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THE EFFECT OF SOURCE-MESSAGE-VARIANTS ON
RACIAL ATTITUDE CHANGE AMONG COLLEGE FRESHMEN

BY

WINFREY M. RUFFIN, JR.

A dissertation submitted
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree Doctor of Philosophy, Major in Rural Sociology
South Dakota State University
1980

THE EFFECT OF SOURCE-MESSAGE-VARIANTS ON
RACIAL ATTITUDE CHANGE AMONG COLLEGE FRESHMEN

This thesis is approved as a creditable and independent investigation by a candidate for the degree, Doctor of Philosophy, and is acceptable as meeting the thesis requirements for this degree. Acceptance of this thesis does not imply that the conclusions reached by the candidate are necessarily the conclusions of the major department.

Thesis Advisor

Date

Head, Department of Rural Sociology

Date

THE EFFECT OF SOURCE-MESSAGE-VARIANTS ON
RACIAL ATTITUDE CHANGE AMONG COLLEGE FRESHMAN

Abstract

WINFREY M. RUFFIN, JR.

Under the supervision of Dr. Robert T. Wagner

The objective of this study was to determine how the racial attitudes of freshman students were reinforced or altered by variant stereotypic messages received from differing classroom instructors.

A theoretical model and an associated set of propositions and hypotheses were formulated based on symbolic interactionism, consistency and dissonance theory, and information relating processes. The following research hypothesis was generated:

Groups receiving variant messages, both as to source and content, will differ in the extent of change in the attitudes of their members toward persons of the opposite race.

Twenty-six null hypotheses were formulated, covering different source-message variation as applied to the experimental groups and the control group; namely, the attributed race of the speaker, the character of the message and the race of the students in the group.

Freshman enrolled in English courses in Fall, 1979 at Shippensburg State College were assigned randomly to either the control group or experimental groups. The final sample size was 132, with 105 in the experimental groups and 27 in the control.

The dependent variable was the group mean for the extent of racial attitudinal change as measured before and after treatment by a pre-test and post-test instrument. The independent variable consisted of a taped message played to the respondents in which two factors were altered: (1) the speaker was identified as either Black, White or not identified by a racial characteristic at all; (2) the message either favored or disfavored racial integration.

Six experimental groups were each assigned one of the following independent treatments: (1) black source--pro-integration message, (2) black source--anti-integration message, (3) white source--pro-integration message, (4) white source--anti-integration message, (5) unknow source--pro-integration message, and (6) unkown source--anti-integration message.

The control group was the seventh group. It received no source-message variant but was given the cognitive-affective-behavioral pre and post-tests.

The statistical techniques used were the t-test and analysis of variance.

The objective of this study was to examine to what extent the attitudes of white and non-white freshmen changed toward each other during the fall semester at Shippensburg, and how these attitude changes were associated with the application or non-application of treatments that varied as to the known race of a speaker and the advocacy or opposition toward integration.

Differences in observed racial attitude change were found between:

1. The group receiving an anti-integration message (regardless of attributed race of the speaker) and the control group.

2. Students receiving the pro-integration message from a white speaker and students who received a pro-integration message from an unknown source.

3. Students receiving the pro-integration message from a black speaker and the students who received anti-integration messages regardless of the attributed race of the speaker.

4. Students receiving the pro-integration message from a white speaker and the students who received an anti-integration message regardless of the attributed race of the speaker.

5. Students receiving the pro-integration message from an unknown speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from an unknown speaker.

6. Students receiving pro-integration messages and the students receiving anti-integration messages.

7. Students receiving messages from a white speaker and those who received messages from an unknown speaker.

The study suggests:

1. There is a greater need for Blacks to be in positions of importance in the college community, in order for students to have positive racial referents.

2. Colleges should avoid presenting types of situations that promote negativism, due to the impact of negative messages.

3. There is a greater need for interracial information and experiences in order to enhance students evaluations of racial opposites.

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WMR

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

American society is characterized by a population composed of individuals with not only a wide range of physical or racial differences, but also an accompanying wide range of sentiments and attitudes concerning these differences. Racial classifications, among others, serve to differentiate persons in America. This tendency is supported by a persistent racial philosophy and ideological structure that emphasizes physical differences and promotes a racial consciousness; that is, a set of attitudes based on perceptions of differences in skin colors and concomitant racially related physical differences. This perceptual-attitudinal pattern has been an area of concern among public leaders and observers, in part due to polarization resulting from the pattern. Such polarization has been acknowledged by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders: "America is becoming two societies . . . one black, one white--separate and unequal."¹ If this conclusion is true, it then has implications for education.

The social institution of education fulfills various functions in society: cultural transmission and indoctrination, cultural integration and conservation, and the cultivation of

¹Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Bantam Books, New York, 1968, p. 1.

flexibility, intellectual curiosity, self-discovery and self-actualization.² Formal education, especially higher education, influences personal biographies by raising socioeconomic status and by shaping and modifying racial attitudes. Therefore, higher education, through its professional staff, functions as an agent of racial attitudinal modification and raises questions as to the way racial attitudes are influenced.

Statement of the Problem and Its Importance

This study investigates the following question: "To what extent do variant stereotypic messages from different instructors reinforce or change racial attitudes among freshmen?"

Investigation of the racial attitudes, social interaction, and their change during the college career will provide an understanding of the effect of higher education in general. This investigation is of special concern to college administrators, college faculty, and other educators: it is in the national interest. According to Gilbert:

It is recognized that stereotyped and prejudiced conceptions stand in the way of international understanding and can contribute to hostilities. The study of college students, even though they are a selective group, is extremely important in this connection, since it (college) contributes decisively to national leadership and policy making.³

²Harold Hodges, Conflict and Consensus--An Introduction to Sociology, Harper and Row, New York, 1971, p. 338.

³G. M. Gilbert, "Stereotype Resistance and Change Among College Students," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, April 1951, Vol. 46, pp. 245.

The extent to which college influences attitudinal change is open to question. In 1970, 7,913,000 individuals attended colleges and universities in America.⁴ An aggregate of this size represents an important force in society, the racial attitudes of which are appropriate areas for examination. A need arises to determine whether or not college experience is associated with increased tolerance, raised sensitivity and awareness, and the adoption of less rigid attitudes. Sorokin's conception of educational institutions supports this need to ascertain the nature of students' attitudes:

As educational agencies, the schools must establish a carefully elaborated system for developing altruism in their pupils. They must instill in them a set of universal values and norms, free from superstition and ignorance as well as from degrading, cynical nihilistic and pseudo-scientific theories of our time. This task should be deemed as intellectual training.⁵

Another important issue centers around the degree to which students internalize new information and utilize this information in day-to-day interactions. By providing new situations and additional information, the college experience also provides a social learning process that accompanies the academic learning process. Two questions immediately arise. Does this additional

⁴U.S. Bureau of the Census, Characteristics of American Youth, U.S. Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1972, p. 17.

⁵U.S. Bureau of the Census, Characteristics of American Youth, U.S. Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1972, p. 17.

information lead to adjusted attitudes which are reflected in social behavior? And what type of learning situations are successful in promoting opened or closed outlooks and otherwise influencing behavior?

The changes college students are expected to experience as a result of contact with the college community and its normative systems provide areas of investigative concern. One such area centers around the social dynamics of college and its influence on the examination and modification of personal behavior as it relates to the receptivity of students to new information.

If colleges are accomplishing the task identified by Sorokin, then college experience should provide an intellectual climate which encourages an individual to view others on the basis of individual and personal traits, rather than on generalized physical, racial, and/or social characteristics.

A great amount of contradictory evidence concerning the humanistic influences of college has been compiled. Consider, for example, the works of Lehman,⁶ Rich,⁷ and Hoge.⁸ Furthermore,

⁶Irvin Lehman, "Changes in Attitudes and Values Associated with College Attendance," Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol. 57, No. 2, pp. 89-98.

⁷Harvey Rich, "The Liberating Effects of College," Adolescence, Vol. XII, No. 46, pp. 199-211.

⁸R. Hoge, "Changes in College Students' Value Pattern in the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's," Sociology of Education, May 3, 1976, Vol. 49, pp. 155-158.

many questions remain in the areas of college attendance, contact with new information and informational situations, influence of the college community and the corresponding changes in interracial attitudes and behavior.

Finally, due to the conflicting information concerning the possible effects of college in altering attitudes and behavior, a basic area of inquiry arises. If colleges provide an atmosphere or environment that promotes attitudinal and behavioral changes, then it must be possible to observe and measure those changes. Likewise, if the social climate of the colleges and their accompanying norms are effective in influencing these changes, they should be measurable throughout students' academic careers.

As a student becomes more acculturated into the college normative system, the effects of this exposure should be measurable throughout his or her careers as a student. Having recognized college as a socializing agent, a researcher turns naturally to the effect of college on racial attitudes. In fact, the effects of post-secondary education on racial attitudes, in view of the expressed national interest, becomes a critical matter. Gilbert has elaborated on the need for inquiry of this sort: "What has not received attention is the extent to which these (racial) stereotypes persist or fade in the course of time."⁹

⁹Gilbert, op. cit., p. 245.

By viewing students during their freshman year, data can be acquired which will (1) identify the attitudes, norms, and behavior of college students; (2) trace the development, if any, of altered attitudes, norms, and behavior; and, (3) discover the types of situations that contribute to the refinement of racial attitudes.

Objective of the Study

The objective of this study then is to:

1. Discover how the racial attitudes of freshmen students are reinforced or altered by variant stereotypic messages received from differing classroom instructors.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The nature of the research question calls for an examination of the social influence process, the affect of communication on attitudes and behavior, and their interaction and change. Concentration will be focused on the type of information and types of situations that function in the social influence process. By reviewing studies and other relevant information, a general framework centered around general attitude states, factors related to susceptibility to attitude change, factors related to acceptance of information, types of information that affect change and the relationship between persuasion and various types of attitudinal and behavioral change will be developed.

Attitudes and Attitude Change

For research in attitude change to be conducted, it should be accepted that individuals do not have fixed attitudes. These attitudes are modifiable, and they are measurable. Factors under study, which can modify attitudes, are contact with information and experiencing an information-relating situation. In considering these factors, certain aspects of research appear which have great relevancy; such as, basic attitude composition, what is responsible for change, how attitudes operate, and the direction of change.

In reference to basic attitudes and factors responsible for the change, Carlson directs attention to composition and certain elements related to change. According to Carlson:¹

Attitudes are complex in that they are composed of a number of components, characteristics, or dimensions . . . changes in attitude change should result from satisfaction from goals, or in the instrumental relationship between the attitude object and the goal.²

Fishbien lends support to this position through the information he provides on the operation of attitudes: "An individual's attitudes toward any object is a function of his beliefs about the object and the evaluative aspects of those beliefs."³

In the area of change, studies indicate that attitude change may take a number of forms: "An individual may be exposed to a communication, and not accept the communicator's point of view, but after a period of time 'come around' to the communicator's position. The latter phenomenon has been described as the sleeper effect."⁴

It has also been found that communications can, at times, produce a distribution of shifts in attitudes. Hovland et al, have

¹Earl R. Carlson, "Attitude Change Through Modification of Attitude Structure," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 52, No. 2, pp. 256-261.

²Ibid., p. 256.

³Martin Fishbien, "An Investigation of the Relationship Between Beliefs About an Object and Attitudes Toward that Object," Human Relations, Vol. 16, No. 2, p. 238.

⁴Herbert C. Kelman, "'Reinstatement' of the Communicator in Delayed Measurement of Opinion Change," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 55, 1957, pp. 244-252.

considered the topic of direction of change to a great extent. Their position is that when presented with information, an individual is faced with the choice of either acceptance or rejection.⁵ This acceptance/rejection choice manifests itself in the form of an "assimilation"⁶ effect or a "contrast"⁷ effect. Hovland and his associates explain this in the following fashion: communication near subject's stand will be assimilated to it, while communication at variance with the subject's own stand will be displaced still farther away ('contrast effect').⁸ Whether assimilation or contrast effects occur, Hovland and his collaborators explain, is a function of the relative distance between the subject's own stand and the position of the communication. The importance of viewing the "assimilation/contrast" affect is that it focuses attention to the different directions of change that could possibly be observed.

Dabb, by assigning change into three categories, "Real Change," "No Change" and "Doubtful Change,"⁹ suggests another

⁵Carl I. Hovland et. al., "Assimilation and Contrast Effects in Reactions to Communication and Attitude Change," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 55, 1957, pp. 244-252.

⁶Ibid., p. 244.

⁷Ibid., p. 244.

⁸Ibid., p. 245.

⁹Leonard W. Doob, "Some Factors Determining Change in Attitude," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 35, 1940, p. 552.

possibility for the direction of change. The support for this particular categorization is based on his findings that ". . . there is a tendency for those who reveal no change in attitude to consider their attitudes to be more certain and important than those who revealed a change."¹⁰ His further investigation of the categories, as evidence by a college student population, provide five reasons for change when it occurred:

1. Courses in college during the ten-week period
2. A personal experience or actual observation; or just thinking and reflecting
3. Conversation with students or parents
4. Newspapers, books, radio, reading in general; or knowledge of actual events
5. Some authority figure like minister, lecturer, or employer (but excluding teachers in college)¹¹

In considering attitudes, attitude change, communication and communication situations, it can be recognized that attitudes are complex, and their change is affected by certain elements such as satisfaction from goals or instrumentality. Attitudes, then, can shift in different directions, or not shift, depending upon their certainty and importance as indicated by the evaluative function they serve.

Attitudes and Behavior

The study of the relationship between attitudes and behavior

¹⁰Ibid., p. 565.

¹¹Ibid., p. 559.

is centered around the principle that while attitudes cannot be observed, behavior can. From this principle, it can be deduced that if it is possible to identify an individual's attitudes, one can predict the individual's behavior. Understanding the relationship between attitude and behavior, however, is complicated by the nature of the evidence compiled from studies in this area. Studies tend to report divergence between attitudes (as indicated by respondent expressions on various measures) and the actual behavior of the individual expressing the attitude.

Fendrich found " . . . verbal attitudes can be either consistent or inconsistent with overt behavior."¹² It is not atypical then, in the examination of attitudes and overt behavior, to report an inconsistency between the measure of attitudes (i.e. verbal attitudes) and overt behavior. Fendrich offers an explanation for the reported inconsistencies by offering this hypothesis: " . . . the degree of relationship between commitment and overt behavior will be greater than the relationship between verbal attitude and overt behavior."¹³

Lipset and Raab, in accordance with Fendrich, share similar explanations concerning the disparity between expressed attitudes and

¹²James M. Fendrich, "A Study of the Association Among Verbal Attitudes Commitment and Overt Behavior in Different Experimental Situations," Social Forces, 45, (1967), p. 353.

¹³Ibid., p. 353.

behavior.¹⁴ By recognizing the operation of external forces that differ from one situation to another, behavior, as it relates to attitudes, is interpreted as situational in character. According to Fendrich, it is the ". . . characteristics of the overt situation rather than the attitudes that determine the action towards the attitude object."¹⁵ Lipset and Raab, in reference to the inconsistency, take the view that ". . . each situation has different external forces operating to form the interaction of an attitude . . . not only do attitudes differ widely from one individual to another, but they differ from one situation to another."¹⁶

Despite the disparity that tends to occur, Lipset and Raab also recognize another feature: the fact that attitudes do not necessarily predetermine behavior does not mean that attitudes and behavior do not typically accompany each other. Newcomb et. al. take the perspective that behavior is influenced by the nature of the immediate situation, and that people also differ in what they bring to the situation (i.e., stored dispositions).¹⁷ Therefore, they claim, ". . . behavior is jointly determined by individual attitudes

¹⁴Earl Raab and Seymour M. Lipset, "The Prejudiced Society," Confrontation Psychology and the Problems of Today, Scott, Foreman and Company, Atlanta, 1970, pp. 135-144, (Michael Wertheimer-editor).

¹⁵Fendrich, op. cit., p. 348.

¹⁶Raab and Lipset, op. cit., p. 138.

¹⁷Theodore M. Newcomb, et. al., Social Psychology, Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, Inc., New York, (1956).

on one hand and by the (perceived) situation on the other."¹⁸

Furthermore, they state:

Broadly speaking, we would not expect any simple and perfect correspondence between an attitude and a relevant behavior because (1) behavior is a product not only of attitudes but of the immediate situation as well;¹⁹ and (2) attitudes relevant to a situation are often multiple.

As far as attitudes and behavior are concerned, some observations of inconsistencies and contradictions between attitude and behavior do occur; however, it is also recognized that attitudes do affect behavior, although this behavior is greatly shaped by the immediate situation. Nonetheless, understanding and prediction are possible because of the consistency within which they operate.

Newcomb and his co-researchers stress the point ". . . in most cases prediction can exceed chance simply by taking one highly relevant attitude into account. This is due to the fact that elements that have some logical relationship to one another tend, over time, to show a trend towards mutual consistency . . . we may simply observe that consistency between attitudes and decisions to behave in this way or that can be taken as a case of psychological consistency."²⁰

Therefore, behavior is strongly influenced by the situation the individual is encountering and a discrepancy between attitudes and behavior may appear. This does not mean that attitudes and

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 67.

²⁰Ibid., p. 73.

behavior are not related. In fact, behavioral choices of the individual are in line with attitudes, and in the ". . . instances where there are discrepancies between the two, either may change to restore consistency."²¹

The relationship between attitudes and behavior is centered around the principle that although attitudes cannot be observed, behavior can. Once an attitude is determined, it lends itself to aid in the prediction of behavior. This holds constant even though at various points of time there may be an inconsistency between attitudes and behavior. This inconsistency is related to the operation of such factors as the individual's commitment to the attitude, external overt forces in the situation, and what individuals bring into the situation. Understanding and predicting attitudes is possibly due to the consistency within which they operate.

The Information-Relating Process

In order to measure changes in attitudes and behavior, one must ascertain the relationship between attitude change and behavior change, and discover how these changes are affected by various social factors and forms of information. Hence, an investigation of the social influence process is required. According to Lindzey and Aronson, the social influence process is actually composed of five influences, which they label: source, message, channel, receiver and

²¹Ibid., p. 73.

destination.²² They also refer to these influences as "components" of or "variables" affecting the social influence process.

Each of these variables, while inter-related, is distinct and identifiable. Source variables are attributes of the perceived source of the message, such as trustworthiness or similarity to the receiver. The message component refers to the content and structure of what is being presented (i.e., kind of appeal, or how the opposition's arguments are dealt with). Factors that have to do with the media or modality through which the messages are presented (audio versus visual) compose the channel component. Characteristics such as the personality or abilities of the individuals for whom the message was designed are considered the receiver component. Destination entails variables having to do with the aim of the message (type, long- or short-term effect).²³

While it is recognized that all variables or components are integral in affecting attitude change and behavior, the objectives of the study call for a focus on source, message and receiver. Therefore, a general discussion of all "components" or "variables" will be conducted with an emphasis on source, message and receiver.

²²Cardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson, Handbook of Social Psychology, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Reading, Massachusetts, (1969), p. 172.

²³Ibid., p. 172.

Source Characteristics. Kelman states that when a communication is presented, its effectiveness in producing attitude change or opinion will be the result of 'content' factors and 'acceptance' factors.²⁴ Acceptance factors are those factors which operate as a result of the influence of the communicator (source). Content factors are those which are related to the nature of the message. Some 'acceptance' factors that researchers have shown to exert influence are source trustworthiness, the source being perceived as possessing either positive or negative qualities, source credibility (or expertise) and the source's degree of likability.

Generally, it is found that ". . . a positive communicator increases acceptance and a negative (communicator) decreases the extent of acceptance."²⁵ A positive communicator, according to Kelman, is one who is trustworthy, prestigious, or well liked. Even when the communication being presented was the same, Hovland and Weiss²⁶ found a marked difference in the way their subjects responded to the "high credibility" source and the "low credibility" source.

Hovland and Weiss' explanation for the afore-mentioned phenomenon is that the acceptance of the high credibility source

²⁴ Kelman, op. cit., pp. 332-333.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 334.

²⁶ Carl Hovland and Walter Weiss, "The Influence of Source Credibility on Communication Effectiveness," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 15, (1951), pp. 635-650.

reflects the subject's personal opinion that "low credibility" sources are considered to be less fair or less justified. However, Hovland and Weiss also established that there was "no significant difference" in the amount of factual information acquired by subject's presented material by "high credibility" sources when compared to subject's presented material by "low credibility" sources. They concluded:

Neither the acquisition nor retention of factual information appears to be affected by the trustworthiness of the source. But changes in opinion are significantly related to the trustworthiness of the source used in the communication.²⁷

They also noted that subjects changed their opinion in the direction advocated by the communicator in a significantly greater number of cases when the material was attributed to a high credibility source.²⁸

Not all evidence points in this direction. Weiss has shown that there is a "sleeper effect" in the area of source credibility and the sources effectiveness in influencing attitudes and change.²⁹ The "sleeper effect," as described earlier, (accepting communicator point of view after first rejecting it), does not support the assumption " . . . the maximum modification of opinion is to be

²⁷Ibid., pp. 641-642.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Walter Weiss, "A 'Sleeper' Effect in Opinion Change," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 48, No. 2, 1953, pp. 173-180.

expected shortly after exposure to experimental treatment."³⁰

In comparing changes immediately after a communication to changes after a four week period from the communication, Hovland and Weiss noted . . . a decrease in the extent of agreement with the high credibility source and an increase in the case of low credibility source."³¹ This "sleeper effect, according to Hovland and Weiss, is the result of the passage of time which serves to prevent recall of source and becomes a mediating cue that leads to rejection. Weiss, in an independent work, has identified another possible explanation for the "sleeper" effect. He stated, "Although the content of a communication is learned well, the communication may be discounted as coming from a source having a propagandistic purpose."

Despite any controversy that may occur as the result of the "sleeper" effect, Greenberg and Miller³² feel that the statement ". . . sources of low credibility are not as persuasive as highly credible communicators," should be treated as a firmly established empirical generalization.³³ One can escape the effects of low credibility by postponing the informing of the recipients about the source's credibility:

³⁰ Ibid., p. 173.

³¹ Ibid., p. 173.

³² Bradley S. Greenberg and Gerald Miller, "The Effect of Low Credibility Sources on Message Acceptance," Speech Monographs, 30, 1966, pp. 127-136.

³³ Ibid., p. 127.

Immediate attribution of a message to a highly credible source will result in more favorable audience attitudes toward the proposal advocated than will delayed attribution to the source, but delayed attribution of a message to a low-credible source, will result in more favorable audience attitudes toward the proposal advocated than will immediate attribution to the source.³⁴

Greenberg and Miller leave investigators to draw the following conclusions:

1. A message from an unidentified source will result in more favorable audience attitudes towards the message proposal than will a message attributed to a low-credible source.

2. Attribution of the message to a low-credible source prior to its presentation results in maximal audience resistance to persuasion and high credible sources should have the opposite effect; therefore . . .

3. When a source is likely to be perceived somewhat unfavorably, delay of information about the source of a persuasive message is more effective than immediate identification of the source.³⁵

Liking the source is an important element in attitude change. Individuals like, and are attracted to, people who agree with them more than they are attracted to people who disagree with them. Rokeach's studies found that whites prefer associating with blacks who have attitudes like their own rather than whites who have

³⁴Ibid., p. 129.

³⁵Ibid., pp. 128, 132.

opposing attitudes.³⁶

Similarity and attraction operate much in the same fashion as liking:

Anytime that another person offers us validation by indicating that his percepts and concepts are congruent with ours, it constitutes a rewarding interaction and thus our element in forming a negative relationship. Disagreement raises the unpleasant possibility that we are to some degree stupid, uninformed, immoral, or insane.³⁷

If the source of information is a stranger, there are certain ways in which his or her characteristics can influence one about to receive the information. Byrne tested and supported the following hypotheses which illustrate the forms of influence the source may assert:

a) A stranger who is known to have attitudes similar to those of the subject is better liked than a stranger with attitudes dissimilar to the subject.

b) A stranger who is known to have attitudes similar to those of the subject is judged to be more intelligent, better informed, more moral, and better adjusted than a stranger with attitudes dissimilar to those of the subject.

³⁶M. Rokeach and L. Mezei, "Race and Shared Beliefs as Factors in Social Choice, Science, Vol. 151, 1966, pp. 167-172.

³⁷Donn Byrne, "Interpersonal Attraction and Attitudes Similarity," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 62, No. 3, 1961, p. 713.

c) A stranger who is known to have similar attitudes on issues important to the subject and dissimilar attitudes on unimportant issues is better liked and is evaluated more positively.³⁸

Although the source can produce "sleeper effect" in the information-relating process, there is strong evidence supporting the ability of the communicator to produce change in one direction or the other. A positive communicator is not only more effective in producing change, but is also seen as more trustworthy and more fair. Credibility and expertise are effective in producing attitude change even though credibility and expertise do not affect learning. Also important, is the point in time the audience is informed of the credibility. If there is a delay in informing the audience, a low-credibility source will be more effective. Liking the source and perceiving the source as similar are important elements: when the source is a stranger, individuals are more likely to see positive than negative qualities when there is some perceived agreement or similarity.

In viewing source influence, it can be observed that the effectiveness of the source in producing attitude change is tied to "acceptance" factors such as source trustworthiness, positive or negative perception of the source, the credibility of the source (expertise), and the source's likability. Although source credibility demonstrated no significant difference in the amount of factual

³⁸Ibid., pp. 713-715.

information learned, changes in opinion are related to the trustworthiness of the source. Liking the source is an additional important factor. Individuals tend to like people who agree with them more than they like those who disagree with them.

Message Characteristics. In the area of the role of the message in attitude change, the focus of concern is basically on the type (content) of the message being offered. When considering the type of information being offered, attention can be centered on approach used, clarity of information, whether the information is propaganda or not, and timing of the presentation of the message. The impact of each of the preceding factors has results which can be demonstrated by some operation of attitudes or attitude change.

The study of message characteristics is based on the ability of the message to evoke a response. As Manis³⁹ stated, ". . . most messages can be interpreted in a variety of ways and that the recipient is motivated to reduce the influence potential of incoming message." Rosenthal⁴⁰ also wrote that for a message to be effective, it must ". . . first advance to the listener's thought processes . . . and then activate a response sufficient to achieve the desired effect."

³⁹Melvin Manis, "The Interpretation of Opinion Statements as a Function of Message Ambiguity and Recipient Attitudes," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, No. 63, 1961, p. 80.

⁴⁰Paul J. Rosenthal, "The Concept of Ethos and the Structure of Persuasion," Speech Monographs, No. 35, 1966, p. 118.

Anderson accepted the basic assumption: ". . . the greater the advocated change in opinion, the greater is the change produced."⁴¹ Furthermore, he has found that ". . . the opinion before and after the presentation are linearly related."⁴² He offers the following equation to demonstrate the relationship:

$$\underline{X}_1 = \underline{X}_0 + \underline{S} (\underline{C} - \underline{X})$$
, when \underline{X}_0 is the opinion before presentation of the communication; \underline{X}_1 is the opinion after presentation of the communication; \underline{C} is the fixed point of the communication; and, \underline{S} is the coefficient of proportionality.⁴³

\underline{C} can be considered the position of the communication and \underline{S} can be thought of as the susceptibility of the person to the communication. The interpretation is: the greater the value of \underline{S} , the greater is the change of opinion in the direction of the communication. It should also be noted that the change in opinion will be positive if the initial opinion is less than \underline{C} , negative if the opinion is greater than \underline{C} . Anderson concludes, ". . . in either case, however, the effect of the communication is to move the opinion closer to \underline{C} ."⁴⁴

This equation can be found to operate in daily interaction when there are certain "cues" which evoke responses from the listener:

⁴¹Norman H. Anderson, "Test of a Model for Opinion Change," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, No. 59, 1959, pp. 371-381.

⁴²Ibid., p. 371.

⁴³Ibid., p. 371.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 371.

When a speaker delivers a speech with the intent of influencing the behavior of his auditors in a particular direction, we may conceive of the communication *per se* as presenting two distinct objects as potential foci of listener reaction: (1) the message--the subject matter, its development, and the policies entailed--and (2) the total personality of the speaker.⁴⁵

The type of message, then, becomes important. Rosenthal views the "available means of persuasion" in terminology borrowed from the Greeks and Romans. He refers to these different "means of persuasion" as: ethos, pathos, and logos. In ethos, the communication is structured so that attention is placed on the speaker's personality; pathos is structuring communication with attention centered on the credibility of the communication; and, logos, is an appeal to the logic and reasoning ability of the listener.

Of the three, Rosenthal sees ethos as being the most influential and important because it places emphasis on the human factor in oral communication. By viewing oral persuasion as involving a symbolic stimuli and listener reaction, the human element becomes an "empirical reality" in that oral communication is especially significant in persuasive communication. Persuasion may be classified as personal or non-personal, depending upon whether the speaker's personality or his message becomes the primary object of value response. Rosenthal writes, "If the message functions primarily as a medium by which the speaker's personality activates the dominate

⁴⁵Rosenthal, op. cit., pp. 114-115.

response, the process may be categorized as personal persuasion.⁴⁶
 It is due to the predominance of oral communication in daily life that Rosenthal places such importance on ethos, as a message form intended to bring opinion change.

This brings about a question for consideration:

If the image is created both directly by the speaker and indirectly by the message, what determines whether the listener will be affected by the message as a basic cause of persuasion itself or as a vehicle for the personality of the speaker?⁴⁷

The answer to this question is to be found in the relationship among four basic elements: "the listener," "the speaker," "the message" and "the environment." These, together, constitute a "configuration of communication." The character of the persuasive process is then determined by any of the following relationships:

Speaker-Listener Relationship--The relationship is affected by the nature of conduct the communicator seeks.
 Environment-Listener Relationship--Affected by the listener's knowledge and concern about external conditions.
 Message-Listener Relationship--Nature of content, degree of clarity and impact with which it is received affect the relationship.⁴⁸

Another influence that has received attention is the clarity of the message. Manis suspected that introducing an ambiguous statement of opinion would result in individuals reverting to their own views when interpreting that ambiguous statement. He felt that

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 119.

⁴⁷Manis, op. cit., p. 76.

⁴⁸loc. cit.

in ambiguous stimulus situations there would be a lack of environmental constraint, which would encourage the influence of the individual's own views. He found, contrary to his prediction, that ambiguity did not lead to increased differences in the various recipient groups. He wrote, "The introduction of ambiguity did not produce this effect; instead, the ambiguous messages were constantly displaced towards the midpoint of the curve."⁴⁹

Manis' explanation for this is that subjects were either uncertain and unwilling to commit themselves, or that in judging opinion statements, the trend towards the midpoint was not the result of turning to one's views. Instead, the subjects used their own views as an anchor. Therefore, when a subject is presented with a message, there is a trend to assimilate the message towards his beliefs. Furthermore, if the message favors a position that is unacceptable, he displaces away from his own stand.

Therefore, it seems that ambiguous messages produce a curvilinear relationship between attitude and message interpretation as opposed to the neutral messages that yielded an essentially linear relationship between attitudes and judgments. The introduction of ambiguity did not significantly affect the curve, although subjects did demonstrate a tendency to displace the ambiguous messages towards the midpoint of the scale.

Insko explored the question as to what point should a

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 78.

communication be presented to have the greatest effect. By taking this approach, the concept of "primary versus recency" arises.⁵⁰ As he wrote, "When the initial communication has the greater effect, it is called one of primary, and in the case in which the final communication has greater effect, is called one of recency."⁵¹ His study is centered around the prediction:

The longer the time between communications, the greater the recency effect, and the longer the time between the second communication and the measures, the less the recency effect.⁵²

But the data failed to support the prediction that delayed measurement in the groups with no time between communication should produce a primary effect or less recency than occurs without the delay. A primary effect was expected because it was believed that the forgetting curve for the first communication starts at a somewhat higher level than the forgetting curve for the second.

McDavid⁵³ has given attention to the role or propaganda in attitude change, "The term propaganda is applied generally to any kind of effort to manipulate the attitudes of an audience . . . Although the term has, in common usage, come to imply conniving

⁵⁰ Chester A. Insko, "Primacy Versus Recency in Persuasion as a Function of the Timing of Arguments and Measures," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 69, No.4, 1964, p. 381.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 381.

⁵² John W. McDavid, Social Psychology, Harper and Row Publishers, New York, 1968, p. 371.

⁵³ Ibid., pp. 372-373.

falsehoods or half-truths, this connotation is not literally accurate. Any attempt to influence the development or change of attitudes may be properly called propaganda." The term propaganda is usually applied to attempts to intentionally persuade the listener.

McDavid⁵⁴ also explains messages can be examined by their content and purpose. Attitudes are affected by these factors. Options open to the nature of the messages are "rational, emotional, prestige identification, sympathetic identification, or fear appeal." "Rational" messages attempt to persuade the audience through communications that are logically sound. The absence of pertinent fact supports the use of "emotional" propaganda. Utilizing a highly regarded reference or public figure, is a message style known as "prestige identification." Some leverage has been gained by inducing the audience to feel sorry for the persuader. This is known as "sympathetic identification." Threats as a basic message structure are called "fear appeals." The use of fear as an emotional appeal in attitude change does not guarantee successful persuasion.

Propaganda can be based on honest or factual information. For a message to be effective, several aspects of its presentation must be considered. McDavid⁵⁵ lists a few: "(1) the importance of stating conclusions; (2) the effects of one-sided and two-sided arguments; and (3) order effects." The effective propagandist

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 373-374.

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 373-374.

stands to gain by pointing out the conclusions she or he wishes to have drawn from the message quite explicitly, no matter how obvious it may be though the facts speak for themselves. Studies comparing one-sided versus two-sided arguments demonstrate no clear immediate advantage of the two-sided argument over the one-sided argument. When order is considered, the question of "primacy or recency" occurs. This is a controversy that has not been settled. Evidence shows that when affecting the attitudes of an audience unfamiliar with the topic, the prime position is especially advantageous. If the audience already has the existing attitude, the effect of order is reduced.

Messages can be interpreted in a variety of ways. The type of message becomes a means of persuasion based on whether the message is ethos, pathos, or logos in structure, which means that messages can be structured so that attention will be focused on the personality of the communication, the content of the argument, or to the receiver's logic system. Much research concentrates on the ethos structure because of the human element in communication. This is because ethos focuses on the personality of the communicator.

Message ambiguity is not of an influence as one would be led to believe, in that when introduced to an ambiguous message, subjects tend to express opinions closer to the middle point rather than to their own. Propaganda can be honest and is effective in bringing attitude change. However, the point of the propaganda should be quite explicit and there appears to be no advantage to

two-sided arguments or the order in which arguments are presented, except in the cases of an uninformed audience.

Receiver Characteristics. How the individual handles or interprets information is an important factor in opinion and attitude change effectiveness. Concentration on the receiver considers the recipient's reaction to the communication from both an internal sensuous (ways of thinking, or perception) and accompanying behaviors. Important in this area are such factors as informing or not informing the receiver that he or she is going to encounter the communication, the manner in which information is handled and personal characteristics of the receiver, such as self-esteem, anti-intellectualism and intellectual rigidity.

In considering one of the problems involved in opinion change, Allyn and Festinger concern themselves over the attempt to persuade individuals as it relates to the anticipation or non-anticipation of a communication.⁵⁶ They present the following research question: "What are the effects of being prepared or unprepared to hear persuasive communication?"⁵⁷ Interestingly, some research on this question has shown a persuasive communication was more effective if the audience falsely anticipated that it would support

⁵⁶Jan Allyn and Leon Festinger, "The Effectiveness of Unanticipated Persuasive Communication," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 62, No. 1, 1961, pp. 35-40.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 35.

their existing views.

A possible explanation for this is offered by Festinger's cognitive dissonance theory. When a person hears a communication whose message is different from the position that person holds, dissonance occurs. As he notes:

Since a person who reads a persuasive communication, or is a listener in an audience, cannot attempt to influence the source of the communication, there are only two immediate ways in which he can reduce the dissonance. He can change his opinion to a position closer to that advocated by the communication or he can reject and derogate the communication and the communicator.⁵⁸

If preparedness has any effect, it is used to reduce dissonance. Preparedness operates in the following fashion: being prepared for the communication does not make the communication less effective. It simply alters the way in which dissonance is reduced. Those prepared for the communication would tend less to change their opinion and tend more to reject the communicator:

It was found that subjects who were forewarned of the nature of the communication changed their opinions less and rejected the communicator as biased to a greater degree than unprepared subjects.⁵⁹

Hovland et. al. proposed another view in approaching the recipient of information.⁶⁰ They concentrate their attention on the distance between the subject's stand and the stand of the communication and offer the following hypotheses:

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 35.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 40.

⁶⁰Hovland, et. al., op. cit., p. 251.

1. Reactions to a communication will decrease in favorableness as the distance between subject's own stand and the position advocated in the communication increases.

2. In evaluations by the subject of what position is advocated by a communication, the greater the distance between the subject's own stand and the position advocated in the communication, the greater the displacement away from the subject's position ("contrast effect"). When only a small discrepancy exists, there will be a tendency for displacement toward the subject's stand ("assimilation effect").

3. With small distances between the position of the communication and that of the subject's, changes in the subject's opinion in the direction advocated by the communicator will occur. With large distances between the stands taken by communication and by the subject, opinion change in the direction advocated will be infrequent.⁶¹

Therefore, the relative distance between the subject's attitudes and position of communication may be useful in explaining apparently contradictory effects of communication in producing attitude change in the intended direction, no change, and change in the opposite direction.

Fishbein and Hunter inspected those elements that compose

⁶¹Ibid., p. 256.

attitude and how they are manifested.⁶² One way of considering attitudes is to view " . . . an individual's attitude toward any object as essentially a function of the total amount of affect contributed by each of his beliefs."⁶³ Or, one can take the opposing perspective that " . . . an individual's attitude toward any object is essentially a function of the mean amount of affect contributed by each of his beliefs."⁶⁴ These researchers feel the distinction is important and refer to these processes as "cognitive summation" and "cognitive balance." The difference between these two theories is that in summation theory, every new piece of positive information serves to increase favorable attitudes towards that object. Balance theory, on the other hand, predicts that learning new positive information lowers an individual's attitude. The recipient's attitude, as affected by new information, is explained differently by each approach:

A summation theory would predict that the amount of change is an increasing function of the number of new beliefs learned, while balance theory would predict that the amount of attitude change is a decreasing function of the number of new beliefs learned.⁶⁵

⁶²Martin Fishbein and Ronda Hunter, "Summation Versus Balance in Attitude Organization and Change," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, No. 5, 1964, p. 505.

⁶³Ibid., p. 505.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 505.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 505.

Focusing attention more on the individual, Dabbs (1964) presents various findings which lead one to suspect self-esteem is debatable as to its effect on opinion change.⁶⁶ Some studies indicate that persuasive communication produces more attitude change among individuals who are lower in self-esteem and that low self-esteem individuals are more influenced by group relations. This leads to the construction of a hypothesis: "There is an inverse relationship between self-esteem and susceptibility to persuasive influence."⁶⁷ However, this hypothesis suspects that other studies have shown that low self-esteem subjects sometimes showed more and then sometimes less attitude change than did high self-esteem subjects. Self-esteem does seem to be related to the nature of the communication as it produces change. A pessimistic communication produces more attitude change among low self-esteem subjects, while an optimistic one produces more change among high self-esteem subjects:

High self-esteem individuals reject pessimistic communications (which would force them to consider danger), and low self-esteem individuals reject optimistic communications (which would not prepare them for possible danger).⁶⁸

⁶⁶Dabb, op. cit., p. 173.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 174.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 174.

Dabbs feels the underlying defensive resistance to attitude cannot be contributed to the subject ignoring a communication or denying its validity, especially when the source is reputable. Instead, they attempt to "explain away" the communication by maintaining that the communication is biased and reflects characteristics of the communicator for rather than actual events.

Mausner and Mausner have observed a cultural phenomenon operating--anti-intellectualism.⁶⁹ The United States, they feel, is experiencing ". . . a deep distrust of 'intellectuals' and rejection of ideas or discoveries that conflict with entrenched beliefs."⁷⁰ Their investigation revealed those with little education tended to reject scientific authority. There was also a pervasive attitude of suspicion, not only of scientific organizations, but of scientists themselves.

Goodstein explored the field of intellectual rigidity.⁷¹ Many researchers have doubts about the concept of rigidity as a valid concept. Viewing Rokeach's work on ethnocentrism as reflected inflexibility in thinking, he accepts Rokeach's conclusions

⁶⁹Bernard and Judith Mausner, "A Study of the Anti-Scientific Attitude," Scientific American, Vol. 192, No. 2, 1955, pp. 35-40.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 35.

⁷¹Leonard Goodstein, "Intellectual Rigidity and Social Attitudes," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 48, No. 3, 1953, pp. 345-353.

that " . . . those high in ethnocentricism are more concrete (rigid) in their mode of thought than those who are low in ethnocentricism."⁷² This leads to Goodstein's two hypotheses:

1. Persons who are intellectually rigid, have more extreme attitudes than persons who are non-rigid.

2. Persons who are intellectually rigid, have more stable attitudes than people who are non-rigid.⁷³

As far as the recipient is concerned, forewarning of the nature of communication tends to result in the recipient rejecting the communicator, more so than in the case of non-altered recipients. Preparedness serves to reduce dissonance for the individual. Also, the receiver can react to new information by incorporating into his stand on basis of its similarity or discount it due to its difference. This process is dependent upon the distance between the receiver's feelings and the point of the communication. This can be interpreted as the result of either adding the attitude elements together, or by achieving a balance among the components. Additionally, certain cultural and individual factors operate, such as "anti-scientific" perspective and intellectual rigidity.

In viewing the receiver in the information-relaying process, attention is being focused on ways of thinking or perception.

⁷²Ibid., p. 345.

⁷³Ibid., p. 346.

Influences that affect thinking and perception are the receiver's preparedness for the communication, recipient self-esteem and recipient intellectual rigidity. This can be viewed by monitoring the recipient's level or state of cognitive dissonance. These factors rest in the relative distance between the individual's attitude and the position of the communicator. One of two processes then can be assumed to be operating: "cognitive summation" or "cognitive balance."

The effect of a communication is also a function of the recipient's self-esteem, in that, generally, data indicates persuasive communication produces more change among individuals who are lower in self-esteem. Similar patterns are also seen to occur in areas such as the recipient's proneness to ethnocentrism and the recipient's intellectual rigidity.

Channel Characteristics. Channel characteristics are centered around certain types of changes that occur as the result of the influence of factors such as direct observation or contact with the attitude object, influence of the written over the spoken word, influence of mass media and the influence of face-to-face communication. Of special importance, is contact with the attitude object.

Contact with the outgroups has been shown to have an influence on changing attitudes. Contact situations provide a means by which groups who previously had no or little interaction

are placed in situations in which the participants are provided the opportunity to interact. As a result of this interaction, some changes in outlook are expected to occur. Evidence indicates that a number of possibility outcomes can occur--short-term contact can bring either increased hostilities or affection, while long-term contact increased positive feelings.

Sherif and Sherif quote various studies where contact between antagonistic groups has resulted in the gaining of a sense of solidarity after the interaction, such as Doob's study in which students with different religious beliefs and affiliations gained greater appreciation for other religions after visiting the other's religious services.⁷⁴

Destination Characteristics. The destination characteristic most relevant to the nature of the study is whether the result of the communication will have a long- or short-term affect. According to Lindzey and Gardner, the resultant attitude change and its affect can be conceptualized as the outcome of five factors: attention, comprehension, yielding, retention and action.⁷⁵ The receiver must go through each of these steps if communication is to have an impact and each step depends on the other step occurring. The duration and

⁷⁴Muzaffer and Carolyn Sherif, An Outline of Social Psychology, Harper and Row Publishers, New York, 1956, p. 549.

⁷⁵Lindzey and Gardner, (1969), p. 173.

other related aspects of attitude change are connected with these factors.

A Review of Source-Message-Receiver Interaction

To understand the dynamics of the communication process attention must be directed toward the source, message and receiver components. In recent years there has been a great amount of attention placed in these areas. As indicated by Newcomb, the communicative act and interaction are essentially the same social behavior.⁷⁶ He states:

Every communicative act is viewed as a transmission of information, consisting of discriminative stimuli; from a source to a recipient . . . it is assumed that the discriminative stimuli have a discriminative object as referent. Thus is the simplest communicative act one person (A) transmits information to another person (B) about something (X). Such an act is symbolized as A to B re X.⁷⁷

A, B, and X are therefore interdependent. According to Newcomb they constitute a system (a definable relationship between A and B, A and X, and between B and X). The social nature of this communicative act is more apparent when considering Newcomb's statement: "It is an almost constant human necessity to orient oneself towards objects in the environment and toward other persons

⁷⁶Theodore M. Newcomb, "An Approach to the Study of Communicative Acts," Psychological Review, Vol. 60, No. 6, 1953, pp. 393-404.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 393.

oriented toward the same object.⁷⁸

Therefore, in observing and describing the process of attitude change, attention must be directed toward ". . . source of the communication, the nature of the message, and the personality characteristics of the audience."⁷⁹ Given this direction it is therefore possible to view the interaction of these components by reviewing some pertinent research studies in this area.

Characteristics of the source (or communicator) which appear to influence the receiver are factors such as expertness (credibility), trustworthiness, and similarity to the receiver. The explanation for the influence of these factors is that highly credible communicators will be more effective than low credibility communicators in inducing attitude change. High expertise then, on the part of the source, is an advantage. Related to this is "trustworthiness," which means the source is seen or perceived as not presenting false information and not trying to persuade the audience or receiver(s). Trustworthiness is also interpreted as being unbiased and honest. The last factor, "similarity," plays an important role in that people who are viewed as similar are also viewed as more trustworthy.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 395.

⁷⁹Leonard Berkowitz, Social Psychology, Scott Foresman and Company, Glenview, Illinois, 1972, p. 50.

"Laboratory studies have demonstrated that as a source's trustworthiness increases, so does the amount of attitude change increase within an audience," claims Severy.⁸⁰ Severy continues to explain that source credibility cannot be separated from the audience attitudes, ". . . credibility is in the eye of the beholder."⁸¹ Research indicates that messages of equal merit are more effective from a credible source than from a noncredible source.

Low source credibility is an antecedent condition that serves to immunize an individual's beliefs and make them more resistant to persuasion. This can be observed, even in comparing a low credibility source with an unidentified source. Greenberg (1964) discovered in his experiment that a message attributed to a high-credible source results in greater attitude change than a message in which the source remains unidentified.⁸² Greenberg also demonstrated that low credibility results in some detrimental audience effects.

In his experiment, Greenberg had subjects evaluate scientific messages written for the layman. All subjects were

⁸⁰Lawrence J. Severy, A Contemporary Introduction to Social Psychology, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1976, p. 67.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 59.

⁸²Bradley S. Greenberg, "The Effects of Low-Credibility Sources On Message Acceptance," Speech Monographs, 30, 1966, pp. 127-36.

randomly assigned to one of two treatment groups. After inducing a low credibility situation for one group Greenberg subjected the other randomly selected group to similar conditions without inducing a source. The low-credibility and unidentified source conditions were compared. The mean attitude score for subjects in the unidentified source condition was higher (27.1) than for the low credibility condition (23.9). "The higher score is indicative of more favorable attitudes."⁸³

The credibility of the source is analyzed into his apparent expertise and objectivity. High credibility sources produce more opinion change than low credibility ones, and neutral sources produce an intermediate amount of change. As long as the person knows whether the source is of high or low credibility, the person can evaluate the conclusion without paying attention to the argument used.

In discussing the influence of the source, two aspects of source credibility must be considered: the "sleeper effect" and the "boomerang effect." Severy explains that the ". . . 'sleeper effect' does not help a noncredible communicator, it only hurts a credible one."⁸⁴ This is because audiences tend to forget the credible source which produces a decrease in attitude change. The non-credible source is ineffective initially and stays ineffective

⁸³Ibid., p. 134.

⁸⁴Severy, op. cit., p. 69.

over time. However, a disliked source is prone to produce a "boomerang effect," which Severy defines as the audience changes its attitudes in a direction opposite to what the disliked source advocates."⁸⁵

Noncredible and disliked sources are least effective in changing attitudes. A source who is liked appears to be more impartial and therefore has higher credibility and is able to produce more attitude change. The more the subjects like the source of a persuasive message, the more they change their beliefs towards the position the source is advocating. Generally, an attractive communicator produces more change than an unattractive one. In fact, a disliked communicator is relatively ineffective in changing people's attitudes.

In discussing message factors, attention could be placed on a number of elements: type of appeal, inclusion and admissions from message, order of presentation, one-sided versus two-sided communication, drawing a conclusion, and receiver source discrepancy. Discussion will focus on areas most relevant to this research.

Baron⁸⁶ discusses the importance of message content. He explains why attention to a one-sided or two-sided communication

⁸⁵Severy, op. cit., p. 69.

⁸⁶Robert A. Baron, Social Psychology, Allyn and Bacon, Inc., Boston, 1974, p. 195.

affects the message's effectiveness. The key to understanding this importance is that particular forms of presenting arguments in favor of or opposed to the listener's frame of reference can lead to either resistance to or acceptance of a position. Baron states:

Among those initially opposed to the communicator's position, a one-sided message might be perceived as unfair and biased and might even stimulate the audience to seek new arguments to support its own position. Two-sided arguments which include mention and refutation of arguments opposed to the position advanced might nullify the attempts of a hostile audience to bolster its own position and thus produce greater change in the direction advocated than would one-sided presentation. For subjects who are initially favorable to the communicator's position, one-sided messages should be more effective, since no doubts would be raised by mention of opposing evidence. Here the message content should strengthen the initially favorable attitudes.⁸⁷

During World War II, Hovland and associates conducted a study concerning the effectiveness of a one-sided argument versus a two-sided argument.⁸⁸ They were concerned with the attitude of American soldiers after the defeat of Germany in that there was concern that the soldiers would want to return home before the military could release them due to the effort needed in defeating Japan. A program was designed to convince soldiers that the war with Japan was yet to be fought. An experiment was devised to compare a one-sided program with a two-sided program. These communications were presented in recorded form to different groups of soldiers, whose

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 195-196.

⁸⁸ Paul F. Secord, Social Psychology, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1964, pp. 138-139.

opinions were determined before and after the communication. A control group received no communication, but took the initial and final questionnaires.

The result of this experiment was that neither the one-sided nor two-sided argument had an advantage over the other in that both arguments lengthened the estimate the soldiers had concerning the duration of the war. However, those who had originally thought the war would be short were more effectively influenced by the two-sided communication, and those who had thought the war would last at least two more years were effectively influenced by the one-sided communication. As Secord notes:

One-sided communications are more effective for people who already agree with the communicator, but people who disagree with the communication do not change their opinions in response to one-sided communications. Just the reverse is true for two-sided communications.⁸⁹

A related problem with message content is whether the communicator is explicit in presenting his or her position or if the communicator leaves it up to the audience to make their own conclusions. Baron and Secord have reached conflicting conclusions concerning this problem. According to Baron, "When explicit conclusions are drawn by the communicator, there is more attitude change than when the audience is permitted to reach its own conclusions."⁹⁰

⁸⁹Secord., op. cit., p. 163.

⁹⁰Baron, op. cit., p. 168.

Secord, on the other hand, takes the position: "Whether the communicator draws the conclusion implied by his message or leaves it up to the audience does not seem to make a distinct difference in the audience's acceptance of it."⁹¹

Secord feels that logical conclusions may be presented in favor of either approach, in that "left to its own devices" the audience may draw the wrong conclusion. But, it can also be argued that an audience which has had the option to make up its own mind will be more likely to accept the communicator's message. He also takes the position that results from experiments in this area are inconclusive. However, Baron's evidence points in the opposite direction in that the data he has collected indicates that in terms of net percent, a higher proportion of subjects shift their attitudes toward the advocated position when the conclusion is stated explicitly.

This conflict of data between Secord and Baron warrants further investigation. Severy gives direction in reaching a resolution to this conflict. Severy advocates that a message can have special properties of its own and these can determine the effectiveness of the message for changing attitudes. Severy calls observers to place attention on the basic position advocated by the message. The critical phenomenon to be observing according to him

⁹¹Secord, op. cit., p. 163.

is the discrepancy between the message and the targets view.

Severy explains:

We can diagram an attitude as a point along a continuum ranging from extremely negative affect through neutral or no affect to extremely positive affect. Research suggests that there is a limit to the amount of discrepancy which can exist between an audience's view and a communicator's. If the discrepancy is too great, the communication will be dismissed. But if the discrepancy is not great enough, the target might not be great enough, the target might not notice any difference of opinion and not be motivated to change.⁹²

Apparently there is a "latitude of acceptance," which is the range in which a communication will be accepted by an individual. Another element then is the "latitude of noncommitment," which includes statements with which the individual neither agrees or disagrees. The final component then is the "latitude of rejection" that operates on statements that are unacceptable to the person.

An important influence in this scheme is the individual's involvement with the issue, in that the more involving an issue is, according to Severy, the narrower the latitude of noncommitment and the broader the latitude of rejection. As he notes, "On important issues an individual will reject a greater number of positions and be noncommittal toward a fewer number. The latitude of acceptance does not seem to change as a result of involvement."⁹³

⁹²Severy, op. cit., pp. 70-71.

⁹³Ibid., p. 71.

Freedman has provided an explanation of this phenomenon. As indicated, the communication has a great affect on attitude change, especially when considering discrepancy.⁹⁴ Freedman directs his attention to the stress that a target feels when encountering an influence situation in which there is a discrepancy between the target's initial position and the position advocated by the communication. Freedman's statement is ". . . the greater the discrepancy, the greater the stress."⁹⁵ The relationship between discrepancy and the amount of stress is not simple because ". . . there is more stress with greater discrepancy but this does not always produce more change."⁹⁶ This can be related to the operation of two factors. As discrepancy becomes larger, individuals find it more difficult to change the attitude-- and extremely discrepant statements tend to make the individual doubt the credibility of the source.

In order to reduce the stress in this discrepant situation, the target can either change the attitude or reject the communicator. The greater the degree of discrepancy, the more difficult it becomes to reduce stress by changing the attitude. As discrepancy increases,

⁹⁴Jonathan L. Freedman, Social Psychology, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1974.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 283.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 283.

a communicator who makes an extremely discrepant statement tends to lose credibility. It appears, then, that as discrepancy increases attitude change becomes more difficult and rejection of the communicator becomes easier. This process is related to "assimilation" and "contrast" concepts, discussed earlier.

However, prestige of the communicator does play an intervening role. Freedman refers his readers to a study conducted by Aronson, et. al. in which the investigators were considering the relationship between high prestige and rejection of the source. Freedman also alerts the reader that ". . . the greater the level of the prestige of the communicator, the higher the level of discrepancy at which rejection, rather than attitude change, starts." Aronson, et. al.⁹⁷ had subjects (college students) read opinions about poetry that were discrepant from their own. Discrepant opinions attributed to T. S. Eliott and a student were used as sources.

The findings indicated that ". . . the level of prestige does not change the basic relationship between discrepancy and attitude change, but it does change the point at which maximum change occurs. The more difficult it is to reject the communicator, the greater the discrepancy at which maximum change occurs; the more difficult it is to change ones attitudes, the lower the

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 287.

discrepancy producing maximum change."⁹⁸

The last area to discuss concerns receiver (target) characteristics. When viewing receivers a general characteristic is being examined: persuasibility. Secord defines persuasibility as " . . . the tendency of the individual to accept or reject persuasive communications. The assumption is that some individuals are more susceptible to persuasive communications than others."⁹⁹ Factors which can influence susceptibility to persuasion are self-esteem, intelligence, commitment, and gender (sex differences).

Self-esteem is an important factor in influencing whether or not individuals will change their attitudes, minds, or opinions. Self-esteem, according to Baron, is " . . . one's assessment of oneself in terms of positive or negative evaluations."¹⁰⁰ Baron contends, despite some recent findings that " . . . high self-esteem persons who are confident in themselves regarding their abilities and attitudes should be less persuasible than low self-esteem individuals. Thus, self-esteem should be negatively related to attitude change."¹⁰¹ With this statement, Baron reminds one that low levels of self-esteem can lead individuals to avoid

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 288.

⁹⁹Secord, op. cit., pp. 165-166.

¹⁰⁰Baron, op. cit., p. 208.

¹⁰¹Ibid.

comprehending persuasive argument that contradict their attitudes. Thus, he writes, ". . . both high and low esteem should lead to minimal attitude change, although for different reasons."¹⁰²

Dabbs conducted an experiment whose results correspond closely with the premises established by Baron. Dabbs conducted a study to test the explanation that individuals accept influence from communication which supports their own characteristic defenses and resist these defenses. He wanted to discover if individuals would attempt to "explain away" the communication. This would occur when the individual interprets the communication as biased and in turn concentrates on the characteristics of the communicator rather than on the nature of the communication. He was also interested to find out if persuasive communication produced more attitude change among individuals who were lower in self-esteem.

In his study two groups of subjects were exposed to a communication. Two basic communications were constructed to present opposing views of Army life. The communicator would be seen either as a strong and active "coper," or as a weak and passive "noncoper." The message's basic topic concerned presenting a picture of what might happen to a draftee.

The results indicate that attitude changing did not depend on the subjects liking of the communicator nor did reported

¹⁰²Ibid.

similarity account for attitude change. But, as far as self-esteem was concerned, "copers" influenced high-esteem subjects more than low-esteem subjects, while "noncopers" influenced high and low self-esteem subjects about equally. Dabbs' conclusion is that the original hypothesis that subjects will accept or reject a persuasive communication depending on whether its content is consistent with their characteristic mode of defense is rejected, but a similar one remains:

High and low self-esteem subjects differ in their characteristic modes of adjustment: either they actively approach and attempt to cope with their environment or they react to it in a passive, noncoping manner.¹⁰³

This uncertain relationship is also considered by Secord. Secord's interpretation is that there is an association between self-esteem and conformity which have implications for persuasibility in that people with a history of success should be less persuasible, while those with many failures should be less so. His conclusion is that individuals with high self-esteem make active efforts to maintain esteem, and those with low self-esteem exert less effort. As he notes, "Communication sources and messages that threaten a person's self-esteem will be rejected more by those with low self-esteem, while sources and communications that enhance self-esteem will be accepted to a greater extent by high self-esteem persons

¹⁰³Dabbs, op. cit., p. 180.

than those with low self-esteem."¹⁰⁴

Freedman's definition of self-esteem is ". . . the discrepancy between the ideal self and the actual self, with greater discrepancies indicating lower self-esteem."¹⁰⁵ Low self-esteem, he proposes, entails feelings of inadequacy, social inhibitions, social anxiety, and test anxiety. Therefore, he states: "Subjects with low self-esteem tend to be more persuasible than those with high self-esteem."¹⁰⁶

In addition, Severy takes the same position:

People with high self-esteem are less persuasible than those with low self-esteem. People with high self-esteem view themselves as competent and have confidence in their opinions. A discrepant communication is less likely to shake their original beliefs.¹⁰⁷

Intelligence as well as self-esteem has generated contradictory evidence. An illustration of this contradictory evidence is apparent in viewing Secord's explanation of the relationship between intelligence and persuasibility. He writes, "The conclusion must be drawn that there is little correlation between general intelligence and resistance to persuasive communications."¹⁰⁸ However, the

¹⁰⁴ Secord, op. cit., p. 301.

¹⁰⁵ Freedman, op. cit., p. 301.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 310.

¹⁰⁷ Severy, op. cit., p. 75.

¹⁰⁸ Secord, p. 170.

question is still unresolved when considering these statements:

1. Persons with high intelligence will tend--mainly because of their ability to draw valid inferences--to be more influenced than those with low intellectual ability when exposed to persuasive communications which rely primarily on impressive logical arguments.

2. Persons with high intelligence will tend--mainly because of their superior critical ability--to be less influenced than those with low intelligence when exposed to persuasive communications which rely primarily on unsupported generalities or false, illogical, irrelevant argumentation.¹⁰⁹

Freedman expresses a concurring opinion in this matter. His argument is that intelligence has no overall effect on persuasibility, but there are certain kinds of persuasive appeals that are more effective, such as stating a conclusion which is more effective for the relatively uniformed and less intelligent audiences. Nonetheless, it is still his position that ". . . there is no evidence test that level of intelligence is consistently related to degree of persuasibility. On the average people of high intelligence are persuaded just as much as people of low intelligence."¹¹⁰

Severy provides the background for reaching a conclusion concerning intelligence and persuasibility. Highly intelligent

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 69.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 362.

people are not more or less persuasible than less intelligent people. They are persuaded by different things. Adds Severy, "Thus persuasibility depends on the type of message used. When intelligence does influence persuasibility it does so indirectly by affecting the individual's confidence in his or her opinion . . . However, intelligence by itself does not consistently relate to how persuasible a person is."¹¹¹

Attention also needs to be focused on the persons' confidence in their positions. This is closely related to the strength of the communication; in other words, to the individual's commitment to his or her position. Commitment involves " . . . the extent to which an individual feels reluctant to give up his or her initial position."¹¹² Freedman offers the following information concerning commitment:

1. Anything that means that changing an attitude would cause the individual to give up more, suffer more, or change more of his other behaviors or attitudes increases his commitment to his initial attitude and makes it more difficult for him to change it.

2. Freely choosing a position produces a greater feeling of commitment than being forced.

3. The more the attitude is embedded in other behaviors and attitudes the stronger the commitment.

¹¹¹Severy, op. cit., p. 76.

¹¹²Freedman, op. cit., p. 279.

4. The more one is committed to an attitude the harder it is to change.¹¹³

The last receiver characteristic to be considered is the target's sex. Most research evidence supports the presupposition that females are more easily persuaded than males. Severy warns that this relationship is not inherent; rather, it reflects American sex roles, in that women were taught to avoid confrontations and not to excel in "intellectual" matters. When presented with a persuasive message, females learned not to be assertive. Research data indicates that women are generally more persuasible than men and change their attitudes more. Freedman, while recognizing the cultural pattern that men are taught they should make up their own minds and not to be influenced by other people, also points out that ". . . the effects may be due to the specific materials used in the research. If the materials are issues and objects that are generally of more interest to men than to women, the women may be more persuaded because they are less committed to the initial position, not because they are more persuasible."¹¹⁴

The type, nature, degree, and direction of changes that occur in students who have experienced college has received much attention in literature. Despite the conflicting and contradictory

¹¹³Ibid.

¹¹⁴Ibid.

conclusions of various studies, much is to be learned from these studies. This interpretation and re-evaluation process has been observed to occur in different directions, especially when referring to higher education. For example, Lehman discovered:

There are marked changes in the critical thinking ability, attitudes of stereotype and dogmatism, and tradition value orientation of the college students between their freshman and senior years. It is also seen that, although some changes occurred during each of the four years the most dramatic changes took place during the freshman and sophomore years.¹¹⁵

Lehman further states that ". . . while it has been found to be nearly impossible to single out one factor as being responsible for college students' attitudes and value changes . . . the longer individuals attend college the greater the tendency to become less stereotypic in their beliefs."¹¹⁶

Rich came to another conclusion, that there is a tendency for:

. . . college students to become more liberal during their college years, but non-college individuals also become more liberal during comparable years in their life. The difference between the two groups is insignificant. It can be concluded that the generally hypothesized liberalizing effect of college is really part of a larger environmental effect of all youth.¹¹⁷

Hoge has seen a shift in pattern (attitude evaluation and

¹¹⁵ Irvin Lehman, "Changes in Attitudes and Values Associated with College Attendance," Journal of Educational Psychology, 1966, Vol. 57, No. 4, p. 89.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 90-94.

¹¹⁷ Harvey Rich, "The Liberating Influence of College: Some New Evidence," Adolescence, Summer 1977, Vol. 12, No. 46, p. 208.

reevaluation) occurring among college students from the 1930's to the 1970's. He states:

The main trend since the 1930's has been a rise-and-fall pattern in conservative values. The 1930's were a time of political, social, and religious liberalism. Beginning about 1939 or 1940 a new era of conservatism began which peaked in the early 1950's. All attitudes turned conservative-religious-moral-social-, and political. The late 50's liberalism returned to campus. Students shifted from privatistic to political comments. The late 1960's was the height of radicalism. Since that time college students have returned to privatistic values, political quietism, and new emphasis on vocational values.¹¹⁸

Hoge¹¹⁹ has discovered a change in student value patterns by observing the value pattern of students from the 1930's to 1970's. These trends as interpreted by Hoge show fluctuation in value orientation rather than a continuous one-directional trend. Hoge's evidence shows a pattern which was at one point in time liberal (1930's), with a movement toward conservatism (1940's with a peak in the 1950's), which was followed by the radicalism of the 1960's. Presently, the student of the 1970's shows only a partial return to the student patterns of the 1950's. While the political radicalism is not as strong, it has been replaced by other values such as sexual freedom, privacy of life, less importance in religion and patriotism, and a shift to middle of the road political values.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸Dean R. Hoge, "Change in College Students Value Patterns in the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's," Sociology of Education, 1976, Vol. 49 (April), p. 155.

¹¹⁹Ibid., pp. 155-158.

¹²⁰M. K. Maykovick, "Change in Stereotypes Among College Students," Human Relations, Vol. 24, pp. 371-386.

Maykovick examines this trend with regard to racial stereotypes.¹²¹ In the 1930's there was a great uniformity in the way white college students perceived Blacks and vice-versa. This great uniformity does not presently exist, according to his findings. In the late 1930's white students typically classified Blacks as superstitious, lazy, happy-go-lucky, etc. and that Black college students also shared the same interpretation of themselves as white standards though they added more favorable traits to themselves.¹²²

Maykovick additionally discovered that since the 1930's other major changes in conceptions have occurred. There is still the persistence of white students to classify Blacks in stereotyped manners, but not to the same degree. Another change has occurred in the Black students perception of whites. Black students in the 1950's saw whites as ambitious, industrious, and practical, but in the 1960's the traits of materialistic and pleasure seeking came into predominance in the evaluation of whites by Black college students.¹²³

Another general trend of resistance to stereotyping is seen to be emerging by Maykovick. Although the traits placed at the top in the evaluation of Blacks by white students remain the same, they

¹²¹Ibid.

¹²²Ibid.

¹²³Ibid.

are selected by fewer persons. New traits for Blacks which are recognized by white students are aggressiveness, straightforwardness, and revengeful, while there is still the persistence to select the trait musicality. Black students are more prone to view whites in terms of consumption rather than production.¹²⁴

Others, however, are more skeptical about the role of college in influencing attitude and/or value changes. Rich came to the conclusion that there were few changes in the basic values students brought with them to college and that ". . . some changes do occur but these changes are not related to the character of the various curricula."¹²⁵

Rich's position is that college acts as a facilitator for the student's "initial proclivities." Students enter college already possessing certain tendencies . . . the college then operates to reinforce these initial tendencies, especially if there is involvement in a complementary peer group and discipline."¹²⁶

In response to the evidence that supports the liberalizing effect of college, Rich recognizes that college students do tend to become more liberal during their college years, but he points out

¹²⁴Ibid.

¹²⁵Harvey Rich, "Liberalizing Influence of College, Some New Evidence," Adolescence, Summer 1977, p. 199.

¹²⁶Ibid., p. 200.

that non-college students also become more liberal during comparable years in their lives. Rich concludes that ". . . the difference between the two groups is insignificant . . . the general hypothesized liberating effect of college is really a part of a larger environmental effect of youth."¹²⁷

Despite this negative evaluation from Rich, the importance of looking at college students, and especially at freshman, is made evident by Lehman. Even if it does not appear that ". . . college acts only as a catalyst to speed changes that would ordinarily occur as the individual matures, and even if this were the only impact the college has upon the student attitudes and values, its importance should not be minimized."¹²⁸

Most evidence suggests that college students do experience attitude and value changes and that the college(s) are seen as having a key role in influencing these changes. Though it is difficult to pinpoint one single factor as being responsible for the changes, examination of the literature supports the reoccurrence of the phenomenon. The values of contemporary college students appear now to differ from those of their counterparts during the 1930's, 40's, 50's, and 60's, while at the same time they appear to be similar in some respects to those of the 1950's.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 208.

¹²⁸ Lehman, op. cit., p. 95.

Generally, it appears that as the number of years a student attends college increases, there is a decrease in the degree to which the student relies upon dogmatic ideas and beliefs or expresses a need for traditional religion. The great uniformity of beliefs concerning members of other races are apparently diminishing.

The nature of the beliefs between groups (Blacks and whites) is also changing. While Blacks are still seen in many old stereotyped fashions by white students, the frequency of negative responses is decreasing. Whites are now being viewed more in consumption terms than in production terms than they have been in the past by Black students.

Another element related to change in attitudes among college students is that a measurable change occurs each year, but it is during the freshman year that the most dramatic changes occur.

Changes in Racial Attitudes

It is important to view directly the changes in racial attitudes among college students. The colleges experience is viewed by many observers as having more potential for influence than other experiences. Lehman proposes that ". . . college faculties believe that institutions provide experiences which are unique and are not found outside the academic environment."¹²⁹ Operating on

¹²⁹Lehman, op. cit., p. 89.

this premise, it is then necessary to discover what type of association has been found to exist between college attendance and the nature of racial attitude. This literature, while suggestive, is open to interpretation.

An indication of racial attitudes often used in research is how college students from various races define each other. Prevailing stereotyped beliefs influence attitudes and college students are not immune. Colleges and universities are involved in this social process. Comments Daniels, "Since racism is indeed a national problem, serious action needs to be taken to assess the degree of this problem on our college campuses."¹³⁰ Racial awareness of college students therefore becomes an area of inquiry.

The basic question is, do college students see those of other races as individuals or as a separate and distinct social group? Another question to be answered is do Black students interpret whites differently than white students interpret blacks? Daniels responds to these questions, for according to his investigations, "Blacks and Whites do not differ significantly in their levels of racial awareness . . . however the longer that students live on campus the more racially aware they become."¹³¹

¹³⁰ Bobby Daniels, "An Assessment of College Students Interracial Appreciation and Ideology," College Student Personal, Vol. 18, No. 1, January, 1977, pp. 45.

¹³¹ Ibid., pp. 46-57.

Daniels explains why this occurs in the following manner:

It is safe to conclude that one should not expect significant difference between Blacks and Whites since they have been exposed to the same kinds of educational media. Consequently much of the concept of Blacks and Whites is inextricably bound together by the quality of these exposures.¹³²

His overall conclusion is that ". . . with limited opportunities for instruction, it can be assumed that Black and White students live with many unanswered questions about each other."¹³³ Therefore, it appears that both Black and white students have very limited knowledge of each other.

Gilbert examined prejudices and similar ideas held by college students. In his study Gilbert was interested in the type and nature of words students use in describing members of other racial and ethnic groups. By observing these "attributes" he was able to determine how students felt about members of various ethnic and racial groups. In viewing the results of his study he found a resistance of ethnic stereotypes in that those characteristics that students recognized in 1932, for the most part, reoccurred again in 1950. However, there was evidence of ". . . resistance to the stereotyping tendency, and a fading out of such formations."¹³⁴

¹³² Ibid., p. 47.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 48.

¹³⁴ G. M. Gilbert, "Stereotype Resistance and Change Among College Students," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, April, 1951, Vol. 46, No. 2, pp. 245-259.

Stereotypes are no longer as generally accepted as they were in 1932, but the characteristics most frequently attributed to Blacks in 1950 are about the same as those most frequently attributed but by a smaller proportion of students.

Gilbert's basic conclusions are:

The present generation of college students is more reluctant than previous generations to make stereotyped generalizations about the character of ethnic groups especially those with whom they have had little contact.

College students today make fewer generalizations about the ethnic character, but those they do make tend to be based more on cultural and historical realities and less on fictitious caricatures or the prejudices of their parents.¹³⁵

The degree to which colleges and universities function in altering prejudiced or stereotyped attitudes is questionable, according to research. Resistance of stereotyped attitudes is still a phenomenon observable within the college community. This pattern--while changing--is apparently prevailing. Indications from the research previously discussed present an intriguing problem for the observation of college attendance and a corresponding attitudinal change.

Interpretation of the literature thus far leads to certain observations. While it can generally be stated that prejudice and reliance on stereotypes is declining among college students, the actual level of these attitudes is still open to question. Attitudes

¹³⁵Ibid., p. 252.

and ideologies of prejudice operate for college students and can be observed by the manner in which students view those of other races.

Summary

Summarizing the previous section, it is apparent that Black college students as well as white students share a limited objective knowledge of each other. Students of both races have perspectives of the other that are based on old definitions and tend to accept these frameworks. A general pattern of nonrecognition or non-awareness is maintained. Black and white students do not base their interpretations on common experience, but on physical differences which give a clue as to why certain divergences exist in perception.

The social influence process can modify attitudes by such factors as contact with information and experiencing an information-relating situation. However, change and modification of attitudes can take many effects, as is indicated by the "sleeper effect" and the "boomerang effect." These aspects, plus other changes, can be understood if the information relaying process is viewed as being similar to basic social interaction (a relationship in which person A transmits information to person B, about object X). An individual factor also operates in that a person can either assimilate or contrast information when it is presented to him. This indicates that attitudes can shift in either direction, or not shift at all.

Attitudes and behaviors are related. Therefore, if an

individual's attitudes can be measured, it should lend itself to the prediction of behavior, even though many studies report a divergence between expressed attitudes and actual behavior. While attitudes do function to guide behavior, the perceived social situation is also a pertinent influence. Another influence is the individual's commitment to the attitude.

Examination of the information-relating process makes it possible to isolate and study this process. The social-influence process is composed of five influences: source, message, channel, receiver and destination. Each of these is interrelated and identifiable.

The source (communicator) has influence in the form of credibility, expertness, likability, and perceived similarity to the source on the part of the target. Generally, the more positive the source, the greater the influence.

Messages exert influence by their content and the type (purpose) of the message being offered. Messages can be constructed so they place emphasis of the source, the actual content of the message, or the logic and reasoning ability of the listener. Messages should avoid ambiguous statements that may induce individuals to revert to their own views.

The receiver (also known as target or audience) influences the information process by the act of interpretation. The relative distance between the receiver's personal position and the position

of the message and communicator operate together. Another receiver characteristic that is important is the self-esteem of the receiver, the receiver's intellectual rigidity, and the receiver's way of thinking and perceiving.

More specifically, review of the literature indicates that if sociological inquiry is to be performed, it is necessary to accept attitudes as being fixed, measurable, and modifiable. Attitudes are also interpreted as being evaluative in nature. The information process facilitates itself to both modification and measurement of attitudes.

There are many possibilities for classifying change as a result of the information relating process. Weiss recognizes the "sleeper effect," while Severy discovered a "boomerang effect." Furthermore Doob's research developed the categories of "Real Change," "No Change" and "Doubtful Change." Other research indicates that individual interpretation can influence the outcome in the information relating process. Hovland concentrated his efforts on differences between the individual's stand and the position of the information. In regard to the difference between individual change and information position, Hovland sees individuals as either "contrasting" or "assimilating" the information to bring it closer to their individual position.

The literature also makes it apparent that there is a relationship between the way an attitude operates and behavior.

Although there is much debate concerning the matter, it is generally accepted that if one can identify an attitude, one can predict behavior based on that attitude. However, this is complicated by certain elements such as external force, and characteristics of the overt situations. This means that one can observe either consistency between attitudes and behavior. Despite this disparity, it does not mean that attitudes and behavior do not typically accompany each other.

To aid in the understanding of the social influence process, one must review Lindzey and Aronson who identify the components that operate in this process: source, message, channel, receiver, and destination. Each of these, while distinct, is inter-related. These components are integral in affecting attitude change. What is involved here are such things as communicator trust-worthiness, content of message, media or modality, through which the message is presented, the personality of the receiver(s), and the aim (purpose), of the message.

The various components operate differently. For instance, in the case of the communicator (or source), trust-worthiness and credibility play an important role. An important factor having to do with the message is its ability to evoke a response. The type of message then, becomes important. How the individual handles or interprets information, is an important factor in attitude change. For example, when a person hears a communication whose message is

too different from the position he or she holds, the individual may experience cognitive dissonance. Channel characteristics center around issues such as direct observation or contact with attitude object, the mass media, face-to-face communication, and the written or spoken word. Destination is concerned, if the goal of the communication is to have a long term or short term effect.

A proper sociological perspective is to view the communicative act and social interaction as essentially the same. This emphasizes the importance of the source of the message, the nature of the message, and the personality of the receiver. The credibility of the source is determined by his or her apparent expertise and objectivity. Noncredible sources are least effective in changing attitudes. Message content affects message effectiveness especially in the area of one-sided and two-sided communication in that the listener's frame of reference can lead to either acceptance or rejection of a position.

It is not that one type of message has an advantage over the other. Experiments support the conclusion that one-sided communications are more effective for people who already agree with the communicator, and the opposite is true for two-sided communications. Operating here is the discrepancy between the message and the receivers view. Severy develops a diagram which is actually a continuum that ranges from an extremely negative affect through a neutral or no effect position to an extremely positive effect.

These affects are conceptualized as the "latitude of acceptance" (positive affect), "latitude of noncommitment" and the "latitude of rejection" (negative effect).

Within the arena of message content results are inconclusive. Some experts hold that if the message is not explicit, the receivers may reach the wrong conclusion. Others say that audiences that have the option of making up their own minds are more likely to accept the communicators message. Still others feel that it is critical to view the discrepancy between the message's position, and the receiver's view; that is whether it fits into one's attitude of acceptance, rejection, or non-commitment.

A communication, then, can have a great effect on attitude change. Receiver's of a communication can feel stress when experiencing a situation in which there is a discrepancy between their position, and the position of the communicator. In order to reduce the stress, the individual can either change the attitude, or reject the communicator. As discrepancy becomes larger, individuals, find it more difficult to change the attitude--and extremely discrepant statements tend to make the individual doubt the credibility of the source.

Changes that occur in students that have experienced college has received much attention. Studies demonstrate that this change can be in different directions. Furthermore, studies suggest that it is also impossible to single out one factor responsible for

attitude change among college students. Generally, it is found that students do become more liberal during their college years. Also noticeable are the fluctuating trends in value orientations among college students. This is especially true with regard to racial attitudes. The uniformity in the way white college students perceived black, and vice-versa, that existed in the 1930's is not as distinct in the 1970's. There is still some persistence by white students to classify Blacks in stereotyped manners, but not to the same degree. Changes have also occurred in black student's perceptions of white. Some hold, however, that students enter college already possessing certain tendencies. Still, many are skeptical about the role of college in influencing students. What college, does, they feel, is strengthen these initial tendencies (Gilbert, 1951).

The above evidence suggests that college students do experience attitude and value changes, and the college plays a key role in these changes. It appears that the number of years a student attends college increases, the less dogmatic students become. The question in this area is actually, how do students of various races perceive each other? Blacks and Whites seem to have limited levels of awareness of each other. Due to limited opportunities for interaction, black and white students live with many unanswered questions about each other.

Chapter 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework to be presented will entail five major steps. First, a general theoretical orientation, symbolic interactionism, will be reviewed. Second, the nature of attitudes, their definitions and their functions, will be explored, together with a review of two related accompanying theories, consistency and dissonance. Third, the basic components of the information relating process, together with the association between credibility and attitude will be examined. Fourth, the role of the college student in the social action network will be reviewed. Finally, a theoretical model and its associated set of propositions and hypotheses will be formulated.

Symbolic interactionism, as a general theoretical orientation, can offer a view of the information relating process that has much utility. This becomes especially apparent when one views the communication processes itself. As Larson stated:

The case for sociological concern with communication has long been so compelling that a restatement of it cannot avoid the use of trite phrases. Communication is basic to any social system. Every form of collective action rests upon meanings shared through some pattern of communication. Society can exist only because most people's definitions of most important situations coincide at least approximately most of the time.

Communication is the means for establishing this consensus.¹

Symbolic interactionism lends itself adequately to the study of both the social influence process and communication, realizing that "sociologists study what happens when two or more persons or groups are in a position to influence each other."²

The implication, then, is: When individuals are exposed to information they either assimilate or contrast the information and make judgments or construe the information when it is presented. Symbolic interactionism as a sociological school of thought recognizes this process and uses this phenomenon as a base of its orientation. As Herbert Blumer (1974)³ states:

Human Beings interpret or "define" each others' actions instead of merely reacting to each other's actions. Their "response" is not made directly to the action of one another but instead is based on the meaning they attach to such actions.⁴

Symbolic Interactionism Framework. The understanding and appreciation of the symbolic interactionism framework will be expedited by discussion and explanation of certain basic principles. Symbolic Interactionism explains human behavior as based on the

¹Otto N. Larson, "Social Effects of Mass Communication," in Robert E. L. Faris Editor, Handbook of Modern Sociology, Rand McNally and Company, Chicago, 1964, p. 348.

²Ibid., p. 349.

³Jerome G. Manis, and Bernard N. Meltzer, Symbolic Interaction, Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1974.

⁴Ibid., p. 145.

meaning things have for them. As social actors, human life is composed of people interpreting the world and then engaging in activities. Human society is the result of people being able to integrate their interpretations of the world. Because of shared perceptions human society is able to exist. Individuals interact then, on the basis of a combination of shared interpretations which fit together systematically. Therefore, the symbolic interactionism approach can be utilized in understanding the source-message-receiver variant relationship.

Generally, then, the social influence process can be viewed as symbolic interaction. From both a societal and individual level the interpretive (symbolic) process begins with the interpretation of some social influence. Human beings then act toward things on the basis of the meaning that things have for them. These meanings are derived from and arise out of social interactions that one has with one's fellows. Meanings are handled and modified through the mind. The mind allows the individual to refer to objects and guide behavior.

Attitudes

From the symbolic interactionism perspective, the interpretive process can be realized through the examination of attitudes. Attitudes are indicators of "meaning" which can be shared by the group and also have an accompanying individual interpretation. This interpretive aspect becomes especially apparent when viewing the

evaluative nature of attitudes as " . . . a learned predisposition to respond to a consistently favorable or unfavorable manner with respect to a given object."⁵

The interpretive and evaluative aspect of attitudes can be supported in a manner consistent with symbolic interactionism if one examines the following definitions of attitudes:

An attitude is composed of affective, cognitive and behavioral components that correspond, respectively to ones evaluation of, knowledge of, and predispositions to act toward the object of the attitude.⁶

The affective component consists of a person's evaluation of, liking of, or emotional response to some object or person. The cognitive component has been conceptualized as a persons beliefs about, or factual knowledge of the object or person. The behavioral component involves the person's overt behavior directed toward the object or person.⁷

Based on these definitions attitude(s) will be used as the indicator of meaning as reflected by its cognitive, affective and behavioral dimensions. Gardner Lindzey,⁸ in his discussion of the "nature of attitudes," lends support. In discussing attitudes, Lindzey takes into account antecedent conditions (which he labels

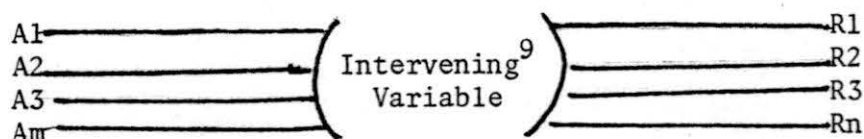
⁵Stuart Oskamp, Attitudes and Opinions, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1977, p. 9.

⁶R. V. Wagner and J. J. Sherwood, The Study of Attitude Change, Belmont, Calif.: Brooks/Cole, 1969, p. 3.

⁷P. Zimbardo and E. B. Ebbesen, Influencing Attitudes and Changing Behavior, Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1970, p. 7.

⁸Gardner Lindzey, The Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. 3, Chapter 21, "The Nature of Attitudes and Attitude Change," Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1969, pp. 136-139.

"A") and consequences (which he labels "R"). He describes the "mediationist" approach to discovering the "nature of attitudes." The "mediationist" approach is one method of accounting for the relationship between the totality of A's and R's. The "mediationist" approach is illustrated below . . .



In this approach an attitude is mediator (intervening variable) when dealing with the construct's antecedent conditions and the consequences that follow. As the name implies, the "mediationist" approach proports that attitudes serve or operate as an intermediary (or interpretive) agent. By fulfilling this role and operating in this fashion, the function of attitudes as being the indication of meaning becomes more apparent.

Attitudes can be interpreted as an individual's, group's, or society's meanings. The interpretive process personifies itself in the cognitive, affective, and behavioral elements of attitudes. In viewing the various features of attitudes as they relate to the symbolic interactionism framework, when attention is directed to the interpretive process, then it can be observed that attitudes change. This reflects the individual experiencing new interpretations of meanings. This interpretation and re-evaluation process

⁹ Ibid., p. 145.

can be observed to occur in different directions and intensity.

Attitude Change. The interpretive and evaluative nature of attitudes and the modification of attitude structure can be understood by reviewing a number of alternative explanations. Two such alternative explanations are consistency theory and dissonance theory. The following section will elaborate on these two inter-related explanations.

Consistency theory, Brown explains, has as a major underlying principle: ". . . the human mind, it seems, has a strong need for consistency and attitudes are generally changed in order to eliminate some inconsistency."¹⁰ Awareness of one's own inconsistency is viewed as an uncomfortable situation which every person is motivated to escape. Thus, attitude change should result if individuals receive new information which is inconsistent with their previous viewpoints or if existing inconsistencies in their beliefs and attitudes are pointed out to them.¹¹

Berkowitz elaborates on consistency theory. He explains that an individual's attitude toward the communication generalizes to affect the evaluation of the message attributed to him. To

¹⁰Roger Brown, Social Psychology, New York, The Free Press, 1965, p. 599.

¹¹Leonard Berkowitz, Social Psychology, Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1972, pp. 13-14.

predict how the person will feel about the communication, one must consider the initial attitude toward both the source of the communication and the content of the message. When the attitude differences get to a certain point, incongruity is created by the message connecting the source and the content, and the person will attempt to reduce the incongruity. Two kinds of reactions may take place. On the one hand, the person's attitudes might change (his evaluations of both the source and the message will be altered). There will be greater change in attitude that initially was less extreme. On the other hand, the subject may simply refuse to believe that the communicator has sent the message, or might prefer to reinterpret the situation in a way that minimizes the incongruity. The greater the incongruity the less the chance that attitude change will occur.

Dissonance theory is a different but related explanation of what occurs during attitude change. It can be seen that the inspection of dissonance theory will demonstrate it has a substantive relationship to symbolic interactionism. N. T. Feather explains dissonance theory in the following manner:

Dissonance may be assumed to exist between two cognitions when one implies the obverse of the other, i.e., a and b are dissonant if a implies not b. This dissonant state is assumed to be motivating in that a person will attempt to reduce dissonance so as to achieve consonance in his cognitions.¹²

¹²N. T. Feather, "Cognitive Dissonance, Sensitivity and Evaluation," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1963, Vol. 66, No. 2, pp. 157-163.

Dissonance theory centers on inconsistencies between cognitions. Engaging in behavior discrepant from one's attitudes can also lead to cognitive dissonance. Cognitions are anything a person is aware of or has knowledge about. Two cognitions are dissonant if, from the individual's point of view, the opposite of one follows from the other.

Individuals, when presented with information, interprets the information. If the information is inconsistent with firmly held cognitions, the individual will take measures to reduce the dissonance. Interpretation of the information will be in a direction that brings about the achievement of consonance.

Summary Attitudes. Attitudes and attitude change are indicators of both the interpretive process and symbolic interaction. Attitudes have an evaluative nature which also operates as a mediator. This demonstrates the function of attitudes as an indicator of meaning for both individuals and groups.

Along with this interpretive process are three distinguishable but interrelated elements of attitudes. These can be classified as cognitive, affective, and behavioral. As attitudes change the interpretive process is operating. The individual utilizes these elements when they experience a new interpretation of meaning. This of course can occur in different directions and intensity.

Explanation of this change is offered by consistency theory and dissonance theory. These theories explain that because there is

a strong human need for consistency and consonance. Attitudinal modification achieves this. The attempt to obtain congruity and to relieve dissonance, therefore, illustrates the symbolic process operating not only in attitudes but attitude change as well.

The Information Relating Process

Thus far, this chapter has examined the general orientation known as symbolic interaction. A major focus of this orientation is that social influence is a process that arises out of social interaction. A consequence of this is that humans often act toward things on the basis of the meanings that things have for them based on their own interactive experiences. Also, this chapter has examined attitudes, which serve both as indicators of the meanings shared by an individual and as learned predispositions to respond to social objects in ways that maximize consistency and minimize dissonance. It follows, therefore, that if attitudes are indicators of the types of meanings shared by individuals and social influence is a process inherent of social interaction, then varying types of social interaction may have differing influence on attitude formulation and change.

Furthermore, it has been seen that cognitive consistency has important meanings for understanding attitudinal change¹³ in that

¹³F. Heider, The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations, New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958; and T. Newcomb, The Acquaintance Process. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961.

persons tend to evaluate the acceptance of a social influence in terms of its credibility and similarity, both of which are key elements in the communication process and related to the source from which messages are derived in social interaction.

Credibility. Lindzey¹⁴ discusses the concept, "credibility." He says that credibility exists when the source is ". . . perceived as knowing the right answer and motivated to communicate it." Lindzey also states that credibility of the source is also analyzed in terms of his or her expertise and objectivity.

Credibility can be achieved by establishing the source's expertise and trustworthiness. When high credibility is established the receiver can better evaluate the message. If the source's credibility is to be influential the receivers must share some agreement about the source's status, knowledge, and/or awareness of the group's (audience's) norms. In viewing the norms of the college campus one of the many sources of legitimacy are faculty members (professors).

Accepting professors as legitimate sources of validity can be supported by the symbolic interaction perspective, because college faculty do play a vital role in the "shared way students confront their worlds, the understandings and actions that grow up

¹⁴Gardner Lindzey, The Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. 3, Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Reading, Mass., 1969, p. 178.

around them specific to their roles as students . . . their collective response to their social situations as students."¹⁵

Source credibility can be established, for example, by indicating the source to be a professor and by further endorsement through accentuating other essential features such as achievement of the doctorate from a major university, relevant and outstanding professional experience, years of teaching experience, and publications.

Similarity. Similarity, Lindzey emphasizes, is most important in that a " . . . person is influenced to the extent that he perceives it (a communication) as coming from a source similar to himself . . . ideological similarity induces familiarity and interpersonal liking."¹⁶ Furthermore, real similarity produces liking, but liking also enhances the perceived similarity of the source.

The importance of the similarity, its influence on attitudes, and need to be controlled is explained by Festinger's "Social Comparison Theory."¹⁷ Briefly, this theory states that one interprets or judges his own behavior in terms of others similar to him. People seek out others within a range of similarity in order to satisfy a self-evaluation need. Their effort must be exerted to

¹⁵Lindzey, pp. 186-187.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 189.

¹⁷Arnold P. Goldstein, College and Students, New York: Pergamon Press Inc., 1972, p. 11.

produce conditions that promote similarity.

Similarity, from the symbolic interactionist perspective adopted in this study, is the result of perception. The decision as to similarity or nonsimilarity is a subjective one on the part of the receiver. Charon quotes Mead to provide an explanation of human action that affirms the importance of perception: ". . . For an intelligent human being his thinking is the most important part of what he does and the larger part of that thinking is a process of the analysis of situations, finding out just what it is that ought to be attacked, what has to be avoided."¹⁸

Because credibility and similarity are integral to the interpretive process, the source, message, and receiver bear upon the decisions and attitudes made and held by persons in this setting. Whether race or shared belief are the criteria for the perception of similitude, the symbolic interactionist perspective proposes a subjective decision is being made. Therefore for some individuals ideology (pathos) is the criteria, and for other racial characteristics (ethos) becomes the criteria.

Source Characteristics. For example, the race of the source is one salient factor that influences receivers of a message. This influence can be traced to socialization, general predisposition,

¹⁸Joel Charon, Symbolic Interactionism, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall Inc., 1979, p. 118.

and processes of the society in general. To test this influence, clear indication of source race is necessary, in that it is interwoven in human society. As Redfield observed, "The real difference among biologically different groups may have little consequences for the affairs of men. The believed indifferences, and the visible differences of which notice is taken, do have consequence for the affairs of men. This is what we know about race. It is on the level of habit, custom, sentiment, and attitude that race, as a matter of practical significance, is to be understood. Race is, so to speak, a human invention."¹⁹

Behavior patterns, both individual and group, as well as feelings and opinions serve as influences on perception. The result of this social force is race consciousness. There are two immediate social consequences as the result of these forces: a certain self-consciousness in a race, importing to each of its members a kind of racial personality and the tendencies to affirm this personality more and more strongly, oppose other racial types and secure its predominance. As Fouillee wrote, "The race-idea includes within it a race-consciousness. It is certain, for instance, that a white man shares the idea of his races--a result that is inevitable in as much as he has but to open his eyes in order to distinguish white

¹⁹ Robert Redfield, "Race as a Social Phenomenon" from Edgar T. Thompson and Everett C. Hughes, Race: Individual and Collective Behavior. The Free Press; New York, 1958, p. 67.

from yellow or black . . . Color is a visible and immediate bond that lends itself to easy recognition and setting up a tie between any who share certain typical features."²⁰

The nature of this study makes appropriate the inclusion of this a factor source variance influence. There must be some way in which source race is not ambiguous. Given the general structure of race identification in America, the subjects must have concrete evidence on which to determine the source's race.

Message Characteristics. Message characteristics are also important. As Lindzey explains, ". . . the receiver assumes it has a high-credibility source and that the experimenter must agree with it, since it is he who presents it to the subject."²¹ Additionally, message style is important in that clarity and skill of presentation are important. If the message is to have an impact on attitudes, controls must be incorporated which will place attention on the intrinsic value of the message.

A message concerning race relations can take a range of perspectives. These perspectives can take varying viewpoints on a range of topics concerning the role, fate, progress, and differences between Whites and Blacks over the years. Due to the nonexistence

²⁰ Alfred Fouille, "The Idea as the Groups Conception of Itself," from Edgar T. Thompson, Race: Individual and Collective Behavior; the Free Press; New York, 1958, p. 249.

²¹ Lindzey, p. 201.

of a normative consensual position on this topic, and the subjective, interpretive characteristic of American's racial situation, messages can have a range of positions. These messages can vary in their perspective, which can be positive or negative. The range of positive to negative includes the possible interpretations from progress towards achieving equality (positive) to an interpretation in which using retrospect and analyzing present interactions conditions can be interpreted as regression, or indicating little significant change. In this study positive message, will be referred to as pro-integration, and a negative message as an anti-integration message.

Receiver Characteristics. Society, in general, is represented by a variety of influencing factors such as social class, family structure, group membership, ethnic, religious, and political anchorages. So are college campuses. Any attempt to understand and explain behavior must be cognizant of these variables but nonetheless one further assumption has to operate in order to carry out an investigation. This assumption is that there is a general consistency among college students which can be measured. While individual profiles may fluctuate, there are certain processes existing that are particular to contemporary college youth. Even though college students differ in their social orientations in various areas, there is a dominant ethos shared among college students that operates, as evidenced by the college sub-culture and supported by empirical investigations.

The receiver variant under investigation is the knowledge about, perspective towards, and awareness of members of other races. Students base their interpretations on individual and shared experiences. Recognizing this, there should be some divergence among the orientations of college students perceptions. While it would be difficult to pinpoint one factor as being responsible, a number of factors can be identified as being related to the variance among contemporary college students. Generally, it appears that factors such as family status, political socialization, value systems, and group identification serve to influence student characteristics.

Information Relating Process. Once given exposure to information, subjects are then influenced in some matter; therefore, operationalization requires establishing a position that allows the receiver an opportunity to make individual interpretations. Operationalization of the variables discussed in this section depend on individual predispositions, however, individuals with stance on either side of an issue tend to bring it more into line with their own position on the issue. Audiences are more likely to accept "facts" based on information supporting their own positions.

Furthermore, both message content and source characteristics are influences in the interpretive process. Exposure to a speaker and the speaker's stand affect the intensity and direction of attitude change and structuring of a communicative situation must be

aware of this. People respond to communications according to their symbolic interpretations.

Investigations also show exposure to a message will lead to a range of interpretations, both for groups and individuals. Individuals vary in rate of acceptance or rejection of a message. Receivers whose own stands diverge greatly from the position of the communicator and communication experience a "contrast effect" and receivers whose stand are close to the position of the communicator and communication experience the "assimilation effect."

College Students as Social Actors. MayKovick traced a pattern of shared meaning or shared feelings among racial groups for other racial groups in college sample. Although this pattern is undergoing modification, there is persistence with regard to certain more salient stereotypes. The findings support the position that both black and white college students share a group held definition of the other. For example from 1932 up to 1960, black students tended to describe whites as "ambitious," "industrious," "materialistic" and "pleasure loving." In the 1970's the major emphasis shifted to whites as "materialistic" and "pleasure loving," although ambitiousness was not overlooked. The trend indicated is that black students tend to perceive white Americans more in the aspects of "consumption rather than production." MayKovich's evidence shows that the degree of humanity decreased among white students in their definition of blacks (primitive-superstitious,

ignorant, happy-go-lucky) and was being replaced with images such as "aggressiveness" and straightforwardness; although there was a persistence in the image of "musicality."

These shared definitions of others that college students possess tend to place the student in various groups, or "subcultures" within a larger student culture. The symbolic interactionist perspective would define these student "subcultures" as shared beliefs, interpretations and meanings shared by a distinct group of people, or a shared "definition of the situation." Hochbaum (1972)²² provides an explanation and a model (see Figure 1), and states . . .

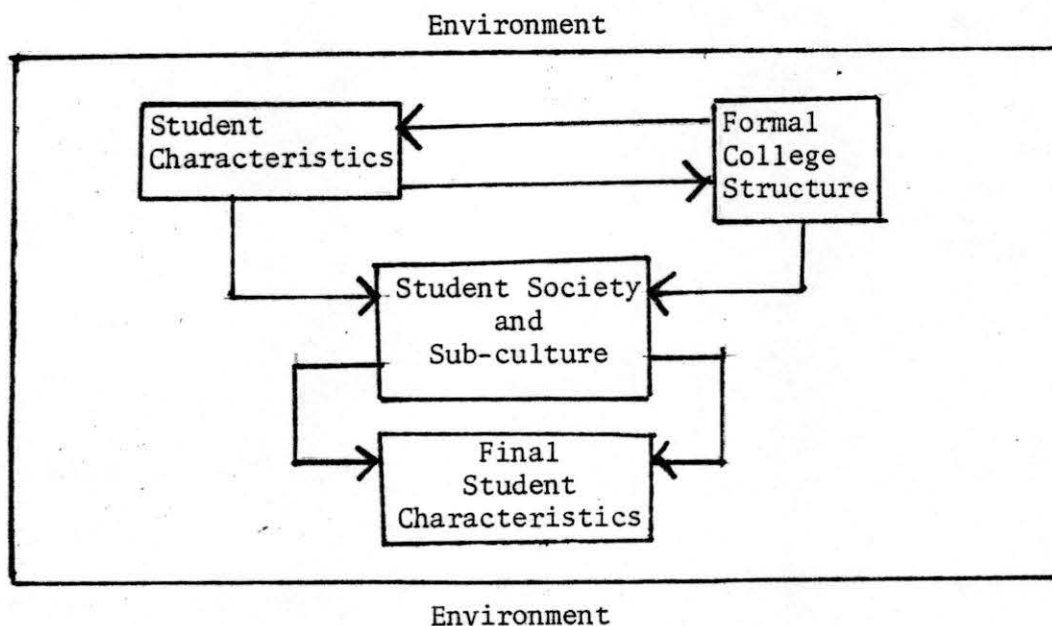
Student cultures have their origins in conditions that exist on campus i.e., the students collective response to their social situation on campus . . . Colleges aim to bring about changes in the skills, attitudes, and values with which students arrive at college: Numerous studies have shown that what students learn at college is determined in large measure by their fellow students, or more precisely by the structure of peer relations that constitute student society and the configuration of attitudes, values, and norms that constitute the student subculture.²³

²²Kenneth A. Feldman (editor), College and Students, "Structure and Processes in Higher Education," (Jerry Hochbaum), New York: Pergamon Press Inc., 1972, pp. 5-45.

²³Ibid., p. 10.

Figure 1

Structure and Processes in College Within²⁴
their Social Environment



Interjecting the symbolic interactionism perspective in interpreting Hochbaum's model, it can be stated that the student's subculture develops as various groups of students place importance on certain elements. This sharing of meaning results in certain social constructions known as the student subcultures. As students share similar "definitions of the situation," spinoff groups develop based on shared meanings, and thus become the basis for social action as witnessed by the existence of the student subculture.

²⁴Ibid., p. 7.

A classification is offered by Bloom.²⁵ Bloom considers features such as ethnocentrism and authoritarianism as they relate to various personality types. Taking the position that it is possible to differentiate among the various personality types based on extremely high and extremely low levels of ethnocentrism, he develops the categories the "conventional," "authoritarian," (high scores on ethnocentrism and authoritarianism), "easy going" and "liberal" (low scorers). They are differentiated in the following manner.

The conventional is an individual who accepts stereotypes and generalizations that his society offers him and closely integrates them into his personality.

The authoritarian model type needs to submit to authority and yet subconsciously rebels against authority and resents it. His repressed resentment against authority is deflected to a hatred of out groups that are openly violent.

The easy-going individual is imaginative, and has a sense of humor and capacity for enjoyment. His attitude is one of 'live and let live'. He lacks anxiety and has little sense of acquisitiveness. He is unwilling to do any violence.

The genuine liberal is very outspoken and has firm opinions about social and political issues. He values independence and while valuing and defending his own beliefs he will not interfere with those of other people.²⁶

Although it is not the goal of this study to replicate or validate Bloom, his model does provide an adequate basis for

²⁵ Leonard Bloom, The Social Psychology of Race Relations, George Allen and Unum Ltd., London, 1971.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 65-66.

theoretical explanation. The value of this scheme is that it indicates some of the personality variables that either determine susceptibility to prejudice and ethnocentrism or those that encourage resistance to such beliefs. According to this approach, oversensitivity to race is an integral part of the individual's personality and his perception of the world. Bloom also feels that we cannot assume that prejudiced or ethnocentric person is neither suffering from a mental illness nor suffering political injustice. He is often a normally well adjusted person who accepts cultural norms of prejudice and ethnocentrism.

Summary. College students as social actors experience and have their attitudes influenced by the information relating process. Racial attitudes are just one among the many of their general predispositions that are affected. College students share certain individual and collective responses in the area of racial attitudes. While attending college, they (students) are also exposed to many differing sources and messages.

Research demonstrates that college students, both Black and White, have shared feelings (interpretations, perceptions) of each other. Often these feelings are based on stereotypes and result on race consciousness. The symbolic interactionist's interpretation of this is that college subcultures promote a "definition of the situation" which results into 'spin-off' groups who share similar symbolic interpretations of racial attributes. These interpretations

also become the basis for social action.

This establishes a setting in which attitude change can be monitored and the information relating process can be studied. By observing the information relating process in this situation, it is possible to gain knowledge on attitude change and how its various elements are influenced in this process.

Summary of Symbolic Interactionism Perspective and Framework

Symbolic interactionism views humans as making individual and collective interpretations when they are presented with symbols, based on how close the information is to their particular conceptualization of reality. An individual's response to information is not made to the information itself but to the meaning attached to the information. Symbolic interactionism takes the position, then, that humans modify the meanings they give to information through an interpretive process.

The different individual experiences a person encounters and the socialization process extend a social influence on the individual. On the societal and group level this is known as "the definition of the situation." This "definition of the situation" is the representation of group shared meaning. Meaning can be inferred by the operation of attitudes. People have attitudes toward many objects in their social environment. Attitudes, from a symbolic interactionist perspective are the sum of the meanings a person has, are composed of three components: a cognitive, an

effective, and a behavioral. This knowing, feeling, acting aspect of human life can be seen to take place in the arena of interracial interaction, in daily interactions and in colleges and universities also.

Attitudes as mediators give individuals the guides on how to channel their interactions. The shared gestures of a group then indicates to the individual what the appropriate alternative is in an interaction situation. Attitudes while stable do change as one experiences new social environments and can be illustrated by observing college students. College students adjust and readjust their attitudes to the general college culture and subculture(s) based on their alignment with the students own interpretive disposition. Their interpretation sees attitude adjustment as a result of coming into contact with information. Their social actions are the consequence of the symbolic meanings and interpretations represented by their attitudes and the congruency among the components.

College students place meaning on things as they interact in the college subculture and go through the information relating process. One outcome of this is a modification of attitudes through an evaluative and interpretative process. Many things function to bring into play the mediative nature of attitudes. This interpretative process and attempt to establish meaning can occur through encountering new sources, coming into contact with new messages, and new experiences that occur in that subculture.

This social environment can be expected to produce varied results. The student comes into the subculture with an initial readiness to respond in a particular manner. The student then engages in symbolic interaction as he or she assumes their role in the source-message-receiver interactional episode. This influences them as they carry on their daily activities.

From the societal, sub-cultural, and individual level the information relating (symbolic) process begins with the interpretation of some social influence. Meaning is derived from the information relating process. These meanings can be represented by attitudes. Attitudes arise out of social interaction and are handled and modified through an interpretative process. An appropriate arena for the studying of symbolic interaction as represented by the information relating process is the degree to which college students change or refuse to yield or refuse to change their inter-racial perceptions.

Research Hypothesis

The foregoing sections of this chapter have examined a general theoretical orientation, symbolic interaction, and a more specific theoretical formulation, information relating processes. Additionally, the college community as an environment for both attitude formulation and change has been examined.

Applying these understandings to the research problem defined for this study, the following research hypothesis was

generated:

Groups receiving variant messages, both as to source and content, will differ in the extent of change in the attitudes of their members toward persons of the opposite race.

Chapter 4

RESEARCH DESIGN

The objective of this study is to discover how racial attitudes are altered, or reinforced by variant stereotypic messages received from differing classroom instructors. This chapter will discuss how this objective may be achieved and tested. Therefore, this chapter will specify sampling procedures, unit of analysis, dependent variable, independent variable, control group, statistical tests, pilot study, experimental design and hypotheses.

Sampling

The universe in this study were freshman enrolled in English courses at Shippensburg State College, Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, in Fall, 1979. For the purpose of this study freshman were defined as any student enrolled at Shippensburg State College with 0-30 credit hours. The groups used in this study were selected from a course which is designed for freshmen and therefore was composed largely if not exclusively of freshmen. The classes available were limited in that not all classes were open to the researcher and the researcher was confined to those classes in which the course instructors have granted permission. However, the assignment of the groups as either the control group or experimental groups was random.

The number of respondents for the sample was 173, of which 139 were selected as students to represent the experimental groups and 34 to represent the control group.

Because no student could be forced to participate in the experiment and complete both the pre and post tests, the final sample size was 132, with 105 in the experimental group and 27 in the control.

Unit of Analysis

In this study, attention focuses on two units of analysis: individuals and groups. The first unit of analysis was individual student scores collected from an instrument measuring attitude change from a selected pre-test date to a test date for both the groups and the control group. Investigation centered upon the extent of attitude change, operationalized through a designed index measuring the readiness to respond to those of other races. The purpose of the index was to measure the change in racial attitudes at the cognitive, affective and behavioral level.

These scores were then summed and the group mean was calculated in order to compare the differences in the extent of racial attitudinal change that has occurred under different treatment conditions and controls.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable was the group mean. This group mean

was the racial attitudinal change as measured before and after treatment by a pre-test and post-test instrument.

The pre-test and post-test contained a number of items pertaining to certain college attitudes, behaviors and aspirations that were included in order to disguise the specific intent of the study; namely racial attitudes (See Appendix II). Both tests, however measured the cognitive, affective and behavioral components of racial attitude using the same sets of Likert-type statements with possible responses ranging from very strongly agree through very strongly disagree. These common sets of questions repeated on both the pre-test and post-test were as follows:

To which of the following racial categories do you belong?

_____ A. White

_____ B. Non-white

If you checked A, keep in mind we are seeking to find out how you feel about Non-whites. Please indicate which of the following responses best describes your position.

If you checked B, keep in mind we are seeking to find out how you feel about Whites. Please indicate which of the following responses best describes your position.

If you are non-white, to what extent do you agree the following terms describe whites?

If you are white, to what extent do you agree the following terms describe non-whites?

	Very Strongly Agree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Very Strongly Disagree
Cunning	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Materialistic	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Zealous	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Versatile	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Intelligent	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Inept	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Proficient	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Ambitious	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Prejudiced	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Musical	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

If you are non-white, how strongly do you feel the following when you think of whites?
If you are white, how strongly do you feel the following when you think of non-whites?

	Intensely	Strongly	Moderately	Minimally	Not at all
Delighted	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Rewarded	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Excited	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Respect	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Fear	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Disgust	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Affection	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Funny	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Content	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Distress	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

If you are a non-white, to what extent do you endorse the following with whites?
 If you are white, how (to what extent) do you endorse the following with non-whites?

	Very Strongly	Strongly	Somewhat	Not much	Not at all
Watching TV or listening to the stereo	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Visiting	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Calling on the phone	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Participating on the same team	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Engaging in sport events	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Going down town	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Coming by to visit you	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Having over to your dormroom or apartment	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Going to sporting events	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Engaging in arguments	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Weight was assigned to the response to each item (question). The strongly prejudiced responses were given one point and the least prejudiced responses were given five points. The interpretation is the higher the score the less the prejudice. The cognitive dimension had a range of 10 to 70 points which was standardized to a 5 point scale during the analysis of data. The affective and behavioral dimensions have a range of 10 points (high prejudice) to 50 (low prejudice). The three dimensions summed together will have a range of 30 (high prejudice) to (low prejudice) 150 points. A simplified format for attitude and attitude change can be offered:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Attitude} &= \text{Cognitive Score} + \text{Affective Score} + \text{Behavioral Score} \\ \text{Attitude Change} &= \text{Second total score} - \text{First total score} \end{aligned}$$

Cognitive. The cognitive component questions were formed after the method introduced by Gilbert.¹ The researcher selected some attributes that Gilbert's research discovered and then added items to gain a more complete scope of this attitude dimension. Gilbert achieved his information by listing attributes pertaining towards various nationalities and ethnic groups. Students then indicated the attributes with which they agreed with the most. Attributes checked the most often were later used as the indicator of stereotypes. The attributes selected for this study were the result of following this technique.

¹Gilbert, G. M., "Stereotype Persistence and Change Among College Students".

Affective. The affective items were the result of searching the dictionary for various types of emotional responses. These responses were then listed and reviewed. Review of responses was done to assure a range of possible responses had been achieved.

Behavioral. The behavioral questions were fashioned after C. R. Pace's study, "Leisure Participation and Enjoyment."² The questions were altered in such a way as to be relevant to typical college interactions, the types of options a student may have available, typical type of interactional episodes the student may have available. These questions were then worded in such a form as to represent a possible questionnaire.

The attitude index is designed to measure the dependent variable, attitude change. Positive attitude change was considered to occur if the second score was greater than the first score.

Pre-Post Tests

To facilitate the experiment college classes entailed the environment for testing. Early in the Fall semester, October 1-3, 1979, the first attitude measure was administered. During December 2-4 the randomized source message variants were introduced. During the last week of classes, December 10-12, the post-test was

²Miller, Delbert, Handbook of Research Design and Social Measure, "Leisure Participation and Enjoyment", David McKay Company Inc., New York, 1977, pp. 322-324.

administered. As a control each of the tests were given within a three-day period and were administered in the same fashion by the class instructor. Each instructor introduced the tests in such a way as to have it relate to the class outline. Strict precautions were taken to insure secrecy and guard against a possible Hawthorn effect.

Independent Variable

The independent variable consisted of a taped message played to the respondents in which two factors were altered: (1) the speaker was identified as either Black, White or was not identified as to racial characteristic at all; (2) the message was either favoring or disfavoring racial integration. The variables, therefore, under inspection were the different sources and the various types of messages.

Source variance is based on attributed race. Students were able to ascertain the race of the source by reviewing a handout which had a picture of the source and biographic information about the source to support the source's credibility. The source's qualifications were held constant and the only variance was the indicated race of the source. The qualifications informed the subjects that the source was a well published and respected leader in his field. (See Appendix III).

Message variance was controlled through the nature of the

two messages. One message concerned promotion of integration in America. The message stated integration is a worthwhile goal and that all should cooperate in order to achieve it. It called for people to become actively involved. The second message took the opposite position and called for separatism as a goal. (See Appendix IV).

Experimental Groups (Source-Message Variants)

Six experimental groups were each assigned to one of the following independent treatments: (1) Black Source--Pro-Integration Message, (2) Black Source--Anti-Integration Message, (3) White Source--Pro-Integration Message, (4) White Source--Anti-Integration Message, (5) Source, Race Unknown--Pro-Integration Message, and (6) Source Race, Unknown--Anti-Integration Message.

Control Group

The control group made the seventh group. This group did not experience the source-message variant. The control group was only given the before and after cognitive-affective-behavioral measure.

Statistical Tests

The statistical techniques implemented the t-test and analysis of variance. The t-test was used to evaluate the significance of difference in the means between the pre-tests and

post-tests of the groups. Analysis of variance was used to test the significance of the difference among the groups.

The Pilot Study

A pilot study, entailing six basic steps, was conducted to test and improve the instrument. First, literature was reviewed to discover appropriate items that could be utilized. Second, a number of questions were recorded and scrutinized. Then, as part of step three, the questions were checked for construct validity. To test about construct validity the possible questions were given to a panel of experts composed of college faculty members in sociology, psychology, and political science at Shippensburg State College. These professors were asked to indicate whether or not these possible statements measure what they propert to measure. The measures that were most often indicated were used to compose the final questionnaire. Fourth, the questions were then put together in a questionnaire and administered to a group of college classes during the summer session 1979 at South Dakota State University.³ Fifth, the responses were compiled and underwent a computer anaylsis, TESTAT, to determine reliability. TESTAT output indicated which questions had the most significance. The final step was selecting the ten questions in each attitude component that had the

³The classes used in the pilot test were Geography and Psychology classes, Sophomore to Junior level courses.

highest score. These thirty questions were the questions that composed the final questionnaire.

Conducting the Experiment

Through the cooperation of the English Department of the Shippensburg State College English Composition classes were selected. The various instructors were informed on proper administration of the instrument. The first week after the last day to drop a class was chosen as the date for administration of the first questionnaire. This date was chosen for two reasons: to allow students to have sufficient time to have college experiences for a reference point and also to help assure that there would be consistency in the number of students composing the study. True randomization and assignment to a particular source-message-variant was impossible to achieve because students could not be forced or required to experience the treatment situation. In order to encourage students to participate, the week after Thanksgiving recess students were told that if they would go to the College Library and listen to a tape, they would receive a gift certificate from local merchants. The students were encouraged to participate by each instructor. Students were told their name was randomly selected by their social security number. If their number appeared on the list all they had to do was go to the library, listen to a tape, fill out a form and then receive their certificate.

A student assistant, (a senior sociology student), was in charge of administration of the instrument. Each student, when they came to the appointed place in the library, was given a cassette tape with either the Pro-Integration or Anti-Integration message. The students were also given a survey form with either a picture of the speaker (attributed race variant) or no picture at all. Assignment to a source-message-variant was random and without researcher manipulation.

The post-test survey was administered the last week of class. The thirty cognitive-affective-behavioral questions remained the same, however, the accompanying questions were different. The instructors administered the post-test in the same fashion as the pre-test.

Null-Hypotheses

Twenty-six null hypotheses were formulated. These hypotheses covered the various relationships of source-message variation as they applied to the experimental groups and the control group, the attribute race of the speaker, the position of the message, and the race of the students. These twenty-six hypotheses are stated in Chapter 5 as well as the rejection decisions concerning each.

Chapter 5

ANALYSIS OF DATA

This chapter reports the techniques of analysis, procedure for scoring the instrument, measurement of variables, significance level, the operation of the experiment, rejection decisions concerning the hypotheses and other relevant findings.

Scoring of Instrument/Measurement of Variables

The basic criterion behind the scoring of the instrument was the higher the score, the more favorable the racial attitudes toward racial opposites. Therefore, the responses were assigned a value of one through five. The first ten questions (cognitive) were originally presented on a scale of one through seven, but were subsequently converted to a five point scale. Table 5A shows the converted values.

Table 5A

Conversion Value for Seven and Five Point Scales

Seven Point Scale Values	Five Point Scale Values
1	.71
2	1.42
3	2.14
4	2.85
5	3.75
6	4.28
7	5.00

The scoring schedule (see Appendix 9) gives the numeric weight each response was assigned. This applied in all cases except for response ten. In response ten, the deviation involved reversing the weight based on the race of the respondent because "musical" according to Gilbert¹ appears to persist as a white stereotype of non-whites, especially Blacks, and needed to be weighted as such. For non-Whites, the opposite values were used in that non-Whites do not tend to attribute the same stereotype to Whites.

Technique for Analysis

There were three basic statistical techniques utilized in this study. The first was the t-test. The t-test was used to determine if there was a significant change in racial attitudes in the before and after scores of the experimental groups and the control group. The second technique was the difference-of-means test. The purpose of this test was to find if there was a significant difference between the various groups. The difference-of-means test made it possible to compare the experimental groups to each other and also to the control group. This test made it possible to compare results based on the attributed race of the source of the message, the position of the message, and the race of the student respondent. The final measurement, analysis of variance, was used

¹Gilbert, G. M. "Stereotype Resistance and Change Among College Students," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, April, 1951, Vol. 46, p. 248.

to find out if the scores of the experimental group could be considered to be equal or not (H_0 : Group 1 = Group 2 = Group 3 = Group 4 = Group 5 = Group 6 = Group 7) and to discover the same information within the experimental groups (H_0 : Group 1 = Group 2 = Group 3 = Group 4 = Group 5 = Group 6).

Level of Significance

A .05 level of significance was specified for this study. This study utilized a two-tailed test in order to test both the intensity and direction of racial attitude change among the groups involved in the experiment.

Time Schedule

The pre-test was administered during the week of October 1-3, 1979. This time period was selected because freshmen, in order to respond accurately, had to have an opportunity to have interracial contacts in a college situation. This time period was one month after the beginning of the academic year. The students experienced the various source-message variants during the week of December 2-4. The post-test was given December 10-13, which was the last week of classes before finals.

The pre-test was taken by 172 respondents; 139 reported their social security numbers while 33 did not. After the flyers (see Appendix) were distributed and the proper announcement made in class, 118 of the 139 individuals invited to participate in the

post-test "research project" actually participated. One hundred five of the post-test questionnaires reported the respondents' social security numbers and could be matched to pre-test questionnaires. Twenty seven respondents did not indicate social security numbers. This indicated that there was a total of 132 respondents on the post-test. As a matter of procedure, the computer selected only 27 of the 33 respondents without indicated numbers as to have an equal number of pre-and post-test respondents. This indicated that the total number of participants who took the pre-test, experienced the source-message-variant (excluding the control group), and took the post-test (including the control group) was 132.

Attitudinal Change

One concern of this study was to examine to what extent the attitudes of White and non-White freshmen changed toward each other during the fall semester at Shippensburg. Another concern was to determine if these attitude changes differed depending upon the application or non-application of a treatment that varied as to the known race of a speaker and the advocacy or opposition toward integration.

Table 5B reports the findings relative to these concerns. Column one identifies the six experimental groups receiving the treatments and the control group which received no special treatment. Column two gives the mean attitude score for each group when the pretest was given October 1-3, 1979. Column four gives the absolute plus or minus difference between the pre and post test means.

Table 5B. Extent of Attitudinal Change for Experimental and Control Groups, Compared

Groups, by Source Message Variant	Mean Attitude Score, Pre- test	Mean Attitude Score, Post- test	Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Change Value Significant
Black Speaker, Pro-Integration Message	91.43	96.79	5.33	2.10	1.34	13	No
White Speaker, Pro-Integration Message	91.03	102.05	11.02	2.09	4.94	19	Yes
Unknown Speaker, Pro-Integration Message	98.12	96.03	-2.08	2.12	-1.04	16	No
Black Speaker, Anti-Integration Message	94.21	86.11	-8.10	2.11	-1.61	17	No
White Speaker, Anti-Integration Message	101.47	92.41	-9.06	2.13	-2.54	15	Yes
Unknown Speaker, Anti-Integration Message	93.79	80.07	-13.08	2.14	-3.48	14	Yes
No Message Received (Control Group)	90.49	97.48	6.99	2.05	1.77	26	No

Columns five through seven report the Table T value, the calculated t value and the degrees of freedom for each group. Column eight reports whether the values were significant at the .05 level of significance to conclude that the attitudinal change was great enough to have not occurred by chance.

Examination of Table 5B shows that the attitudinal change was either positive or negative, ranging from a mean positive change of 11.02 to a mean negative change of -13.08. The group receiving pro-integration messages from known speaker sources showed positive change, 11.02 for the White speaker and 5.33 for the Black speaker respectively.

The groups receiving pro-messages from an unknown speaker and anti-messages from all speakers showed negative attitudinal change ranging from -2.05 to -13.08. Regardless of whether the message was a pro-integration message or an anti-integration message, the group receiving messages from unknown speakers showed greater negative change than the respective comparison groups.

The mean change for the pro-integration group with White and Black speakers were positive, whereas the mean change for the pro-integration group with an unknown speaker was negative. Similarly the negative change for the unknown speaker was highest among the groups receiving the anti-integration message. The mean attitudinal change for the control group was 6.99.

When these mean changes were tested for significance, the

changes for the White speaker Pro-Integration and the White and Unknown speaker Anti-Integration were found to be significant.

Associational Analysis

A second objective of this study was to determine if the extent of attitudinal change of white and non-white freshman toward each other was associated with the various source-message-variants. To examine this concern, a set of null hypotheses was formulated and subjected to statistical test. This section of the study reports the findings relative to each of those hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1. Hypothesis one was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the group receiving a pro-integration message from a Black speaker and the control group.

Table 5C reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5C

Attitudinal Change for the Group Receiving a Pro-Integration Message from a Black Speaker and the Control Group

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
Black Speaker Pro-Integration Message	5.36	2.0618	-0.28	44	No
Control Group No Source-Message Variant	6.99				

There was no difference in racial attitude change between the group receiving a pro-integration message from a Black speaker and the control group.

Hypothesis 2. Hypothesis two was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the group receiving a pro-integration message from a White speaker and the control group.

Table 5D reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5D

Attitudinal Change for the Group Receiving a Pro-Integration Message from a White Speaker and the Control Group

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
White Speaker Pro-Integration Message	11.02	2.0157	0.81	45	No
Control Group No Source-Message Variant	6.99				

There was no difference in racial attitude change between the group receiving a pro-integration message from a White speaker and the control group.

Hypothesis 3. Hypothesis three was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the group receiving a pro-integration message from an unknown speaker and the control group.

Table 5E reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5E

Attitudinal Change for the Group Receiving a Pro-Integration Message from an Unknown Speaker and the Control Group

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
Unknown Speaker Pro-Integration Message	-2.09	2.0189	-1.73	42	No
Control Group No Source-Message Variant	6.99				

There was no difference in racial attitude change between the group receiving a pro-integration message from an Unknown Speaker and the control group.

Hypothesis 4. Hypothesis four was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the group receiving an anti-integration message from a Black speaker and the control group.

Table 5F reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5F

Attitudinal Change for the Group Receiving an Anti-integration Message from a Black Speaker and the Control Group

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
Black Speaker Anti-Integration Message	-8.10	2.0178	-2.38	43	Yes
Control Group No Source-Message Variant	6.99				

There was a significant difference in racial attitude change between the group receiving an anti-integration message from a Black speaker and the control group.

Hypothesis 5. Hypothesis five was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the group receiving an anti-integration message from a White speaker and the control group.

Table 5G reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5G

Attitudinal Change for the Group Receiving an Anti-Integration Message from a White Speaker and the Control Group

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
White Speaker Anti-Integration Message	-9.06	2.0199	-2.75	41	Yes
Control Group No Source- Message Variant	6.99				

There was a significant difference in racial attitude change between the group receiving an anti-integration message from a white speaker and the control group.

Hypothesis 6. Hypothesis six was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the group receiving an anti-integration message from an unknown speaker and the control group.

Table 5H reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5H

Attitudinal Change for the Group Receiving an Anti-Integration Message from an Unknown Speaker and the Control Group

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
Unknown Speaker Anti-Integration Message	-13.08	2.021	-3.34	40	Yes
Control Group No Source- Message Variant	6.99				

There was a significant difference in racial attitude change between the group receiving an anti-integration message from an unknown speaker and the control group.

Hypothesis 7. Hypothesis seven was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the group receiving a pro-integration message from a Black speaker and the group receiving a pro-integration message from a White speaker.

Table 5I reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5I

Attitudinal Change for the Group Receiving a Pro-Integration Message from a Black Speaker and the Group Receiving A Pro-Integration Message from a White Speaker

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
Black Speaker Pro-Integration Message	5.36	2.027	-1.25	37	No
White Speaker Pro-Integration Message	11.02				

There was not a significant difference in racial attitude change between the group receiving a pro-integration message from a Black speaker and the group receiving a pro-integration message from a White speaker.

Hypothesis 8. Hypothesis eight was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the group receiving a pro-integration message from a Black speaker and the control group receiving a pro-integration message from an unknown speaker.

Table 5J reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5J

Attitudinal Change for the Group Receiving a Pro-Integration Message from a Black Speaker and the Group Receiving a Pro-Integration Message from an Unknown Speaker

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
Black Speaker Pro-Integration Message	5.36	2.033	1.60	34	No
Unknown Speaker Pro-Integration Message	-2.09				

There was not a significant difference in racial attitude change between the group receiving a pro-integration message from a Black speaker and the group receiving a pro-integration message from an unknown speaker.

Hypothesis 9. Hypothesis nine was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the group receiving a pro-integration message from a Black speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from a Black speaker.

Table 5K reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5K

Attitudinal Change for the Group Receiving a Pro-Integration Message from a Black Speaker and the Group Receiving an Anti-Integration Message from a Black Speaker

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
Black Speaker Pro-Integration Message	5.36	2.031	2.11	35	Yes
Black Speaker Anti-Integration Message	-8.10				

There was a significant difference in racial attitude change between the group receiving a pro-integration message from a Black speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from a White speaker.

Hypothesis 10. Hypothesis ten was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the group receiving a pro-integration message from a Black Speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from a White speaker.

Table 5L reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5L

Attitudinal Change for the Group Receiving a Pro-Integration Message from a Black Speaker and the Group Receiving an Anti-Integration Message from a White Speaker

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
Black Speaker Pro-Integration Message	5.36	2.035	2.64	33	Yes
White Speaker Anti-Integration Message	-8.73				

There was a significant difference in racial attitude change between the group receiving a pro-integration message and the group receiving an anti-integration message from a white speaker.

Hypothesis 11. Hypothesis eleven was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the group receiving a pro-integration message from a Black speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from an unknown speaker.

Table 5M reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5M

Attitudinal Change for the Group Receiving a Pro-Integration Message from a Black Speaker and the Group Receiving an Anti-Integration Message from an Unknown Speaker

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
Black Speaker Pro-Integration Message	5.36	2.037	3.28	32	Yes
Unknown Speaker Anti-Integration Message	-13.08				

There was a significant difference in racial attitude change between the group receiving a pro-integration message from a Black speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from a White speaker.

Hypothesis 11. Hypothesis eleven was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the group receiving a pro-integration message from a Black speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from an unknown speaker.

Table 5M reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5M

Attitudinal Change for the Group Receiving a Pro-integration
Anti-integration Message from a Black Speaker and the
Group Receiving an Anti-Integration Message
from an Unknown Speaker

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees Of Freedom	Reject Null- Hypothesis
Black Speaker Pro-Integration Message	5.36				
Unknown Speaker Anti-Integration Message	-13.08	2.037	3.28	32	Yes

There was a significant difference in racial attitude change between the group receiving a pro-integration message from a Black speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from a White speaker.

Hypothesis 12. Hypothesis twelve was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the group receiving a pro-integration message from a White speaker and the group receiving a pro-integration message from an unknown speaker.

Table 5N reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5N

Attitudinal Change for the Group Receiving a Pro-Integration Message from a White Speaker and the Group Receiving a Pro-Integration Message from an Unknown Speaker

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
White Speaker Pro-Integration Message	11.02	2.031	4.31	35	Yes
Unknown Speaker Pro-Integration Message	-2.09				

There was a significant difference in racial attitude change between the group receiving a pro-integration message from a white speaker and the group receiving a pro-integration message from an unknown speaker.

Hypothesis 13. Hypothesis thirteen was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the group receiving a pro-integration message from a White speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from a Black speaker.

Table 50 reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 50

Attitudinal Change for the Group Receiving a Pro-Integration Message from a White Speaker and the Group Receiving an Anti-Integration Message from a Black Speaker

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
White Speaker Pro-Integration Message	11.02	2.029	3.60	36	Yes
Black Speaker Anti-Integration Message	-8.10				

There was a significant difference in racial attitude change between the group receiving a pro-integration message from a white speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from a Black speaker.

Hypothesis 14. Hypothesis fourteen was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the group receiving a pro-integration message from a White speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from a White speaker.

Table 5P reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5P

Attitudinal Change for the Group Receiving a Pro-Integration Message from a White Speaker and the Group Receiving an Anti-Integration Message from a White Speaker

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
White Speaker Pro-Integration Message	11.02	2.033	4.96	34	Yes
White Speaker Anti-Integration Message	-9.06				

There was a significant difference in racial attitude change between the group receiving a pro-integration message from a white speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from a white speaker.

Hypothesis 15. Hypothesis fifteen was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the group receiving a pro-integration message from a White speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from an unknown speaker.

Table 5Q reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5Q

Attitudinal Change for the Group Receiving a Pro-Integration Message from a White Speaker and the Group Receiving an Anti-Integration Message from an Unknown Speaker

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
White Speaker Pro-Integration Message	11.02				
		2.035	5.82	33	Yes
Unknown Speaker Anti-Integration Message	-13.08				

There was a significant difference in racial attitude change between the group receiving a pro-integration message from a white speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from an unknown speaker.

Hypothesis 16. Hypothesis sixteen was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the group receiving a pro-integration message from an unknown speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from a Black speaker.

Table 5R reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5R

Attitudinal Change for the Group Receiving a Pro-Integration Message from an Unknown Speaker and the Group Receiving an Anti-Integration Message from a Black Speaker

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
Unknown Speaker Pro-Integration Message	-2.09	2.035	1.09	33	No
Black Speaker Anti-Integration Message	-8.10				

There was not a significant difference in racial attitude change between the group receiving a pro-integration message from an unknown speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from a Black speaker.

Hypothesis 17. Hypothesis seventeen was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the group receiving a pro-integration message from an unknown speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from a White speaker.

Table 5S reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5S

Attitudinal Change for the Group Receiving a Pro-Integration Message from an Unknown Speaker and the Group Receiving an Anti-Integration Message from a White Speaker

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
Unknown Speaker Pro-Integration Message	-2.09				
		2.039	1.73	31	No
White Speaker Anti-Integration Message	-8.73				

There was not a significant difference in racial attitude change between the group receiving a pro-integration message from an unknown speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from a white speaker.

Hypothesis 18. Hypothesis eighteen was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the group receiving a pro-integration message from an unknown speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from an unknown speaker.

Table 5T reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5T

Attitudinal Change for the Group Receiving a Pro-Integration Message from an Unknown Speaker and the Group Receiving an Anti-Integration Message from an Unknown Speaker

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
Unknown Speaker Pro-Integration Message	-2.09				
		2.042	2.67	30	Yes
Unknown Speaker Anti-Integration Message	-13.08				

There was a significant difference in racial attitude change between the group receiving a pro-integration message from an unknown source and the group receiving an anti-integration message from an unknown source.

Hypothesis 19. Hypothesis nineteen was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the group receiving an anti-integration message from a Black speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from a White speaker.

Table 5U reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5U

Attitudinal Change for the Group Receiving an Anti-Integration Message from a Black Speaker and the Group Receiving an Anti-Integration Message from a White Speaker

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
Black Speaker Anti-Integration Message	-8.10	2.037	0.15	32	No
White Speaker Anti-Integration Message	-9.06				

There was not a significant difference in racial attitude change between the group receiving an anti-integration message from a Black speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from a white speaker.

Hypothesis 20. Hypothesis twenty was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the group receiving an anti-integration message from a Black speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from an unknown speaker.

Table 5V reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5V

Attitudinal Change for the Group Receiving an Anti-Integration Message from a Black Speaker and the Group Receiving an Anti-Integration Message from an Unknown Speaker

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
Black Speaker Anti-Integration Message	-8.10	2.039	0.77	31	No
Unknown Speaker Anti-Integration Message	-13.08				

There was not a significant difference in racial attitude change between the group receiving an anti-integration message from a Black speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from a White speaker.

Hypothesis 21. Hypothesis twenty one was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the group receiving an anti-integration message from a white speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from an unknown speaker.

Table 5W reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5W

Attitudinal Change for the Group Receiving an Anti-Integration Message from a White Speaker and the Group Receiving an Anti-Integration Message from an Unknown Speaker

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
White Speaker Anti-Integration Message	-9.06	2.045	0.78	29	No
Unknown Speaker Anti-Integration Message	-13.08				

There was not a significant difference in racial attitude change between the group receiving an anti-integration message from a white speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from an unknown speaker.

Hypothesis 22. Hypothesis twenty-two was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the group receiving a message from a Black speaker and the group receiving a message from a White speaker.

Table 5X reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5X

Attitudinal Change for the Group Receiving a Message from a Black Speaker and the Group Receiving a Message from a White Speaker

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
Black Speaker	-1.19	1.9917	-0.77	71	No
White Speaker	2.04				

There was not a significant difference in racial attitude change between the group receiving a message from a Black speaker and the group receiving a message from a White speaker.

Hypothesis 23. Hypothesis twenty three was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the group receiving a message from a Black speaker and the group receiving a message from an unknown speaker.

Table 5Y reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5Y

Attitudinal Change for the Group Receiving a Message from a Black Speaker and the Group Receiving a Message from an Unknown Speaker

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
Black Speaker	-1.19	1.9959	1.45	67	No
Unknown Speaker	-7.24				

There was not a significant difference in racial attitude change between the group receiving a message from a Black speaker and the group receiving a message from an unknown speaker.

Hypothesis 24. Hypothesis twenty-four was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the group receiving a message from a White speaker and the group receiving a message from an unknown speaker.

Table 5Z reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5Z

Attitudinal Change for the Group Receiving a Message from a White Speaker and the Group Receiving a Message from an Unknown Speaker

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
White Speaker	2.04	1.9962	2.68	61	Yes
Unknown Speaker	-7.24				

There was a significant difference in racial attitude change between the group receiving a message from a White speaker and the group receiving a message from an unknown speaker.

Hypothesis 25. Hypothesis twenty five was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ between the groups receiving a pro-integration message and the groups receiving an anti-integration message.

Table 5AA reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5AA

Attitudinal Change for the Groups Receiving a Pro-Integration Message and the Groups Receiving an Anti-Integration Message

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
Pro-Integration Message	+3.91	1.960	2.93	130	Yes
Anti-Integration Message	-5.12				

There was a significant difference in racial attitude change between the groups receiving a pro-integration message and the groups receiving an anti-integration message.

Hypothesis 26. Hypothesis twenty six was:

The extent of observed change in the racial attitudes of whites and non-whites toward each other will not differ.

Table 5BB reports the findings relative to the statistical test used to either reject or fail to reject this hypothesis.

Table 5BB

Attitudinal Change for Whites and Non-whites

Group	Extent of Attitude Change	Table T Value	t Value	Degrees of Freedom	Reject Null-Hypothesis
Whites	.66	1.960	.97	13	No
Non-whites	-3.16				

There was not a significant difference in racial attitude change between white participants and non-white participants.

Table 5CC condenses the data and portrays the rejection decisions concerning hypothesis 1-21. The horizontal rows and vertical columns cover the various combinations. Table 5DD accomplishes the same purpose for the issue of identified race of the speaker or hypotheses 22-24. The decisions for the position of the message and race of student respondent are found in Table 5EE, which are hypotheses 25 and 26.

Table 5CC

Rejection Decisions Concerning Hypotheses 1-21
By Decision and Hypothesis Number

Control Group	Black Speaker Pro-Message	White Speaker Pro-Message	Unknown Speaker Pro-Message	Black Speaker Anti-Message	White Speaker Anti-Message	Unknown Speaker Anti-Message
Control Group	H ₀ 1 Fail to reject	H ₀ 2 Fail to reject	H ₀ 3 Fail to reject	H ₀ 4 Reject	H ₀ 5 Reject	H ₀ 6 Reject
Black Speaker Pro-Message	H ₀ 1 Fail to reject	H ₀ 7 Fail to reject	H ₀ 8 Fail to reject	H ₀ 9 Reject	H ₀ 10 Reject	H ₀ 11 Reject
White Speaker Pro-Message	H ₀ 2 Fail to reject	H ₀ 7 Fail to reject	H ₀ 12 Reject	H ₀ 13 Reject	H ₀ 14 Reject	H ₀ 15 Reject
Unknown Speaker Pro-Message	H ₀ 3 Fail to reject	H ₀ 8 Fail to reject	H ₀ 12 Reject	H ₀ 16 Fail to Reject	H ₀ 17 Fail to reject	H ₀ 18 Reject

Table 5CC (continued)

	Control Group	Black Speaker Pro- Message	White Speaker Pro- Message	Unknown Speaker Pro- Message	Black Speaker Anti- Message	White Speaker Anti- Message	Unknown Speaker Anti- Message
Black Speaker Anti-Message	H ₀ 4 Reject	H ₀ 9 Reject	H ₀ 13 Reject	H ₀ 16 Fail to reject		H ₀ 19 Fail to reject	H ₀ 20 Fail to reject
White Speaker Anti-Message	H ₀ 5 Reject	H ₀ 10 Reject	H ₀ 14 Reject	H ₀ 17 Fail to reject	H ₀ 19 Fail to reject		H ₀ 21 Fail to reject
Unknown Speaker Anti-Message	H ₀ 6 Reject	H ₀ 11 Reject	H ₀ 15 Reject	H ₀ 18 Fail to reject	H ₀ 20 Fail to reject	H ₀ 21 Fail to reject	

Of the null hypotheses covered in Table 5CC the researcher was able to reject eleven (4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18). This means that the changes that occurred in ten groups (1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21) were not statistically significant. Comparing and contrasting the experimental groups to the control group provides the data necessary to test Hypotheses 1-6. The outcomes indicate that when Pro-Integration message recipients were contrasted with those in the control group, there was not a significant difference in the score, but when comparing the remaining experimental groups with the control group, a significance was detected. This can be interpreted to say that there was not a significant change in those who heard pro-messages when compared to those who received no message. In the case of anti-messages, the opposite occurred. When comparing the experimental groups to the control group, anti-messages are associated with significant change.

Interpretation of results for Hypotheses 7-21 are of such a nature that each of the combinations must be considered on its own outcome. This can be accounted for by the dispersion of the results. However, when one considers the data and observes the various treatment groups, a pattern appears.

In regards to the Black speaker Pro-Integration message, one finds that when it is compared to the other Pro-Integration variants there is no significant difference. When compared to all the various Anti-Integration variants, a significant difference does occur.

In the case of the White Speaker Pro-Integration Message, each variant produced significant results. By viewing the range of the scores one can detect that this is supported by the extremes in the scores.

The Unknown Speaker Pro-Integration Message variant did not result in a significant change when compared to the White and Black source who gave anti-speeches. This did not hold true when compared to the Unknown Speaker Anti Message. Despite the fact that both are associated with negative responses, the range between the two is of such a nature as to yield significant results.

The last case of hypotheses 7-21 includes the Black Speaker Anti-Integration Message, the White Speaker Anti-Integration Message and the Unknown Speaker Anti-Integration Message. In all of these situations, there was a failure to exhibit significance.

Table 5DD

Rejection Decisions Concerning Hypotheses 22-24
by Decision and Hypothesis Number

	Black Speaker	White Speaker	Unknown Speaker
Black Speaker		H_0 22 Fail to Reject	H_0 23 Fail to Reject
White Speaker	H_0 22 Fail to Reject		H_0 24 Reject

Table 5DD (continued)

	Black Speaker	White Speaker	Unknown Speaker
Unknown Speaker	H ₀ 23 Fail to reject	H ₀ 24 Reject	

The influence of the attributed race of the speaker is covered by Hypotheses 22-24. The outcome of this information indicates that when the Black and White sources are compared, there is no significant difference, and comparing the Black speaker to an Unidentified Source, the same occurs again. It is when a White speaker is compared to an Unidentified speaker that significance occurs. It can be stated in this study altering the source only made a significant difference between groups who identified their speaker as White as compared to those who could not identify the race of the speaker.

Table 5FF

Rejection Decisions Concerning Hypotheses 25
and 26 by Decision and Hypothesis Number

	Reject	Fail to Reject
Pro-Integration Anti-Integration	H ₀ 25 Yes	
White Respondents Non-White Respondents		H ₀ 26 Yes

The position of a message does affect attitude change according to this study. The positive message surprisingly decreased the attitudes of the receivers of the message. However, this possibly can be attributed to the decrease that occurred as a result of the Non-identified Positive Speaker. The negative (anti-integration) message was successful in influencing participants in the message's direction. The decision to reject the null hypothesis gives support to this interpretation.

Other data tells an observer that Whites and Non-Whites, when compared to each other, experienced little attitude change. Despite the fact that Non-Whites' attitude mean decreased and Whites' increased somewhat as racial groups, the attitude towards each other nonetheless remained stable.

Descriptive Statistics

As explained earlier, students were grouped into three categories based on their scores. The groups are identified by the favorableness of their attitudes. They were given the identification labels of Low (score of 30-70), Medium (70.1-110), and High (110.1-150). The following charts give a numeric picture of the changes that occurred based on these categories.

Key to Tables 5FF-5II

- SMV - Source Message Variant
- BPM - Black Speaker Pro-Integration Message
- WPM - White Speaker Pro-Integration Message
- UPM - Unknown Speaker Pro-Integration Message

BAM - Black Speaker Anti-Integration Message
 WAM - White Speaker Anti-Integration Message
 UAM - Unknown Speaker Anti-Integration Message
 NMA - Control Group (No message)

Chart 5FF

Pre-Test/Post-Test Distribution
 Into Categories By Numbers

Pre-Test				Post-Test			
SMV	Low 30-70	Medium 70.1-110	High 110.1-150	SMV	Low 30-70	Medium 70.1-110	High 110.1-150
BPM	1	14	4	BPM	2	16	1
WPM	1	17	2	WPM	0	16	4
UPM	0	12	5	UPM	0	17	0
BAM	0	15	3	BAM	2	16	0
WAM	1	13	2	WAM	0	15	1
UAM	1	12	2	UAM	3	12	0
NMA	2	22	3	NMA	2	20	5

Chart 5GG

Post-Test Scores Minus Pre-Test Scores
Number and Direction of Change

SMV	Low	Medium	High
BPM	+1	+2	-3
WPM	-1	-1	+2
UPM	0	+5	-5
BAM	+2	+1	-3
WAM	-1	+2	-1
UAM	+2	0	-2
NMA	0	-2	+2

Chart 5HH

Change as Indicated By
Number and Percentage

	Before	After	Change
High	21(15%)	11(8%)	-7%
Medium	105(79%)	112(84%)	+5%
Low	6(5%)	9(6%)	+1%

Chart 5II

Direction of Change as
Indicated by Category

SMV	Category		
	'Low'	'Medium'	'High'
BPM	Increase	Increase	Decrease
WPM	Decrease	Decrease	Increase
UPM	No Change	Increase	Decrease
BAM	Increase	Increase	Decrease
WAM	Decrease	Increase	Decrease
UAM	Increase	No Change	Decrease
NMA	No Change	Decrease	Increase

Once students are placed into independent numeric categories based on their scores ('Low': 30-70; 'Medium': 70.1-110; and 'High': 110.1-150) other changes are illustrated. Charts indicate these changes and provide an array of information. The charts demonstrate whether or not change occurred in the experimental groups as well as the control group. Also the charts describe how the various categories were modified. As indicated in the charts there was a general decrease in the number of respondents in the 'High' category. The other two categories did not experience a definite trend in that there was a great deal of fluctuation within these categories and the

direction varied from one source-message-variant to another.

Relevant Findings

This study was able to find significance in certain cases. Within the experimental groups the white and unknown anti-integration variants produced significant change. In the source message variant combinations when compared to the control group all anti-messages were associated with significance. Concerning the Black speaker pro-integration message its significance occurred with anti-messages regardless of the presence or nonpresence of speaker identification. The White speaker giving a pro-integration message was successful in all cases except against the Black speaker with a pro-integration message. In the case of the Unknown speaker, it only produced significance when it was held against the unknown speaker with an anti-integration message. Significance was also found with the white source and unknown source and pro and anti-integration messages.

Chapter 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter will summarize the study and report appropriate conclusions and limitations based on the findings. The chapter consists of the following sections: summary of the research problem, objectives and design; summary of major findings, together with an examination of theoretical and practical implications suggested by the findings and conclusions; and a discussion of the study and recommendations for further study.

Research Problem, Objectives and Design

Interest in this study was generated by concern with racial attitudes and behavior patterns in America. The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders concluded in 1960 that America was becoming increasingly divided into two separate societies, one Black and one white. If the Commission's conclusion is true, it holds certain implications for education, in that two functions of education are to cultivate flexibility and directly or indirectly modify racial attitudes.

This study, then, investigated the problem: To what extent do variant stereotypic messages from different instructors reinforce or change racial attitudes among freshmen? This study was important

in that the investigation of the extent to which college influences attitudinal change is open to question.

This study was important in another respect, in that college students eventually make decisive contributions to national leadership and decision making. The number of individuals who attend college is of such size that it represents an important force in society. A need, then, existed to determine whether or not the college experience is associated with increased tolerance and the adaptation of less rigid attitudes.

Consequently, the objective of this study was to discover how racial attitudes are reinforced or altered by variant stereotypic messages received from differing classroom instructors. The theoretical orientation used to help examine the problem was Symbolic Interaction, supported by cognitive dissonance theory and consistency theory. Symbolic Interaction explains human behavior as based on the meaning things have for them. Human life then is seen as being composed of people interpreting the world and basing their behavior on these interpretations.

Attitude changes were presumed to be indicators of the process of symbolic interaction. These changes were further explained by consistency and dissonance theory in that the attempt to obtain consistency and to relieve dissonance illustrates the symbolic process operating in attitude change.

It was then concluded that if attitudes were the indicator

of the types of meaning shared by individuals and if the social influence process, such as college, is based on the meanings individuals attribute to their experiences, then varying types of interaction should have differing influences on attitude change. This led to the development of the following research hypotheses: Groups receiving variants messages, both as to source and content, will differ in the extent of change in the attitudes of their members toward persons of the opposite race.

This study involved an experimental design. There were five steps in the experiment. First students were assigned randomly into seven groups, six experimental and one control group. Second students were given a pre-test. Third, the students in the experimental groups were assigned different treatments to aid in determining their attitudes toward persons of different races.

These different treatments required the student to listen to a tape with a message that either advocated or opposed racial integration. As the student listened to either the pro-integration or anti-integration speech they had the task of evaluating the speech, although the actual evaluation was not critical to the research data. Each student was given a scoring sheet to indicate their evaluation. The scoring sheets were different in one important respect. On the sheets was either a photograph of a Black individual, a White individual, or a sheet with no photograph.

This made it possible to initiate the symbolic interaction process. Meanings were varied within the context of six different situations: a Black speaker delivering a pro-integration message, a White speaker delivering a pro-integration message, a speaker (race unknown) delivering a pro-integration message, a Black speaker delivering an anti-integration message, a White speaker delivering an anti-integration message, and a speaker (race unknown) delivering an anti-integration message.

The fourth step was the post-test, which was administered to the experimental and control groups. The fifth step was the statistical analysis of pre and post-test results to determine is changes occurred that were significant.

Major Findings and Conclusions

This section summarizes the major findings and draws selected conclusions based on those findings.

1. There was a difference in observed racial attitude change between the group receiving an anti-integration message (regardless of attributed race of the speaker) and the control group.

In considering hypotheses 1-6, the results fail to support Gilbert and Lehman, who proposed that the college experience made students less likely to be stereotypic and dogmatic. When compared to the control group students experiencing the pro-integration message variants did not differ in attitude change. Those who encountered the anti-integration messages, however, became more negative in their

attitudes, when compared to the control group. This finding supports Rich, whose research indicated that college acts as a facilitator for the students 'initial proclivities'. Rich's theory provides explanation for those with negative attitudes (or as McDavid would state non-firm attitudes). In summation Rich stated that students enter college already possessing certain tendencies and that the college experience serves to reinforce these tendencies. Apparently the negative messages stimulates negative attitudes and positive messages have no effect on promoting positive attitudes. This outcome also supports Rocheach's research that similarity in point of view is more important than race in attitude change. This symbolic act is explained in that people are more attracted to others with similar views and more likely to agree with the persons of similar views despite the individual's race.

Byrne's research also illustrates this symbolic process when he stated that those with similar attitudes are viewed to be 'more intelligent and better informed' than those with dissimilar attitudes. It appears that positive messages are not important enough to bring about change regardless of speaker race (i.e. attitudes remained stable) but negative messages regardless of speaker race intensifies negative attitudes.

It is concluded, therefore, that anti-integration messages have a greater impact on racial attitude change than positive message. A second conclusion is that anti-integration messages are successful in promoting less favorable racial attitude towards racial opposites.

2. Within the experimental groups, three sub-divisions appear that help understand the process of determining the nature of the association between attitude change and the various source-message combinations. This came about by comparing the positive source-message-variants to each other, the negative source-message-variants to each other and the positive source-message-variants to the negative source-message-variants. It was found that:

A. There was a difference in observed racial attitude change between students receiving the pro-integration message from a White speaker and students who received a pro-integration message from an unknown source.

B. There was a difference in observed racial attitude change between the students receiving the pro-integration message from a Black speaker and the students who received anti-integration messages regardless of the attributed race of the speaker.

C. There was a difference in observed racial attitude change between students receiving the pro-integration message from a White speaker and the students who received an anti-integration message regardless of the attributed race of the speaker.

D. There was a difference in observed racial attitude change between students receiving the pro-integration message from an unknown speaker and the group receiving an anti-integration message from an unknown speaker.

A second research concern involved comparing the outcomes for the various experimental groups. In other words, in which source-message-variant combinations did a significant difference in attitude change occur? Under what conditions are various speaker-message combinations able to produce outcomes so that there is a difference in receiver interpretation of source credibility and message believability?

Based on symbolic interaction theory it can be inferred that credibility, trustworthiness, and believability were evoked in the combination of the white speaker delivering the pro-integration message and the unknown speaker delivering the pro-integration message. This was the only condition that produced significance when the positive source-message-variants were compared. In comparing the positive-source-message-variants to the negative source-message-variants credibility, trustworthiness, and believability occurred in seven combinations which included; the Black speaker delivering the pro-integration message against all anti-integration source-message-variants, the white speaker delivering the pro-integration message against all anti-integration messages, and the unknown speaker delivering the pro-integration message against the unknown speaker delivering the anti-integration message. In the case of the negative source message-variants there was no significant difference in the various combinations.

With regard to the comparison of the negative source-message-variants evidence leads to one conclusion. Regardless of attributed race of a negative source-message-variant, racial attitudes do not vary significantly. While all groups receiving negative messages changed attitudes in the direction of the message, it cannot be said that varying the race of an anti-integration speaker will bring about a difference in the intensity of that change.

Considering the experimental groups with each other, the

evidence indicates that there are source-message-variant conditions which can be said to produce significant change between groups. This demonstrates a difference in symbolic interpretation among the groups. These source-message-variant combinations which were previously discussed, within the conditions of this study; can be viewed as meaningful enough to stimulate the symbolic process of attitude change. Therefore viewing the combinations that were found to have significance, it is concluded that there was a difference in the interpretation of the various combinations, this difference in interpretation also being a difference in the meaning placed on the experimental experience. Consequently, the differences among the various combinations reflects a significant as well as symbolic difference in interpretation.

3. It was found that there was a difference in observed racial attitude change between the students receiving pro-integration messages and the students receiving anti-integration messages.

Both types of messages were successful in promoting racial attitude change. The students who received pro-integration message experienced an increase in favorableness of attitude toward racial opposites and the students who received anti-integration speeches developed less favorable attitudes. Therefore, it can be concluded that both types of speeches are successful in achieving social influence and that students accept the positions reflected in the messages.

4. It was also found that there was a difference in observed racial attitude change between the students receiving messages from a white speaker and those who received messages from an unknown speaker.

The outcomes indicate that when the Black and White sources are compared there was no significant difference (Hypothesis 22). When comparing the Black source to an unknown source (Hypothesis 23) the same outcome occurred. In the experimental conditions related to Hypothesis 24 a difference in the symbolic evaluation did occur. The white source produced positive change and the unknown source produced negative results. The range of the mean changes of these two groups indicates the condition under which a difference in the symbolic process of evaluating source credibility occurred. Not identifying the race of the source produced negative results regardless of the message's position, identifying the race of a source produced change in the direction of the message.

The difference occurred between the identified White source and when the source's race was withheld. As far as speaker's race was concerned this was the only condition that produced a difference in the symbolic process of evaluating source credibility.

Non-identification of source resulted in intensification of negative racial attitudes. This pattern, however, has certain peculiarities. In the instance of the positive message, it appears a symbolic racial referent was necessary in order to have change in the

direction of the message. In this study, the group who encountered the unknown speaker with the pro-integration message experienced a general rejection of the message. While it was not great enough to produce a boomerang effect, it does show that non-identification of the source of a positive message didn't bring about credibility or believability. This produced dissonance to a limited extent, which was resolved by non-acceptance of the unknown speaker's position. Non-identification of the speaker's race of a positive message meant the listener had to rely on their own logic and reasoning abilities (logos) which was reflected by this group's negative change in racial attitudes.

In the case of the unknown speaker with the anti-integration message, participants were motivated to place symbolic importance on the message itself (pathos). The students who encountered the unknown speaker with a negative message did not require a symbolic referent to produce attitude change. This group's attitude change was in the direction of the message, which supports the conclusion that the symbolic act of pathos occurred in this instance.

The students who encountered the White source had a symbolic referent. They could place symbolic importance to the speaker's race as they made the decision concerning the speaker's credibility (ethos). It is concluded, then, that when the symbolic process of ethos is sufficiently different than the combination of the processes of pathos and logos, the result will be significant differences in

racial attitude change.

5. It was also found that there was a difference in observed racial attitude change among the various experimental groups.

A related question not covered in the hypotheses is: Did the various source message variants, when considered separately, produce change? Of the seven groups (six experimental and the control group) three were found to be significant. The theoretical conclusion here is that operating together the source was interpreted as credible and the message as believable, and their combinations were effective enough to alter the original attitude.

The three that were successful in inducing the attitude change process were the white speaker with the pro-integration message, the white speaker with the anti-integration message, and the unknown speaker with the anti-integration message. Varying the attributed race of the speaker and the position of a message can engage the symbolic interpretive process to such an extent as to produce racial attitude change.

This further indicates four conclusions: White speakers delivering pro-integration messages are more successful in stimulating attitude change than Black and unknown speakers; White and unknown speakers are more successful in promoting negative attitude change than a Black speaker; unknown speakers bring about negative attitude change regardless of message; and Blacks are not perceived as being credible source when compared to Whites and unknowns regardless of

the message position.

6. This study also concerned itself with the change in attitudes of Blacks and Whites toward each other. Daniels addressed his research to the question: Do Black students and White students interpret each other differently as a result of exposure to a college atmosphere? His conclusion was that Black and White students do not differ significantly in their level of awareness. Evidence from Hypothesis 26 lends further support in that there were no significant differences in racial attitude change between Black and White students. Despite the influence of the information relating process it can be concluded that Black and White college students still live with 'many unanswered questions about each other'.

Statement of Findings

The relevant findings for this study are . . .

1. White sources carry greater influences regardless of the position of the message.
2. When the source's race is identified attitude change is in the direction of the message.
3. Non-identification of the source lowered before-after scores regardless of the position of the message.
4. Negative messages tend to produce greater significant change when compared to positive messages.

Practical Implications

There are a number of implications and suggestions that can be made as a result of these findings. These are . . .

1. There is a greater need for Blacks to be in positions of importance in the college community, in order for students to have positive racial referents. This will operate to promote favorable racial attitudes towards racial opposites.

2. Colleges must avoid presenting types of situations that promote negativism, due to the impact of negative messages.

3. There is a greater need for interracial information and experiences in order to enhance students evaluations of racial opposites.

Limitations of Study and Recommendations for Further Study

The results of this study must be evaluated carefully.

Firstly, the ability to make generalizations from this data is limited. There are many factors responsible for this.

A major factor that provides limitation is the problem of randomization. More rigor was needed in the selection of students and the assignment of students to the treatment groups. It is questionable whether treatment groups are over or under represented by the various placement categories (High, Medium, Low), the freshman class, and/or are homogeneous in all respects other than treatment.

A problem existed with extraneous variables. It can be

questioned whether the source-message-variants were responsible for the change that occurred. The change could be explained by a Hawthorn effect, to characteristics unique to Shippensburg State College, or to the unique mix of the student body. Attention was not focused on other factors in the student's social world that could influence their responses. Furthermore, it cannot be demonstrated that the influence of the message was of lasting effect or even remembered by the students at the time of the post-test.

Other factors that may be associated with the pretest/posttest outcomes are particular college experiences, the possibility that students had developed biases toward testing that influenced their responses, the pressure of final exams, and various types of personality changes that students encounter during that first semester.

There are a number of suggestions that can be offered for further study. These suggestions are:

1. Replication is needed to assure that measurement validity and reliability exist. The utility of the measurement instrument is still an issue. Furthermore, use of the instrument will provide returns that would resolve this issue.
2. Better randomization to help assure that groups are equivalent is necessary.
3. Larger sample size to deal more effectively with extreme cases and non-response would improve the study.

4. Examination of the effect that multiple treatment conditions would have on the participants as they become involved with a number of exposures to their particular source-message-variant. Place an equal number of people from each category in each of the treatment conditions following calculations of pre-test scores.

5. A follow up study at different times during the student's college career will give some evidence on how this new attitude change persists.

6. Expand the study to include ethnic groups other than Black and White.

7. Expand the number of questions and give half in the pre-test and half on the post-test to control for recognition factors.

8. Conduct the study at a number of colleges to discover if there is a difference between or among various institutions.

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APPENDIX 1
SAMPLE QUESTIONS GIVEN TO
CHECK FOR CONTENT VALIDITY

OPERATING ON THE DEFINITION that the cognitive component of an attitude consists of the ideas and beliefs which the attitude holder has towards an attitude object, indicate by a / if you feel the following statements measure that component.

A

- 1) The typical white student is extremely materialistic.
- 2) The typical black student is happy go lucky.
- 3) The typical white student is ambitious.
- 4) The typical black student is industrious.
- 5) Most black students are inept.
- 6) Black students on campus are shiftless.
- 7) Blacks tend to be musical.
- 8) Black students tend to be superstitious.
- 9) Black students don't have the aptitude to be on campus.
- 10) Black students on this campus are as proficient as white students.
- 11) White students are cunning.
- 12) Black students are versatile.
- 13) Black students are intelligent.
- 14) The typical white student loves imagination.
- 15) Black people are trustworthy.
- 16) Whites on campus are prejudiced towards blacks.

B

- The typical black student is extremely materialistic.
- The typical white student is on campus only for a "good time".
- The typical black student on campus is zealous.
- The typical white student works hard.
- Most white students are incompetent.
- White students on campus are lazy.
- Whites tend to be musical.
- White students tend to be realistic.
- Black students have the aptitude to be on campus.
- Black students on campus are not as proficient as the white students.
- Black students are cunning.
- Black students are inept.
- Black students are not intelligent.
- Black students are imaginative.
- White people are trustworthy.
- Blacks on campus are prejudiced towards whites.

OPERATING ON THE DEFINITION that the affective component of an attitude refers to feelings and emotions one has towards an attitude object, indicate by a / if you feel the following statements measure that component.

A

- 1) It distresses me to see so many black kids on campus.
- 2) I feel affection toward the black students on campus.
- 3) I am disgusted with the white students on campus.
- 4) I am delighted to have black students on campus.
- 5) I fear the black students on campus.
- 6) I am excited about opportunities to meet people of other races.
- 7) I am uncomfortable around white students.
- 8) I feel superior to members of other races.
- 9) I find interracial contact unrewarding.
- 10) I feel the typical white student is obnoxious.
- 11) I feel the way most blacks behave is ridiculous.
- 12) I respect a person regardless of their race.
- 13) I feel at ease with members of other races.
- 14) I find white students to be greedy.
- 15) I am content to be with members of other races.

B

- The white kids on campus distress me.
- I fear the white students on campus.
- I feel affection for people of other races.
- I am delighted to be with white students on campus.
- I feel rewarded by my contact with those of other races.
- I feel anxiety when I'm with members of other races.
- I am uncomfortable around black students.
- I feel equal to members of other races.
- The typical black student is repulsive.
- I find interracial contact worthwhile.
- The way most whites behave is ridiculous.
- I feel at ease with members of other races.
- I feel that race is an important criteria for friendship.
- I find most black students to be unclean.
- I find it fun to have contact with other races.

OPERATING ON THE DEFINITION that the behavioral component of an attitude consists of one's actions tendencies toward an object, indicate by a / if you feel the following statements measure that component.

A

- 1) How frequently do you interact with students of other races in your daily activities?
- 2) How often do you go to church with members of other races?
- 3) How often do you date members of races other than your own?
- 4) How often do you bring members of other races to your parents house?
- 5) How often do you have members of other races over to your dorm room or apartment?
- 6) How often do you engage in physical fights with members of other races?
- 7) How often are you involved in recreation or sporting events with members of other races?
- 8) How often do you write letters to friends of races other than your own?
- 9) How often do friends of races other than your own come by and visit you?
- 10) How often do you, as a matter of your own choice, work on projects with members of other races?
- 11) How often do you do things with members of other races outside of school?
- 12) How often do you participate on the same team with members of other races?
- 13) How often do you shop with races other than your own?
- 14) How many club activities do you participate in that are interracial?
- 15) How often do you go to sporting events with members of other races?

B

- How often do you engage in informal group membership with students of races other than your own?
- How often do you attend social functions with members of other races?
- How often do you date members of races other than your own?
- How often do you engage in "bull sessions" with members of other races?
- How often do you go to class with members of other races?
- How often do you engage in arguments with students of other races?
- How often do you go to the movies with members of other races?
- How often do you visit friends of races other than your own?
- How often do you receive friendly letters from those of races other than your own?
- How often do you go to members of other races for advice or consultation?
- How often do you participate in extra-curricular activities with members of other races?
- How frequently do you call people of races other than your own on the phone?
- How often do you go downtown with members of races other than your own?
- How many clubs or organizations do you belong to that are interracial?
- How frequently do you watch TV or listen to the stereo with members of races other than your own?

APPENDIX 2
PILOT STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE

-2-

Cunning _____
 Imaginative _____

II. If you are non-white, how strongly do you feel the following when you think of whites? If you are white, how strongly do you feel the following when you think of non-whites?

	Intensely	Strongly	Moderately	Minimumly	Not At All
Distress	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Affection	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Disgusted	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Delighted	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Fear	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Excited	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Uncomfortable	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Superior	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Respect	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
At ease	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Content	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Rewarded	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Anxiety	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Equal	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Nauseous	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Worthwhile	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Funny	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

III. If you are non-white, how often do you do the following with whites? If you are white, how often do you do the following with non-whites?

	Always	Often	Occasionally	Seldom	Never
Interact in your daily activities	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Engage in informal group membership	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

-3-

Attend social functions	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Date	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Bring them to your parents house	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Engage in "bull sessions"	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Have them over to your dorm room or apartment	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Engage in recreation or sporting events	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Write letters	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Come by and visit you	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
As a matter of your own choice, work on projects	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Do things with members outside of school	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Participate on the same team	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Shop	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Go to sporting events	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Go to class with members	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Engage in arguments	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Visit	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Receive friendly letters	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
For advice or consultation	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Participate in extra-curricular activities	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

-4-

Call on the
phone

Go downtown

Watch TV or
listen to
the stereo

APPENDIX 3
INVITATION FLYERS

SHIPPENSBURG STATE COLLEGE
November 29, 1979

SUBJECT:

TO: English Composition Students

FROM: Jim Hanlon

Check the list of Social Security numbers your professor has just handed out. If your number appears on this list, CONGRATULATIONS! you have just won the opportunity to serve scholarly research and to visit the local Burger Chef for a free drink or french fries and MacDonaldis for a free hamburger.

To get your certificate, go to the College Library on the lower level to the Media Curricular Center at one of the following times:

Sunday, December 2 - 5-9
Monday, December 3 - 10-12
 1-3
 5-9
Tuesday, December 4 - 10-12
 1-3
 5-9

You will be asked to listen to a short cassette tape and to answer a few questions about the cassette. Ask for the cassette from the Research Assistant at the table marked Project Market. For doing this you will be entitled to a free drink or french fries and hamburger. When you have finished the questionnaire, the Research Assistant will give you your certificate to MacDonaldis and Burger Chef.

APPENDIX 4
PRE-TEST QUESTIONNAIRE

COLLEGE ATTITUDE SURVEY

This questionnaire is part of a national survey of college students. Its objectives are to gather information on how college students across the country feel about the atmosphere of their particular college and the various experiences they typically encounter. All of your responses are confidential. Only trained researchers will see the responses, and it is their job to transfer your responses to data cards for computer analysis. No other person on your campus will have access to this information. Please answer all questions as truthfully as possible.

What is your Student No. # _____ (only for use in computer analysis)

What is your student classification?

- Freshman (0-30 completed college credits)
 Sophomore (31-61 completed college credits)
 Junior (62-92 completed college credits)
 Senior (93 or more completed college credits)

In which of the following are you a major?

- Business
 Arts and Humanities
 Behavioral and Social Sciences
 Mathematics
 Natural Sciences
 Professional Studies
 Other (specify) _____

How much time, on the average, do you spend studying?

- None, or almost none
 Less than 1/2 hour a day
 About 1/2 to 3/4 hours a day
 About 1 hour a day
 About 2 hours a day
 About 3 or more hours a day

How important is it to you to be a good student?

- It is not important to me to be a good student
 It is somewhat important to me to be a good student
 It is very important to me that I be a good student

In your personal opinion how do you feel about the following matters?

	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Going to college will eventually pay off	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
So far I am pleased with college	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Courses at my college are relevant	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Except for sports, this college doesn't have much to offer	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
People on this campus are too judgmental	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Professors on this campus over-emphasize academics	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Students at my college try to be friendly and cooperative	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Students here only care about themselves	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
The academic standards of my college need to be strengthened	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
Instead of being ambitious most students just sit back and "wait to see what happens"	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
I am proud to be a student here	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
There is too much emphasis here on grades and not enough on learning	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

To which of the following racial categories do you belong?

- A. White
 B. Non-white

If you checked A, keep in mind we are seeking to find out how you feel about Non-whites. Please indicate which of the following responses best describes your position.

If you checked B, keep in mind we are seeking to find out how you feel about Whites. Please indicate which of the following responses best describes your position.

If you are non-white, to what extent do you agree the following terms describe whites?
 If you are white, to what extent do you agree the following terms describe non-whites?

	Very Strongly Agree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Very Strongly Disagree
Cunning	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Materialistic	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Zealous	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Versatile	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Intelligent	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Inept	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Proficient	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ambitious	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Prejudiced	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Musical	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

If you are non-white, how strongly do you feel the following when you think of whites?
 If you are white, how strongly do you feel the following when you think of non-whites?

	Intensely	Strongly	Moderately	Minimally	Not at all
Delighted	—	—	—	—	—
Rewarded	—	—	—	—	—
Excited	—	—	—	—	—
Respect	—	—	—	—	—

	Intensely	Strongly	Moderately	Minimally	Not at all
Fear	—	—	—	—	—
Disgust	—	—	—	—	—
Affection	—	—	—	—	—
Funny	—	—	—	—	—
Content	—	—	—	—	—
Distress	—	—	—	—	—

If you are a non-white, to what extent do you endorse doing the following with whites? If you are white how (to what extent) do you endorse doing the following with non-whites?

	Very Strongly	Strongly	Somewhat	Not much	Not at all
Watching TV or listening to the stereo	—	—	—	—	—
Visiting	—	—	—	—	—
Calling on the phone	—	—	—	—	—
Participating on the same team	—	—	—	—	—
Engaging in sport events	—	—	—	—	—
Going down town	—	—	—	—	—
Coming by to visit you	—	—	—	—	—
Having over to your dormroom or apartment	—	—	—	—	—
Going to sporting events	—	—	—	—	—
Engaging in arguments	—	—	—	—	—

Considering your best male friend and your best female friend ON CAMPUS, do they agree or disagree with you in the following areas?

	Best Male Friend		Best Female Friend	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
The role of religion in life	___	___	___	___
The purpose(s) for going to college	___	___	___	___
The importance of sports on campus	___	___	___	___
Use of drugs and/or alcohol	___	___	___	___
The importance of being a good student	___	___	___	___
General attitude towards college	___	___	___	___
Political preferences	___	___	___	___
Occupational/Vocational plans	___	___	___	___
Present quality of education at your college	___	___	___	___

-The End-

(THANK YOUR very much for your time in taking this survey).

APPENDIX 5
PRO-INTEGRATION SPEECH

Which Way for America?

Now that the 70's are over, we as Americans, should view and evaluate the social progress that has been made during this decade. One area that warrants this attention is race relations. It seems people of the different races still cannot and do not try to relate to each other. Race difference is still the justification for and cause of various forms of conflict, mutual hatred, and social isolation. Our current situation warrants looking at one vital question: Can we, as Americans, live together in peace and harmony without letting race become an issue?

One of the primary factors we, as educated citizens should be aware of is the whole idea of race and the overwhelming influence and consequences of this idea. The very idea of race brings about feelings, impulses, and acts. But not only does the idea of race accomplish this; it also results in an intellectual orientation that has two consequences . . .

First: it brings a certain self-consciousness which imparts to each race a kind of personality.

Second: it brings out a tendency to affirm these personalities and opposition to those that are not our own.

The main problem from the whole idea is the self-consciousness it promotes. This consciousness is seen most dramatically in assumptions of superiority, natural hostility, and hatred.

How are we to war against the force of hatred? We must fight it by the force of another set of ideas. This set of ideas must not recognize color. Over and above this we must strive to develop a human and social, if not a human and cosmic consciousness.

What is needed is some sort of reconciler. This reconciler is education. Through education, people, be their color white, yellow, or whatever, hail one another as brothers and sisters. Education unites people as one. It brings about tolerance and respect for those with whom we differ. The intellectual community is the possession of ALL, not the exclusive possession of a small and select company.

We must abandon the contention that one group of mankind is more intelligent, enterprising, moral, or possess more beauty than the other. One must be impartial and look at the peoples of the world as equals in intellect, enterprise, and morality. Noes, lips, chin, forehead, and shape of skull along with other observable differences must be regarded as incidental. Differences in language, religion, manner, and customs are nothing more than accidental modalities of the respective historical evolution of the past.

These physical differences, however, have become the criteria for subordination and controlling racial groups in America. This is based on a philosophical orientation that (1) believes humankind consists of well defined races, (2) some races are superior to others, and (3) superior races should rule over the inferior. It is the third that is the most dangerous and harmful in consequence. It is impossible for no harm to result in a group's belief in its own superiority as a right

to dominate others. Harm will always occur because belief in superiority brings about belief in the right to rule and control.

We, in the United States, are guilty of using many labels that say the groups to which they personally belong are the best, their ways the right ones, their morals superior, their religion the true one. We must put aside these old judgements and promote the ideas that human beings are essentially the same everywhere, we are all members of the same species, and we are all brothers and sisters under the skin. These statements must be accepted as truths not sentiment or wishful thinking as some would have us believe.

Let's look a little deeper into American society. Despite the millions of Blacks who are surgeons, physicians, lawyers, or otherwise college graduates; for the most part, the black man in America is at the bottom of the hierachial class structure. In our society, the highest positions of status are administrative positions and the lowest positions are labor. Those whose workday lives are devoted to brute labor are the least paid, least respected, and the least powerful. The hierachy of class in American society works this way...at the bottom are janitors, maids, street cleaners, unskilled factory workers...and the predominance of Blacks in these positions can only be interpreted as the result of decisions and policies based on the consideration of race with the intent and purpose of subordinating a racial group and maintaining control over the group.

The present situation in America is undesirable, intolerable, and something ought, must, and inevitably be done about it. If things are

allowed to continue as they are, it will decay the social and political life of America; rendering it to a pseudo-democracy. We must recognize, admit, and fight the hypocrisy of our present system.

We must adopt the attitude that the racial situation can be changed, and make our concern a search for the most effective means for making progress towards the goal of change. We must think about what can be done and how we can establish line along which a program can be worked out. It is necessary that we believe that this end can be achieved in American society. The way this goal can be reached is through education, effective use of the ballot, blasting of stereotypes, and most importantly increased interracial contacts.

Racial hostility is not desirable or preferable in a modern society such as ours. Conflict is inevitable as long as people place importance on their differences. The only solution of America's race problem lies in mixing, blending, and combining diverse elements. Our own philosophy of the "melting pot" reflects this attitude. We must get away from outdated ideas and think in terms of the realistic. It is unwise to attempt to revive and perpetuate outdated traditions. All people must be full participants in our common life and our policies should be directed to that end.

We must believe that it is possible for people who are different to live together on a basis of equality, tolerance, justice, and harmony. For this to be achieved it must also be recognized that this is not a one-way process but a reciprocal process. Racial harmony will only be achieved as a result of a give-or-take process.

The cultural contributions of all races to our society cannot be denied.

It is not enough to recognize and accept the desirability of uniting the races but we must take responsibility in speeding up the pace which up to now has been too slow. We must do all we can to bring about favorable circumstances for the fission. We must be conscientious and deliberate in bring about homogeneity.

All of us regardless of our racial heritage have the mission of energetically pushing for equality. What we must seek is the opening of a previously closed system that has denied all its citizens full access to its protection and benefits. Not only should we be protagonists of change but individually we should be symbols and proponents of change. We must all be partners in social transformation. Every move towards improved social interaction can only benefit the nation as a whole.

Improved relations is a national problem and is not isolated to particular regions in the country. Students today must realize that social change involves alterations in individual thinking and group thinking throughout American society. We would be remiss if we did not recognize that there needs to be a fundamental change in making efforts toward these changes. It should be obvious that these goals represent the best interests of all the people.

I call upon you to become a new kind of citizen and to assume a new kind of leadership based on values and skills that are based on respectability, responsibility, and a democratic philosophy. It is

up to you as a college educated citizen to adopt the proper commitments and the proper patterns of behavior. It is increasingly essential for you to aspire to bring about a new way of life and a new way of looking at each other--by looking at the traits we all share in common, not race. We must promote the predominant American value of equality.

We should each have a sincere individual commitment to making a difference in the tempo and tone of the race relations of our society. It is now time for us to react to inequality. We must spearhead the movement to change the system. What this means is we must overtly challenge the social structure and become directly involved in change. Today we can no longer accept the past rationales for separatism. We all must become committed to democratic values of equality and become aware of the many discrepancies that exist. It means changing the networks of existing social relations and having a truly integrated society. This means accepting new roles and ways of behaving. We must become articulate, responsible, and dedicated to these goals.

In conclusion, the whole idea and importance of race must be abandoned. Race consciousness had negative results. It is up to each of us to fight against the ideologies that promote feelings of superiority, hostility, and hatred. The way for the battle to be fought and won is through education because education is an objective, unifying force.

Any contention that one race is more intelligent or moral must be rejected. Observable physical characteristics must be regarded as unimportant. Once this is accomplished the dangers of hostilities are

diminished. This will occur only when we accept the position that all people are basically the same regardless of race.

The present situation in America is undesirable, intolerable, and unexcusable. A change must come if we are to achieve a true democracy. It is our responsibility to take the position that the situation can be changed. It is the duty of the educated citizen to help blast stereotypes and promote healthy images.

We must believe that it is possible for people who are different to live together on a basis of equality and harmony. We must make this belief evident in our everyday lives. Racial harmony will only be achieved as a result of a give and take process of mutual cooperation and effort. It is not enough to say you recognize and accept the desirability of uniting the races but we must take individual responsibility in speeding up the pace. All of us, regardless of race, have the mission of pushing for equality and understanding. Students today must realize that the major responsibility lies with them. The student of today must as an educated, informed citizen become committed to democratic values and adopt new roles and ways of behaving.

Thank you.

Berry, Bretown, Race Relations The Interaction of Ethnic and Racial Groups, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1951.

Fouillee, Alfred, "The Idea as the Group Concept of Itself", Race: Individual and Collective Behavior, New York: The Free Press, 1958.

Soper, Edmund Davison, Racisim As A World Issue, New York: Universities Press, 1947.

Tumin, Melvin Marvin, Comparative Perspectives on Race Relations, Boston: Little, Brown, 1969.

APPENDIX 6
ANTI-INTEGRATION SPEECH

Which Way For America?

Now that the 70's are ending, we as Americans, should view and evaluate the social progress that has been made during this decade. One area that warrants this attention is race relations. It seems that people of the different races, still cannot and do not try to relate to each other. Race difference is still the justification for, and cause of, various forms of conflict, mutual hatred, and social isolation. Our current situation warrants looking at one vital question: Can we, as Americans live together in peace and harmony without letting race become an issue?

One of the major points educators overlook when they discuss race problems is the whole idea of race. This is important when considering the influence and consequence of the idea. The result of this can be seen in everyday common intellectual orientations that have two common-sense results!

First: All people have a self-consciousness of race.

Second: All people impart a personality to the races of which they are aware.

All race indicates is a personal self-consciousness. After all, it doesn't take much to tell one race from another. All one has to do is but open his eyes to distinguish white from yellow or brown or black. It is this ability to distinguish that is responsible for bringing about the bond among groups of people. Race consciousness is not evil or bad, it simply brings greater solidarity among various groups of people.

Race awareness is a force that cannot be defeated! It is a force that is universal. The human idea of race is, if not human and social; it is representative of a human and cosmic consciousness. This makes color a natural part of human consciousness. There is no need for some sort of reconciler, because there is none. People regardless, of their color, be it white, yellow, or whatever, do not recognize one another as brothers and sisters. Modern man must recognize that there is no practical means of bringing the races together. Nothing divides mankind more than race. This intellectual predisposition exists in ALL peoples NOT a small or select few.

The naturalness of this can be documented by simply viewing any heterogeneous city in America. It is typical for such groups as Amish, American Indians, Blacks, Chinese in San Francisco, Irish Americans in Boston and other groups to consciously and deliberately make efforts to live exclusively alone. Their preference to live together in concentrated areas illustrates a burning desire on their part to perpetuate and participate exclusively in their own culture. The differences between the various racial and ethnic groups in America only goes to affirm the direction America has taken: separated communities. It is time to wake up and realize that public opinion does not support interracial interaction, and it is our duty to fight all efforts of the government and others to force us to do otherwise.

The lifestyle and patterns I am discussing are very peculiarly American patterns of interracial adjustment. There is nothing wrong with this. The fact is that whenever unlike people have come into

contact and have attempted to live together they have hit on some device of getting themselves apart and restricting their contacts.

In America the patterns of interaction have been established too long. There are too many major obstacles to break the rigid system that exists today. Programs such as busing, school integration, and affirmative action still arouse bitter protests. This violates as American tradition. Let's be realistic, there are too many barriers between groups in this county and the isolation that exists is insurmountable.

Now the question that exists is, "Do we want to change this?" Though our physical contacts may be numerous our social etiquette dictates an unique form of social segregation. Even though there are no laws enforcing this pattern such as in Africa, we still see in America that for the most part the races do not prefer to eat together, participate in recreational activities, go to the same churches, or even converse with each other.

But we need to look at the good aspects of separation. For instance, we need to isolate ourselves to preserve those things that are valuable to all peoples, the purity of its racial stock, to perpetuate and protect a way of life that they highly value, and to protect themselves from the unadvisable ravages of interracial contact. Most importantly, interracial contact has failed to bring empathy and in most documented cases has promoted antipathy which has turned out to be an imposition on all parties involved.

No, it is well and fine to say; "Human beings are the same everywhere", or that "We are all members of the same species", but, most people recognize these as basically nothing more than trite sentiments and wishful thinking.

Bringing the different races together in America has proven to be impossible. All attempts at this, thus far, have met with disastrous consequences. You cannot legislate tolerance. Laws and other measures will only increase mutual resentment and promote friction. Practically, we are limited to the world of things as they are, and not unrealistic ideals. There is no utopia, nor can there ever be one.

Those who advocate changing the racial situation in America, still have not told us how the changes are to be brought about. There has been no effective means for making progress towards that goal. I do not believe that anyone man or group of men can formulate a complete and practical program. The most that can be done is to lay down certain lines, along which a program may be worked out and our American experience has been one of failure.

We are all aware of the differences and conflicts that exist between the various racial groups in America. The best we could ever hope for is a reduction, because there is no unifying force. However, America is a democracy, and, even though we cannot achieve harmony, we can achieve justice. Separatism can exist without discrimination, super-ordination, or subordination. It must be accepted that this is truly the only way in which equality can be reached. Once this operates, we will also have a cultural democracy. It is rational and logical to

to accept this position. Not only does it allow all races to keep their identity and autonomy, but it is indispensable for the preservation of each race's unique culture. This is the most painless means towards national peace.

Conflict between racial and ethnic groups is as old as the human race itself, and the practice of resolving those conflicts by separation, isolation, or segregation is equally ancient: The Bible and other early records afford many illustrations, and even preliterate people have resorted to it.

I am not calling for indifferent treatment of people, but what I am hoping is that you as college students can gain an awareness of the real world in America! We must not only re-examine our individual attitudes but be realistic about the attitudes of the American people regardless of skin color. There is a definite interaction. This is indicated by just viewing how people feel, act, think, and the nature of the contact.

It is time for all of us to show genuine concern for the future of America. We can no longer shrug our shoulders. The consequences of the failure to integrate are economic, social, and psychological conflicts still continue and will always continue as long as people are forced to live together. The civil rights movement we all recognize has been a political disaster and has not added to the quality of life of either the black or white man in America. Our social structure cannot tolerate it and we shouldn't either. We all pay attention to skin color because it is important.

We must protect ourselves from being condemned to living in an antagonistic society. The psychological uncertainty in living in two or more social worlds is unbearable. It is to our own emotional gain and self growth to live with, interact with, and identify with our own racial groups. Just consider the consequences of identification, divided loyalty, hypersensitivity, and forced conformity.

I maintain that it is our essential concern to be determined to prevent forced, unhealthy, and unwanted relationships. Vigorous opposition to unnecessary contact is our obligation to ourselves and future generations. The American tendency is for people to stay among themselves. This is the only way we can truly eliminate discord and gain social harmony.

The people of this country exist and live independently. People identify themselves on the basis of race and, display sympathies and loyalties based on race. Our distinctive traits have been previously brought about by animosity, but, this does not have to occur anymore. We cannot deny ourselves our right to our racial identities and accompanying life styles. My appeal is not to be bigoted in our outlook. It is just that the forces in this country are very divisive, and they operate within all racial groups. We must recognize that our task is to establish some type of political and social organization that allows each group to accentuate its own distinct qualities. Each group has the democratic right to their own values, philosophies, and personalities. We must recognize that the differences are too great to bring people together.

In conclusion, discussion of the ever present and always present race problem, forces us to realize that we cannot and should not overlook the unavoidable idea of race. Race consciousness is not bad or undesirable. All it indicates, is a personal awareness of similarities and differences. What educators have failed to admit, or even realize is that race consciousness is a force that cannot be defeated. It is a force that is universal. Recognizing skin color is a natural part of human consciousness. All one has to do is open one's eyes to distinguish skin color.

As people living in a modern era, we must recognize that there is no practical means of bringing the races together. Characteristics such as differences in lips, noses, cheek bones, etc., are too distinct for them not to be important. We are all aware of these differences, and the role they play in our daily activities. Additionally, America's way of thinking, is based on the idea of race. The belief in the superiority of one's race is not harmful. What we need to guard against is the belief that superiority gives one the right to control. We all know that in America, prejudice cannot be defeated, but, domination can.

Those who advocate change have not told us how this change is to occur. So far there has not been any effective progress toward that goal. The American experience in regard to past guidelines and programs, has been one of failure. America is a democracy and, even though we cannot achieve harmony, we can achieve justice.

Cultural separatism is the most national way of achieving this.

This is the most painless means towards national peace.

Thank you.

Berry, Bretown, Race Relations The Interaction of Ethnic and Racial Groups, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1951.

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Tumin, Melvin Marvin, Comparative Perspectives on Race Relations, Boston: Little, Brown, 1969.

APPENDIX 7
SCORING SHEETS WITH
PICTURES OF ATTRIBUTED
SPEAKER



Howard H. Thomas, Ph.D., is currently a Professor at Thibodaux State University where he is Director of the Campus Center for the study of Human Relations. His professional experiences include serving on the National Advisory Commission on Community Development, Chairman of the Detroit Commission for the study of Civil Disorders and has taught the faculty at the University of Phoenix, and Silma University. He has written several books and journal articles, and has served as editor for professional journals in journalism, the social sciences and speech and the theater arts.

Professor Thomas is currently considering writing a book on racial conditions in America. The speech you are to listen to is a sample of his basic ideas. He is interested in obtaining your opinions and reactions to his perspectives. Your evaluation of his ideas will serve to guide him in the direction he takes in his book. The results of your responses will be appreciated and will be of great help in completing the book.

Please answer the following questions honestly and frankly...

1. Was his message logically constructed? Yes No
2. Did he offer adequate support for his assertions? Yes No
3. Does he offer sufficient awareness of alternate points of view? Yes No
4. Does he deliver his message effectively? Yes No
5. Does he inspire confidence and trust in you? Yes No
6. Do you believe he was realistic in his position? Yes No
7. Do you feel he was well informed? Yes No
8. Do you agree or disagree with Dr. Thomas? Agree Disagree
9. Do you feel he gave you enough information to make a decision to disagree or agree? Yes No
10. Would you consider his talk to be propagandistic or informative? propagandistic informative
11. In your opinion was he up to date in his perspective? Yes No
12. Would you want him as an instructor in one of your regular classes? Yes No
13. Do you think if more people adopted his position things would be better or worse? Better Worse
14. If you had an opportunity to personally make comments to Dr. Thomas, what suggestions or comments would you make?



Howard H. Thomas, Ph.D., is currently a Professor at Thibodaux State University where he is Director of the Campus Center for the study of Human Relations. His professional experiences include serving on the National Advisory Commission on Community Development, Chairman of the Detroit Commission for the study of Civil Disorders and has taught the faculty at the University of Phoenix, and Silma University. He has written several books and journal articles, and has served as editor for professional journals in journalism, the social sciences and speech and the theater arts.

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4. Does he deliver his message effectively? Yes No
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6. Do you believe he was realistic in his position? Yes No
7. Do you feel he was well informed? Yes No
8. Do you agree or disagree with Dr. Thomas? Agree Disagree
9. Do you feel he gave you enough information to make a decision to disagree or agree? Yes No
10. Would you consider his talk to be propagandistic or informative? propagandistic informative
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Please answer the following questions honestly and frankly...

1. Was his message logically constructed? Yes No
2. Did he offer adequate support for his assertions? Yes No
3. Does he offer sufficient awareness of alternate points of view? Yes No
4. Does he deliver his message effectively? Yes No
5. Does he inspire confidence and trust in you? Yes No
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7. Do you feel he was well informed? Yes No
8. Do you agree or disagree with Dr. Thomas? Agree Disagree
9. Do you feel he gave you enough information to make a decision to disagree or agree? Yes No
10. Would you consider his talk to be propagandistic or informative? propagandistic informative
11. In your opinion was he up to date in his perspective? Yes No
12. Would you want him as an instructor in one of your regular classes? Yes No
13. Do you think if more people adopted his position things would be better or worse? Better Worse
14. If you had an opportunity to personally make comments to Dr. Thomas, what suggestions or comments would you make?

APPENDIX 8
POST TEST QUESTIONNAIRE

(Form B)

COLLEGE ATTITUDE SURVEY

This questionnaire is part of a continuing national survey of college students. Its objectives are to gather information about how students across the nation feel about the atmosphere of their particular college, what their college experiences mean to them, their major criticisms of college and the benefits they feel they received from attending college. The researchers intend to use this information to help inform administrators and faculty about the day to day experiences of their students.

All your responses will be kept strictly confidential. Only trained researchers will see the responses, and it is their job to transfer your responses to data cards for computer analysis. No person on your campus or any other campus will have access to this information. Please answer all questions as truthfully as possible.

What is your social security number? _____ - _____ - _____ (only for use in computer analysis)

Sex: (Please circle) Male Female

Current Age: (Please circle) 17 years
18 years
19 years
20 years
21 to 24 years
25 to 34 years
35 to 54 years
55 or older

Marital Status: (Please circle) Single Married Separated Widowed Divorced

Size of home community: (Please check) -

- A. under 2,000
- B. 2,001 - 10,000
- C. 10,000 - 30,000
- D. 30,001 - 100,000
- E. more than 100,001

Please try to estimate how much time per week you spend doing the following activities. Don't worry about being exact, your guess will be sufficient

Activity	Estimated hrs. per week
Sleeping	
Dressing, washing	
Eating	
Travelling	
Attending classes	
Studying	
Extracurricular Activities	
Employment	
Recreation	
Home chores	
Outside Activities	
Amusement	

Activity	Estimated hrs. per week
Reading	
Religion	
Resting	
Other Activities	

Do you feel that since you've been in college you have achieved or accomplished any of the following

	Yes	No	Can't say for sure
Emancipation from your parental home?	_____	_____	_____
Feeling reasonably secure with yourself?	_____	_____	_____
The ability to adjust to external circumstances as they exist?	_____	_____	_____
Self assurance, you are following your own values and standards?	_____	_____	_____
You set your own future goals?	_____	_____	_____
Become tolerant of the values and standards of others?	_____	_____	_____
Working effectively within a group?	_____	_____	_____
The ability to profit from your own experiences?	_____	_____	_____

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	I Totally Accept it	I Accept it	I Accept it with reservation	I Reject it	I Totally Reject it
1. Freshman come to college with an overly optimistic picture of what life is like.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. A person will spend the happiest days of their life in college	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. College has taught me to think	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. I have found that other people have some of the same problems I do.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. There is more to education than just preparing for a career.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. My college's standards are too low.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7. I find myself poorly prepared academically for college.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8. Maybe I could do better at another college.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

	I Totally Accept it	I Accept it	I Accept it with reservation	I Reject it	I Totally Reject it
9. The course here are a waste of time.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
10. This college is a joke.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
11. Every professor thinks his course is the only one.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
12. I don't think I'm fit for college.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
13. College is a glorified high school.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
14. The Greeks run the show here.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
15. There's too much drinking around here.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
16. Sometimes it's hard to stick to my standards.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
17. College has helped me to become an individual adult.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
18. Homesickness is a frequent problem for me.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
19. My advisor doesn't "know me from Adam."	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
20. Most of the students here drift along as though they had nothing to do and never face responsibilities.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

To which of the following racial categories do you belong?

- A. White
 B. Non-white

If you checked A, keep in mind we are seeking to find out how you feel about Non-whites. Please indicate which of the following responses best describes your position.

If you checked B, keep in mind we are seeking to find out how you feel about Whites. Please indicate which of the following responses best describes your position.

If you are non-white, to what extent do you agree the following terms describe whites?
If you are white, to what extent do you agree the following terms describe non-whites?

continued on the next page . . .

	Very Strongly Agree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Very Strongly Disagree
Cunning	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Materialistic	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Zealous	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Versatile	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Intelligent	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Inept	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Proficient	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ambitious	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Prejudiced	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Musical	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

If you are non-white, how strongly do you feel the following when you think of whites?
If you are white, how strongly do you feel the following when you think of non-whites?

	Intensely	Strongly	Moderately	Minimally	Not at all
Delighted	—	—	—	—	—
Rewarded	—	—	—	—	—
Excited	—	—	—	—	—
Respect	—	—	—	—	—
Fear	—	—	—	—	—
Disgust	—	*	—	—	—
Affection	—	—	—	—	—
Funny	—	—	—	—	—
Content	—	—	—	—	—
Distress	—	—	—	—	—

If you are a non-white, to what extent do you endorse doing the following with whites?
If you are white how (to what extent) do you endorse doing the following with non-whites?

	Very Strongly	Strongly	Somewhat	Not much	Not at all
Watching TV or listening to the stereo	—	—	—	—	—
Visiting	—	—	—	—	—
Calling on the phone	—	—	—	—	—
Participating on the same team	—	—	—	—	—

	Very Strongly	Strongly	Somewhat	Not much	Not at all
Engaging in sport events	___	___	___	___	___
Going down town	___	___	___	___	___
Coming by to visit you	___	___	___	___	___
Having over to your dormroom or apartment	___	___	___	___	___
Going to sporting events	___	___	___	___	___
Engaging in arguments	___	___	___	___	___

Which of the following best describe your family origin? (Check all that are appropriate.)

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> African(Black) | <input type="checkbox"/> French | <input type="checkbox"/> Puerto Rican |
| <input type="checkbox"/> African (non-Black) | <input type="checkbox"/> French Canadian | <input type="checkbox"/> Portuguese |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Afro-American | <input type="checkbox"/> German | <input type="checkbox"/> Russian |
| <input type="checkbox"/> American Indian | <input type="checkbox"/> Greek | <input type="checkbox"/> Scandinavian |
| <input type="checkbox"/> American Negro | <input type="checkbox"/> Hispanic | <input type="checkbox"/> South American |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Arabic | <input type="checkbox"/> Irish | <input type="checkbox"/> Southem European |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Asian | <input type="checkbox"/> Italian | <input type="checkbox"/> Scottish |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Canadian | <input type="checkbox"/> Japanese | <input type="checkbox"/> Spanish |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cuban | <input type="checkbox"/> Korean | <input type="checkbox"/> Welch |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Czech | <input type="checkbox"/> Latin American | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dutch | <input type="checkbox"/> Mexican | _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> English | <input type="checkbox"/> Polish | _____ |

What is your religious affiliation?

- Catholic
 Jewish
 Protestant
 Buddhist
 I do not affiliate with any religion
 Other (specify) _____

How would you describe yourself politically? (Please circle)

Liberal Moderate Conservative

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Based on your opinion of your campus, how do you feel about the following statements?

	Agree	Disagree	No opinion
Males on campus are mercenary.	—	—	—
Most professors are scientifically minded.	—	—	—
Women on campus tend to be talkative.	—	—	—
Professors try to be sophisticated but they're not.	—	—	—
Most of my fellow students are nationalistic	—	—	—
Professors on campus are witty.	—	—	—
Professors tend to be too reserved.	—	—	—
Administrators on campus tend to be traditional.	—	—	—
The typical student on campus is conservative.	—	—	—
One has to be aggressive to survive campus life.	—	—	—
Businessmen in town tend to be shrewd.	—	—	—
Townspeople tend to be anti-social towards college students.	—	—	—
I feel a loyalty to my college.	—	—	—
I would encourage other people to attend my college.	—	—	—
I am proud to go to school here.	—	—	—

(Thank you very much for your time, effort, and cooperation in taking this survey.)

APPENDIX 9
WEIGHT ASSIGNMENTS TO ITEM
RESPONSES

To which of the following racial categories do you belong?

1 A. White

2 B. Non-white

If you checked A, keep in mind we are seeking to find which of the following responses best describes your position.

If you checked B, keep in mind we are seeking to find of the following responses best describes your position.

If you are non-white, to what extent do you agree the following terms describe whites?
If you are white, to what extent do you agree the following terms describe non-whites?

	Very Strongly Agree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Very Strongly Disagree
Cunning	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Materialistic	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
Zealous	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Versatile	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Intelligent	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Inept	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
Proficient	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Ambitious	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Prejudiced	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
Musical (if A)	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
(if B)	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>

If you are non-white, how strongly do you feel the following when you think of whites?
If you are white, how strongly do you feel the following when you think of non-whites?

	Intensely	Strongly	Moderately	Minimally	Not at all
Delighted	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Reward	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Excited	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Respect	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Fear	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Disgust	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Affection	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Funny	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
Content	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Distress	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>

If you are non-white, to what extent do you endorse doing the following with whites? If you are white (to what extent) do you endorse doing the following with non-whites?

	Very Strongly	Strongly	Somewhat	Not Much	Not at all
Watching TV or listening to the stereo	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Visiting	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Calling on the phone	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Participating on the same team	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Engaging in sport events	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Going down town	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Coming by to visit you	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Having over to your denartment or apartment	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Going to sporting events	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Engaging in arguments	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>