bused	Non-Bused	Sample Mean
0.02 (65)	0.01 (152)	0.02 (217)

Analysis of Variance of Bused by School Attitudes

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif. of F
Busing	0.001	1	0.001	0.001	0.981
Total	211.421	216	0.976		

Results by Students Bused

These results show that the major difference in attitudes toward self, Blacks and Liberalism, Blacks and Social Activism, and school is not related to the busing of students at a significant level. This may be accounted for by the small size of the population.

Analysis by Years Bused to Rosemary Hills

The next analysis examined only the students bused to Rosemary Hills, looking for differences between students who had attended Rosemary Hills for one year, 13 students; two years, 29 students; or three years, 23 students. This analysis was performed to determine if the number of years a student was bused for school desegregation made a difference in the attitudes held by students toward self (see Table 23), Blacks and Liberalism (see Table 24), Blacks and Social Activism (see Table 25), and school (see Table 26).

Table 23

Self-Concept by Years Bused to Rosemary Hills

Mean Differences of Years Bused to Rosemary Hills on
Self-Concept

Bused One Year	Bused Two Years	Bused Three Years	Sample Mean
0.00 (13)	-0.00 (29)	-0.23 (23)	-0.00 (65)

Analysis of Variance of Self-Concept by Years Bused

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif. of F
Years Bused	3.091	2	1.546	1.572	0.216
Total	64.041	64	1.001		

Table 24

Liberalism by Years Bused to Rosemary Hills

Mean Differences of Years Bused to Rosemary Hills on
Liberalism

Bused One Year	Bused Two Years	Bused Three Years	Sample Mean
0.07 (13)	0.05 (29)	-0.07 (23)	0.01 (65)

Analysis of Variance of Liberalism by Years Bused

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif. of F
Years Bused	0.215	2	0.108	0.104	0.902
Total	64.557	64	1.009		

Table 25

Social Activism by Years Bused to Rosemary Hills

Mean Differences of Years Bused to Rosemary Hills on
Social Activism

Bused One Year	Bused Two Years	Bused Three Years	Sample Mean
-0.04 (13)	0.07 (29)	0.34 (23)	0.15 (65)

Analysis of Variance on Social Activism by Years Bused

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif. of F
Years Bused	1.484	2	0.742	0.574	0.566
Total	81.615	64	1.275		

Table 26

School Attitudes by Years Bused to Rosemary Hills

Mean Differences of Years Bused to Rosemary Hills on
School Attitudes

Bused One Year	Bused Two Years	Bused Three Years	Sample Mean
0.23 (13)	0.20 (29)	-0.33 (23)	0.02 (65)

Analysis of Variance of School Attitudes by Years Bused

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	Signif. of F
Years Bused	4.257	2	2.128	2.464	0.093
Total	57.822	64	0.903		

Results by Years Bused to Rosemary Hills

These results show that the number of years that a student was bused to Rosemary Hills made no statistical difference in attitudes toward self, Blacks and Liberalism, Blacks and Social Activism, or school. The lack of difference may be due to the small sample size and the fact that the students had all attended the same school.

General Conclusions

Results show that the major difference in self-concept attitudes is not related to busing of students or whether white students are in the majority or minority of the school population.

The study found significant differences in racial attitudes as determined by the sex of the respondent, with the attitudes of the female being more liberal and the attitudes of the bused males more social activist.

As previously mentioned this researcher could find no study similiar to this one in the literature. The

finding of bused males being social activists seems to support Patchen (1982) who reported positive racial attitudes in the early elementary years will lead to positive racial attitudes in high school. The question still to be explored is why this finding was not present in bused females. The social activist finding for males may in and of itself warrant the busing of students for the purpose of desegregation if this finding stays consistent in bused males adult attitudes.

The high income level of the population in the study suggests that if the parents had strongly objected to school desegregation the private school option was viable. This high income level may have contributed to the lack of more significant findings in the study.

In Sachdena's (1972) study he found that when white students were in daily contact with Blacks as peers and the white students were indifferent to prejudice the contact enhanced positive attitudes toward Blacks. This finding does not explain the liberal attitudes of the females regardless of busing or why bused males showed no liberal findings. This researcher has not found in the literature any study that shows that white females are

more liberal toward Blacks than are white males.

In attitudes toward school there was no significant difference between the groups therefore this research cannot support Weinberg's (1977) position that interracial contact cause students to feel more positive about the school environment.

C H A P T E R V I
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

The primary purpose of this study was to examine the effects of busing for school desegregation on attitudes of white students toward self, Blacks, and school and whether or not early integration (grades kindergarten, one, and two) had an impact on those attitudes.

The analysis of two racial attitudes dimensions, Blacks and Liberalism and Blacks and Social Activism, revealed two findings. The first finding had to do with the "Liberal" dimension of racial attitudes with females being significantly more "Liberal" than males. The primary focus for future study as a result of this finding should involve the relationships between sex and racial attitudes.

Future research needs to be undertaken to answer the following questions:

1. Are white females of all ages and economic strata more liberal than white males?
2. Are white females in other geographic regions more liberal than white males?

3. Are white females in the adult population more liberal than white males?
4. What environmental factors have made the white female in this population more liberal than the white male?
5. Is there an older or younger age when white male and female liberal views toward Blacks are congruent?

Similar studies need to be explored involving white males who were bused. The research appears to show them to be the most positive toward "Social Activism". The following questions need to be answered.

1. Why does busing only effect the males views toward "Social Activism"?
2. Is this finding of "Social Activism" present in all males who have been bused at an early age for school desegregation?

Since this study has indicated there is a positive effect from busing on white male attitudes toward "Social Activism" we need to know what factor causes this difference. If we could determine those factors we would be closer to determining a course of action toward creating a bias free society.

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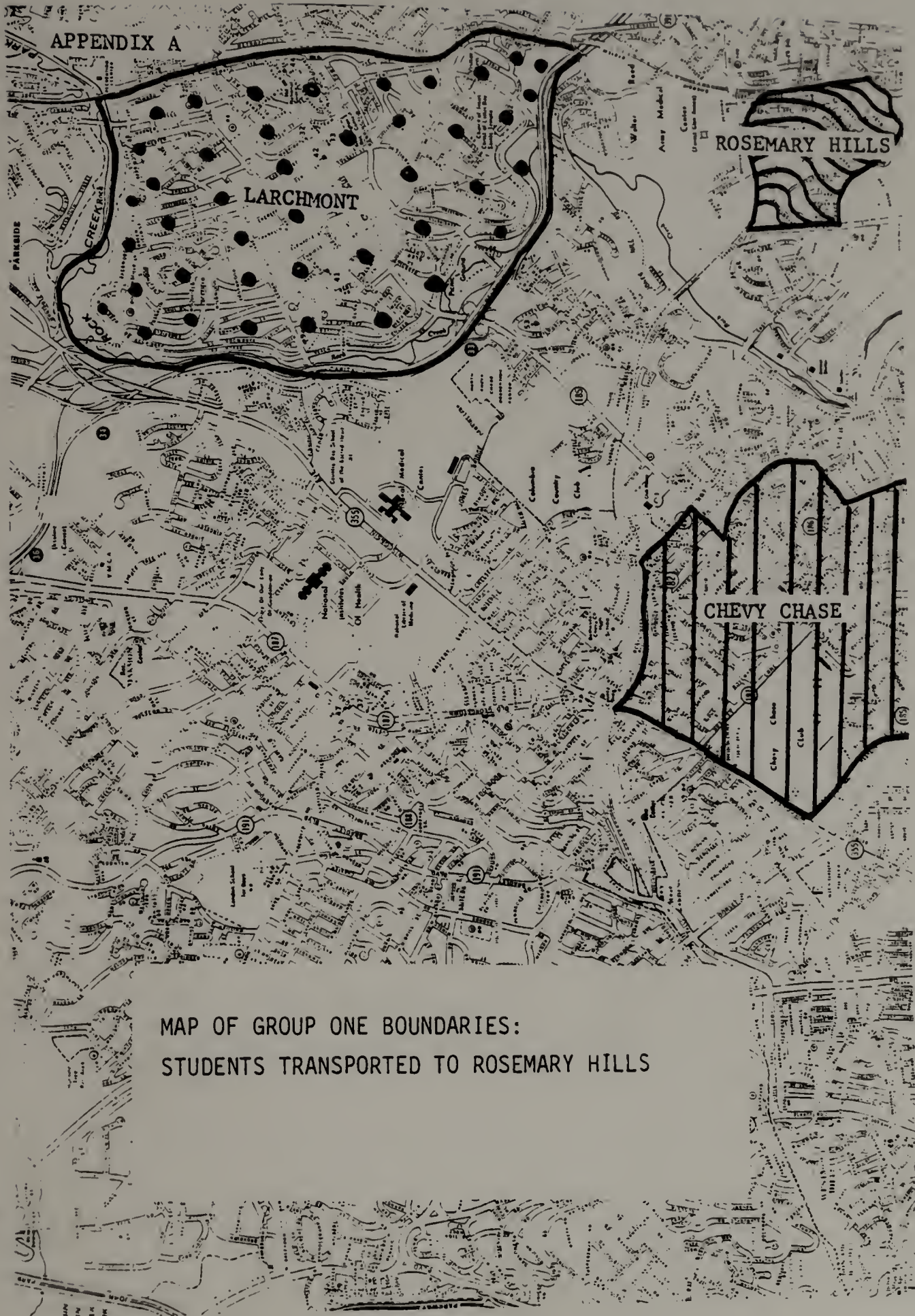
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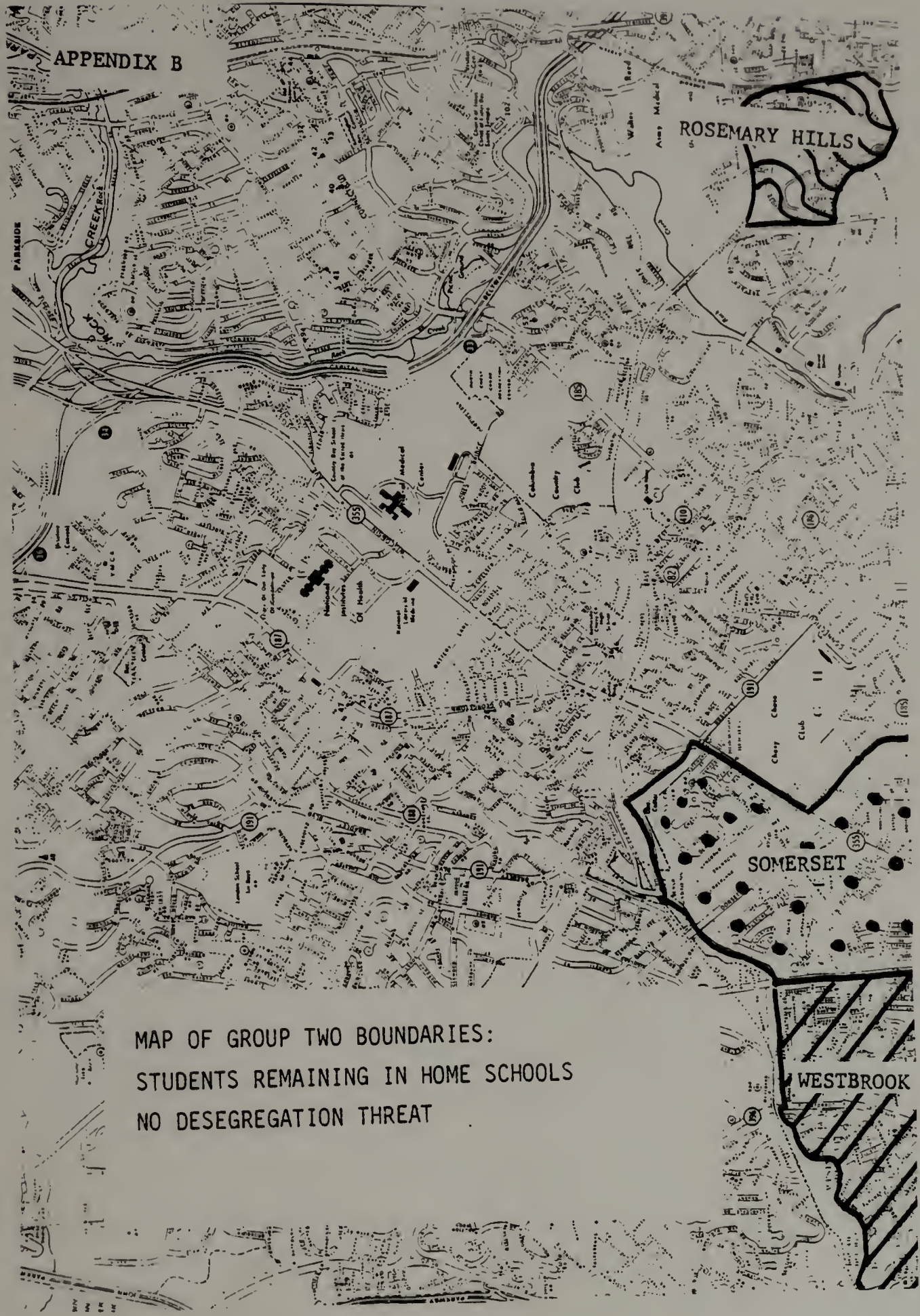
APPENDIX A

MAP OF GROUP ONE BOUNDARIES:
STUDENTS TRANSPORTED TO ROSEMARY HILLS



APPENDIX B

MAP OF GROUP TWO BOUNDARIES:
STUDENTS REMAINING IN HOME SCHOOLS
NO DESEGREGATION THREAT



APPENDIX B

ROSEMARY HILLS

SOMERSET

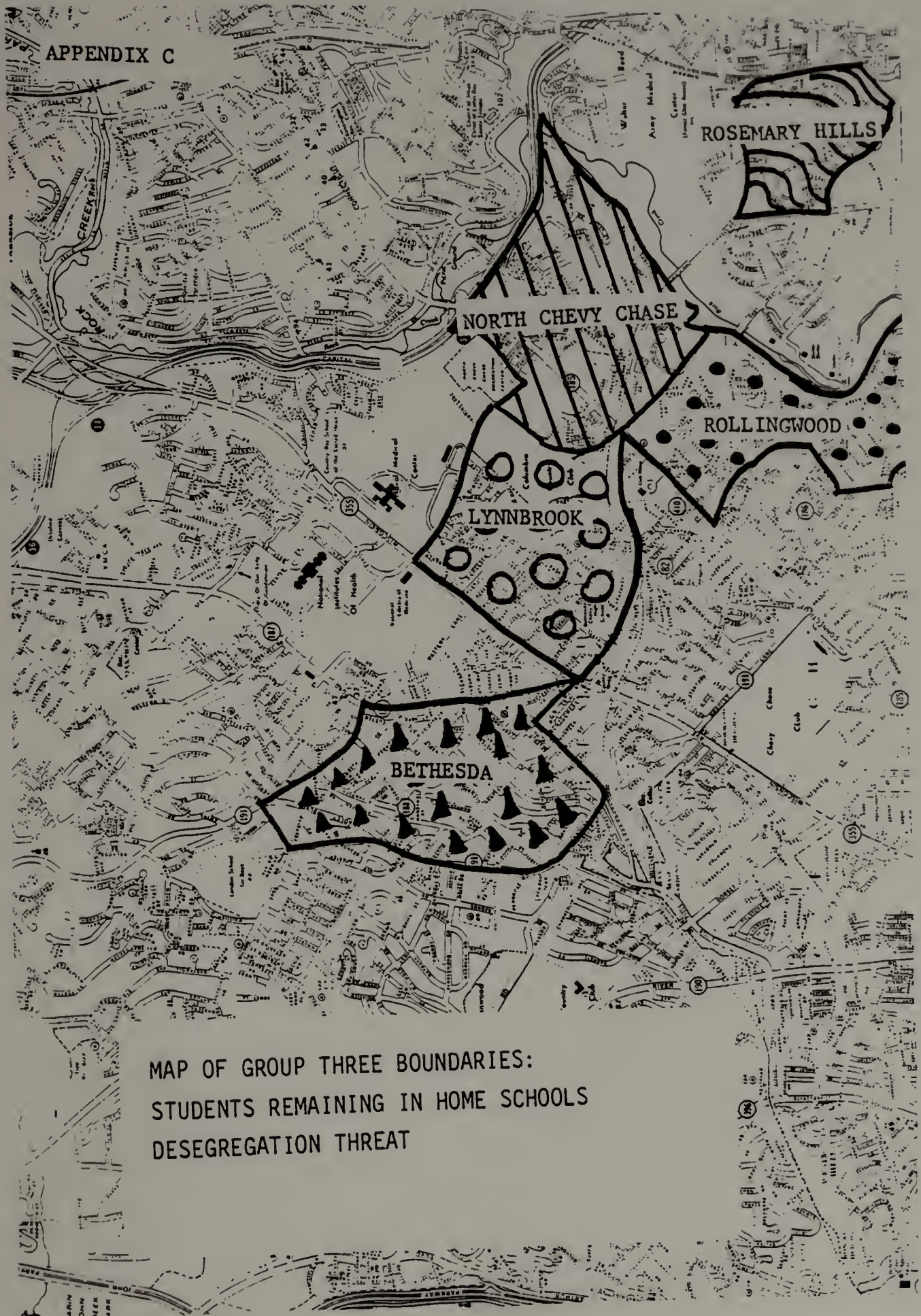
WESTBROOK

MAP OF GROUP TWO BOUNDARIES:
STUDENTS REMAINING IN HOME SCHOOLS
NO DESEGREGATION THREAT

APPENDIX C

MAP OF GROUP THREE BOUNDARIES:
STUDENTS REMAINING IN HOME SCHOOLS
DESEGREGATION THREAT

APPENDIX C



MAP OF GROUP THREE BOUNDARIES:
STUDENTS REMAINING IN HOME SCHOOLS
DESEGREGATION THREAT

APPENDIX D

LETTER REQUESTING STUDENT PARTICIPATION
IN THE STUDY

Dear Parents:

Your child will be administered a series of questionnaires on his/her opinions and attitudes about his school, classmates and him/herself. MCPS has had many decisions regarding desegregation that may have affected your child. Therefore, some of the questions will relate to race relations. These questionnaires will help us understand the effects of school programs, and desegregation decisions on MPCS students and make better programs in the future.

I am doing this research as part of my doctoral dissertation and require your permission to administer the questionnaire to your child. The results will only be published in terms of group data. No individual data will be released. I will supply you with the group data at the end of the study if you wish.

I am hoping for your cooperation so that I can include as many students as possible in the study. Thank you in advance for your support.

Sincerely,

Drucille H. Stafford

Approved: Harry S. Pitt
Deputy Superintendent of Schools

____ I give permission for my child, _____, to participate in the research.

____ I request a copy of the results of the study.

Parent's Signature

Please return this in the stamped addressed envelope enclosed.

APPENDIX E

COVER LETTER FOR INSTRUMENTS

Dear Student:

This is a series of three questionnaires asking for your opinions of and attitudes toward your school, your classmates, and yourself. All of you have been a part of the M.C.P.S. school desegregation decisions, therefore some of the questions you will be asked regard race relations. Your honest answers to these questions will help us understand better the effects of the schools and the desegregation decisions on students like you and to develop better school programs in the future.

These questions do not have any "right" or "wrong" answers like a test. Rather the questions are matters of opinion, and only you can tell us what your own opinion is about these things. We will keep your answers strictly confidential. When the answers are studied, your name will not be given along with your answers.

You will help most in this study by answering as many questions as you can. However, if a question bothers you, or you do not wish to give an answer, then you may leave it blank on the answer sheet and skip to the next question.

REMEMBER IF YOU DO NOT WISH TO ANSWER A QUESTION,
YOU MAY SKIP IT.

Once again, your individual answers to these questions will not be shown to the teachers, or the principal or anyone else outside the study.

We think you will find these questions interesting. Thank you very much for your cooperation.

APPENDIX F

THE WAY I FEEL ABOUT MYSELF
SCALE AND SCORING KEY

THE WAY I FEEL ABOUT MYSELF

Here are a set of statements. Some of them are true of you, so you will circle the "A" in your questionnaire. Some of them are not true of you, so you will circle the "B" in your questionnaire. Do not answer both "Yes" and "No" to any question. There are no right or wrong answers for these statements. Only you can tell how you feel about yourself, so we hope you will mark the answer that tells how you really feel inside.

1. My classmates make fun of me.
A. Yes
B. No
2. It is hard for me to make friends.
A. Yes
B. No
3. I am smart.
A. Yes
B. No
4. I am shy.
A. Yes
B. No
5. I get nervous when the teacher calls me.
A. Yes
B. No
6. My looks bother me.
A. Yes
B. No
7. I get worried when we have tests in school.
A. Yes
B. No

8. I am unpopular.
A. Yes
B. No
9. I am well-behaved in school.
A. Yes
B. No
10. I cause trouble to my family.
A. Yes
B. No.
11. I am strong.
A. Yes
B. No
12. I am good in my school work.
A. Yes
B. No
13. I do many bad things.
A. Yes
B. No
14. I behave badly at home.
A. Yes
B. No
15. I am slow in finishing my school work.
A. Yes
B. No
16. I am nervous.
A. Yes
B. No
17. I have nice eyes .
A. Yes
B. No
18. I can give a good report in front of the class.
A. Yes
B. No

19. I often get into trouble.
A. Yes
B. No
20. I worry a lot.
A. Yes
B. No
21. I feel left out of things.
A. Yes
B. No
22. I have nice hair.
A. Yes
B. No
23. I am among the last to be chosen for games.
A. Yes
B. No
24. I am often mean to other people.
A. Yes
B. No
25. I have many friends.
A. Yes
B. No
26. I am dumb about most things.
A. Yes
B. No
27. I am good looking.
A. Yes
B. No
28. People pick on me.
A. Yes
B. No
29. My family is disappointed in me.
A. Yes
B. No

30. I have a pleasant face.
A. Yes
B. No
31. I am a leader in games and sports.
A. Yes
B. No
32. I forget what I learn.
A. Yes
B. No
33. In games and sports, I watch instead of play.
A. Yes
B. No
34. I am a good reader.
A. Yes
B. No
35. I am often afraid.
A. Yes
B. No

PLEASE CONTINUE

The Way I Feel About Myself Scoring Key

Behavior	9.	A+1	B-1
	10.	B+1	A-1
	13.	B+1	A-1
	14.	B+1	A-1
	19.	B+1	A-1
	24.	B+1	A-1
	29.	B+1	A-1
Prowess	11.	A+1	B-1
	23.	B+1	A-1
	31.	A+1	B-1
	33.	B+1	A-1
Anxiety	4.	B+1	A-1
	5.	B+1	A-1
	7.	B+1	A-1
	16.	B+1	A-1
	20.	B+1	A-1
	35.	B+1	A-1
Popular	1.	B+1	A-1
	2.	B+1	A-1
	8.	B+1	A-1
	21.	B+1	A-1
	25.	A+1	B-1
	28.	B+1	A-1
Smart	3.	A+1	B-1
	12.	A+1	B-1
	15.	B+1	A-1
	18.	A+1	B-1
	26.	B+1	A-1
	32.	B+1	A-1
	34.	A+1	B-1
Looks	6.	B+1	A-1
	17.	A+1	B-1
	22.	A+1	B-1
	27.	A+1	B-1
	30.	A+1	B-1

APPENDIX G

MULTIFACTOR RACIAL ATTITUDES INSTRUMENT
SCALE AND SCORING KEY

MULTI-FACTOR ATTITUDES INVENTORY

These questions will examine your attitudes toward Blacks. Continue to circle the "A" or "B" in your test booklet. Some of these questions may be hard for you to decide but answer with your best judgment. Only you know how you feel about the answers to these questions. These statements have no right or wrong answers.

36. Blacks should be accorded equal rights through integration.
 - A. Agree
 - B. Disagree
37. I would have no worries about going to a party with an attractive black date.
 - A. Agree
 - B. Disagree
38. I would accept an invitation to a New Year's Eve party given by a black classmate in his own home.
 - A. Agree
 - B. Disagree
39. I think it is right that the black race should occupy a somewhat lower position socially than the white race.
 - A. Agree
 - B. Disagree
40. A hotel owner ought to have the right to decide whether he is going to rent rooms to black guests.
 - A. Agree
 - B. Disagree
41. The black person and the white person are inherently equal.
 - A. Agree
 - B. Disagree

42. Laws requiring restaurant owners to serve persons regardless of race, creed or color should be strictly enforced.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
43. Blacks sometimes imagine they have been discriminated against even when they have been treated quite fairly.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
44. If I were a teacher, I would not mind at all taking advice from a black principal.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
45. In an important meeting I would rather not be represented by a black chairman.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
46. Society has a moral right to insist that a community desegregate even if it doesn't want to.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
47. Gradual desegregation is a mistake because it just gives people a chance to cause further delay.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
48. School officials should not place black children and white children in the same schools because of the danger of fights and other problems.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
49. I probably would feel somewhat self-conscious dancing with a black person in a public place.
A. Agree
B. Disagree

50. The people of each state should be allowed to decide for or against integration in state matters.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
51. It is better to work gradually toward integration than to try to bring it about all at once.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
52. I would not take a black person to eat with me in a restaurant where I was well known.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
53. Some blacks are so touchy about getting their rights that it is difficult to get along with them.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
54. A person should not have the right to run a business in this country if he will not serve blacks.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
55. I would rather not have blacks swim in the same pool as I do.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
56. Civil rights workers should be supported in their efforts to force acceptance of desegregation.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
57. Those who advise patience and "slow down" in desegregation are wrong.
A. Agree
B. Disagree

58. I favor gradual rather than sudden changes in the social relations between blacks and whites.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
59. I can easily imagine myself falling in love with and marrying a black person.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
60. I believe that the black person is entitled to the same social privileges as the white person.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
61. I am willing to have blacks as close personal friends.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
62. We should not continue to integrate schools until blacks raise their standard of living.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
63. Many blacks should receive better education than they are now getting, but the emphasis should be on training them for jobs rather than preparing them for college.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
64. Barbers and beauticians have the right to refuse service to anyone they please, even if it means refusing blacks.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
65. A good many blacks are not yet ready to practice the self-control that goes with social equality.
A. Agree
B. Disagree

66. If I were being interviewed for a job, I would not mind being interviewed by a black.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
67. It would be a mistake to have blacks for leaders over whites.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
68. Many blacks spend money for big cars and television sets instead of spending it for better housing.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
69. I would feel somewhat uneasy talking about intermarriage with blacks whom I do not know well.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
70. Integration will result in greater understanding between blacks and whites.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
71. Since we live in a democracy, if we don't want integration it should not be forced upon us.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
72. I would not mind at all if my only friends were blacks.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
73. There should be a law requiring persons who take roomers in their homes to rent to anyone regardless of race, creed, or color.
A. Agree
B. Disagree

74. In fields where they have been given an opportunity to advance, blacks have shown that they can succeed.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
75. I would willingly go to a competent black dentist.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
76. It is not right to ask Americans to accept integration if they honestly don't believe in it.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
77. I feel that moderation will do more for desegregation than the efforts of people to force it immediately.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
78. Blacks should be given every opportunity to get ahead, but they could never be capable of holding top leadership positions in this country.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
79. If a black person is qualified for an executive job, he should get it, even if it means that he will be supervising highly educated white persons.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
80. If I were eating lunch in a restaurant alone with a black person, I would be less self-conscious if the black were of the same sex as I rather than the opposite sex.
A. Agree
B. Disagree

81. Even if there were complete equality of opportunity tomorrow, it would still take a long time for blacks to show themselves equal to whites in some areas of life.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
82. Integration of the schools is beneficial to both white and black children.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
83. I would rather not have blacks as dinner guests with most of my white friends.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
84. If I were a businessman, I would resent it if I were told that I had to serve blacks.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
85. Local communities should have no right to delay the desegregation of their community facilities.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
86. In the long run desegregation would go more smoothly if we put desegregation into effect immediately.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
87. Integration should not be continued because of the turmoil it causes.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
88. It will be several generations before blacks are ready to take advantage of a college education.
A. Agree
B. Disagree

89. The fact that blacks are human beings can be recognized without raising them to the social level of whites.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
90. I have no objection to attending the movies or a play in the company of black classmates.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
91. The inability of blacks to develop outstanding leaders restricts them to a low place in society.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
92. Integration is more trouble than it is worth.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
93. It doesn't work to force desegregation on a community before it is ready for it.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
94. The federal government should take decisive steps to override the injustice which blacks suffer.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
95. If desegregation is pushed too fast the black people's cause will be hurt rather than helped.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
96. Real estate agents should be required to show homes to black buyers regardless of the desires of home owners.
A. Agree
B. Disagree

97. If I were a landlord, I would want to pick my own tenants even if this meant renting only to whites.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
98. Even though blacks may have some cause for complaint, they would get what they want faster if they were a bit more patient.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
99. I feel in sympathy with responsible blacks who are fighting for desegregation.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
100. Most blacks really think and feel the same way most whites do.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
101. Before I sponsored a black person for membership in an all-white club, I would think a lot about how this would make the other members feel toward me.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
102. If I were invited to be a guest of a mixed black and white group on a weekend pleasure trip, I would probably not go.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
103. If the blacks were of the same social class level as I am, I'd just as soon move into a black neighborhood as a white one.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
104. I would rather not serve as a student intern on the staff of a black congressman.
A. Agree
B. Disagree

105. The problems of racial prejudice has been greatly exaggerated by a few black agitators.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
106. If he were qualified I would be willing to vote for a black person for President of the Student Government.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
107. Many favor a more moderate policy, but I believe that blacks should be encouraged to picket and sit-in at places where they are not treated fairly.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
108. Desegregation laws often violate the rights of the individual who does not want to associate with blacks.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
109. Since segregation has been declared illegal, we should continue to integrate schools.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
110. I'd be quite willing to consult a black lawyer.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
111. I would rather not have blacks live in the same apartment building I live in.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
112. I would be willing to introduce black visitors to friends and neighbors in my home town.
A. Agree
B. Disagree

113. The best way to integrate the schools is to do it all at once.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
114. People who don't have to live with problems of race relations have no right to dictate to those who do.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
115. If I were working on a community or school problem with somebody, I would rather it not be a black person.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
116. When I see a black person and a white person together as a couple, I'm inclined to be more curious about their relationship than if they were both black or both white.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
117. It is a good idea to have separate schools for blacks and whites.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
118. Race discrimination is not just a local community's problem but one which often demands action from those outside the community.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
119. I have as much respect for some blacks as I do for some white persons, but the average black person and I share little in common.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
120. It makes no difference to me whether I'm black or white.
A. Agree
B. Disagree

121. Regardless of his own views, an employer should be required to hire workers of all races.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
122. Although social mixing of the races may be right in principle, it is impractical until blacks learn to accept more "don'ts" in the relations between teenage boys and girls.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
123. I could trust a black person as easily as I could trust a white person if I knew him well enough.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
124. School integration should have begun with the first few grades rather than all grades at once.
A. Agree
B. Disagree
125. If I were a black person, I would not want to gain entry into places where I was really not wanted.
A. Agree
B. Disagree

CONTINUE TO THE NEXT PAGE

Racial Attitudes Scoring Key

Segregation Policy

Item	Agree	Disagree
36	+	-
48	-	+
62	-	+
70	+	-
82	+	-
87	-	+
92	-	+
99	+	-
109	+	-
117	-	+

Interracial Contacts

Item	Agree	Disagree
37	+	-
49	-	+
59	+	-
69	-	+
72	+	-
80	-	+
101	-	+
103	+	-
116	-	+
120	+	-

Black Inferiority

Item	Agree	Disagree
39	-	+
41	+	-
60	+	-
63	-	+
74	+	-
89	-	+
91	-	+
100	+	-
119	-	+
123	+	-

Derogatory Beliefs

Item	Agree	Disagree
43	-	+
53	-	+
65	-	+
68	-	+
81	-	+
88	-	+
98	-	+
105	-	+
122	-	+
125	-	+

Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships

Item	Agree	Disagree
38	+	-
52	-	+
55	-	+
61	+	-
75	+	-
83	-	+
90	+	-
102	-	+
111	-	+
112	+	-

Local Autonomy

Item	Agree	Disagree
46	+	-
50	-	+
56	+	-
71	-	+
76	-	+
85	+	-
93	-	+
94	+	-
114	-	+
118	+	-

Private Rights

Item	Agree	Disagree
40	-	+
42	+	-
54	+	-
64	-	+
73	+	-
84	-	+
96	+	-
97	-	+
108	-	+
121	+	-

Gradualism

Item	Agree	Disagree
47	+	-
51	-	+
57	+	-
58	-	+
77	-	+
86	+	-
95	-	+
107	+	-
113	+	-
124	-	+

Acceptance in Superior Status Relationships

Item	Agree	Disagree
44	+	-
45	-	+
66	+	-
67	-	+
78	-	+
79	+	-
104	-	+
106	+	-
110	+	-
115	-	+

Key + = Favorable, equalitarian

- = Unfavorable, prejudiced

APPENDIX H

MY LIFE AT SCHOOL
SCALE AND SCORING KEY

MY LIFE AT SCHOOL

Read each question carefully. Then decide which answer is closest to what you think. Circle the letter next to your choice. Remember -- this is not a test. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers. We just want to know what you think about your life at school.

126. I hope school next year will be like it is this year.
- A. True
 - B. False
127. Most of the work I do in class is important to me.
- A. True
 - B. False
128. My teachers here have a way with students that makes me like my teachers.
- A. True
 - B. False
129. Most of the time I do not want to go to school.
- A. True
 - B. False
130. A lot of times I wish the class would not end so soon.
- A. True
 - B. False

131. Most of my teachers want me to do things their way and not my own way.
- A. True
 - B. False
132. I don't like school very much this year.
- A. True
 - B. False
133. Most of my teachers really listen to what I have to say.
- A. True
 - B. False
134. I hardly ever do anything very exciting in class.
- A. True
 - B. False
135. I am usually happy to be in school.
- A. True
 - B. False
136. Most of my teachers do not like me to ask a lot of questions during the lesson.
- A. True
 - B. False
137. In class, I often count the minutes until it ends.
- A. True
 - B. False

138. When I think of going to school
- A. I almost always look forward to it.
 - B. I usually look forward to it.
 - C. I look forward to it once in awhile.
 - D. I hardly ever look forward to it.
139. I think that other kids in my class want me to do well in my school work.
- A. Almost all of the time.
 - B. Once in awhile.
 - C. Not very often.
 - D. Hardly ever.
140. When I have something on my mind to say to my teachers, I can
- A. Hardly ever say it.
 - B. Say it once in awhile.
 - C. Usually say it.
 - D. Almost always say it.
141. When I am doing my work in class,
- A. I enjoy it almost all the time.
 - B. I usually enjoy it.
 - C. I enjoy it once in awhile.
 - D. I hardly ever enjoy it.
142. The things I get to work on in most of my classes are
- A. A real waste of time.
 - B. Not very interesting to me.
 - C. OK-school work is school work.
 - D. Interesting to me.
143. The school and I are like
- A. Enemies, we don't get along.
 - B. Strangers, we hardly know each other.
 - C. Friends, sometimes.
 - D. Best friends, we get along great.

144. When I work hard in class, my teachers
- A. Usually tell me I am doing well.
 - B. Sometimes tell me I am doing OK.
 - C. Do not say much.
 - D. Hardly ever notice me.

STOP!

THANKS FOR YOUR HELP

My Life at School Scoring Key

Attitudes Toward School

126.	A+1	B-1		
129.	A-1	B+1		
132.	A-1	B+1		
135.	A+1	B-1		
138.	A+1	B+1	C-1	D-1
143.	A-1	B-1	C+1	D+1

Attitudes Toward Class

127.	A+1	B-1		
130.	A+1	B-1		
134.	A-1	B+1		
137.	A-1	B+1		
139.	A+1	B+1	C-1	D-1
141.	A+1	B+1	C-1	D-1
142.	A-1	B-1	C+1	D+1

Attitude Toward Teachers

128.	A+1	B-1		
131.	A-1	B+1		
133.	A+1	B-1		
136.	A-1	B+1		
140.	A-1	B-1	C+1	D+1
144.	A+1	B+1	C-1	D-1

