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ABSTRACT

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It was the purpose of this thesis to review and summarize the recent literature on the contact hypothesis and to analyze its possible use as an effective means of attitude change in American ethnic relations. A primary objective was to highlight the relevance of the contact theory to the current busing controversy. The positive and negative effects of busing children to schools outside their neighborhoods were evaluated and weighed against the probable benefits implicit in the contact situations.

The social psychological research reviewed in this paper supports Allport's theory that intergroup prejudice will be diminished when two groups possess equal status in the contact situation, seek common goals, are cooperatively dependent upon each other and interact with the positive support of authorities, laws and custom.

The research and national surveys indicate an increasingly significant positive change in the attitude of whites towards blacks since the 1940's. This change has been shown to be related to increased contact between the two groups in the areas of occupation, recreation, education, politics, and proximity of living quarters.

Busing as a means of integrating the schools helps to increase black-white contact. Insofar as the contact situation may embody compelling goals which cannot be achieved by either group singly but require intra-group cooperation, then interdependence between the two groups would be established.

Based on the research and the current climate surrounding mandatory busing it was concluded that busing does not meet all the criteria for change in ethnic attitudes set forth in Allport's theory of intergroup contact. However, busing was conceded to be important for the opportunities for social informal contact which it presents and thus can be effective in the long run in alleviating racial tensions.

THE CONTACT HYPOTHESIS AND ITS RELEVANCE TO BUSING
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by

Bertha Dancil Henderson
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Approved by


Thesis Committee Chairman

APPROVAL PAGE

This thesis has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Thesis Committee Chairman

Michael Winters

Committee Co-Chairman

Robert H. Eason

Oral Examination
Committee Members

Jacquelyn Sabelius

P. Scott Lawrence

Dec. 18, 1973
Date of Examination

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS	7
Definitions	7
Theory and Research	10
Nature of the Research	11
The Polls	13
STUDIES OF INTERGROUP CONTACT	17
Opportunities for Contact	17
Quantitative Aspects of Contact	18
The Status Aspect of Contact	22
Role Aspects of Contact	24
Social Atmosphere of Contact	32
Personality of Individuals	37
Areas of Contact	41
Attitude-Belief Theory	42
Dissonance Theory	44
Intergroup Relations Training	46
CONCLUSION	49
BIBLIOGRAPHY	58

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LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. The Texas Poll	15
2. Attitudes of White Soldiers Toward Association with Negro Soldiers as Related to Their Contact Experience in Combat	26
3. Interracial Contact Patterns and Attitudes of White Housewives Toward Negroes in Two Housing Projects	33

INTRODUCTION

In these times in America, the degree of affluence has never been paralleled, yet there is dissatisfaction all around. Many people have lost faith and confidence in the country's leaders, youth are against the establishment, and although racial barriers are falling everywhere blacks are still protesting against prejudice and discrimination. What contributions can psychology make to help solve the social problems being brought to our attention by these groups? Just as important what kinds of research is being done in the area of intergroup conflict resolution and what impact does such research have for today's black-white problems?

Many of the problems arising between two otherwise peacefully co-existing groups are of limited duration and emerge after some specific instances of injustice on the part of one group against the other group, e.g., conflicts between labor and management or between college students and their administrations. However, in the case of black-white tensions, the sustained antagonism imparts a sense of urgency in finding resolutions to the problems.

The long-standing racial conflict, not only in the United States but all over the world, seems to have resulted largely from racial prejudice, or i.e., from "erroneous generalizations and hostility [which are] natural capacities of the human mind" (Allport, 1954, p. 17). Certainly another important factor has been the differences between ethnic groups; "whatever the origin of difference, the very diversity of racial and ethnic groups, the fact that visible differences exist facilitate the

emergence of prejudice" (Saenger, 1953, p. 56). As Allport (1954) pointed out, however, the problem is manysided and ego-involved; also cultural and personal factors have played important roles.

Brief Sketch of History

Even before the beginning of the twentieth century the United States Courts played an important role in forming and shaping intergroup attitudes in black-white relations. Congress in 1875 enacted a Civil Rights Bill giving Negroes the right to be treated equally with whites at inns, theaters, on public conveyances, and in public amusement places. Then, in 1883 the Supreme Court declared the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional. Later, in deciding the case of Plessy Vs Ferguson in 1896, it declared "separate but equal" racial segregation constitutional.

Following is an outline of the major events in race relations from the 1900's to the present. For an in-depth review of this history and its psycho-social implications see Jones (1972) from which this material is summarized.

- 1900 - 1919 - Anti-black riots took place in New York City, (1900); Springfield, Ohio, (1904); Greenburg, Indiana (1906); Springfield, Illinois (1908); East St. Louis, Illinois (1917) and 26 riots in various parts of the country in the summer 1919.
- 1909 - The National Urban League was founded to assist urban blacks with their problems.
- 1922 - The first riot report made by the Chicago Commission of Race Relations which studied the causes of the Chicago riot of 1919.
- 1925 - Emory S. Bogardus began systematic study of racial attitudes developing the Bogardus "social distance" scale.

1930's - President Roosevelt initiated the New Deal and appointed many black advisors during his administration.

The first riot by blacks occurred when Harlem blacks rioted against the property of white merchants and landlords in 1935.

Social scientific research continued to make strides in the study of racial attitudes as a preliminary to social action, (e.g., the now classic study by Richard LaPiere traveling across the United States with a Chinese couple and raising doubts about the consistent relationship of attitudes to overt behavior (1934); Katz and Braly (1933) introduced the empirical investigation of stereotyping; one of the first published attempts to reverse the widely held view of the innate intellectual inferiority of Negroes was made by Otto Klineberg in 1935.

1940's - The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) was organized in 1943 and the first sit-in was staged.

The worst of another series of race riots in various cities broke out in Detroit in 1943.

President Truman appointed a committee on Civil Rights to study and make a report on racial injustice in 1946 and ordered the armed services integrated in 1948.

Jackie Robinson became the first black baseball player in the major league in 1949.

1950's - Social science research continued to make contributions to the understanding of race relations, e.g., one of the most well known social contact studies was conducted in 1951 by Morton Deutsch and Mary Collins in the new Federally sponsored interracial housing projects in New York City and Newark, New Jersey.

1954 - In deciding the case of Brown Vs Topeka Board of Education; the Supreme Court ruled that "separate but equal" had no place in the field of education.

The focus of social science shifted from the study of attitudes to how to change attitudes and Gordon Allport's classic "The Nature of Prejudice" was published.

1956 - The Southern Christian Leadership Conference was organized under the guidance of Martin Luther King with the philosophy of non-violent protest.

1960's - The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was formed in 1960 and led the sit-in movement in the South.

Members of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) took a "freedom Ride in 1961 from Washington, D. C., Southward and were beaten and their bus was burned in Montgomery, Alabama.

More black organizations were formed, e.g., the Deacons for Defense and Justice in Louisiana and the Black Panther Party in California. The Black Muslims, a religious organization preaching separatism gave blacks a new kind of hero in Malcolm X. SNCC shifted from a policy of integration under the leadership of John Lewis to one of Black Power under Stokely Carmichael.

President John F. Kennedy, one who was considered a champion of all people - black, white, poor, rich - was assassinated November 22, 1963.

New and more violent race riots seared through the country in 1964 through 1968 when Martin Luther King was assassinated.

The Coleman Report of 1966 and the Commission on Civil Rights report (Racial Isolation in the Public Schools) in 1967 urged the Federal Government to bring about School integration. The Kerner Commission was established in 1967 to study causes and conditions of the new wave of race riots also enclosed this sentiment after indicting the American people of white racism.

Most of the blacks in this country, especially in the larger metropolitan areas, live in overcrowded slums of the inner city where they remain fairly well segregated from the majority of whites, and thus have segregated educational as well as other facilities. This segregation, natural and imposed, has the effect of negating the purpose for which the "separate is unequal" Supreme Court ruling of 1954 was adopted. Almost 20 years later the Court ordered racial balance busing to insure compliance with the 1954 order to desegregate the nation's schools. This has spurred the busing-antibusing controversy.

Many learned proponents of the idea that intergroup tensions can be reduced through intergroup contact have contributed significantly to the amassing of data on the subject. If the intergroup hypothesis is true then there certainly are numerous benefits to be reaped from busing minority group children to previously all white schools and vice versa. However, it has been established (Allport, 1954) that other variables interacting with the contact situation may influence the outcome of such contact.

There is much hope placed in the view that racial tensions between blacks and whites in America can be effectively reduced through intergroup contact under certain facilitative conditions set forth by Gordon Allport (1954) in his theory of intergroup contact. Busing provides an opportunity for the testing of this hypothesis since it permits contact between blacks and whites on an equal status basis. Can busing, while providing contact opportunities, also foster an atmosphere conducive to the establishment and maintenance of positive attitudes between the two groups? One purpose of this thesis is to show that it can.

This paper summarizes a review of the recent literature on the contact hypothesis and analyzes its *raison d'etre*, particularly in the United States and especially as it applies to black and white relations. One of the prime objectives of the paper is to examine the effects, both positive and negative, of busing children to schools outside their neighborhoods using scientific studies of intergroup contact between blacks and whites.

While busing, in and of itself, cannot effect sweeping changes in a positive direction in the strained relations between blacks and whites in America it can contribute to this process by providing more than casual contacts. Thus, another major objective of this paper is to assess the impact of busing on the intergroup contact hypothesis.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

There are many points to be considered in a discussion which has as much legal or political impact as it has moral and social. However politically charged the topic of busing may be, this is overshadowed by the social issues related to the topic. Because the resolution of conflict between various groups is a recurring phenomenon in civilized societies, social scientists have come to play an important role in shaping the behavior of the individual in society even though the "circumstances under which social science can produce non-obvious, non-trivial, valid findings are unfortunately not as commonplace as we would like" (Wilson, 1973, p. 132). Nonetheless their stimulating work in shaping social behavior is encouraging.

Definitions

In light of certain vague and misapplied terms by the layman to the subject of busing, some definitions are in order. The word "prejudice" has a distinctly different meaning from the word discrimination though many people use the terms interchangeably. Discrimination is expressed in actions, while prejudice is expressed (or not expressed) in attitudes.

Allport (1954) has stated that "prejudgments become prejudices only if they are not reversible when exposed to new knowledge" (p. 9). He defined ethnical prejudice as "an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole or toward an individual because he is a member of that group" (p. 9). This definition, Allport explained, placed the

object of prejudice at some disadvantage not merited by his own misconduct. As Jones (1972) pointed out, this psychological definition also implies a negative attitude which is based upon a positive referent and here, of course, is where the concept of in-groups and out-groups emerge.

An in-group as defined by Thorndike-Barnhart (1972) is a "group of persons united by a common cause, interest, etc., and from which outsiders are often excluded". Usually, an ingroup is also the reference group whose standards are used as a basis for exclusion of out-groups. Conflicts are natural between groups when the competition for scarce resources is keen, and in such conflicts one group's gains are the other group's losses. Under such circumstances discrimination is most useful for the larger or more powerful group. Discrimination, the act of making a difference in favor of or against, one person or one group may take many forms but is usually practiced by the majority group members to the disadvantage of the minority out-group members. Ethnic discrimination is the favoring or disfavoring of persons on the basis of their membership in a particular ethnic group.

Desegregation is the abolishment of separate facilities for different ethnic groups, and is commonly used interchangeably with the term, "integration". In the strictly narrow sense of English usage this practice is permissible and not incorrect. However, Pettigrew (1971) emphasized the difference between "mere desegregation", which is typical of biracial schools marked by racial tension and little cross-cultural friendship, and "true integration", which is typical of biracial institutions characterized by widespread cross-cultural friendship and non racial tension. In the present paper, "desegregation", except when part

of a quoted statement, will be used to denote the emergence of a unitary facility or system which has replaced two separate facilities previously maintained for the same purposes.

Busing, as commonly defined, is a means of mass transportation. It has been used widely as a method of getting children to schools, especially in rural areas of the country. For the purposes of this paper busing is a means of desegregating public educational institutions. Mandatory busing is busing required by law for school districts which have not been able to attain racial balance through voluntary desegregation procedures. It is also referred to as racial balance busing.

Racial conflict as Marx (1971) has defined it, is simply "conflict between groups that consider each other racially distinct". Racial in this definition refers more to a social than to a biological distinction. Marx stated:

Anyone with any visible African ancestry is classified as Negro [in the United States]. In Brazil, it is almost the opposite. Any European ancestry tends to exclude one from being classified as Negro. A large portion of American 'Negroes' have just as much European ancestry as they do African and many 'whites', particularly in the South, have an appreciable degree of African ancestry...there is little agreement among physical anthropologists about just what race is, what gene pools should define it, or even how many races there are (1971, p. 2).

An ethnic group is a social group often misleadingly referred to as a race, although it is not biologically differentiated from other groups in the society. As the distinction between the term ethnic and the most common usage of the term racial is non-evident, these terms are used interchangeably in this paper.

Other terms are operationally defined when considered necessary to avoid possible misinterpretation in other parts of the present paper.

Theory and Research

Psychological theories of conflict, aggression and prejudice abound in the literature. Likewise, psychosocial research on the problems of intergroup conflict and tension is proliferous. Hypotheses of intergroup contact and other means of reducing tensions between ethnic groups are just as numerous, but Allport's (1954) theory of intergroup contact is one of the best known and it is this theory on which the foundation of the present thesis is based. Theories of prejudice emphasize various approaches. Most of them do not attempt to explain the total picture but rather call attention to some of the important causal factors. Theoretical approaches to the study of prejudice have been delineated by Allport (1954) as historical, socio-cultural, situational, psychodynamical, phenomenological, and via the stimulus object. His theory of intergroup contact embodied a combination of these approaches.

Allport's theory of intergroup contact predicted that prejudice (unless deeply rooted in the character structure of the individual) may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in pursuit of common goals. Allport stated, "The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e., by law, custom or local atmosphere), and provided it is of a sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups" (1954, p. 28).

Each of the specified conditions in this contact hypothesis is elaborated on later in this paper. Research studies and applications of the hypothesis in the busing situation have also been noted. However, before presenting this material a discussion of research on attitude is needed.

Nature of the Research

In studying prejudice--its causes, its behavioral correlates, its reduction--social psychologists have been most interested in attitudes and attitude change. What is "attitude" in the first place? There are many problems in defining the term, mainly because an attitude is a non-observable phenomenon which can only be inferred through the observation of behavioral activity.

The definition of attitudes has been linked and often intertwined with the methods used to measure it. Cook and Sellitz (1964) defined attitude as an underlying disposition toward a class of objects. In their own words an attitude is "...an underlying disposition which enters, along with other influences, into the determination of a variety of behaviors toward an object or class of objects, including statements of beliefs and feelings about the object and approach-avoidance actions with respect to it" (p. 36).

Campbell (1950) in defining social attitude said:

...is (or is evidenced by) consistency in response to social objects. If we look at those definitions utilizing concepts of set or readiness to respond--for example, Allport's (1935) 'An attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience and exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations to which it is related'..and ask for the evidence of a 'mental and neural state of readiness', the symptoms of a 'directive or dynamic influence', criteria as to the 'objects and situations to which it is related', these evidence will be in the final analysis, consistency of predictability among responses. An individual's social attitude is a syndrome of response consistency with regard to social objects (p. 31).

Campbell further stated that:

even those whose behavioristic orientation leads to a rejection of such mentalistic definitions as Allport's--and who would say with Bain (1928) and Horowitz (1944, p. 142), 'essentially...the attitude must be considered a response rather than a set to

respond'--in research practice do not equate isolated responses with attitudes; but on the contrary, look for the appearance of response consistencies. This is dramatically evidenced by Horowitz's (1936) use of the appearance of consistent differentiated response to photographs of Negro and white children to mark the occurrence of race prejudice in children (1950, p. 32).

Similar definitions of attitude have been stated by other scientists. For example, Thurstone (1946) defined an attitude as "...the intensity of positive or negative affect for or against a psychological object. A psychological object is any symbol, person, phrase, slogan or idea toward which people can differ as regards positive or negative affect" (p. 39). Kidder and Campbell (cited in Summers, Ed., 1970) have stated that "...a host of seemingly unrelated terms...are functionally synonymous with the concept of attitude. All describe the residues of past experience which are the stuff of which attitudes are made" (p. 370).

Several threads of similarity run through the various definitions of attitude. Summers (1970) has noted these areas of agreement.

First there is general concensus that an attitude is a predisposition to respond to an object rather than the actual behavior toward such object...A second area of substantial agreement is that attitude is persistent over time. This is not to say that it is immutable...while it is amenable to change, the alteration of attitude, especially that which is strongly held, requires substantial pressure...[Thirdly] attitude produces consistency in behavioral outcroppings... Fourth, and finally, attitude has a directional quality (p.371).

The most common means of collecting behavioral data from which one may make inferences about attitudes remains the technique of self-report, although the development of a multiple indicator of attitude assessment has been attempted by Cook and Selltiz (1964). Campbell (1950) has reviewed a number of techniques which attempt to assess attitudes indirectly. Identifying the effects of extraneous variables

such as the attempt to give a socially acceptable picture of oneself has been prominent in the work of Edwards (1953, 1957) and Taylor (1961). Examining the tendency to agree (or disagree) with statements regardless of their content was the concern of Bass (1955) and Cronbach (1945, 1950).

The Polls

One widely used self-report technique has been the opinion poll. Hans Zeisel (1973) spoke of opinion polling in the early 15th century when the Signoria of Florence invited the leading sculptors of the day to compete for the assignment to design and cast two metal doors for the Church of San Giovanni.

The competing sculptors were asked to execute a sample piece and as reported by Giorgio Vasari about 100 years later: 'All these men promised before the Consuls that they would deliver their scenes within the said time; and each making a beginning with his own, with all zeal and diligence they extended all their strength and knowledge in order to surpass one another in excellence, keeping their work hidden and most secret, least they should copy each other's ideas. Lorenzo (Ghiberti) alone, who had Bartoluccio (his father) to guide him and to compel him to labor at many models before they resolved to adopt any one of them--Lorenzo alone was ever inviting the citizens, and sometimes any passing stranger who had some knowledge of the art, to see his work, in order to hear what they thought, and these opinions enabled him to execute a model very well wrought and without one defect. And so, when he had made the moulds and cast the work in bronze, it came out very well.' Needless to say he got the job (p. 282).

Apparently, opinion polls are fairly ancient means of gathering data and although this fact does not necessarily commend their use now, today's more formal, better organized polls tend to elicit the kind of information not easily ascertained via the more experimental laboratory type setup. Still, many object to poll data as the least scientific of the means of collecting data on attitudes.

However, in defense of poll data, and among the reasons for accepting the major shifts reported by the opinion polls, Pettigrew (1971) has listed the following: Rapport in the polling situation is generally better than those unfamiliar with the technique realize. (2) The consistency of the trends in attitudes extends to a wide variety of questions asked by different polling agencies. (3) Certain questions concerning Jews and Negroes which appear to involve a respectability bias have not changed over the past few decades. (4) Election results have borne out the evidence from intergroup attitude polls. (5) The diminution of anti-minority responses in the polls is completely consistent with the changes in the treatment of minorities in that same time period.

Erskine (1973) reported on a National Opinion Research Center (NORC) poll which basically found this same kind of consistency. The increase in black-white marriages from 51,409 in 1960 United States Census indicates the pattern of mixed marriages in America is shifting in the same direction as public opinion. Gallup found people under 30 evenly divided in their feelings of racially mixed marriages, while 72% of those over 30 opposed them.

The most recent data on comparable questions covering the widest range of contacts between the races, available from the Texas Poll and reported by Erskine (1973) illustrated the relative order of acceptance and degree of change toward various forms of social integration.

TABLE 1
THE TEXAS POLL

Situations in which white Texans accepted integration	1963	1971
Working side by side with you in the same kind of job	56%	84%
Riding in the same section of trains and buses	49%	83%
Eating in the same restaurant	40%	80%
Staying in the same hotels with you	36%	76%
Attending your church	46%	75%
Sending your children to the same schools	41%	73%
Attending the same social gathering outside your home	23%	52%
Living next door to you	23%	52%
Using the same public swimming pools with you	19%	50%
Attending social gathering in your home	13%	45%
Having as a roommate for your son or daughter in college	8%	32%

Table 1 adapted from Erskine, Public Opinion Quarterly, 1973, Vol, 37, (2), 283-294.

Erskine noted that national acceptance of each of the items would naturally be greater than in the border South but admitted lack of access to such up-to-date nation-wide comparisons. She stated "...one can generalize at least that improved attitudes toward integration are occurring on a broad front in many sectors of the United States' population" (1973, p. 284). However Table 1 illustrates that in the 1970's as in the 1960's, the more personal the contact involved, the less the acceptance.

Another indication that white attitudes toward blacks over the last generation has shown an increasing trend in the direction of acceptance on an interpersonal contact level is the comparison of attitudes from 1942 with those of 1963. The National Opinion Research Center (1963) found in 1942 that 42% of the people believed Negroes to be as intelligent

as whites; that 30% of the people favored racially desegregated schools, and that 35% of the people had no objection to Negroes as neighbors. A poll taken by the NORC in 1963 showed these figures had increased to 74%, 63% and 63% respectively.

Some critics of poll data in general and the NORC study in particular have argued that whether attitudes have changed or not, what is evident from the polls is the change in readiness to admit bigotry to the poll taker. In other words, the respectability of prejudice had changed. Even as valid an argument as this omits the fact that a change in verbal behavior as well as the standard of respectability for prejudice has occurred and both these are worth noting.

STUDIES OF INTERGROUP CONTACT

It is not the purpose of this paper to summarize and evaluate all, or even most, of the studies on intergroup contact. Only those studies involving black-white contact and others with special relevance to the contact hypothesis and racial balance busing have been included. The classic work in intergroup contact and ethnic relations has also been included.

Opportunities for Contact

Without doubt, one of the most basic requirements for the reduction of intergroup prejudice is the opportunity for contact (Cook, 1952, 1962). Even the sociological view of group relations--progressing from sheer contact, to competition, to accommodation, and finally to assimilation--could not be maintained, if there were first no opportunity for sheer contact. Busing has provided many whites and especially white children with their first opportunity for contact with blacks. The United States Civil Rights Commission's analysis of the data in the Coleman Report (1966) showed that 80% of white elementary and high school students attended schools that were 90% to 100% white, making them the most segregated group of all. Sixty-five percent of black children attended schools that were 90% to 100% black during the same period of time.

Opportunity for contact implies more than just meeting people by chance in a department store, at a public place of amusement or as passersby on the street. Such contacts, provide physical proximity but

obviously permit very little opportunity for change of attitude. In his discussion of opportunity for contact, Cook (1962) mentioned an acquaintance potential, which "refers to the opportunity provided by the situation for the participants to get to know and understand one another" (p. 75).

Discussions of opportunity for contact have highlighted the need for a distinction between kinds of contact which will provide opportunities for attitude change (whether change actually occurs or not) and kinds of contact which provide no such opportunity. Allport (1954) suggested that in order to predict the effects of contact upon attitudes the consequences of many variables should be studied separately and in combinations. These variables should include: (1) quantitative aspects of contact; (2) status aspects of participants of the contact situation; (3) role aspects of contact; (4) social atmosphere surrounding the contact; (5) personality of the individual experiencing the contact; and (6) areas of contact. A look at each of these variables and some of the studies on which they bear may be helpful in making predictions about the outcome of contact brought on by busing.

Quantitative Aspects of Contact

Previously it has been noted that the acquaintance potential in the contact situation allows for the participants to get to know and understand each other. The frequency and duration of the contact situation are important factors which affect this potential; so too, are the number of persons involved and the variety of contact. This is not to say that these are sufficient. In seasoned marriages in which all of these factors presumably are operating we frequently hear the

exclamation, "I've been living with him (her) for (any number) years and I still don't know him (her)." The degree of truth of this statement is not at issue. The point is that probably many other factors that are not considered here also influence the acquaintance potential.

An example of the lessening of prejudice through acquaintanceship is found in the 1953 study by Gray and Thompson (cited in Allport, 1954).

These investigators administered to both white and Negro students in Georgia the Borgardus Social Distance Scale. The students were also asked to indicate whether they were personally acquainted with at least five individuals belonging to the groups rated. There was a uniform tendency for students to rate higher in the scale of acceptability all groups in which they had five or more acquaintances. Where there was no personal knowledge of a group it suffered in esteem (p. 264).

The opportunity for contact was given impetus in intercultural education and has been provided through Student Exchange Programs, International Exchange-of-Persons Programs and the more domestically oriented "social travel" technique. While contact may produce negative results it more often produces favorable attitude changes when involvement with people of different groups is maximized.

A study by the United States Army of Occupation, reported by Stouffer, Lumsdaine, Lumsdaine, Williams, Smith, Janis, Star, and Cottrell (1949), has demonstrated the importance of the duration factor in the acquaintance potential. A survey was taken and among the men who had reported within the last three days having had personal contact with German civilians of five hours or more, 76% held very favorable or fairly favorable opinions of the German people. Of those reporting two or more hours of personal contact within the last three days, 72% held favorable opinions. Of those who had had less than two hours contact, 57% held favorable opinions. Of those who had had no personal contact

within the last three days only 47% held favorable opinions of the German people.

A causal relationship between the frequency and duration of contact and the percentage of soldiers holding favorable opinions about the Germans cannot be unconditionally inferred from this study, but the likelihood of "acquaintance" affecting this relationship has been demonstrated.

In their study of the social choices of students in an integrated elementary school, Jansen and Gallagher (1966) found substantial cross-racial choices of seating, working and playing companions. In concluding that "it should not be automatically assumed that greater contact with students of another race would increase positive feelings toward that race" (p. 225), they also indicated that without integration of schools, which allows for greater social contact, change could not be expected at all.

This notion goes a long way in stating the case for busing in 1973, where opportunity for contact exists for the children and also to a lesser degree for the parents who, being more or less deprived of such contact in their childhoods, need it most.

The importance of the opportunity-for-contact variable has been brought out in various studies of interracial housing projects (Deutsch and Collins, 1951; Wilner, Walkley and Cook, 1952; Merton, West and Jahoda, cited in Jahoda and West, 1951; Hunt, 1959; and Fishman, 1961).

The Cornell studies of contact, summarized by Williams (1964), have given the most extensive treatment to the opportunity variable. Referring to Williams review, Amir (1969) said:

In these studies, among other things, the relationships between opportunities for intergroup contact, actual intergroup interaction, and prejudices were investigated. On the topic of opportunity for interaction the following variables were included: biographical determinants, such as sex, age, education, economic status; place of possible interaction, such as at work, in the neighborhood or in organizations; personality variables, such as initial attitudes, sociability, authoritarianism, etc. Thus, for example, it was found that males are more likely to be exposed to intergroup contact, and that education, on the whole, tends to increase exposure to intergroup contact for all groups; work situations provide the best opportunities for intergroup contact, then come neighborhood situations, and only to a lesser degree contact possibilities in organizations. As for personality variables, those exposed primarily to opportunities for intergroup contact are the relatively sociable, relatively nonauthoritarian, and receptive individuals. In sum, it seems that the more prejudiced a person is and the more vulnerable his personality make-up, the less likely he is to have interethnic contacts (p. 323).

In an evaluation of the "social travel" technique, Smith (1943) studied the modification of attitudes toward Negroes by graduate students in education. Seventy-nine students accepted an invitation to spend two consecutive weekends in Harlem, but 23 of these students were prevented from actual participation and served as controls. The other 46 were entertained in Negro homes and met prominent Negro writers, doctors, social workers, and artists. They learned a great deal about life in Harlem and the people they met there. Attitudes toward Negroes were measured in both groups before and after the contacts and by means of several assessment scales. Changes evident in the experimental group, but not in the control group, were persistent a year later when only eight of the 46 participants failed to show more favorable attitudes than they had before the experiment. One of the limitations of this study, however, is the fact that all of the Negroes who became intimately known were of relatively high status. The status aspect of the participants in a contact situation is another variable of sufficient import to discuss separately.

The Status Aspect of Contact

In his discussion of the equal status principle, Saenger (1953) pointed out that the relatedness of high status and prestige to the development of more tolerant attitudes may depend on the position of the individual within his own group.

Where different groups associate, the more secure majority person, who enjoys prestige and status in his own group, is more likely to benefit from contact. Within each group, the leader rather than the follower is in a better position to change. He needs less to conform, and being more secure, is less likely to envy members of the other group (p. 217).

Kramer (1950) expressed similar views, suggesting that the concept of equal status be refined in order to differentiate between equality of status within and without the specific contact situation.

The point here is well taken. Certainly, a better understanding of the effect of relative status on intergroup relations would be gained through such a distinction. In the study by Smith (1943) of the Harlem experience of the graduate students, there were no apparent "envy" side effects of sufficient degree to offset or impede the positive attitude changes.

Saenger (1953) has reported an incident which illustrates how the "envy" effect can impede positive attitude formation:

The real complexity of the factors influencing the effects of contact is illustrated by the experiences of a Jewish college professor who bought a house in a neighborhood known for its anti-Semitism. He first met with aloofness and slight suspicion and was held to be snobbish. A dent in the neighborly reserve appeared when he attempted to plant flowers in his garden, a skill which the academician did not possess to a marked degree. After a short period the neighbors, whose egos were bolstered by the apparent inability of the professor in the areas in which they felt competent, came to his aid. Sometime later the professor was in a position to help when

one of the neighbor's children got into trouble. Each one had something to contribute and learned to appreciate the other. The neighbors learned that the professor was not as superior as they had thought. They had been looking for manifestations of the type of behavior which would verify their original prejudiced beliefs and it took intimate association over a period of time before close relationships were established (p. 218).

The United States Armed Forces, desegregated in 1948, was one of the first social environments in this country wherein the contact hypothesis had a real chance to be tested on a grand scale. This environment provided an opportunity to study the effects of a variety of contact variables. The results of such studies, which were made by Mannheimer and Williams in 1949, have been summarized by Amir (1969).

He stated:

Data which they reported from World War II indicated that white soldiers changed their attitudes toward Negro soldiers markedly after the two ethnic groups had been together in combat. When asked how they would feel if their company had included Negro as well as white platoons, 62% of the white soldiers who were in completely segregated units answered that they would dislike this very much, whereas only 7% of the white soldiers who had Negro platoons in their company gave the same answer. The percentage of affirmative answers to the question, whether they thought it a good idea to have both white and Negro platoons in combat companies, was 18% for the soldiers of the segregated units and 64% for those who had Negro platoons in their company. It was noted that the soldiers in the 'integrated' Negro platoons were somewhat superior to other Negro troops in their educational level and Army General Classification Test scores, but the differences were slight. As compared to white riflemen, however, they were much lower in these respects. Evidently, it was not certain general social characteristics, such as socioeconomic or educational level, status or role, but rather factors which were relevant to the specific contact situation which determined whether change would take place. In this case, educational level and score on the AGGT seem to have made little difference; the behavior of the Negro in his unit and his courage in combat were the determining factors. It should be noted, however, that the Negroes involved were a highly selected group in the relevant respect that they had volunteered for these combat units, whereas the white soldiers were simply drafted to the units (p. 324).

Another study of the effect of equal status contact was conducted by Brophy (1945) with integrated merchant marines. Although at this time the law enforced segregation, most of the marines belonged to the National Maritime Union which had a strict antisegregation policy. Of the white seamen who had never sailed with Negroes, 33% were rated as unprejudiced. This figure increased to 46% among those who had shipped once with Negroes; 62% for those who had shipped twice; and 82% for those who had shipped five or more times. Just as in the study by Stouffer, et al., (1949), unconditional inferences cannot be made as to the interrelationship of the contact situation variables.

There was no pretest of attitudes in either study and it is possible that the soldiers and marines who were initially less prejudiced were the ones who had more frequent contact with the minority group members since all incidences of contact were voluntary. However, the Deutsch and Collins' (1951) study of prejudice in interracial housing involved involuntary contact. Although there had been no pretest of attitudes, there was no reason to assume a difference in initial attitude between the housewives living in segregated housing units and those living in integrated units because of random assignment. Yet when they were tested after the contact situations a difference was found.

Role Aspects of Contact

Regarding role, Allport (1954) has asked: "Is the relationship one of competitive or cooperative activity? Is there a superordinate or subordinate role relation involved; e.g., master-servant, employer-employee, teacher-pupil?" (p. 262). In attempting to answer these questions, a laboratory setup would allow for manipulation of the crucial

factors involved. However, a field setting is more consistent with the natural occurrence of events and hence would provide a more realistic answer. The field principle is succinctly illustrated in multi-ethnic athletic teams where the common goal of winning a game is the important thing and the ethnic composition of the team is secondary if not completely irrelevant.

One of the most well known studies of cooperative activity in a field setting has been cited by Allport (1954).

A vivid wartime illustration of this principle (of cooperative striving) comes from the Research Branch of the Information and Education Division of the United States Army. While it was a policy of the Army to have no mixed units of white and Negro soldiers, circumstances developed during a period of fierce combat that made it necessary to replace a number of white platoons with platoons of Negro soldiers, placing them within the companies of white soldiers. While a certain amount of segregation remained in this arrangement, still it brought the two races into close contact on an equal footing in a common project (of life and death importance). Following this new arrangement the Research Branch asked two questions of a widely divergent sample of white soldiers.

Question 1: Some Army divisions have companies which include Negro and white platoons. How would you feel about it if your outfit was set up something like that?

Question 2: In general, do you think it is a good idea or a poor idea to have the same company in a combat outfit include Negro platoons and white platoons?

Table 2 shows that those who were not closely associated with Negro soldiers under combat conditions were more favorably disposed than those who had had no experience in common participation.

TABLE 2
 ATTITUDES OF WHITE SOLDIERS TOWARD ASSOCIATION
 WITH NEGRO SOLDIERS AS RELATED TO THEIR
 CONTACT EXPERIENCE IN COMBAT

Extent of Army Contact with Negroes	Percent answering	
	Q. 1 "would like it very much"	Q. 2 "Good idea"
Field Force units with no colored platoons in white companies	62	18
Men in same division, not in same regiment, as colored troops	24	50
Men in same regiment, not in same company, as colored troops	20	66
Men in company with a Negro platoon	7	64

Table 2 adapted from G. W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, 1954, p. 277.

The most noteworthy experimental work relating to realistic situations of competition and cooperation was done by Sherif (1951), Sherif and Sherif (1953), and Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, and Sherif (1961). Three separate experiments in boys' camps successfully generated intergroup hostility and intragroup acceptance. The Robbers Cave, Oklahoma experiment, conducted in 1961, is the best known of the three. It used 22 twelve-year old boys of middle class Protestant backgrounds as subjects with the written consent of their parents. This study was cited in Insko and Schopler (Eds) Experimental Social Psychology (1972, pp. 507-510).

The study had three experimentally controlled stages: (1) formation of ingroups; (2) intergroup conflict and hostility; and (3) intergroup cooperation and reduction of hostility. In stage one the boys were

assigned to one of two groups which arrived separately at the campsite and settled into cabins some distance apart. During the week-long duration of this stage the boys in each group engaged in various activities which required interdependent activity in order to attain a common goal. These activities included camping out in the woods, cooking, cleaning up a field for athletics, improving a swimming place, transporting canoes over rough terrain to the water. Since the research staff was instructed not to initiate or execute tasks, the boys had to pool their collective efforts in both work and play. During this period the research staff made observations and ratings, and conducted informal interviews. Sherif, et al. (1961) reported that within each group a status hierarchy developed. In addition, there were role differentiations for various tasks (such as cooking), norms for governing behavior, nicknames for the group members, and even names for the groups. One group called itself the "Rattlers" and the other the "Eagles." The Rattlers developed a distinctive norm of toughness (Sherif and Sherif, 1969, p. 238). The Eagles developed a norm of being "good" in a more conventional sense, (e.g., not swearing and being polite). In stage two the differences between the groups were even more evident.

The intent of stage two was to create intergroup hostility through competition. Accordingly, the groups were informed of each other's existence and an elaborate four-day tournament arranged. The tournament consisted of a sequence of baseball games, football games, tent-pitching, and tug-of-war contests. The staff members separately judged the groups on neatness of cabins, skits and songs, and time spent on a treasure hunt. The latter were included to enable the experimenters to juggle points so as

to assure a close contest. Cumulative scores were indicated by rising thermometers on the official score chart. The members of the winning group were to receive medals and four-blade knives. In addition, there was a winner's trophy. All of these items were displayed at the "tournament exhibit."

On the first day of the tournament the Eagles were defeated in a tug-of-war. After the Rattlers left the playing field the Eagles took down their opponents' flag and burned part of it. The following day, when the Rattlers discovered what had happened, they took the Eagles' flag amid a lot of scuffling and name-calling. Throughout the remaining days of the tournament there were numerous physical encounters and raids on each other's cabins. On the second day of the tournament the Eagles devised a strategy to win the second tug-of-war. On a prearranged signal all of them sat down and dug in their heels while the Rattlers tired themselves out pulling. When time was called the Rattlers had been pulled slowly toward, but still not across, the line. The contest was declared a tie, although the Rattlers accused the Eagles of employing a dirty strategy. On the following day the boys were individually interviewed in order to obtain their estimates of the duration of the contest after the Rattlers had also sat down and dug in. The Eagles gave estimates ranging from 20 to 45 minutes; the Rattlers gave estimates ranging from 1 to 3 1/2 hours. The actual time was 48 minutes.

In order to document the outgroup hostility and ingroup acceptance the boys were asked individually to rate each other in terms of a number of personal qualities (brave, tough, friendly, sneaky, smart aleck, stinker). Ingroup ratings were 100 percent favorable for the Rattlers

and 94.3 percent favorable for the Eagles. Outgroup ratings were 53 percent unfavorable for the Rattlers and 76.9 percent unfavorable for the Eagles. At the conclusion of the tournament the group expressed strong distaste for each other and voiced a desire for no further contact.

In stage three of the experiment Sherif, et al. (1961) attempted to reduce the conflict-produced hostility. Although conferences among leaders may sometimes resolve disputes, Sherif and Sherif (1969) pointed out that such a procedure was not tried in the Robbers Cave experiment because of some evidence from the first experiment in Connecticut. In that experiment a high status member of one group, on his own initiative, went to the cabin of the opposing group to negotiate better relations. However, "He was greeted by a hail of green apples, chased down the path, and derided" (Sherif and Sherif, 1969, p. 255). When he returned to his own cabin he was rebuked for his peace-making efforts despite his high status. The Sherifs argued that unless the norms within the group had already begun to change, group leaders were not free to enter into negotiations productive of further change.

In the Robbers Cave experiment the procedure attempted first was the use of "mere contact." A total of seven contact situations were used. These situations included participating in an experiment together, attending a movie together, and having meals together during which there was always segregated seating, and typically an exchange of insults. The mess hall contacts in fact degenerated into "garbage fights" in which food and other items were thrown from group to group. In the opinion of the observers, contact had not reduced the intergroup hostility.

The procedures which were successful in reducing hostility involved what Sherif and his associates called superordinate goals, that is, goals which could be most readily obtained through intergroup cooperation. Accordingly, the experimenters engineered a number of problems requiring joint-group cooperation for their solution. The first problem was a failure of the camp water system. The boys, organized into small groups, set out to search for the difficulty. Eventually, all of the groups converged on the water tank, where it was discovered that the valve had been turned off and covered with boulders. A faucet leading directly into the tank had also been stuffed with rags--all supposedly the work of vandals. After some work, and assistance from the staff, the water problem was solved and the thirsty boys achieved the superordinate goal. The second problem was an insufficiency of camp funds for the procuring of a highly desired film, "Treasure Island." After considerable discussion the boys decided to contribute some of their own money so that the movie could be seen by all.

The third problem occurred while the boys were on an outing at a considerable distance from the main camp area; the truck which was to go for food supposedly broke down. After the boys tried unsuccessfully to push the truck one of them suggested that they "have a tug-of-war against the truck." This suggestion was echoed by the other boys and after two coordinated attempts using the same rope from the tug-of-war game, the truck started. Sherif, et al. reported that no one of these events was completely successful in breaking down the hostility but that the cumulative effect was quite marked. Thus with the solution of still further "problems" strict segregation of groups broke down and

relations became quite amicable. The additional problems involved the sharing of equipment so that tents could be erected and a second starting of the obviously unreliable truck. By the end of the problem situations the group were intermingling, taking turns lining up at the mess hall, desiring and holding joint campfires at which there was further taking of turns in the presenting of skits and songs. Individually obtained evaluative ratings indicated that, in fact, outgroup rejection and ingroup preference had broken down. The boys chose to go home in the same rather than different buses, and on the way home one group chose to share its prize money with the other group so that all could have malted milks.

This study was recounted in detail primarily because of the obvious parallel it presents to the realistic state of competition and cooperation implicit in the integrated school setting effected through racial balance busing.

Black and white children in an interracial school setting for the first time are confronted with a face-to-face competitive task. Busing blacks to all-white schools accentuates the differences between the groups, exposes the contrast between living patterns of the poor and the privileged, contributes to black-white division and, all in all, increases the competitiveness of the situation. This kind of pattern, as in the second stage of the Robbers Cave experiment, may be expected to wreak havoc. Sherif (1960) summarized the competitive process as follows:

When members of two groups come into contact with one another and a series of activities that embody goals which each urgently desires, but which can be attained by one group only at the expense of the other, competitive activity toward the goal

changes, over time, to hostility between the groups and their members (p. 81).

The critical element in the second stage of Robbers Cave experiment is the competition for desirable, scarce resources and this is where the analogy to racial balance busing ends because both groups can share equally in the rewards inherent in a 'truly integrated' educational system.

However, there is still the journey from "mere desegregation" to "true integration". This journey is similar to stage three of the Robbers Cave experiment. Parents, teachers, school officials, politicians, law officers and just plain citizens could take on the role of the experimenters in mending the damage done in stage two.

Social Atmosphere of Contact

The social atmosphere surrounding the contact situations has to do with whether the contact is voluntary or involuntary; whether the contact is regarded as typical or exceptional; and whether the contact is regarded as important and intimate or trivial and transient.

It has been shown that casual contact between ethnic groups is not sufficient of itself to produce changes in attitudes (Allport, 1954; Sherif, et al., 1961). Even high frequency contact doesn't necessarily foster positive attitudes between groups, and if the contact is of a casual nature, it may increase prejudice. Saenger (1953) found that a smaller degree of prejudice among college students was associated with intimate contact with Jews, but he also found that those who had more personal contact with Jews were more prejudiced against them (p. 219).

TABLE 3
 INTERRACIAL CONTACT PATTERNS AND ATTITUDES
 OF WHITE HOUSEWIVES TOWARD NEGROES
 IN TWO HOUSING PROJECTS

	Integrated projects		Internally segregated projects	
	Koaltown	Sacktown	Bakerville	Frankville
1. Closest casual contact				
As neighbors in the building	60%	53%	0%	0%
Outside on benches	46%	64%	7%	21%
Shopping in stores on streets around project	12%	13%	81%	60%
2. Intimate contact visiting, helping, clubs, etc.				
None	61%	28%	99%	96%
Once or more	39%	72%	1%	4%
3. Type of relations				
Friendly	60%	69%	6%	4%
Accommodative	24%	14%	5%	1%
Mixed	7%	11%	2%	3%
None	5%	0%	87%	88%
Bad	4%	6%	0%	4%
4. Feelings expressed				
Like, desire, friendship	42%	60%	9%	5%
Mixed, reserved	30%	12%	12%	27%
Avoidant, dislike	28%	28%	79%	68%

Table 3 adapted from Deutsch and Collins (1951), Tables 2,3,9 and 12

In studies of frequent and sometimes intimate contact through proximity in living quarters, Deutsch and Collins (1951) have found a reduction of prejudiced attitudes.

These authors selected new federally sponsored interracial housing projects (1) where blacks and whites were assigned living units without regard to race, and (2) where blacks and whites were assigned to separate sections of the same project. The fully integrated projects were in New York City, and the internally segregated projects in Newark. Projects selected from the two cities were matched according to racial ratio. The Newark project, called Bakerville, with two blacks to every white, was matched with Sacktown in New York, which was 70 percent black. A second matched pair consisted of Frankville in Newark, half blacks and half whites, and Koaltown in New York, which was 40 percent black and 60 percent white.

If interracial contact ameliorates racial attitudes, one would expect the racial attitudes of housewives in the integrated projects of Koaltown and Sacktown would be more favorable than those of housewives in segregated Bakerville and Frankville. Since very few of the whites in the segregated, integrated, or internally segregated projects would have picked a project with black families on the basis of their initial attitudes (Wilner, Walkley and Cook, 1955), we can assume that the differences found by Deutsch and Collins were due to the interracial contacts.

White housewives' attitudes toward blacks became more positive in the integrated projects and changed little if at all in the segregated project. Deutsch and Collins concluded:

From the point of view of reducing prejudice and of creating harmonious, democratic intergroup relations, the net gain resulting from the integrated projects is considerable; from the same point of view, the gain created by the segregated bi-racial projects is slight (1951, p. 124).

Wilner, Walkley, and Cook (1955) replicated the Deutsch and Collins (1954) study and although they did not find overall differences in prejudice between whites of the segregated projects and those of the integrated projects, they did find a clear-cut relationship between the relative proximity in living quarters between white and black families and the amount of attitude change. The closer a black and white family lived to each other, the more frequent the contact between them, and the greater positive shift in attitudes. The white housewives who lived near black families expressed attitudes similar to those of the integrated housewives of the earlier study while the "far" housewives expressed attitudes similar to the segregated housewives.

Not all studies of interracial housing, where personal and intimate contact is probable, show a high correlation between contact and positive attitude change. When contact is achieved through residential in-migration, sometimes referred to as "invasion", the results are almost universally negative (Kramer, 1950; Hunt, 1959; and Fishman, 1961).

One reason for the effects of the "invasion" phenomenon is that the "early settlers" of the neighborhood view the invaders, especially if they are black, in stereotyped ways. Katz and Braly (1935) who first studied stereotyping by character traits said that,

racial prejudice is, thus a generalized set of stereotypes of a high degree of consistency which includes emotional responses to race names, a belief in typical characteristics associated with race names, and an evaluation of such typical traits (p. 191).

They listed 84 character traits (e.g., lazy, intelligent, greedy, ambitious, dirty, industrious, etc.) and asked 100 male Princeton University students to select those traits they believed most characteristic of each of ten groups. The groups were American, Chinese, English, German, Irish, Italian, Japanese, Jews, Negroes and Turks. Negroes emerged as superstitious, lazy, happy-go-lucky, ignorant and musical.

These "beliefs in typical characteristics" persist when segregation is prevalent. In discussing the relationship between segregation and beliefs in stereotypes, Allport (1954) stated:

Segregated housing, whether coerced or voluntary, means segregation in much else. It means that children will go to school attended largely or entirely by members of their own in-group. Stores, medical facilities, churches will be automatically segregated as well. Neighborhood projects will be ethnocentric, not truly civic in their scope or intent. Friendships across group boundaries will be difficult or impossible to form. And if one group (usually the Negro) is forced into overcrowded slums, disease and crime will have a high incidence. The fact of segregation...may be largely responsible for the stereotype that Negroes are intrinsically criminal, diseased, and given to depreciating property. What is due to segregation in housing is falsely ascribed to race (p. 269).

Also concerned with the effects of social contact on attitudes, Festinger and Kelly (1951) conducted a field experiment designed to produce desirable attitude changes. In the town studies, hostility had developed toward a public housing project; the townspeople feared it would become a slum. Project residents felt inferior even though their actual status differential from nonproject residents was quite small. Project residents were also hostile toward each other, and anticipated hostility from each other. The task was to reduce the hostility within and without the project. Festinger and Kelly reasoned that lessening hostility through interpersonal contact required:

1. motivational control of attitudes by changing what people want;
2. perceptual control of attitudes by changing the person's experience with relevant objects, events, attributes and relationships; and
3. social control of attitudes and group norms with which people come in contact.

To lessen hostility, the authors initiated nurse school programs, teenage clubs, and adult softball and crafts. The intent was to involve all social systems. The authors found that hostile attitudes lessened only among people who participated in and had favorable attitudes toward the program. Unfortunately, for the project as a whole the program made matters worse. The authors concluded: "If a group of persons are held together by common interest in community activities, and carry on communication about attitudes and opinions on which they differ, the conditions for attitude-change are present" (p. 76).

The Deutsch and Collins (1954) and the Festinger and Kelly (1951) studies suggest that "social engineering" (i.e., putting people in positions they would not choose themselves, for purposes of social change) may have general usefulness in the area of reducing racial conflict. The Festinger and Kelly study, though, warns that the positive effects of contact may be limited to certain kinds of people and situations.

Personality of Individuals

Certain personalities resist the influence of contact even when the contact situation is one of equal status and involves common striving. Allport (1954) cited a study by Mussen (1950) which illustrated this point:

This investigator studied the attitudes of approximately 100 white boys, eight to fourteen years of age, who spent 28 days

in a biracial camp where Negro and white children lived, ate and played together. Before the boys left home for the camp, and again on the last day of camp, they were tested with indirect methods of assessing prejudice. For example, each was presented with 12 photographs of boys' faces, eight of them Negroes, four white. The boy then picked out the photographs of individuals he would like to go to the movie with; and in other ways indicated his preference for, or rejection of, the white and colored boys. In no part of the investigation was there any direct discussion of Negro-white relationships or of personal feeling.

At the end of the 28 days of close association these tests were repeated, and a study was made of each boy's personality--especially the amount of aggression he harbored in general, and of the way he regarded his own parents and the environment he lived in.

About a quarter of the boys showed a marked lessening of prejudice during the period of camping, but about the same number showed a marked increase in prejudice.

The boys whose prejudice decreased, were on the whole, marked by the following characteristics:

- they had fewer aggressive needs
- they held a generally favorable view of their parents
- they did not perceive their home environment as hostile and threatening
- they did not fear that punishment would follow expression of aggression
- they were generally satisfied with the camp and fellow-campers

The boys whose prejudice increased, were on the hand, marked by the following characteristics:

- they had more aggressive and dominance needs
- they had more hostility toward their parents
- they felt their home environments to be hostile and threatening
- they desired to defy authority, but feared the punishment that would result
- they were more dissatisfied with the camp and with their fellow-campers

Thus it was the anxious and the aggressive boys who failed to develop tolerance as a result of their equal-status contact with Negro boys (pp. 279-280).

The concept of a scapegoat was first developed by Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mower and Sears (1939). The scapegoat theory when applied to black-white relations suggests that ethnic prejudice at that time was displaced aggression resulting from the frustrations of employment and insecure economic conditions. Thus, the argument ran, the lynching of blacks was not the result of frustration or anger with blacks but rather a consequence of generally low and unstable cotton prices.

This theory seems quite compelling when one observes a pigeon in a conditioning box viciously attacking a dummy pigeon whenever his customary reward is withheld. However, such reasoning applies better to emotional acts of violence than to the years of considered legal, political social, and economical disadvantages suffered by blacks. It also narrowly focuses on the South, ignoring the physical and psychological oppression to which Northern blacks were and still are subjected.

Another approach emphasizes basic personality differences between prejudiced and less prejudiced people. The best known studies utilizing this approach have been described under the rubric of The Authoritarian Personality, by Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levison and Sanford (1950). This volume reported on three different kinds of questionnaire techniques designed to measure anti-Semitism, ethnocentrism, and antidemocratic feeling or fascism. These authors felt that prejudice varied so greatly from situation to situation that a broader concept such as ethnocentrism would be more relevant.

Adorno and his associates developed the third of their questionnaires (The F-scale) to measure anti-Semitism and ethnocentrism without mentioning specifically the group toward which antagonisms were

expressed. The F-scale was considered to be more general and more broadly predictive. The mental sets or attitudes represented in the F-scale were considered representative of the kind of prejudiced personality observed in interracial situations. The totalitarian or prejudiced personality was delineated as follows:

Conventionalism: Rigid adherence to conventional middle-class values.

Authoritarian submission: Submissive, uncritical attitude toward idealized moral authorities of the ingroup.

Authoritarian aggression: Tendency to be on the lookout for and to condemn, reject, and punish people who violate conventional values.

Anti-intracception: Opposition to the subjective, the imaginative, the tenderminded.

Superstition and stereotypy: The belief in mystical determinants of the individual's fate; the disposition to think in rigid categories.

Power and "toughness": Preoccupation with the dominance-submission, strong-weak, leader-follower dimension; identification with power figures; over-emphasis upon the conventionalized attributes of the ego; exaggerated assertion of strength and toughness.

Destructiveness and cynicism: Generalized hostility, vilification of the human.

Projectivity: The disposition to believe that wild and dangerous things go on in the projection outwards of unconscious, emotional impulses.

Sex: Exaggerated concern with sexual "goings-on" (Adorno, *et al.*, 1950, p. 228).

This personality approach tended to slice the world into two types of people--prejudiced and nonprejudiced. Prejudiced people were found to score high on the F-scale, while nonprejudiced people scored low.

This view, like the scapegoat view, tended to obscure very important regional variations in race relations. Both theories spoke directly to Southerners, and indicated specific types of individuals. They diverted attention from the North, and from whites who did not fit the characteristics of their theories. Pettigrew (1958) later showed that the notion of an authoritarian personality was not a sufficient explanation of prejudiced behavior by demonstrating that F-scale scores were not higher among a random sample of Southerners than among a similar sample of Northerners (p. 32).

Areas of Contact

The last of the variables suggested by Allport (1954) as desirable in predicting intergroup contact effects has been partially elaborated upon through the discussion of many of the others. Areas of contact included casual, residential, occupational, recreational, religious, civic and fraternal, political, and goodwill intergroup activities (p. 263).

In the area of occupational contact between biracial groups, research has shown the same basic inverse relationship between prejudice and frequent equal status contact but with little carry over to other social relationships. Harding, et al. (1952) found this to be true among department store employees; Palmore (1955) obtained similar results among packing house employees; and Yarrow (1958) found the same kind of relationship among boys and girls in a summer camp.

Elaborating on the problem of attitude changes limitation to specific settings, Cook, (1963) stated:

One of the clearest findings of studies on the relation between intergroup contact and attitude change is that, while individuals rather quickly come to accept and even approve of association with members of another social group in situations of the type where they have experienced such association, this approval is not likely to be generalized to other situations unless the individuals have quite close personal relationships with members of the other group (p. 41).

Cook (1963) quoted a particularly dramatic example of the extent to which behavior may be limited to a specific situation in Minard's (1952) description of a mining community in West Virginia. There, white and Negro miners worked amicably together in mixed teams which sometimes had a Negro supervising white workers. However, the workers separated at the mine shaft and led their above-ground lives in complete segregation, with separate neighborhoods, restaurants, and no joint activities except those in the union hall.

Some of the findings in the previous studies have been corroborated by other research using different theoretical approaches. In some instances a different orientation has supplemented the incomplete and sometimes contradictory findings in the contact hypothesis research. A brief review of two of these approaches is presented.

Attitude-Belief Theory

On initial contact in biracial interactions, many blacks and whites experience uneasiness especially in times like the present. The current busing-antibusing controversy has contributed to the overwhelming salience of the ethnic issue. Katz (1964) described the initial awkwardness in biracial task groups in the laboratory noting that once blacks were cast in assertive roles, behavior in the groups became more egalitarian.

Acquaintance and similarity theory helps clarify the underlying process. Newcomb, Turner, and Converse (1965) cogently explained that insofar as persons have similar attitudes toward things of importance to both or all of them, and discover that this is so, they have shared attitudes; under most conditions the experience of sharing such attitudes is rewarding, and thus provide a basis for mutual attraction.

Rokeach (1960) applied these notions to race relations in the United States. He maintained that white Americans rejected black Americans because of assumed differences in beliefs rather than racism. In other words, whites generally perceived Negroes as holding beliefs contrasting with their own, and it is this perception--not race per se--that leads to rejection. Indeed, a variety of subjects have supported Rokeach's ideas by typically accepting in a social situation a Negro with beliefs similar to their own over a white with different beliefs.

Additional workers have studied the above phenomenon more precisely. Triandis and Davis (1961) have shown that the relative importance of belief and race in attraction is a joint function of personality and the interpersonal realm in question. Similarity of beliefs is most critical in more formal matters of general personal evaluation and social acceptance, where racial norms are ambiguously defined. For interpersonal realms of an intermediate degree of intimacy, such as friendship, both beliefs and race appear important. There are wide individual differences in the application of these concerns, however, especially in areas where the degree of intimacy is intermediate.

The attitude-belief theory can be further tested in the busing situation. Children tend to like each other on the basis of many

factors and similarity of beliefs is one of them (Cottle, 1969). Both black and white parents of children in the same school may find at PTA other meetings that they have similar problems with their children. Similar efforts to cope with these problems could generate personal evaluation and social acceptance. Rokeach (1961) has emphasized the social aspect of acceptance.

The locus of racial and ethnic discrimination is to be sought in society rather than in the individual's psyche. If society's constraints were altogether removed...man would still discriminate, if discriminate he must, not in terms of race or ethnic grouping but in accord with his basic psychological predisposition, characteristic of all human beings to organize the world of human beings in terms of the principle of belief congruence (p. 188).

Dissonance Theory

The socialization process is an important part of every individual's life and as such may be regarded as the domain of the social psychologist. Sociologists stress two views of the socialization process. The active view stresses the role the individual plays in his own socialization while the passive view stresses the process by which the individual is molded to the social requirement of his environment.

One important social psychological concept for the analysis of active socialization is the notion of social comparison processes developed by Festinger in 1954. Stated very simply, the idea is that people have a need to evaluate themselves, and to do this they compare themselves to other persons with whom they share something in common. The more similar they are to another person, the more appropriate and hence informative the comparison will be.

Active flexibility is generated by the selection of criteria for determining similarity. For example, if a woman wanted to judge her beauty, she could compare herself to any other woman (similarity of sex), to women in her particular social set (similarity of status), or to women in her old high-school graduating class (similarity of age), and so on. The salience of the situations and the reasons for making the judgments will have important implications for which similarity criteria are employed.

The point of these examples is the active role a person can play in the outcomes of his self-and other-evaluations. This active role has been captured in subsequent theoretical and empirical writings by Festinger in A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (1957). This theory suggests that when an individual is confronted with two mutually inconsistent cognitions (thoughts, ideas, beliefs, attitudes) there exists pressure to reduce that inconsistency. The state of inconsistency is termed cognitive dissonance and the pressure to change may result in dissonance reduction. The reduction of cognitive dissonance is also an active process. Thus social comparison and dissonance reduction processes provide one theoretical structure for the analysis of active socialization.

In relation to busing dissonance reduction efforts may be brought about the following inconsistent cognitions:

- (1) I believe that all people should have access to the same fair and equal treatment.
- (2) I believe that blacks (whites) should not have access to the same educational facility that I have.

If there is pressure to reduce dissonance, busing, given the present housing patterns would be logically consistent with the first belief,

making it more attractive than before. Of course, there is always the possibility that the two beliefs may not be held to be inconsistent. However, dissonance from a commitment to comply decreases as rewards, incentives or justifications increase (Brehm and Cohen, 1962).

Intergroup Relations Training

Busing for contact will not solve the problem alone. An example of how effective intergroup relations training has been with children was reported by Philadelphia Public school teacher, Gerald A. Weinstein (1962). Five schools participated in a project sponsored by the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission. This school's project was to learn if possible, to modify student prejudice through classroom experiences. The sample consisted of a pilot group of 33 students with an I.Q. range of from 87 to 136 with a median of 106. Seventeen of the students were Italian Catholic, 10 Jewish, and six Protestant. In the control group were 29 students with an I.Q. range of from 86 to 122 with a median of 104. Sixteen were Italian Catholic, seven Jewish, and six Protestant. No Negroes were in either class. The children lived in all-white neighborhoods bordering Negro neighborhoods which were very close to being slums. This was where the majority of their contact with Negroes had been.

An initial class assignment was to write a paper answering questions such as what are some problems between racial, religious, and nationality groups in our country? Should we be concerned? Why or why not? Weinstein, (1962) reported:

Typical were answers like: 'I don't know too much about nationality, race or religious problems. All I know is that there are some problems between Negroes and whites.'

1. Some Negroes tried to get into a school "Little Rock". In a way it was the white children's fault because they didn't give the Negro children a chance. 2. Another problem is that some Negroes are in a way sloppy, and if they moved into a clean neighborhood they would mess it up. 3. Also, I think that the Negro people get their way too much. For example, I sometimes pass the Negro streets and I always see playgrounds. But for us, some parents had to fight for just ONE playground. Yes we should be concerned because we have to watch out for what this world is coming to...(p. 239).

Using the "F" scale adapted for Adorno's Authoritarian Personality, Weinstein found that students with higher scores had a higher tendency toward prejudice. With 3.5 as a midscore, the results showed that 82 percent of the pilot group and 83 percent of the control group scored above this point. Then the class went on to learn what prejudice was through films and books. The students learned to examine statements using the scientific method, to analyze and detect fact from opinion. The teachers in the mathematics department helped them use statistics on Negro housing in Philadelphia to chart graphs and plot percentages. In music, they analyzed folk songs to understand the problems and needs of different people. They listened to speakers from the Commission on Human Rights. They took trips and toured an integrated Quaker development and a new all-Negro housing project in order to broaden their limited contact experiences.

Reporting an example of how they felt later, Weinstein stated:

They had a paper to write telling of their experiences and what they learned. An example: 'I thought the trip was very interesting, especially the first place we visited, called the Friends...It looked very interesting because I never saw Negroes and white people living together before... I heard of it but I never saw it before and that's why it was interesting...If you give a Negro a chance in life you might see he will change and you will see a Negro is just like you...They [the children] were Negro but they were just as nice as white children, even better than some

because they had better manners...What I learned--I learned Negroes are not as prejudiced as white people it seems to me...I also learned that most of the run down houses are in bad order and are owned by white people, not Negroes and they won't help the Negro fix them up' (p. 241).

On the final test 50 percent (as compared to 82 percent) scored above the midpoint on the F-sclae (in the pilot group). In the control group the scores dropped from 83 percent to 66 percent, but this was due to lack of control as confessed by one of their teacher who knew about project and worked on the children more than usual.

The effort to reduce prejudice reported in this study required serious dedication on the part of the school officials and the teachers at the school. However, a technique which requires less commitment and in the long run accomplishes the same thing is that of the fait accompli approach. In this approach to social change the desired change is instituted without asking the opinion of the persons involved. When the change is evident and backed by firm authority acceptance usually follows the initial uproar.

Experience shows that most citizens accept a forth right fait accompli with little protest, or disorder. In part they do so because integrationist policies are usually in line with their own consciences (even though countering their prejudices). In part the swift change is accepted because opposing forces have no time to mobilize and launch a counter movement (Allport, 1954).

CONCLUSION

The American experience in the now unfolding decade of the Seventies may be characterized by the words of Walt Whitman, who over a hundred years ago described the Civil War days as "strange and difficult times." One of the causes of the difficulty now, as then, is what to do about America's still unassimilated minority—the black people. What are appropriate criteria to employ in assessing progress in a field like race relations that embraces the hopes, desires, efforts, insecurities, ambitions, fears, and biases of hundreds of thousands of human beings in both their group and individual competitive relationships? What contributions can social scientists, cited by the Supreme Court of the land as "modern authority", make in the amelioration of intergroup tensions which have plagued the country for so long?

This thesis has attempted to shed some light on these questions as it focused on Allport's (1954) theory of intergroup contact and its implications for racial balance in schools through busing. In many cases of school desegregation via busing, where the opportunity for testing the contact hypothesis was present, failure to witness a reduction in interracial tension was due primarily to the absence of institutional support.

In his classic monograph on prejudice, Allport (1954) concluded that prejudice will be diminished when two groups: (1) possesses equal status in the contact situation, (2) seek common goals; (3) are cooperatively dependent upon each other, and (4) interact with the positive

support of authorities, laws, and custom. In reference to the fourth point, President Nixon's antibusing proposal in March, 1970 was not only in conflict with the Supreme Court's decision but more importantly, it served as a deterring force to successful integration through inter-group contact.

The 1954 Supreme Court ruling that "separate but equal" had no place in the educational system because of the inherent inequities in separateness met with wide dissension but soon most school districts got down to the serious business of desegregating the schools. The courts in deciding in favor of Brown (in Brown vs Board of Education) dealt only with de jure, legally enforced segregation which was held to be unconstitutional. The Supreme Court also ruled that the effect of the school board action in Swan vs Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education caused racial separation, regardless of its purpose. Thus the distinction between de jure and de facto segregation in education has been pragmatically eliminated.

In the Brown decision, the Supreme Court's concern was not with race relations per se but specifically with education. This decision declared that separate schools were inherently unequal and provided an inherently unequal education. In Swan vs Charlotte-Mecklenburg, Chief Justice Burger stated that there was no basis for holding that the local school authorities may not be required to employ bus transportation as one tool of school integration. He also indicated that busing would not be allowed to impinge on the educational process.

After opening the doors through legal means and establishing desegregation as a fact, many assumed this was all that was needed. However, there was still the journey from desegregation to integration.

Desegregation is the first stage of the process of integration which is the implied goal of all schools involved in the process. "Progress in education comes after rather than before social progress. Racial legislation, racial housing, racial employment and racial acceptance patterns are reflected in but not engendered by the public schools." (Gregory, Hansen and Hypps, 1962-63, p. 72). Schools and education still offer the greatest means of entrance into the American mainstream for blacks.

It probably would have been psychologically sounder for the Supreme Court to have insisted upon prompt acquiescence with its ruling of 1954. "Deliberate speed" did not fix an early and inescapable date for compliance. Supreme Court Justices Harlan and White apparently felt things were moving too slowly, because they suggested that once the Court had determined that a school district had not eliminated identifiable Negro and white schools no more than eight weeks should elapse before integration must be put into effect.

The fait accompli approach is not to be preferred over more conventional methods of attitude change with biracial interaction supported by authorities. The "authoritative support" idea is definitely meaningful in the case of busing. The effect on the children is that they tend to learn objectivity in their early years when guidance of learning is most effective. Also it has been shown that children adopt the prejudices of their parents and likewise become more liberal in their attitudes if their parents are.

As for reducing the prejudices of adults through institutional support, this too can be effected. In the Wilner, Walkley and Cook (1955)

study adults who previously held attitudes which were highly prejudicial toward Negroes made comments like: "I found that they (Negroes) are people just like we are", and "we feel they are true friends". Those housewives who viewed management's attitudes toward interaction between the races as favorable lived in integrated buildings. These results could be related to personality factors, or the intensity of the attitude prior to contact, but other examples may serve to show how institutional support carried more weight.

During the 1960's, the Johnson Administration showed support of the 1954 school desegregation decision by enacting civil rights legislation to enforce the ruling. At first there were evasive techniques instituted by many school districts such as pupil placement, freedom of choice, rezoning, etc, but soon most school districts started desegregating their schools--and even limited busing was instituted for this purpose. Hoke County, North Carolina supported separate educational facilities for whites, blacks and the Lumbee Indians, however, integration of all the schools was accomplished without incident.

Even prior to the desegregation mandate busing was a common practice throughout the country and especially in the more rural areas of the South and Midwest. Since busing children to school was not new, why the turmoil, publicity and fierce resistance? In addition to the antibusing arguments, some of which were sources of real concern but most of which were based on misinformation, there was also the lack of social and authoritative support.

The most recent evaluation of studies on busing was done by Armor (1972) and by Pettigrew, Useem, Normand, and Smith (1973). In

"The Evidence on Busing" Armor reviewed and evaluated several studies involving busing of black children to previously predominantly white schools. These studies included White Plains, New York which started busing in 1964; Ann Arbor, Michigan which started busing in 1965; Riverside, California which started busing on a graduated program in 1965; Project Concern in Hartford and New Haven, Connecticut, which bused black students to suburban schools; and a study which Armor and his associates made in 1970 of the METCO program in Boston.

The METCO program buses black students of all ages from Boston to predominantly white middle-class schools in the suburbs. Over 1500 students and 28 communities have participated since the program started in 1966. It was this program on which Armor based the bulk of his evidence. Using changes in the black-white academic differential he tested for the positive effects of school integration for black children, i.e. that school integration enhanced black achievement, aspirations, self-esteem, race relations and opportunity for higher education.

Armor (1972) found that: (1) These studies did not demonstrate conclusively that integration had any effect on academic achievement. (2) There was no increase in educational or occupational aspiration level of the bused students. (3) There was no support of the integration policy model's contention that integration should reduce stereotypes, increase tolerance and generally improve race relations, on the contrary, he found the converse to be true. And (4) he found that the bused students were much more likely to start college (84% as compared to 56%) but that the high drop-out rate by the sophomore year made this one success less than a positive result.

In his conclusion Armor (1972) stated that no research findings had challenged the contact theory and perhaps the reason the integration policy model had failed to be supported by the current research findings was because: (1) It did not take into account some of the conditions of the contact theory. (2) Research designs were inadequate. (3) It did not consider induced versus natural factors. (4) The changing conditions in the black cultural climate were not considered. He then described a contact-conflict model which would appear to be more applicable. Although the studies he reviewed all dealt with voluntary busing, Armor concluded that "...massive mandatory busing...is not effective and should not be adopted at this time" (1973, p. 116).

Pettigrew, et al., (1973), in Busing: A Review of "The Evidence", charged that in the Armor (1972) study unrealistic standards had been set for judging the effects of school desegregation upon the academic performance of black children.

Citing serious weaknesses in the METCO research, the authors also pointed out that the study was inadequately discussed, the achievement effects of busing were more complex than reported and that the firm policy conclusion against "mandatory busing" was not substantiated by the evidence presented.

Armor (1973) made a reply in defense of his conclusions and we can expect this tort-retort to stimulate some interest on the part of other social psychologists to the point of generating sound research in the area. As in the case of any two competent observers who advocate strongly divergent points of view, it's likely that both Armor and Pettigrew have observed something valid about the situation and that each

represent a portion of the truth.

Under the present racial balance busing conditions can "true integration" of the schools and thus eventually of the black and white peoples of this country be expected on the basis of the contact theory? The answer is a resounding "No." For one thing, mandatory busing to achieve a racial balance brings the two groups into involuntary contact with each other. This factor alone puts an almost prohibitive premium on the attainment of the four conditions in Allport's (1954) contact theory.

Equal status is assumed when all children start school in the same school and on the same grade level. But this assumption can be fallacious when learning which takes place at home is not accounted for. The Coleman Report (1966) observed that schools bring little influence to bear on a child's achievement level that is independent of his background and his general social context. Nevertheless, the research findings of most of the studies of achievement of black students in integrated schools showed a significantly higher level than students in segregated schools. Busing does eliminate segregated schools.

It can also be assumed that everyone interested in the busing and equal opportunity issue are in pursuit of the common goal of quality education for all children. Busing eliminates doubt as to whether some schools set aside for one ethnic group are inferior as far as teachers, buildings, libraries, and other facilities are concerned.

The support and sanction of authorities is one area in which busing is alienated from the contact theory. In a questionnaire study by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials (NAIRO),

32, of the 66 replies to the question, "What effective means of achieving integration have been found?", were (1) integrated housing and (2) enforcement of the law and support of officials. Although all the data were not reported in the article by Giles and Velarde (1960), they did indicate that 39 of the 66 replies came from 12 cities (Chicago, Boston, Detroit, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, Newark, St. Louis, and Wilmington). With institutional support of busing--from the President on down--other obstacles can be met with confidence.

Perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups could be achieved through group activities planned and coordinated by PTAs, civic and community groups. Also, the mass media could be of great help since it has the capacity to exert powerful influence on intergroup relations and attitudes. Adoption and adherence to a policy of objective reporting of both sides of an issue involving ethnic groups, mindful that sensational "bulletin" reports can stimulate wider tensions by giving undue importance to an event, would be a first step.

Busing for racial balance today can not undo the misery wrought by hundreds of years of segregation and dual standards but it is an effort in the right direction. Perhaps because of the start made today, one hundred years from today, "true integration" rather than "mere desegregation" may be a common state of affairs in America.

School integration offers a primary means of social contact between blacks and whites during the impressionable years. With some ingenuity on the part of all involved in and concerned about the

educational process in establishing mutual interdependence and with the enlightened sanction of the authorities we would have most of the ingredients for positive attitude changes on the part of both groups. Can busing be the modus operandi? This thesis submits that it can.

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