THE EFFECT OF ATTITUDES CONCERNING EQUAL

OPPORTUNITY, RACE-SPECIFIC POLICY,

AND SOCIAL CONTACT ON

BLACK/WHITE RELATIONS

By

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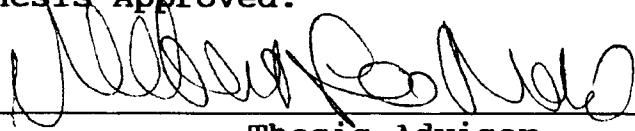Bachelor of Arts in Sociology
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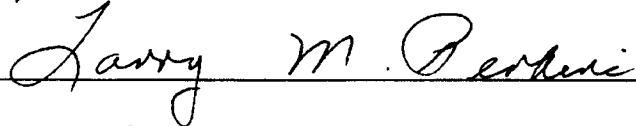MASTER OF SCIENCE
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Attitudes concerning equal opportunity, poverty, distributive justice, race, and class have long been a topic of sociological research (Kluegel and Smith, 1981). The plight of Native Americans, Black Americans, Hispanic Americans, and immigrant peoples have often been examined because of their relative experience of economic, political, educational, and residential discrimination. These disadvantaged groups have long been the targets of racial prejudice and intolerance, despite progress through law and legislation.

Blacks Americans, for example, have made tremendous strides in the struggle for equality, from the chains of slavery to the emancipation of the south. Blacks played an instrumental role in the reconstruction of the South after a hard fought Civil War in a nation torn between brothers in the North and South. Dramatic legislative changes were made with the passing of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the constitution. The 1950's marked a major hurdle in ending school segregation, through the efforts of the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People). The Civil Rights Act of

1964 gave Black Americans the right to participate in the political process which had for centuries held their progress at bay. Today, many challenges face Black Americans and others in achieving equality in education, income, and employment.

Need for the Study

This is a study of the effects of racial attitudes on race relations on college campuses. There has been a great number of studies conducted to address the issues of race and ethnicity on college campuses. (Carithers, 1970; Carnegie, 1975, 1979; Patchen, 1982)

A number of basic questions seem to be prevalent in the literature. What is the nature of attitudes toward equal opportunity? Do the perceptions of whites change depending on the level of interaction with black Americans? How have white's attitudes toward blacks changed in recent decades? Or, have they? Do attitudes have an effect on race-specific social policies such as affirmative action? These are the basic questions addressed in this study of racial attitudes on race relations on college campuses.

This topic concerning the effect of attitudes and social contact on race relations is important in understanding the nature of inter-group conflict. By understanding the nature of inter-group conflict it is then possible to develop and implement policies, procedures, and

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design structures which are conducive to positive

environments for persons of diverse racial and ethnic

backgrounds. Thus, leading to greater productivity in, but

not limited to institutions of higher education. More

knowledge concerning the nature of attitudes and social

contact will lead more culturally rich climate on college

campuses. Universities will become even more the reservoir

of new and creative ideas for the future.

Statement of Purpose

The major impetus for the study was a result of a pilot

study of attitudes concerning racial attitudes toward

affirmative action and race relations on campus. This study

will be more fully discussed in the chapter on the research

design and methodology. The purpose of the present study is

to gain more insight into the nature of inter-group conflict

between and among divergent racial and ethnic groups. By a

fuller understanding of group conflict more effective ways

of reducing conflict may be developed. Gordon Allport

(1958), in the "Nature of Prejudice" among his many other

works has sought to develop ways toward limiting and the

elimination of conflict between divergent groups.

It is the goal of the researcher to contribute to the

body of research on this ever important topic. The

variables of racial attitudes and social contact will be of

great importance to the task at hand. The research process

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on this subject may not only lead to some substantive contributions, but to an understanding of how better formulated research on this topic may be designed and implemented. This study will hopefully lead to better ways of conducting research concerning race relations in the future.

This study does not suggest that the findings on the topic of inter-group conflict between racial and ethnic groups will be conclusive. But, as in all good research the goals of this research will be accomplished if there is some incremental step toward more knowledge of the topic. The scope of the topic of race relations has existed from the earliest beginnings of human existence. It is doubtful if any single study will be able to exhaust the extensive research literature into the phenomena of race and ethnicity.

Generalized Categories of Race Relations

The issues concerning race relations may be categorized into three generalized categories: 1) assimilation, 2) pluralism, and 3) expulsion or alienation. These categories are employed in order to describe the various forms race relations may take between racial ethnic groups. There are different ways in which "assimilation" may be defined. J. Milton Yinger, defines assimilation in this way:

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a process of boundary reduction that can occur when
members of two or more societies or of smaller
cultural groups meet (Yinger, 1981)

Yinger, describes assimilation as a function of the
territoriality as practiced by the animal kingdom. Within
social settings where there are limited resources
assimilation is a way of staking claim to a groups perceived
"fair share" of resources. Assimilation may also be defined
as, "the processes that lead to greater homogeneity in
society." (Abramson, 1980) Harold Abramson, defines
assimilation as merely an attempt of a particular group to
"congeal" all other groups into one homogeneous society.
Assimilation in short enables the dominant group to maintain
it's own cultural differences at the expense of the all
other subordinate groups.

Assimilation may be found to have four major
dimensions: 1) cultural assimilation, 2) structural
assimilation, 3) psychological assimilation, and 4)
biological assimilation. **Cultural assimilation** takes place
when one ethnic groups takes on some degree of another
groups cultural artifacts (material and non-material). This
form of assimilation may be defined as, "the adoption by one
ethnic group of another's cultural traits" (Gordon, 1964;
Yinger, 1984) At this level it is possible for one group to
assume another culture's language, beliefs, dress, etc..

The second form of assimilation, **"structural
assimilation,"** takes place when ethnic groups begin to

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engage in a higher degree of social interaction. (Yinger,

1981) Structural assimilation takes place at two sub-

levels. First, structural assimilation may take place at

the informal level. This is when members of ethnic groups

begin to share in personal activities such as recreation,

public accommodations, and educational facilities.

Secondly, on the other hand at a formal level, members of

ethnic groups begin to gain equal access to the major

institutions as well as positions of power and privilege in

a given society. At the latter level it is then possible

for subordinate ethnic groups to become more fully

integrated in the mainstream of a society.

In **"psychological assimilation"** members of an ethnic

group are able to identify with a given society. At this

level a subordinate group is able to find meaning and

purpose in a society. This is when the subordinate group

goes through a change in identity and then identifies itself

with the dominant group. This form of assimilation takes

place when a group's sense of self is developed in relation

to the dominant group.

The final and ultimate form of assimilation is

"biological assimilation." In biological assimilation

intermarriage between minority and majority group members

takes place. This has historically been the reason for

"miscegenation laws," prohibiting inter-marriage between

ethnic groups. This is considered to be the absolute stage

of assimilation, where there is an amalgamation between ethnic groups of a given society.

Robert Park (1950) saw the stage of race relations as, "apparently progressive and irreversible" (Park, 1950: 150). Park held that race relations went through a series of four successive stages: 1) contact (migration, 2) competition (conflict), 3) accommodation, and 4) assimilation. It was Park's contention that race relations begins with a contact. This is when one ethnic group migrates to the same geographical area as another ethnic group. The contact is eventually manifested in conflict. This conflict may be brought about by competition for limited access to resources, power, and privilege.

Competition in Park's model eventually culminates in an arrangement in which both parties may exist simultaneously. Park's final stage of race relations evolves into an exchange of culture and/or a sharing of resources and power. Park's model has been used as an explanatory model of how race relations goes through a process of transformation and change as ethnic groups continue to interact in a similar geographical area.

There appears to be a great deal of consensus among social scientists that cultural assimilation occurs quite frequently. On the other hand exceptions are also found to the stages of progression suggested by Park. This fact is mirrored in respect to Black Americans in the United

States.

> Blacks in America have adopted in large measure the
> major elements of the dominant culture, they remain
> unassimilated at the structural level specifically at
> the primary structural level (Marger, 1991)

A similar case may be found among Black South African

"coloreds." This group of Black South Africans closely

resembles White South Africans culturally. However, many of

the rights and privileges afforded White South Africans

remain unavailable to them.

Other than assimilation in it's many forms, race

relations may be characterized by what is referred to as

"pluralism." Pluralism may be defined as:

> Conditions that produce sustained ethnic
> differentiation and continued heterogeneity (Abramson,
> 1980)

In pluralism, unlike assimilation, ethnic groups are

allowed to maintain their ethnic differences. The

relationship between the dominant and subordinate group may

be characterized by either "egalitarian pluralism" or "non-

egalitarian pluralism." Egalitarian pluralism may be

defined as a condition when:

> Ethnic groups retain their cultural and structural
> integrity while participating freely and equally within
> common political and economic institutions (Marger,
> 1991)

Egalitarian pluralism allows an ethnic group to remain

culturally distinctive while participating fully in the

major institutions in a given society. With this form of

pluralism, an ethnic group may be said to be structurally

"assimilated" while remaining culturally "unassimilated."
Egalitarian pluralism takes on two distinct forms: 1)
cultural pluralism, and 2) corporate pluralism.

Cultural pluralism is defined as, "a system of ethnic
heterogeneity, groups continue to express elements of ethnic
culture despite the forces of assimilation. (Marger, 1991)
Ethnic groups are able to resist the forces that compel them
to assimilate to the dominant culture. Corporate pluralism,
on the other hand, is when, "structural and cultural
differences are protected by the state, institutional
provisions are made to encourage a proportionate
distribution of wealth, power, and prestige." (Marger, 1991)

The second form of a pluralism (non-egalitarian
pluralism) is a polar opposite of egalitarian pluralism.
Non-egalitarian pluralism occurs when, "outcomes and
processes that are clearly inequitable to society's ethnic
groups." (Marger, 1991) That is, culturally distinctive
groups are not able to fully participate in the major
institutions of a society. This form of pluralism may be
found according to three basic types: 1) competitive race
relations, 2) internal colonization, and 3) annihilation or
expulsion.

Primarily characteristic of capitalistic societies,
"competitive race relations" may be found to hold a
significant place in society. This is when, "ethnic
stratification is based on race rather than culture, and is

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based on competition rather than ascription (race)."
(Marger, 1991) This form of race relations has held a large role in the history of the modern world.

In "internal colonization" the dominant group and the subordinate group are indigenous to a particular geographical area. The dominant group in turn seeks to exploit and control the subordinate group. (Blauner, 1969)

Blauner, describes four characteristics of internal colonization. First, there is involuntary entry into the geographical area of a subordinate group. This takes the form of an invasion of social boundaries by the dominant group. Secondly, the dominant group begins to dramatically alter or chooses to destroy the indigenous culture. This tactic is an attempt to force the indigenous population to culturally assimilate to the dominant culture. Third, a government is formed by the dominant group. When this takes place the dominant group is able to seize control over the major aspects of the society. The dominant group is able to establish rules of behavior which are highly in favor of the dominant group at the subordinate group's expense. Finally, a "racist ideology" is formulated in order to legitimize the newly established social order. (Marger, 1991)

The most dramatic and final form of race relations is "annihilation and expulsion." This is considered to be the most extreme form of non-egalitarian pluralism. Expulsion has to do with the forced migration of a subordinate group

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out of a particular area or region. This is unlike the
forced migration of Africans for the purpose of cheap (free)
labor.

Annihilation may be thought of as synonymous with the
term "genocide." This form of non-egalitarian pluralism has
the sole purpose of systematically destroying a subordinate
group. Annihilation has been practiced with Native
Americans on this continent, when the European settlers
sought to colonized what they saw as a "New World" free for
the taking. The major obstacle was the population of
indigenous peoples. After failed attempts at assimilation
the white settlers began to destroy large numbers of Native
American men, women, and children.

The Improvement of Racial Attitudes in Recent Decades

There has been a great deal of research which has lead
to the conclusion that racial attitudes have improved in
recent years. (Campbell, 1971; Pettigrew, 1981; Schwartz,
1967; Sheatsley, 1966; Williams, 1977) In the period of the
1960 to 1990, it is believed that the attitudes of whites
have changed to a significant degree. The degree of
significance in the change in white's attitudes has not gone
unchallenged, in the face of the continuing belief in
"individual" reasons for the continued disadvantaged status
of blacks. (Sheatsley and Greeley, 1978, Schuman, 1974;
Schuman, Steeh, and Bobo, 1985)

Several reasons for these improved attitudes have been because of the higher levels of education attained by blacks and other ethnic minorities; etc. the increased amount of liberalism on social issues, and the increased degree of social contact between blacks and whites. (Marger, 1991) The concept of "social contact" is a major focus of the present study and will be further clarified later in this study.

Kluegel (1990), Kluegel and Smith (1982) have conducted a great deal of research on the topic of white's explanations of black disadvantage status. Two basic categories of explanations for the disadvantaged status of blacks have been: 1) individual reasons, and 2) structural reasons. Whites today are less likely to explain the status of blacks as being due to their "inherent inferiority" (characteristic of the "Old South" mentality). This position is held by a number of researchers on the topic Campbell (1971), Lipset (1987), and Schuman (1982). It is more usually the case that whites explain the status of blacks as being due to "symbolic racist" ideology. That is, it is the lack of ambition, laziness, and the failure to take advantage of opportunity which accounts for their apparently low status. It is the common perceptions of whites that, "If I could do it, so can they." It is this point of view which characterizes the contemporary (post 1960's Civil Rights Era) perspective of whites on black

disadvantage.

There are on the other hand whites who feel that there are structural barriers in which blacks and other ethnic groups have not been able to overcome. Whites who hold this view suggest that blacks are not to blame, but rather, many structural constraints alienate them from the opportunities present in this land of plenty. (Kluegel and Smith, 1982) The structural argument is more consistent in the explanation of blacks of their own deprived social status. A 1987 survey in "Time Magazine", reported that blacks tend to explain their disadvantaged status as being due to the lack of the same opportunities as whites. The survey reported that 59 percent of whites felt that blacks had the same opportunities as blacks, while 26 percent of blacks themselves believed the same.

Attitudes have continued to change depending on who is being asked the question: "why do ethnic groups seem to experience more of life's disadvantage and less of it's privilege?" Whites have been found to have a variety of perspectives both structural and individual in nature.

The Attitude of Prejudice

An arbitrary belief or feeling toward an ethnic group or it's members. (Allport, 1958)

A judgement based on a fixed mental image of some group or class of people image of some group or class of people and applied to all individuals of that class without being tested in reality. (Mason, 1970)

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A generalized belief, usually unfavorable and
rigid, applied to all members of a particular group
(Allport, 1954)

A prejudgment or preconception founded on inadequate
evidence. (Klineberg, 1968)

It is more emotion, feeling, and bias than it is
judgement. (Berry and Tischler, 1978)

Gordon Allport (1954) has been considered a leading
authority on the subject of prejudice. His classic work,
"The Nature of Prejudice" is considered the "standard
reference on prejudice" (DeCarvalho, 1993). Allport has
worked in several capacities dealing with the reduction of
prejudice. He worked for the City of Boston Police
Department, instructing officers and administrators
in dealing with racial violence. It was Allport's
contention that race prejudice may be characterized as a
disease. It was his view that if it is a disease, it can be
prevented if the pathology is known (DeCarvalho, 1993). In
the nature of prejudice Allport discussed the psychological
and social roots of prejudice, and discussed the principles
and methods of intergroup education and reduction of tension
(DeCarvalho, 1993).

Allport wrote in his study of prejudice that he
underestimated the forces of history and social structure.
(Allport and Pettigrew, 1957) He once mentioned that, "it
is easier to split the atom than a prejudice." (DeCarvalho,
1993) Allport defined prejudice as:

An antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible
generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be
directed toward a group as a whole or towards an
individual because he is a member of that group.
(Allport, 1954)

According to Allport, prejudice was deeply imbedded in

the personality structure of the individual. This

psychological perspective did not dispel more sociological

dimensions of prejudice. Allport, related the social

component of prejudice as being manifested in

discrimination. (Allport, 1954) It was his view that

prejudice has a great influence at the affective and

cognitive levels of the individual's personality. This in

some cases may result in an active predisposition to

discriminate toward an individual. Which, is the basis of

"racist" ideology and practice.

Methods of Reducing Inter-Group Conflict

Allport (1958), discusses in his research on prejudice

and inter-group conflict models used to improve group

relations. He prefaces his discussion of methods with the

statement, "ought there to be a law?" Here he describes the

various means by which both public and private agencies seek

to improve group relations. There is a brief discussion of

the role of the government agencies which uses it's

legislative powers to address issues of group tensions. For

example, the President's Commission on Civil Rights which is

dedicated to the betterment of all racial and ethnic groups

in the United States. Another example, is a private non-profit organization, The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People or the NAACP. This is one of the oldest civil rights organizations still in existence. The NAACP is historically noted for the supreme court case Brown vs the Board of Education of Topeka (1954) to overturn school education. The school segregation was ruled unconstitutional on the grounds that it had a detrimental effect upon black children.

Legislation may take three forms: 1) civil rights laws, 2) employment laws, and 3) group libel laws. Civil rights laws such as the thirteenth, fourteenth, and sixteenth constitutional amendments are a few examples. Fair employment laws address the problem of discrimination in the work-place. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has the primary function of ensuring fair employment practices for all citizens. And, finally, group libel laws address the judicial recourse for persons victimized by racial and ethnic discrimination. This category of laws deals with holding companies, organizations, and individuals responsible for discriminatory practices. The legal system has made many attempts at addressing racial tensions but with the inherent weakness of "law." As a constructed reality law is far from the common description of the concept. Law does not necessarily suggest that which is ethical, moral, or

humanely right.

According to Allport (1958) there are eight methods for reducing intergroup conflict: (1) the research method, (2) formal education programs, (3) contact and acquaintance programs, (4) group retraining, (5) mass media, (6) exhortation, (7) individual therapy, and (8) catharsis.

First, the "research method" is designed to uncover the sources and causes of group tensions. This method is very indirect and time consuming. But, is able to yield essential knowledge into the sources of tension. One criticism of this method comes in the form of the, "we don't need another study" perspective on problems.

The methods used in the "research method" may vary depending on the nature of the data sought in the investigation of group conflict. The research method may utilize one or either a combination of two methods: (1) quantitative, and or (2) qualitative methods. Quantitative measures as found in survey methods are often used in the research method of reducing group conflict. Through the use of a survey method samples may be drawn from a given community, organization, or group. The sample will then be followed by a statistical analysis in order to make judgements concerning the nature and sources of group conflict. Quantitative methods are usually employed in order to test formal hypotheses; either derived from existing theory or exploratory studies.

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A qualitative approach might employ more "sensitizing concepts" as opposed to formal hypotheses. Qualitative methods may be in the form of indepth interviews, unobtrusive or participant observation, and others. Qualitative methods are usually "exploratory" in nature. And, these methods are most useful when followed by or either in conjunction with quantitative methods.

Second, is the "formal education method." Allport mentions in his work what is referred to as the "Springfield Plan". The "Plan" may take one of the six forms: (1) **Informational Approach**- imparts knowledge by lectures and textbook teaching, (2) **Vicarious Experience Approach**- employs movies, dramas, and fiction, to invite group members to identify with the out-group, (3) **Community Study-Action Approach**- field trips, area surveys, and work in social agencies or community programs with members of the out-group, (4) **Exhibits, Festivals, and Pageants Approach**- encourage sympathetic regard for the customs and traditions of minority groups, and (5) **Small-Group Process Approach**- socio-drama principles of group dynamics: discussion, socio-drama, and group retraining.
(6) **Individual Conference**- therapeutic interviewing and counseling. Formal education plans in it's many variations is considered a very useful method in reducing group tensions.

Third, there is the method of employing "contact and

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acquaintance programs." There is an assumption that positive social contact reduces inter-group tension and conflict. Contact in a hierarchical social system, or between people who equally lack status (poor whites and poor blacks), or contacts between individuals who perceive one another as threats, has an inverse rather than positive effect on the process.

Fourth, is the method of "group retraining." This method uses role-playing to lead to forced "empathy" towards the out-group. This is the method of forcing the majority person to act-out the roles and behaviors of out-group members. This method assumes that through the use of "socio and psycho-drama" inter-group understanding will emerge and develop.

Fifth, is the use of the "mass media" method. There is a diversity of views concerning the effectiveness of this method. However, there are some rules which are essential to the success of this method: (1) **"pyramiding stimulation"** a single program will have little effect, but a series of programs will produce a greater effect, (2) **"specificity of effect"**- morals may be learned from a single program, but they are limited to a narrow context, the program must be generalizable to other situations, (3) **"attitude regression"**- after a period of time opinions tend to slip back toward the original point of view, but not all the way, the actor becomes satiated by over-exposure to the media

stimulus (4) **"sleeper effects"**- when "die-hards" at first

reject the message and then later accept it, (5) **"people on**

the fence"- usually effective when people have no deep

seated resistance to changing a particular point of view,

they are not deeply committed to a particular opinion, (6)

"clear field"- positive propaganda is used to counter the

proliferation of negative propaganda (stereotypes, negative

images of minorities), when there is less exposure to

negative propaganda the ground is fertile for change, (7)

"allay anxiety"- geared to calm anxiety, fear, and

suspicion, dramatically present out-group members as no

threat to others, and (8) **"prestige-ful symbols"**- having

significant role-models espousing a positive message

concerning minorities.

Sixth, is the "exhortation" method. It is not certain

how effective or futile preaching messages on racial harmony

might be. It is probably accurate to speculate that this

method serves as a reinforcement for strengthening the

intentions of the already converted. But, for the

"character-conditioned bigot" this method will have little

effect.

Seventh, is the "individual therapy" method. This is

recommended as probably the **most effective means of changing**

attitudes of prejudice. Attitudes (such as prejudice) are

often deeply embedded into one's personality structure. A

major strength of this method is it's depth and

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interrelatedness with all portions of the personality. Psycho-analysis is one method of uncovering the major hostilities which may be unconscious to the individual. A major weakness of this method is it's limitation of reaching a representative proportion of a given population or group.

And, the eighth method is "catharsis." Often in a situation which might be described as a "racially loaded situation", an "explosion" of feelings often occurs. According to this method it is suggested that there is a **"purging effect"** which accompanies such an "explosion". Catharsis has an effect of, **"temporarily" relieving racial tension and preparing the individual for attitudinal change.** This method is suggested by the expression, "It is easier to mend an inner tube after the air has been released." An extreme amount of emotional energy is expended in catharsis, to where one loses the emotional reserve to fight (passively or actively). Catharsis does not cure one from "blowing their top", but rather gives rise to a less tense view of the situation.

> Quote: I was angry with my friend;
> I told my wrath, my wrath did end.
> I was angry with my foe;
> I told it not, my wrath did grow.

Each of these methods presented in the work of Gordon Allport (1958), have both advantages and disadvantages. It would be an important asset to any agency or organization to have a working knowledge of the available techniques and methods of dealing with inter-group tensions. However,

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there is little that could be done for those who are either apathetic or live in denial of group tensions characterized by racial and ethnic antagonisms. This study is designed to derive knowledge concerning the nature of group tensions between persons of varying racial and ethnic backgrounds.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

White Americans have come to explain and define the
conditions of diverse groups under a number of explanatory
categories. Whites generally explain inequality in either
terms of traditional, motivational, or structural reasons
(Kluegel, 1990). Traditional racism emphasized an ideology
of the "inherent inferiority" of blacks. The motivational
or institutional form of reasoning depicted Blacks as "lazy,
shiftless, and deviant." And, finally the structural
reasoning dealt with the effects of institutionalized
discrimination against Blacks. Today symbolic racism best
describes white's views in explaining for example: "Why
blacks seem to have worse jobs, income, and housing than
white people." Symbolic racism may be defined as a set of
assumptions by whites who feel that: (1) blacks are too
demanding, too pushy, too angry, and are getting more than
they deserve, (2) blacks do not play by the rules, and (3)
blacks are mainly welfare recipients, criminals, and
beneficiaries of quota systems. (Kinder and Sears, 1981;
Sears and kinder, 1985) There has been sufficient research
to suggest that the attitudes of whites have increasingly
improved in recent decades in explaining the conditions of

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Blacks economically, educationally, and socially (Wilson, 1978; Kluegel and Smith, 1986). However, the traditional explanations by whites continue to be prevalent. According to Kluegel whites who hold to traditional explanations:

>   tend to be older, less well educated, more
>   conservative politically, and more fundamentalist in
>   their religious beliefs compared to supporters of more
>   structural explanations (Kluegel, 1990)

Kluegel (1990), came to two striking conclusions: 1) an individualist perception of the causes of the black-white, socio-economic gap remains prevalent among whites, and 2) whites' explanations of the gap influence their attitudes toward government assistance to blacks.

Whites, according to Kluegel and Smith (1982), found that whites tend to believe blacks have opportunity equal to whites. By the same token, it is the belief of some whites that the equal opportunity experienced blacks is largely a function of "unfair preferential treatment." Whites for this reason see themselves as victims of "reverse discrimination," giving blacks and other minorities an unfair advantage over persons of majority status. (Kluegel and Smith, 1982) It is the belief of most whites that in recent years there has been a virtual elimination of structural limits based on past discrimination.

Though, Whites do not deny the historical existence of structural limitations imposed upon Blacks, it is their view that these limits no longer exist today. Gunnar Myrdal (1944) was one of the early social scientists to point out

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the "blatant legal and normative" restrictions imposed upon

Blacks, and that these limitations greatly diverged with

commonly held "American Ideals." Myrdal, in "American

Dilemma (1944)" suggested that the treatment of the "Negro"

was both America's greatest failure as well as it's greatest

opportunity:

> What America is constantly reaching for is
> democracy at home and abroad. The main trend in
> its history is the gradual realization of the American
> Creed. In this sense the Negro problem is not only
> America's greatest failure but also America's
> incomparably great opportunity for the future. If
> America should follow its own deepest convictions, its
> well-being at home would be increased directly. At the
> same time America's prestige and power abroad would
> rise immensely. The century-old dream of American
> patriots, that America should give the entire world its
> own freedoms and its own faith, would come true.
> America can demonstrate that justice, equality and
> cooperation are possible between white and colored
> people (Myrdal, 1944)

It was Myrdal's concern for the conflict between

American Ideals and the treatment of the negro that

influenced his perspective on the race issue in America.

Myrdal, argued that the only thing consistent with American

Ideals was to strive for the complete "assimilation" of the

negro into American society.

Max Weber, in a letter to W.E.B. Dubois demonstrated

the urgency of the "Negro Problem" in the late 1800's:

> I am quite sure to come back to your country as soon
> as possible and especially to the South, because I
> am absolutely convinced that the 'color line' problem
> will be the Paramount problem of the time to come, here
> and everywhere in the world (Aptheker, 1971)

It was this relationship, which provides a vital link

between early European sociologists and black American sociologists. Aptheker, also mentions in his book the relationship between other great thinkers such as William James, Cooley, and Myrdal (mentioned above).

Lawrence Bobo, has conducted extensive research on the prevailing paradox concerning Whites rejection of traditional attitudes and the support of race-specific improvement policies. Bobo (1983), examined the attitudes of Whites concerning mandatory busing policy. Bobo, observed that though whites reject the semblances of traditional attitudes such as the innate inferiority of Blacks, yet they continue to be opposed to policies which are devised to address the existing inequality suffered by Blacks and others. Kluegel and others are quick to point out that the rejection of social policy can not necessarily be attributed to ambivalence or inconsistency. (Kluegel and Smith 1986)

In recent years busing is no longer an issue. Today, affirmative action stands at the cutting edge of recent thought concerning the improvement of Black life in contemporary American society. There exists many divergent views concerning the feasibility, effectiveness, and adequacy of this controversial social policy. In a climate of the "declining significance of race" it is of no small consequence that affirmative action is being examined under close scrutiny. William Julius Wilson, in his book, The

<u>Declining Significance of Race</u> (1978) has examined the progress achieved due to a hard fought civil rights movement. According to Wilson, based on the virtual elimination of discriminatory laws, the arguments based on traditional racism are relatively unfounded today.

Wilson, represents an era of the redefining of race relations in which we find ourselves today. The "Post Civil Rights Era" is now faced with a new challenge of *de facto* segregation. Though discriminatory laws have long been eliminated from the books, there continues to be a great disparity in the economic, political, and educational status of disadvantaged persons in this land of plenty.

Charles V. Willie, unlike Wilson maintains, "the relative status of Blacks continues to suffer despite the perceived improved conditions of all Americans" (Willie, 1989). Willie, believes race is "inclining" rather than "declining" in significance. He observes that economically, while Whites enjoy a median income of $14,268 dollars per year, blacks and other minorities are left with a median income of a mere $9,321 dollars per year. Willie, points to the 1977 report, *All Our Children* (Willie, 1989) by the Carnegie Council on Children:

> 90 percent of the income gap between blacks and whites is the result of lower pay for blacks with comparable levels of education and experience (Willie, 1989)

This disparity has been argued to the structural impact of economic inequality on Black Americans. When examining

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education, Willie suggests that blacks more often than

Whites experience lower occupational status than Whites. He

writes:

> Among whites with only an elementary school
> education or less, 50 percent are likely to have jobs
> as service workers or laborers at the bottom of the
> occupational heap; but 80 percent of black workers with
> this limited education are likely to find work only
> in these kinds of jobs (Willie, 1989)

Willie points out the disparity in employment among

blacks being far more extensive in comparison to whites at

the lower educational levels. It can be argued that there

is no link between levels of education and employment.

Contrary, to Wilson's propositions, "race" is in fact a very

important variable in explaining the nature of contemporary

social inequality.

Willie continues his "counter hypothesis" of the

inclining significance of race to include residential

segregation experienced even by those Blacks who are

fortunate enough to climb the socio-economic ladder. Willie

continues to counter Wilson's claims on both historical

grounds as well as in light of current analysis of Black

social life and psychological well-being. In his most

poignant dismissal of Wilson's claims, Willie writes that

Wilson's statements are nothing more than:

> an apology for the status quo and the extraordinary
> privileges experienced by the White dominant group.
> Because of Wilson's black racial identity, his analysis
> provides a protective cloak for Whites who oppose race-
> specific justice programs in employment and education
> but who is to deny that their actions have racist
> implications (Willie, 1989)

Willie, takes issue with Wilson's conservatism on race-specific social policy. It is the basis of Willie's argument that Wilson, is merely providing an escape from the practice of racial discrimination. According, to Willie Wilson's comments are welcomed due not only his position on the issue but his "black" identity.

Stephen L. Carter's, "Reflections of an Affirmative Action Baby"(1991) is both a beneficiary and opponent of affirmative action. This fact becomes quite apparent early in Carter's book. Carter, recounts his own experience of being first rejected and then recalled to Yale University as a law student. Carter's initial rejection was in his view due to him scoring higher than expected for a Black on the entrance exam to the prestigious university. Carter, after becoming aware of what had transpired, soon informed Yale that he regretfully declined admission to the university.

Carter, in no uncertain terms states, "I got into law school because I was black." The basis of Carter's opposition to affirmative action seems to reside in his concern for the perceptions of his White law school colleagues. It is his major preoccupation, with the question, "Did you get into school or get hired because of a special program?" which he finds highly offensive and intolerable. He finds himself, at least in his mind, in a crux between two idioms, "Some Whites think I've made it because I'm Black. Some Blacks think I've made it only

because I'm an Uncle Tom. The fact is, I've made it because I'm good." Much of Carters problem seems to stem from the result of the social "stigma" attached to the beneficiaries of such preferential social policy.

Erving Goffman (1963), noted for the formulation of the concept of "stigma," speaks of the crippling affect of this powerful enigma. According to Goffman, stigma may be referred to as:

> bodily signs designed to expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier. The signs were cut or burnt into the body and advertised that the bearer was a slave, a criminal, or a traitor- a blemished person, ritually polluted, to be avoided, especially in public places (Goffman, 1963)

Goffman, illustrates "stigma" as a form of handicap. He uses for example the blind and the mentally ill. They who find themselves walking the social tight rope anxious not to fall off of a thinly stretched wire. It has been argued by Carter and others that affirmative action has this form of crippling effect on those who are perceived beneficiaries of the policy.

Andrew Hacker, in the Black Issues in Higher Education (1992), addresses the concern of Carter and others concerning preferential programs and the issue of "meritocracy." As Carter claims to have gotten into Yale because he was good, Hacker interprets his anti-affirmative argument in this way:

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> Merit is always defined by those who got in first.
> White men came in first, and like all people who are
> already on the inside, they pull up the drawbridge.
> That makes it awfully hard for those on the
> outside to contest the prevalent definition of
> merit (Black Issues, 1992)

Hacker's interpretation greatly challenges the argument

of Carter. Once you are on the inside, it is quite easy to

make such judgements concerning those who are continually

left outside in the cold. Carter's feeling of inadequacy

can hardly be representative of all who stand to lose if his

words are taken seriously by "gatekeepers" on the other side

of the doors of opportunity. Hacker has this recommendation

to make, and in his view a much more relevant question:

> You really have to ask the students or the
> professors, or Colin Powell or Clarence Thomas whether
> they go around feeling inadequate, I would put it on
> the flip side: At Harvard, a white applicant whose
> father went to Harvard is three times more likely
> to be admitted. Does he feel stigmatized?"
> (Black Issues, 1992)

The sentiments of Hacker, provides a necessary

antithetical position than that of Carter and others. Is

Carter's concern a social issue? Or, is his problem only of

a personal nature? From a sociological perspective, it

could be argued that Carter's view is only one person's

response of the impact of affirmative action on equal

opportunity. That is, his view is arguably not

representative of the mass majority of blacks who feel

locked out the mainstream of American life.

Lewis M. Killian (1985), redefines the concept of

stigma to extend application to the traditional perpetrators

of "stigma" (i.e. White Americans). Killian's concept of "stigma reversal" is defined as, "the imputation of guilt and moral inferiority to the members of a dominant group." Killian's argument follows the reasoning that preferential policies such as affirmative action are instituted at the expense of the dominant group.

John C. Livingston, in his book, <u>Fair Game: Inequality and Affirmative Action</u> (1979), takes issue with some of Killian's basic arguments. Livingston challenges the issue of "reverse discrimination" on the grounds of the meritocracy argument. His claim is:

> Preference often goes to the boss's son, the foreman's friend, the alumni's offspring, the children of influential politicians and potential donors, the bed partners, the politically conventional, the con-artists, and the positive thinkers- anyone with experience in the competition for place and power in American society could be added to the list. None of these practices, of course is justifiable on the premises of meritocracy (Livingston, 1979)

Livingston, seems to suggest that there is a double standard in applying the meritocracy argument. When preference is extended to racial/ethnic minorities or women, there is a cry for "foul play." If merit is the rule of the game, Livingston shows that the correlation between levels of education and income will be consistent while controlling for the race of the individual. But, on the other hand when those of the privileged majority group experience preference, it is simply considered to be the "American Way."

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Livingston, follows his argument to it's logical

conclusion, in addressing the fairness of affirmative action

and the issue of "quotas." Livingston describes two basic

types of quotas utilized: 1) fairness quotas, and 2)

compensatory quotas. He suggests that affirmative action

in most cases seeks to employ a fairness quota. A "fairness

quota" assigns positions to minorities according to their

proportion in relation to the population (Livingston,

1979). A "compensatory quota" on the other hand aims at

seeking minorities in a higher proportion relative to the

population. Livingston, further explains his position in

response to Whites' concern for reverse discrimination:

> ...even one of 100 percent-would not lead to
> reverse discrimination against whites as a group. Its
> goal is to achieve a proportional share for minorities
> in the particular profession-the share required by
> justice in a system of equal opportunity. A
> compensatory quota, however, would discriminate against
> white individuals or, more accurately, against the
> class of young whites just entering the job or career
> market. The misconception that this discrimination
> occurs under fairness quotas has led to much of the
> white backlash and increased racial tension in recent
> years (Livingston, 1979)

Affirmative action continues to be a very controversial

issue in a climate of heightened social disorganization.

Many studies have extended to places such as: industry and

social impact analysis (Marx 1992); higher education (U.S.

Commission on Civil Rights, 1975); and distant shores such

as Malaysia (Lee, 1979).

Summary of Existing Literature

The literature suggests that the issues of race are a viable topic for sociological inquiry. There are several divergent views which reach sometimes conflicting conclusions. All social phenomena is infinitely complex it is not possible for a single theory to explain the topic of race relations. Social reality is often very evasive. Thus, making it very difficult for a single method to derive sufficient data in order to construct variables to operationally depict the various aspects of social reality.

The research of Kluegel and Smith (1982) seems to summarize the literature on whites' attitudes towards blacks. The literature consistently seems to suggest that whites do believe in the existence of racial discrimination. Whites also believe that there is also an existence of reverse discrimination. At the same time, whites are quite optimistic concerning the improvement of black opportunity. Whites also seem to consistently deny that structural barriers exist between blacks and equal opportunity.

Kluegel and Smith (1990), suggests that whites are increasingly in support of equal opportunity in principle. However, whites have little support for policies which are designed to alleviate racial "inequalities" which continues to plague black Americans as well as other ethnic minorities in the United States. These findings leads one to question whether varying degrees of social contact will have an

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effect upon racial attitudes towards equal opportunity and race-specific social policy.

It is not likely for any literature review to exhaust the existing literature on a topic. However, there is sufficient evidence in order to create a workable research design on the topic of attitudes towards race and social contact. From this standpoint there is relative confidence that the researcher has acquired at least a working knowledge on the research topic necessary for the study.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL BASIS AND ASSUMPTIONS

Social Psychological Theory

The general theoretical framework of this thesis lies
in social psychology. Gordon Allport, social psychologist
has been noted for his pioneering research on inter-group
relations. The concept of "social contact" may be
attributed to his work in the classic "The Nature of
Prejudice." Social psychology is generally believed to be
defined as:

> The study of individual behavior and psychological
> structures and processes as outcomes of and influences
> upon interpersonal relationships, the functioning of
> groups and other collective forms, and culturally
> defined macro-social structures and processes
> (Borgatta, 1992)

Social Psychology has traditional roots in both
psychology and sociology. The definitions of social
psychology are varied based on the diverse intellectual
background. Allport defines social psychology as:

> an attempt to understand and explain how the
> thought, feeling, and behavior of individuals are
> influenced by the actual, imagined, or implied presence
> of others (Allport, 1968)

> the study of the primary relations of individuals
> to one another, or to groups, collectivities, or
> institutions, and also the study of intra-individual
> processes in so far as they substantially influence, or
> are influenced by, social forces (Rosenberg and Turner,
> 1981)

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Allport's definition more clearly describes social psychology as being concerned with the intimate and intricate aspects of individuals in group settings. Social psychology endeavors to explore the nature of interpersonal relations at both the micro and macro levels of society.

Social psychology in sum deals with how the social world influences individual thoughts, feelings and behavior. In addition to the general focus of social psychology on the relationship between and among individuals and the social world, there are a variety of theoretical orientations present in this vast area of study.

Among the many theoretical orientations is symbolic interactionism. This perspective developed by the work of Herbert Blumer is concerned with the ways in which individuals act toward one another according the meanings they attach to things. (Blumer, 1969) Symbolic interactionism according to Blumer and the Chicago School, employed a qualitative methodological approach. This approach is was deemed essential in getting at the micro-level of social interactions. The Chicago school in the Blumerian tradition were concerned with how people create impressions of themselves in the course of face-to-face interaction.

One of the most popular areas as well as rich in research knowledge is the area of role theory. Role theory is concerned with the assumption that social behavior may be

viewed as the playing of roles. That is, people act in social settings according to socially prescribed acceptable behaviors. (Mead, 1934) George Herbert Mead is noted for his work in the area of role theory. Mead developed two key concepts to this the theory of role theory. First, role-taking is the imaginatively taking on of the roles of others. This theatrical representation of behavior is rich in the ability to explain a wide range of social behaviors. Lastly, role-making has to do with how roles are both created and modified in the course of social interaction.

Another widely employed theoretical orientation is that of social exchange theory. George C. Homans, is considered the principle figure in the development of exchange theory. Exchange theory impinges on the premise that people maximize their own wants and needs. (Homans, 1961) Exchange is primarily a concept derived from the field of economics. The underlying assumption of exchange theory is that individuals enter into relationships based on a accounting of inputs or costs required for entering into the relationship, and the outcomes or rewards expected in return. If the cost exceeds the anticipated reward, it is believed that individuals will not enter into a relationship. On the other hand, if the reward is perceived to be greater than the cost and individual is more likely to enter into a relationship. Exchange theory has not gone without criticism. The "zero-sum" has been challenged in

it's inability to explain reasons individuals enter into relationships other than maximizing rewards. For example, exchange theory has a difficult time explaining altruist relationships.

Social psychology also utilizes the theory of social learning. Social learning theory is primarily concerned with how individuals learn both appropriate and inappropriate behaviors in society. Social learning theory, also known as behaviorism, has it's intellectual roots in psychology. Social learning theory entails the use of reinforcement, rewards, and punishments in teaching socially acceptable behaviors. The three forms by which social learning takes place are: 1) classical conditioning- where reinforcement accompanies the act, 2) operant conditioning- when reinforcement follows the act, and 3) vicarious learning- where the individual observes the rewards for acceptable behaviors and the punishments for unacceptable behaviors.

The relevance of social psychology as described above lends itself to uncovering the nature of a variety of social relationships. The basis of this thesis is to gain an understanding of the nature of inter-group conflict. Social psychological theory is very helpful in presenting a framework in which inter-group conflict may be further investigated. The above description of the scope of social psychological theory is in no way exhaustive. This section

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is provided merely to set a theoretical context in which this study may be placed. As with any theoretical framework it serves simply to provide organization and coherency to ideas. Among the many other theoretical orientations of social psychology are cognitive consistency theories, cross-cultural analysis, and expectations states theory. These theories will not be explored in this study. Another theoretical orientation of relevance to a better understanding of inter-group conflict is that of attitudes.

Attitudinal Research

Gordon Allport (1965) in "The Handbook of Social Psychology" stated that the attitude, "is probably the most distinctive and indispensable concept in contemporary American social psychology." This thesis focuses upon the attitudes of students concerning equal opportunity, race-specific policy, and race relations. There are several terms often used synonymously with attitudes such as: opinions, beliefs, cognitions, and values.

Attitudes are said to be composed of three essential components: 1) a belief or cognitive component, 2) a favorable or unfavorable evaluation or affective component, and 3) a behavioral disposition or a predisposition for action. (Borgatta, 1992) This definition is generally accepted in the scientific community to describe a wide variety of attitudes.

This cognitive component is attributable to the human capacity for thought. What distinguishes humans from animals is the higher level of reason which allows man to reflect and contemplate beyond time and space. Prejudice, for example, is an attitude having a cognitive component. One who is prejudice is able to think about the images of members of an target group and form negative cognitions toward them.

Though an essential element of the attitudinal structure, the affective level is also as important. At the affective level individuals are able to make judgements concerning the perceived value or worth of individuals of a particular out-group. As is in the case of prejudice at the affective level, the individual may attribute such labels as: they are bad, they are good, they are lazy, they are ignorant, et cetera.

The behavioral level is surrounded by much debate concerning the relationship between attitudes and behavior. The literature is divergent concerning this perplexing question. The work of Schuman and Johnson (1976), and Ajzen and Fishbein (1977) suggest that in fact attitudes are related to behavior. Gergen (1974) is led to believe that an attitude is, "the disposition to behave in particular ways toward specific objects." In the case of prejudice (an negative attitude) according to Gergen, would have a predisposition to discriminate (a behavior.) There are

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serious problems with this premise. Gergen's definition
does not adequately explain non-discrimination by prejudiced
persons as well as discrimination by non-prejudiced persons.

Fishein-Ajzen (1975) has devised a social psychological
model of attitudes. Their model has been utilized to
present an analytical tool to depict the relationship
between beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors. There has been
little consensus if there can be established a definite
causal relationship between attitudes and behaviors.
Fishbein-Ajzen present the view that only the subjective
representations of what one will think and do in a given
situation can be observed. (Fishbein-Ajzen, 1975) There is
an on going debate on the relationship between attitudes
and behavior. The realm of behaviors are outside the focus
of the present study.

This thesis will be primarily concerned with a multi-
variate analysis of the variables: 1) **attitudes towards
race, 2) perceived social contact, and 3) race relations.**
First, it will be important to define the variables under
study. Secondly, a designation of which variables will be
treated as either dependent or independent variables.
Finally, an explanation of how the multi-variate
relationships will be configured in the statistical
analysis.

Robert K. Merton (1976) describes four patterns of
prejudice and discrimination. In his model he labels the

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four possible patterns as: 1) active bigot- one who is prejudiced and discriminates, 2) the timid bigot- one who is prejudiced who does not discriminate, 3) the fair-weather liberal- a person who is non-prejudiced but discriminates, and 4) the all-weather liberal- a person who is non-prejudiced and does not discriminate. This occurrence is difficult to resolve concerning the relationship between attitudes and behaviors.

Herbert Blumer (1955) took a counter stance to Gergen, by suggesting that there is no empirical connection between attitudes and behavior. McGuire (1966) states that, "attitude research has long indicated that the person's verbal report of his attitude has a rather low correlation with this actual behavior toward the object of the attitude." For this reason it has been the observation of some sociologists that attitude research may be largely "irrelevant." If in fact there is no scientific evidence for the connection between attitudes and behavior the whole venture may not yield any knowledge concerning thought and behavior.

This study is concerned with the dilemma between thought and action. Humans are assumed here to behave not based on instinct, but rather on the based of cognitively formulated ways of acting and reacting in the world.

Psychological and Sociological Theories of Prejudice

A popular theory of prejudice is the "Frustration-Aggression Theory". This theory describes, "a way people express hostility arising from frustration. Dollard (1939) mentions in relation to frustration and aggression how prejudiced persons displace something unfavorable in themselves on others. The person on which the frustration is projected is referred to as a "scapegoat." While Dollard (1939) discussed displacement in reference to the "scapegoat," Allport (1958) emphasized how "blame" explained more about prejudice. That is, the scapegoat is blamed for the problems of the dominant group. The issue of blame has become an integral part of social welfare in the explanation of social disadvantage in America. The method of "blaming the victim" has been instigated by such proponents of this thought as Daniel P. Moynihan. It is his views which led to other concepts such as the "culture of poverty." In contrast the "blaming the victim" the Kerner Commission's report explains that the answer to disadvantage (specifically blacks) in America rests in the social structure. According to the Kerner Commission's Report on Civil Disorders the remains numerous barriers to equal opportunity for blacks in the United States.

Dollard (1939) is responsible for the "scapegoat theory" of prejudice. This theory rests on the assumption that those who are disadvantaged themselves project

frustration upon others. Such was the case of poor whites
of the antebellum South, who were forced to compete with
freed slaves for employment. This theory is very useful in
explaining some forms of prejudice.

The "authoritarian personality" theory was developed by
T.W. Adorno (1950.) This theory suggests that certain
personality types are predisposed to be both authoritarian
and prejudiced. The authoritarian personality has a rigid
perspective on conventional values, has a distinct reliance
upon dichotomies such as "right" and "wrong." This theory
tends to explain forms of prejudiced which resides in nature
of the prejudiced persons personality disposition.

The "conflict theory" of prejudice takes an ideological
approach to explaining prejudice. Under this theoretical
perspective prejudiced persons seek to legitimize the
oppression, discrimination, and exploitation of minorities.
According to Karl Marx, those of the elite class seek to
wield their power position over those who are unable to
control the means of production. (Bender, 1988) The
conflict perspective suggests that power plays a major role
in who has the ability enforce a prejudicial ideology and
who does not.

Theories of Race Relations

Sociology has been at the forefront in the study of
race relations in the United States. The "Chicago School"

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of symbolic interactionism and race relations theory is greatly indebted to the work of Robert Park and Herbert Blumer. The Chicago School through the methodologies of field research became greatly interested in the interactional aspects of minority populations with the dominant culture in the early 1900's. W.I. Thomas, in the "Polish Peasant" became interested in the experience of immigrant populations in a new country of promise and opportunity. (Coser, 1971)

Park and Thomas became greatly interested in the "stigma" of color in this country. In the Chicago inner city it was found that blacks were among those who suffered most and enjoyed less of the abundance that this country had to offer. The Chicago School became interested in both the subjective activities and the objective structures which contributed to the plight of Black Americans. It was the concern for meanings which greatly interested the early interactionists. It was their contention, as opposed to others that:

> meanings which both underlie and emerge from
> interaction may be reinforced, modified or radically
> changed. Interactions between individuals and groups
> are located in situations. The meanings, attitudes,
> outlooks and other predispositions that people bring
> to bear on their situations they encounter, as well
> as the situations themselves, have a history, that
> is to say, they are the outcome of a "historical run
> of experience (Mead, 1934)

In the course of social interaction between persons of different races the situation may be defined in a number of

ways. The situation may be defined as pleasant,

adversarial, or benign. The nature of these encounters are

greatly a function of their varying "experiences", as Mead

suggests. These experiences may be influenced by either

favorable or unfavorable encounters. The definitions of

these encounters are also greatly influenced by either the

reinforcement of lack of reinforcement from "significant

others."

Among the many theoretical and substantive

contributions to the study of race relations there are three

which have been most readily employed: 1) Race prejudice as

a sense of group position and the process of collective

definitions, 2) Group status and self esteem, 3) and the

urban community as a spatial pattern and a moral order:

physical spaces social distances and culture-building.

(Park 1926)

Park and Thomas believed that race prejudice was not of

individual consequence, but rather a function of "group

membership." Group membership is often referred to as a

social group composed of persons who share some social

characteristics and are engaged in social interaction. Race

prejudice was found to have been aroused by racial conflict

between opposition groups. Another dimension of this

perspective on prejudice was that conflict between groups

may be either real or imagined (Park, 1926). That is, from

a social psychological perspective the influence of others

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on individual behavior may be characterized by varied

degrees of contact. The person may be actually present, the

person may be perceived as in support of a particular

action, or the presence of others may be part of a system of

beliefs which have no bearing on the physical proximity of

the "others" (such as in societies where there is a practice

of "ancestor worship").

The Reduction of Inter-Group Conflict

This study examines the nature of the relationship

between persons of varied racial categories. In studies

dealing with inter-group relations, the issue of "conflict"

is very prevalent in the literature. Gordon Allport (1958)

has been noted as one of the most extensive researchers on

the relationship between "social contact" and racial

attitudes. According to Allport, contact is one of the

most effective ways of reducing inter-group conflict.

Allport has formulated what he calls, "The Theory of

Contact," which in essences states:

> prejudice (unless deeply rooted in the character
> structure of the individual) may be reduced by equal-
> status contact between majority and minority groups in
> the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly
> enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional
> supports (i.e., by law, custom, or local atmosphere),
> and if it is of the sort that leads to the perception
> of common interests and common humanity between
> members of the two groups (Allport, 1958: p. 267)

Contact in Allport's sense is more than mere proximity.

A degree of social interaction is essential to effectively

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reducing group tensions and antagonisms. The equal-status

dimension of Allport's model is in many situations difficult

to achieve. In order for equal-status to take place in the

work-place a substantial change in the proportions of

minorities in positions of power and prestige will have to

occur. Particularly in higher education there will need to

be a reduction in the disparity of ethnic minority

administrators, faculty, staff, and students for this to

take place.

Equality is essential to the successful reduction of

inter-group antagonisms. Allport, in addition to his

description of "Contact Theory," outlines six essential

elements in relation to the situation in which contact

occurs:

1. The numerical proportions of the two groups
2. The degree to which minority group members have attributes which correspond to the negative stereotypes of the majority
3. The possession of valued traits by members of each group
4. Similarity in beliefs between members of the two groups
5. The acquaintance potential of the situation
6. Physical proximity (Allport, 1958)

As stated above, previous research on the topic of

social contact has focused upon a limited number of factors

contributing to the reduction of inter-group conflict: 1)

the social acceptance of minority students by the white

majority, 2) Characteristics of the white students, 3) and

the characteristics of the minority students. (Patchen,

1982)

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Rosenberg and Turner, define attitudes as, " The cognitions or perceptions which the person has about some object, together with the affect or feelings which the person has toward the object" (Rosenberg and Turner, 1981). Studies in education have focused on various dimensions of controversy between black and white students (Carithers, 1970; and St. John, 1975). Whites and Blacks have been examined on such factors as:

    1. Friendliness
    2. Norms violations
    3. Unfriendliness
    4. Academic orientation
    6. Physical toughness

In response to the above factors, actions were then associated with the various aspects of perceptions. Actions such as avoidance, friendly interaction (or friendly contact), and unfriendly interaction were also considered. In addition to interactional aspects of group behavior there will be some investigation into perceptions of programs directly affecting race relations.

Schofield, in "Black and White in School: Trust, Tension, and Tolerance,"(1982) among many other points, suggests that educational settings are filled with prevailing stereotypes. These stereotypes are said to be partially a result of early childhood socialization. Though stereotypes take on many forms from gender stereotypes to racial ones, the latter seems to be a significant factor in the continual strife in educational settings.

The history of racial segregation, characterized as "separate but unequal" has been much a part of black American life and thought. Today, a new experience of being "together and yet still unequal" prevails in their everyday experience in America. Negative images of blacks are portrayed and reinforced by the media and through other means. These images are responsible for perpetuating the old antagonisms which have been repeatedly refuted, and yet they are found to persist to the present hour. Through an

Social Distance

Social distance is often referred to in the literature as a major aspect of group relations. Developed by Bogardus (1959) relates to a sense of territoriality found in both lower and higher animals. Arising in social situations where there is competition for power, wealth, and prestige, social distance. The dominant group in an attempt to secure power is said to employ various mechanisms of social control to eliminate the perceived competition. And, through a process of social conflict the dominant group is able to restrict the achievements and goals of the subordinate group. (Park, 1921)

Social distance may be defined as, "the perceived feelings of separation or social distance between groups." (Bogardus, 1959) The Bogardus Scale of social distance attempts to measure degrees of tolerance or prejudice

between social groups. Social distance is said to be "cumulative." That is, if one is willing to marry someone of another race, one is also likely to live on the same street of a person of another race.

Social contact is not to be confused with social distance. Social contact as an attitudinal construct includes both cognitive and affective dimensions of social relationships. It is not clear in Bogardus's scale whether the cognitive ,affective, or both cognitive and affective dimensions of social relations are involved. For the purposes of this study the decision to focus on social contact was deemed more useful and appropriate.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Statement of the Problem

Since the work of Gordon Allport in the early fifties and sixties there has not been much work in area of reducing intergroup conflict. Attitudinal research contributed greatly to the understanding of why individuals behave in particular and not in others. The evidence of a direct causal link between attitudes and behavior has been quite inconclusive as stated in an earlier section.

There is a need for a continued study of the nature of attitudes concerning divergent groups in America. The United States has historically been a nation of "immigrants" since it's conception. All demographic indicators suggest that the United States in growing toward a greater diversity and heterogeneity. Thus, warranting a need for greater inquiry into the nature of inter-group processes-particularly group-conflict. In order to ensure the progression of American society is necessary to further the investigation of attitudes and behavior.

The Pilot Project

The pilot study was an exploratory analysis concerning the topic of attitudes towards race relations on college campuses. The pilot-study utilized the qualitative methodology of in-depth interviews. Seventeen indepth interviews were conducted in the study to gain data concerning the topic. The pilot study addressed the basic question: Do attitudes concerning affirmative action in higher education affect race relations on campus? According to the findings in the pilot study, there remains a great deal of inter-group conflict on campus.

The nature of the conflict seems to revolve around the issues of equal opportunity, affirmative action, reverse discrimination, and minority representation on campus. A marketing student pointed out that affirmative action was no longer needed in today's climate:

> Affirmative action at one time was very necessary. You have to get started somewhere. Today, it is outdated and does not help minorities anymore. Affirmative action helped and was necessary 30 years ago to force change in the course of history. Over the past 30 years affirmative action has outlasted it's usefulness, but no longer helps those it was intended to help

As some other respondents stated, affirmative action is probably not needed today. These views persist in a climate of the so called, "declining significance of race" (Wilson, 1978). It was felt by the respondent that the issues of racial inequality have been long addressed, and that it is only recreated in the minds of others. The

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basis of this study is to deal with not only the ideal of everyday life, but with the subjective realities constructed in the process of social interaction.

W.I. Thomas attests to this fact, "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (Thomas, 1931). The social psychological aspects of race relations are relegated to both the "real" and "imagined" aspects of human thought and action. This echoed the perception of one black female on campus:

> A problem I have faced is in the way white professors talk to black students. They talk to you like you are stupid. They talk down to you. Not all of them, but there are many who do. In engineering professors try to hold the blacks back. A professor would not let a black student take a class that is offered only once a year: she had to wait a whole year to take one class to graduate

This is an example of the perceived discrimination experienced by many blacks at predominately white institutions of higher learning. Affirmative action according to this same respondent was a "necessary evil." She stated:

> Affirmative action does hurt blacks in a way because people perceive you as being here not because of your qualifications, but just because of affirmative action. If it does hurt blacks, I would not do away with it

This statement testifies to the commitment to affirmative action, though damaging in some ways, yet it is seen as a valued option to the perceived climate of "un-equal" opportunity. What can be done about the real, perceived, and imagined inequalities on campus? One

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graduate student in agriculture had this recommendation:

> Professors feel uncomfortable dealing with blacks
> at the graduate level. Lack of experience of professors
> at OSU is the reason they are not able to relate to
> black graduate students. There is room for much
> improvement. Some personnel need some type of 'human
> relations' training...People have formal education but
> have little or no experience and training working with
> people. This makes it difficult to deal with people
> from different backgrounds

According to the findings of the pilot study, there appears to be a serious concern for the representation of minorities on campus. I feel that there is much more room for investigation on this topic. Persons on both sides of the issues of equal opportunity and opportunity programs show a deep concern for equality. However, many obstacles stand in the way. These obstacles take on various forms: structural, ideological, moral, ethical, and legal.

In conducting the pilot-study, two basic limitations were found. First, the use of only one methodology has a weakness in addressing problems of validity and reliability.

A major limitation of the pilot was that of reliability. For this reason, it would prove useful to employ a more quantitative methodology. The use of a survey method would be helpful in addressing similar research questions through a different methodological approach.

Secondly, the inability to generalize the findings to a larger population. Because of the small sample size as a result of the return rate there is a limitation in the generalizability of the findings. The pilot provided an

impetus for further investigation on the topic of attitudes on race relations.

This project seeks to extend the scope of the pilot project to a more representative sampling and analysis of the research topic. A convenience sample will be utilized to gather data that will yield information at an interval level. The pilot at best yielded nominal level data. This research is more concerned with going beyond description and exploration of the topic.

Research Hypotheses

The study will be primarily concerned with the relationship of social contact with attitudes concerning equal opportunity and equal opportunity programs. Social contact, according to Gordon Allport, is a way of reducing intergroup conflict, for example as characterized for example by "racial prejudice" (Allport, 1958). Allport, bases his hypothesis on the, "law of peaceful progression." This law states:

> When groups of human beings meet they normally pass through four successive stages of relationship. At first there is *sheer contact*, leading soon to *competition*, which in turn gives way to *accommodation*, and finally to *assimilation*." (Allport, 1958)

From the law of peaceful contact, Allport further hypothesizes that, "Whether or not the law of peaceful progression will hold seems to depend on the 'nature of the contact' that is established." Relative to this study are

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questions as to the nature of previous or present contact with persons of another race on perceptions of equal opportunity and opportunity programs.

The "social contact" is characterized as having five distinct characteristics: 1) **casual contact,** 2) **acquaintance contact,** 3) **residential contact,** 4) **occupational contact, and 5) intimate contact.** These indices were adapted from Allport's conceptual scheme of degrees of social contact. (Allport, 1958) **Casual contact** will include contacts with persons of a different race by mere coincidence or chance. Such as a white student sitting next to a fellow black student in a class would be described as casual contact. **Acquaintance contact** will be defined as contacts with persons on a voluntary basis. An example of acquaintance contact might be a black student who chooses to sit with a fellow white student in the student union for lunch. **Residential contact** may be denoted as persons of different ethnicity who either live on the in the same dorm, on the same floor, or in the same room. **Occupational contact** having to do with persons who work in the same setting. An Hispanic worker who either comes in contact with a white co-worker, a white supervisor, or a white subordinate would be an example of occupational contact. In addition to the indices utilized by Allport, a fifth indicator will be conceptualized- "intimate contact." **Intimate contact** will be characterized by persons whose contact may be platonic,

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romantic, or marital. First, it is hypothesized:

H_1:   With white's increased degree of social
contact with blacks, there will be a
proportional increased amount of
favoritism toward **race relations.**

The basis of an investigation of racial attitudes

concerning equal opportunity rests on the works of several

studies (McConahay, 1989; Sears, 1988; and Kluegel, 1990).

These studies suggest that though whites' attitudes towards

blacks have steadily increased, there still exists some

hostility toward black political candidates, equal

opportunity, and equal opportunity programs. In this light,

the second hypothesis is as follows:

H_2:   With white's increased degree of social
contact with blacks, there will be a
proportional increased amount of
favoritism toward **equal opportunity.**

H_3 With white's increased degree of social
contact with blacks, there will be a
proportional increased amount of favoritism
toward **equal opportunity programs.**

According to the research literature racial attitudes

take on several forms. The basis of most whites opposition

toward equal opportunity programs is either based on

traditional prejudice or symbolic prejudice. (Bobo, 1983)

Traditional prejudice attributes the social

disadvantage of blacks and other minorities primarily due

to motivational and individual reasons such as blacks are

lazy. This is the prejudice of the Old South. The basis of

traditional prejudice rests on the belief in the biological

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and innate inferiority of blacks. **Symbolic prejudicial**
attitudes may be defined as persons who explain the
disadvantaged status of blacks and other minorities due to
three basic categories of reasons: 1) whites feel that
blacks are too demanding, too pushy, too angry, and are
getting more than they deserve, 2) whites believe that
blacks do not play by the rules (based on traditional
American values of hard work, individualism, and delayed
gratification), and 3) whites stereotype blacks as welfare
recipients, criminal, and beneficiaries of quota systems
(Kinder and Sears, 1981; Sears and Kinder, 1985). The
basic premise of symbolic prejudice is on the socio-cultural
aspects of majority/minority relations (Ashmore and DelBoca,
1976). These, the following hypotheses were also tested:

H_4 With white's increased degree of social
contact with blacks, there will be a proportional
increased amount of favoritism toward
disadvantaged social status of blacks.

H_5 With white's increased degree of social
contact with blacks, there will be a
proportional increased amount of favoritism
toward **disadvantaged social status of whites.**

H_6 With white's increased degree of social
contact with blacks, there will be a
proportional decreased amount of **traditional
prejudice toward blacks.**

H_7 With white's increased degree of social
contact with blacks, there will be a
proportional decreased amount of **symbolic
prejudice toward blacks.**

H_8 With white's increased degree of social
contact with blacks, there will be a
proportional increased attitudes of
structural barriers for blacks.

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H₉   Blacks generally claim that discrimination is the basis of their **disadvantaged social status.**

The Population

This study will seek to gain additional understanding of the attitudes of Blacks and Whites on the issues of equal opportunity and race-specific social policy, and their relationship to nature of social distance. Students presently enrolled at a comprehensive state university (whose name will remain anonymous) will be either mailed or passed out in class a survey instrument.

Each respondent will be instructed to fill out the instrument anonymously and to the best of their knowledge. A statement of confidentiality will be given to each respondent, to ensure the commitment of the researcher to their anonymity. The Chronicle of Higher Education (1992) shows that the population at this particular university be 21,258. The cultural diversity figures show that 1.7 per cent are Native American, 1.2 Asian, 2.7 Black, 0.9 Hispanic, 85.4 White, and 7.1 International students.

In a representative sample of this population, the ratio of Black to Whites is heavily skewed toward Whites. It will be necessary to make adjustments in the analysis of the data to account for this disparity.

The two subgroups of blacks and whites will be observed. The rule of thumb for determining the appropriate racial and ethnic designation will be based on a self-

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reporting by each respondent. In the event that a racial designation is not included in the response there will be a computer default to designate missing data on this particular item.

The Sampling Frame

A sample of 300 students in the summer and fall 1993 calendar year were targeted for the study. Questionnaires were mailed to the total population of blacks enrolled. A random sample of 400 whites was drawn. The sample included a cross-section across all possible classifications: freshmen, sophomores, juniors, seniors, graduates, and special students. Gender categories of males and females were also obtained. Racial and ethnic categories were represented in the sampling consisting: Asian, Native American, Hispanic, Black, White, International, and other. The research objective was narrowly focused upon a sample of Black and White students. These items are simply to document the respondents racial/ethnic category for the statistical analysis.

The sample selection was stratified in nature. An attempt was made to maximize the number of Black and White students presently enrolled. Based on knowledge of the population gained on the pilot study, a sample of students consisting of the above characteristics was collected.

The instrument was circulated in classes across campus.

Precautions were taken to ensure the anonymity of the respondents. A return rate of 50 percent of completed questionnaires was expected.

Response Rate

Of the 594 mailed surveys distributed, a response of only 209 (35.2 %) were returned. A number of items (23 out of 209) were designated as missing data, or 11 percent of the responses were missing in the analysis of data. A total of 186 responses were included in the data analysis, for a total response rate of 31.1% percent.

Variables

Each variable, as well as the various dimensions of each will be more fully defined in the "hypotheses section" of the proposal. For now a description of the various variables under study will be provided. Attitudes may be defined as, "a learned and enduring tendency to perceive or act toward persons or situations in a particular way" (Jary and Jary, 1991). Psychologically, attitudes are viewed in respect to their development and integration into one's personality. Social psychologically attitudes are considered to be relevant only in respect to the ways in which they function in a particular situation. The main focus of this study will be the social psychological perspective as described above.

Scales of Measurement

Ordinal level measurement were used to assess the degree of contact a person has with people of other races. Contact, according to Allport, is very important in reducing inter-group conflict. As mentioned in the section on research propositions, contact can be distinguished in varied degrees. Attitudes were examined using a Likert scale to determine the perceptions of the respondents to questions concerning the issue of race. In order to meet the assumptions of regression analysis (to be discussed in the following section), interval level data was sought.

Attitudes concerning the variables listed above were measured on a five (5) point-likert scale. The respondents are asked to indicate the degree to which they either agree or disagree with the questions presented. This method of measurement is referred to as a direct method of obtaining responses across the two subgroups, whites and blacks. A computer generated default was established to delete all other racial categories who are one of the designated subgroups.

Statistical Analysis

Factor analysis was used in order to determine the validity of both the social contact and racial attitudinal scales. Factor analysis is often used in testing the validity of scales. Other uses of factor analysis include:

the creation of fewer variables in the construction of

theory (parsimony), to create typologies, serendipity or

exploratory analysis of large numbers of variables, and

theory testing. Kerlinger (1985) considered factor

analysis:

> the queen of the analytic methods... serves the cause
> of scientific parsimony. It reduces the multiplicity of
> tests and measures to greater simplicity it. It tells
> us in effect, what tests or measures belong together,
> which ones virtually measure the same thing, in other
> words, and how much they do so. It thus reduces the
> number of variables

Rummel (1970) calls factor analysis the calculus of

social science. Rummel describes it's use in exploratory

research by enabling researchers to analyze large a number

of phenomena by determining the number and nature of the

underlying factors among a large number of variables.

Pearson's Product Moment Correlation Coefficient was

used to analyze the bi-variate relationships between the

variables of perceived social contact and racial

attitudinal. The product moment correlation coefficient is

a measure of the change in value of one variable while

another variable changes in value in a particular way.

(Diamond, 1959) A further discussion of this statistical

method is made in the analysis section.

A multiple regression analysis was used in the

statistical analysis. The degree of contact was examined as

to the relationship between attitudes towards race and the

degree of contact. This relationship was correlated to the

conduciveness of reducing inter-group conflicts. Allport

suggests that contact was a very important variable in

examining the reduction of inter-group antagonisms.

The bi-variate relationship between the variables

social contact and attitudes towards race was the primary

focus of study. These relationships were examined based on

their strength while controlling for the other

extemporaneous variables. Finally, a multiple regression

will be performed analyzing attitudes toward other races

while controlling for attitudes toward equal opportunity

programs.

The Questionnaire

The following statements describe all of the items on
the survey instrument. See Appendix B for a sample of the

research instrument used in the study. The questions are

designed to yield data addressing the six hypotheses.

Interval level data will be sought in order to meet the

assumptions of the regression analysis. Questions 1-5 are

referred to as **"demographic"** questions, concerning the age,

sex, race, college, and classification of each respondent.

These variables will be considered the independent

variables.

Questions 6-8 deal with **opinions on race relations.**

Questions 9-10 ask respondents to talk about their opinions

concerning **equal opportunity.** Respondents in this series

are asked their opinions concerning laws enforcing equal

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opportunity and about social policy such as "affirmative action." Questions 11-13, deal with attitudes about the intent and or implications of **equal opportunity programs** such as affirmative action. In questions 14-17 respondents are asked their opinions concerning the **"social status"** of **blacks and whites.** Questions concerning employment and income are addressed in this section. Questions 18-19 seek to capture the attitudes of respondents concerning blacks social status based on **traditional prejudice.** Questions 20-21 deal with **symbolic prejudicial attitudes** concerning black disadvantaged social status. Questions 22-23 are concerning attitudes toward black's low social status based on **structural reasons.** These explanations may be characterized as either individual, structural, or prejudicial in nature.

Questions 24-25 address the degree of **casual contact** a respondent has with persons of another race. Questions 26-27 deals with the degree of **residential contact** on has with persons of another race. Finally, questions 28-29 deal with the degree of **acquaintance contact** one has with persons of another race. Questions 30-31 asks concerning the degree of either **equality of contact** between persons of diverse race and ethnicity. Questions 32-34 deal with the degree of **intimate contact** one has with persons of a different race.

Low Response Rates on Mailed Surveys

The low response rate has been was attributed to two basic reasons. First, the time in which the questionnaire was distributed. The questionnaire was distributed in the summer. At this time students are in transition moving to and from school. This is also the vacation season which is also hampering to a study of students enrolled at Oklahoma State University.

Secondly, there was only single distribution of questionnaires. Two major considerations were taken into account in a decision not to conduct a second and subsequent distribution of the research instrument: (1) the economic costs associated with a second and subsequent mailing, and (2) the great deal of literature concerning the literature on follow-up contacts by mail.

The literature states that the low cost associated with mailed surveys is a major advantage of this method of data collection. (Dillman, 1974; Heberlein and Baumgartner, 1978) However, this may only account for certain research projects. This was certainly not the experience of this particular researcher. It is quite possible that the perception of the situation on the part of the researcher, both real and imagined, may have played a role in the decision as well as concrete economic facts. The literature on research methods recommends several ways in which response rates might be increased. A list of some

suggestions on increasing responses to mailed questionnaires will be discussed in a moment. This point at personal economic level has little research import but does given insight into the reasoning in not conducting a second or subsequent mailings.

After the small return rate was observed, it was then important to investigate the causes, why. The literature suggests that follow-up mailings do not significantly increase response rates.

Heberlein and Baumgartner (1978), found that response rates may or may not be significantly increased by subsequent mailings. According the Herberlein and Baumgartner, "response rates to mailed questionnaires are typically low, usually not exceeding fifty percent." By any standards this is not a very impressive increase in responses. On the other hand, Don Dillman (1974), asserts:

> with a mail methodology available which will
> consistently provide a high response, poor return
> rates can no more be excused than can inadequate
> theory or inappropriate statistics

Dillman, suggests that there is "no excuse" for poor return rates. His point is well taken in light of the suggestions he and others raise concerning the improvement of response rates. Dillman and his associates have developed what he calls the "Total Design Method (pp. 160-98)." In a study of populations in Washington State received very high response rates. There were several different surveys conducted by a number of researchers in

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the State. The response rates ranged from 50 to 90 percent.

Validity and Reliability

It may be that the scale construction may not actually yield the information sought in order to address the research hypotheses. As stated in the statistical section of this chapter, a factor analysis was utilized in order to maximize the validity of the "social contact" and "racial attitudinal" scales. However, there is little that could be done to address the possible weaknesses in the research instrument.

The .05 level was determined to represent the statistical significance of the beta scores in the factor analysis. A principle component of both overall "social contact" and "racial attitudes" was also sought in the study. A further discussion of the use and findings of the factor analysis will be discussed in the chapter on the presentation and analysis of data. (Chapter V) The The problem of validity was been addressed by carefully in ordering and wording of each of the instrument. It is expected that some variation may exist from respondent to respondent in the questions adequately eliciting the intended responses. This problem can be found in all survey research.

To address the issue of reliability a test of the "internal consistency" of all responses to items on the

questionnaire was performed. The coefficient of alpha was utilized to estimate the average correlation of all possible dichotomous relationships on the scales of "racial attitudes" and "social contact." The coefficient of alpha is able to account for the amount of measurement error of a test or scale. Measurement error results from the fluctuations in the standards of responses on all items of the scale.

The average correlations to estimate reliability on the "racial attitudinal" scale had an alpha coefficient of .80. This was determined to have statistical significance and suggested that there was little measurement error. An alpha coefficient of .84 was determined on the scale of "perceived social contact." This too was also found to be statistically significant and showed that there was little measurement error on the scale of "perceived social contact."

Generalizability

The characteristics of the sample (discussed in more detail in chapter V) suggested that the sample population was limited in it's generalizability. Measures taken to address the limitations of the sample may be attributed to three main reasons: 1) low representation of blacks on the university campus, 2) the low response rate, due primarily to the small sample and a single mailing, and 3) the time in

which the mailing was performed, was a period when students are highly transient.

For these reasons the limits to the generalizability of the study are determined. The sample does serve as a representation of the university population. However, the generalizability of the study has been hampered to some degree by the low response rate alluded to above. This sample could be seen as representative for two reasons. First, there could have been a better response to the survey. This can only be maximized by accounting for many unforseen variables contributing to greater responses. This was attempted with limited success in this study as well. Secondly, a major feature toward greater generalizability is the replicability of the study. By the systematic account of the research methodology there is a possibility of a test and retesting of this study. A replication in all cases can only yield additional knowledge concerning the topic under study. A major feature of "good" research is research which is refutable.

Finally, the researcher feels with relative confidence that the sample is sufficient to have proceeded with the study and analysis. The acquired n of 186 is also adequate for the statistical analyses which will be performed.

Ethical Considerations

The research study will be conducted following the most strict ethical standards possible. Respondents to the survey will be asked to voluntarily participate in the study. A consent form will be provided for each respondent to ensure that their participation in the study is strictly voluntary. This study will in no way do physical, psychological, or emotional harm to the participants.

The questionnaire will be administered to insure anonymity and confidentiality. In no way will the researcher be able to identify a given response with any respondent. A code list will be utilized for the statistical analysis. After the data has been collected and analyzed the code sheet along with codes will be destroyed. All responses will be coded for the statistical analysis. After the analysis, the information obtained will be only used for this project.

Limitations

There is large amount of research concerning the advantages and disadvantages to sample survey research. Kerlinger (1973) states an advantage of survey research is that it enables researchers to handle a wide scope of information from large populations with a minimal degree of sampling error. This study is not concerned with cause-and-effect, but rather the relationships between and among the

variables attitudes toward: race relations, equal opportunity, race-specific policy, and social contact. Relationships as treated in this study do not suggest causation. As a primary focus this study centers upon the need for further study into the nature of racial attitudes and the degree of perceived social contact.

The problem of acquiescence plagues all survey research. That is, respondents are prone to give the researcher something other than their true thoughts and opinions. Respondents often attempt to give the researcher what is perceived he wants to hear. The questions were carefully worded and ordered so that each question will not presuppose any particular response. In the analysis it will be considered that some of the respondents did not give their honest responses to the questions.

There is a possibility in the development of the research model that the questionnaire may not have accurately measured the attitudes of the respondents on a given variable. The measurement scale was modified from the social contact scale as presented by Gordon Allport (1958) in the "Nature of Prejudice". Statistical checks were utilized to ensure the highest degree of validity in the analysis of the data (participant responses).

These limitations will hopefully lead to a better replication of this study. It is difficult to predict the enumerable limitations to a particular study before the data

collection is conducted. And, throughout the research process there are additional challenges which often present themselves. With all the problems in both the research design and implementation stages of a study it is still a very necessary and useful adventure.

CHAPTER V

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

In this chapter the analysis of the data will be analyzed. Statistical operations mentioned earlier will be performed and the findings of the study will be presented. The presentation of data will be stated in both tables as well as in narrative form. There will be some modifications in the study based on the test for the validity of scales (factor analysis). A more parsimonious model will be derived based upon the findings from the statistical tests Modifications will include a reconstruction of independent and dependent variables. There will also be a reformulation of the research hypotheses from the previous ones presented in the chapter on methodology (Chapter IV). Finally, an evaluation of each of the new hypotheses will be examined in relation to the findings.

The sample population for the analysis of attitudes on race and perceived degrees of social contact was a random sample of 400 whites, and the total population of blacks enrolled in the summer and fall of 1993 at Oklahoma State University. A total n of 207 was obtained in the sample population of white and black students. Table I shows the characteristics of the sample population.

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TABLE I

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

Characteristic	Blacks	Whites	Total Sample
Gender			
Male	27(35.1)	50(38.5)	77(37.2)
Female	50(64.9)	80(61.5)	130(62.8)
Age			
18-22	29(38.1)	71(50.0)	100(48.8)
23-27	13(17.1)	24(18.6)	37(18.0)
28-32	10(13.2)	12(19.3)	22(11.0)
33-37	10(13.2)	8(06.2)	18(8.78)
38-42	8(10.5)	7(05.4)	15(7.32)
43-47	2(2.63)	4(3.10)	6(2.93)
48-52	3(3.94)	3(2.32)	6(2.93)
53+	1(1.31)	0	1(.488)
College			
Agriculture	1(1.38)	8(6.35)	9(4.55)
Arts and Sci.	15(20.8)	37(29.4)	52(26.3)
Business	15(20.8)	30(23.8)	45(22.7)
Education	11(15.3)	16(12.7)	27(13.6)
Engineering	8(11.1)	15(11.9)	23(11.6)
Home Econ.	3(4.17)	4(3.17)	7(3.53)
Vet. Medicine	2(2.78)	2(1.59)	4(2.02)
Graduate	17(24.6)	14(11.1)	31(15.7)
Classification			
Freshman	4(5.33)	4(3.17)	8(3.98)
Sophomore	16(21.3)	33(26.2)	49(24.4)
Junior	10(13.3)	25(19.8)	35(17.4)
Senior	15(20.0)	35(27.8)	50(24.9)
Special	1(1.33)	2(1.59)	3(1.49)
Graduate	29(38.7)	27(21.4)	56(27.9)
Totals	75(37.3)	126(62.7)	201(100)

*Numbers in parentheses are percentages.

Of the total sample of those responding by racial category, 37.2 percent were male and 62.8 percent were female. By race 37.3 percent were black and 62.7 percent were whites.

Among the age categories of respondents, the age range

of 18-22 represented the largest category at 48.8 percent.
There was a more varied distribution of respondents in the
age category 23-27 at 18 percent, and 28-32 at 11 percent.

In the sample by college affiliation the college of
Arts and Sciences was more represented with a total of 26.3
percent responding.   The college of Business was not far
behind with a total of 22.7 percent responding.   The
colleges of Education and Engineering were very closely
represented in relation to each other.   The college of
Education was represented by a total of 13.6 percent and the
college of Engineering was represented by a total of 11.6
percent responding.

Of the sample by classification graduate students were
more largely represented with a total of 27.9 percent
responding.   Following close behind in representation were
seniors at 24.9 percent and freshmen at 24.4 percent.   It
could be said that seniors and freshmen were equally
represented in the sample.   Seniors were represented at 24.9
percent with sophomores close behind at 24.4 percent.

Frequencies on Attitudes Towards Race Scale

The frequencies of responses for each item is shown by
percentages in Table II.   Frequencies on each item of the
subscales of attitudes include: race relations, equal
opportunity, equal opportunity programs (affirmative
action), the disadvantaged social status of blacks, the

disadvantaged social status of whites, traditional

prejudice, symbolic prejudice, and structural barriers for

blacks are each shown by percentages in Table II.

Subscales for the study are designed to examine three

different dimensions of on the four-point scale of attitudes

towards race. Comparisons for blacks and whites are

examined for each subscale. Two different dimensions of

attitudes towards equal opportunity were also examined.

Three different dimensions of attitudes towards equal

opportunity programs were examined. And, two dimensions of

attitudes concerning the social disadvantage of blacks and

whites were also examined.

In the analysis of attitudes of traditional prejudice

and symbolic prejudice two different dimensions were

examined on each variable. When examining attitudes towards

structural barriers for blacks two dimensions were observed

in the analysis.

TABLE IIA

FREQUENCIES ON THE FOUR-POINT ATTITUDES TOWARDS RACE SCALE

		Black	Whites
RACE RELATIONS			
1. How important is the issue	Very important	91.1	25.4
of equal opportunity for	Important	8.9	53.1
blacks to you?	Not very	0	20.8
	Not at all	0	0.8
2. How much do you know about	None at all	11.4	19.2
the status of race relations	Little	24.1	49.2
on this campus?	Some	49.4	26.9
	A lot	15.2	4.6
3. How firm are you in your	Not firm at all	3.9	3.1
opinions on race relations?	Not very firm	10.5	5.4
	Somewhat firm	35.5	54.3
	Very firm	50.0	37.2

The frequencies concerning racial attitudes are

outlined in Table II. When asked, "How important is the

issue of equal opportunity for blacks to you?" 91.1 percent
of blacks responded "very important." Compared to whites
only 25.4 percent concerning equal opportunity for blacks to
be "very important." Whites (53.1 percent) tended to
respond that equal opportunity for blacks was "important."
It was also found that 20.8 percent of considered equal
opportunity for blacks "not very important."

When asked, "How much do you know about the status of
race relations on this campus," 49.4 percent of blacks
responded that they had some knowledge. Compared to whites
35 percent claimed to have "some" knowledge, and 49.2
percent responded as having little knowledge of race
relations on this campus (Oklahoma State).

Black respondents (50 percent) responded to being "very
firm" in their opinions concerning race relations. While,
37.3 percent of whites claimed to be very firm in their
opinions. It was also found that a greater percentage of
whites (54.3 percent) were "some what" firm in their
opinions. While 35.5 percent of blacks responded as being
"some what" firm in their opinions on race relations.
Gordon Allport (1958), considered the "firmness" or
"rigidity" of attitudes being an essential characteristic of
racial prejudice. This point will become more important in
the analysis and conclusions.

It should also be noted that the items concerning
attitudes toward race relations of the racial attitudes

scale was measured on a four-point scale. Because of this
fact the percentages taken from this portion may not be
considered to be of equal weight with those responses on
other dimensions of racial attitudes on a five-point scale.

TABLE IIB

FREQUENCIES ON THE FIVE-POINT OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS RACE SCALE

	SA	A	Black NS	DA	SD	SA	A	Whites NS	DA	SD
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY										
4. There should be an adequate enforcement of laws to protect black people from racial discrimination.	0	71.1	22.4	3.90	2.60	26.4	51.2	10.9	7.80	3.90
5. There is a need for programs such as affirmative action.	63.2	32.9	3.90	0	0	6.20	32.6	28.7	24.0	8.50
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY PROGRAMS										
6. Affirmative action is reverse discrimination.	3.90	9.20	13.2	31.6	42.1	14.7	26.4	34.1	20.9	3.90
7. Affirmative action gives preferential treatment to blacks.	1.30	20.0	6.70	41.3	30.7	10.2	37.5	33.6	17.2	1.60
8. Affirmative action should require adequate qual- ifications for blacks.	35.1	40.5	12.2	10.8	1.40	41.1	33.3	20.2	3.90	1.60
DISADVANTAGED STATUS OF BLACKS										
9. Do you believe that most blacks have less income than do white people?	53.9	31.6	6.60	7.90	0	14.0	48.1	24.8	12.4	0.80
10. The majority of blacks expect preferential treatment in employment.	1.30	3.80	8.90	32.9	53.2	0.80	0	16.9	64.6	17.7
DISADVANTAGED STATUS OF WHITES										
11. Do you believe that most whites have worse jobs than do black people?	0	7.60	12.7	45.6	34.2	7.70	29.2	23.1	32.3	7.70
12. Whites are more discriminated against than blacks.	1.30	0	5.10	29.1	64.6	0.80	9.30	17.8	55.0	17.1
TRADITIONAL PREJUDICE										
13. Blacks have less income than whites because they are lazy.	2.50	3.80	1.30	13.9	78.5	3.10	4.70	10.1	44.2	38.0
14. Blacks are not as intelligent as whites.	2.50	0	0	13.9	83.5	1.50	3.10	3.80	36.9	54.6
SYMBOLIC PREJUDICE										
15. I believe that blacks are getting more than they deserve.	1.30	1.30	1.30	24.1	72.2	1.50	10.0	22.3	40.0	26.2
16. There are more blacks on welfare than whites.	3.80	7.60	16.5	24.1	48.1	5.40	24.6	50.0	15.4	4.60
STRUCTURAL BARRIERS										
17. The reason blacks do not have as much income as whites because they are discriminated against.	17.3	50.7	16.0	13.3	2.70	5.50	21.3	18.9	41.7	12.6
18. Blacks have not been given the same opportunity as white people.	56.0	36.0	4.00	1.30	2.70	8.70	34.6	16.5	29.9	10.2

*SA = Strongly Agree
A = Agree
NS = Not Sure
DA = Disagree
SD = Strongly Disagree

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Table III also describes the responses concerning equal opportunity and equal opportunity programs (affirmative action). This portion as well as the following portions of the racial attitudes scale will be measured on a five-point Likert scale. The options on this scale were: strongly agree, agree, not sure, disagree, and strongly disagree.

When blacks were asked, "There should be an adequate enforcement of laws to protect black people from racial discrimination," 71.1 percent responded that they agreed with this statement. Compared to 51.2 percent of whites who agree with this question. The highest responses of both whites and blacks were in agreement (agree) with this question. It was interesting to find that 26.4 percent of whites responded that they strongly agreed with this statement, compared to blacks who did not respond at this level of the scale. However, 22.4 percent of blacks did respond that they were not sure if there should be laws to protect blacks from discrimination.

Concerning the perceived need for programs such as "affirmative action," 63.2 percent of blacks responded that they "strongly agreed," compared to whites where only 6.2 percent strongly agreed. A larger percentage of whites (32.6) agreed with this statement, while 28.7 percent responded that they were not sure. Over one third of blacks (32.9) responded that they agreed that there was a need for programs such as affirmative action. This is very close to

the percentage of whites who responded in the same way (32.6) as stated previously.

In response to the question, "Affirmative action is reverse discrimination," 42.1 percent of blacks "strongly disagreed" and 31.6 percent of blacks "disagreed." Whites were more divided in their responses than blacks. It was reported that 34.1 percent were "not sure" that affirmative action was reverse discrimination. It was also found that 26.4 percent of whites agree that affirmative action is reverse discrimination. Blacks tended to agree more than blacks that affirmative action was reverses discrimination.

When asked if affirmative action give preferential treatment to blacks, 41.3 percent of blacks responded that the "disagreed" with this statement. When whites were asked the same question 37.5 percent stated that they "agree" with this statement. It was also found that 30.7 percent of blacks "strongly disagree", while 33.6 percent of whites responded that they were "not sure." Here whites agreed that affirmative action did give preferential treatment to blacks.

When asked, "Affirmative action should require adequate qualifications for blacks," 35.5 percent of blacks responded that they "strongly agreed" with this statement. Compared to blacks, 41.1 percent of whites responded that they "strongly agree" with this statement. Both blacks and white respondents tended to agree with this statement. Whites

however, agreed more strongly than blacks that affirmative action should require adequate qualifications for blacks.

It was also found that 40.5 percent of blacks "agree" that affirmative action should require adequate qualifications for blacks, and 33.3 percent of whites "agreed". And, 20.2 percent of whites were "not sure" if affirmative action should require adequate qualifications for blacks.

When blacks were asked if they perceived blacks having less income than whites, 53.9 percent responded that they "strongly agreed," compared to 14.0 percent of whites responded in the same way. On the other hand, 48.1 percent of whites agreed, compared to 31.6 percent of blacks who agreed that blacks have less income than whites. Though blacks and whites "agreed" that blacks had less income than blacks, blacks tended to agree slightly stronger than whites. (See Table III)

In response to the statement, "The majority of blacks expect preferential treatment in employment," 53.2 percent of blacks "strongly disagreed." Of whites in response to the same statement only 17.7 percent "strongly disagreed." It was also found that 32.9 percent of blacks "disagreed, compared to 64.6 percent of whites who also "disagreed." Though both blacks and whites "disagreed" with this statement, blacks tended to "disagree" ore strongly where most whites seemed to merely disagree. (See Table II)

When asked if whites have worse jobs than black people, 29.2 percent of whites "agreed" and 32.3 percent "disagreed." More whites "disagreed" that whites had worse jobs than blacks. On the other hand, 45.6 percent of blacks "disagreed" while 34.2 percent of blacks "strongly disagreed."

When asked if whites were more discriminated against than blacks 64.6 percent of blacks "strongly disagreed" while 29.1 merely "disagreed." Whites on the other hand tended to be split between "agreement" and "disagreement." It was found that 32.3 percent of whites "disagreed" with this statement and 29.2 percent tended to "agree" with this statement. More whites tended to "disagree" that whites were more discriminated against, when at the same time slightly fewer tended to "agree." In comparison, blacks tended to "disagree" more with this statement and in larger degrees.

Concerning a measure of traditional prejudice when asked if blacks had less income than whites because they are lazy, blacks tended to "disagree" in a larger degree than whites. It was found that 78.5 percent of blacks "strongly disagreed" while 38.0 percent of whites "strongly disagreed." A larger degree of whites (44.2 percent) simply disagreed with this statement. Though there was universal disagreement that blacks have less income because they are lazy, blacks tended to disagree more strongly than whites.

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Concerning the question of blacks being less intelligent than whites blacks again tended to disagree more strongly than whites. It was found that 83.5 percent of blacks "strongly disagreed" while 54.6 percent of whites "strongly disagreed." Of the white respondents 36.9 percent simply "disagreed" that blacks were less intelligent than whites. Blacks tended to disagree more strongly than whites that blacks are less intelligent than whites.

As a measure of symbolic prejudice, 72.2 percent of blacks "strongly disagreed" that blacks are getting more than they deserve, while 26.2 percent of whites "strongly disagreed." It was also found that a larger degree of whites merely "disagreed" that blacks were getting more than they serve. Though blacks and whites tended to disagree that blacks are getting more than they deserve blacks tended to disagree more strongly and in a larger degree.

In response to the statement that there are more blacks on welfare than whites 48.1 percent of blacks "strongly disagreed." Whites tended to be "unsure" of this statement, 50.0 percent of which were responded that they were "unsure."

In measuring the degree of structural explanations of blacks and whites, 50.7 percent of blacks tended to "agree" that blacks do not have the same income as whites because they are discriminated against. On the other hand, 41.7 percent of whites tended to "disagree." This shows that

there is a dramatic difference between the perceptions of blacks and whites concerning blacks being discriminated against. Blacks tended to agree that they have been discriminated against, thus contributing to them having less income, and whites tended to disagree that discrimination was the cause.

In response to blacks having not been given the same opportunity as whites, 56.0 percent of blacks tended to "strongly agree" and 36.0 percent tended to simply "agree" with this statement. Of white respondents 34.6 percent tended to "agree" and 29.9 percent tended to disagree that blacks have not been given the same opportunity. There is again a dramatic difference in the perceptions of blacks and whites. Blacks tended to agree more than whites that blacks have not been given the same opportunity. Whites tended to disagreed that blacks have not been given the same opportunity as white people.

Frequencies on Perceived Social Contact Scale

In Table III, the frequencies of responses for each item of the scale of perceived social contact is shown by percentages. Frequencies on each item of the subscales of perceived: casual contact, residential contact, acquaintance contact, intimate contact, and equal contact are each shown by percentages in Table III.

TABLE III

FREQUENCIES ON PERCEIVED SOCIAL CONTACT SCALE

	SA	A	Black NS	DA	SD	SA	A	White NS	DA	SD
CASUAL CONTACT										
1. I often will sit next to a black person in the student union.	53.5	26.8	11.3	7.00	1.40	20.8	41.7	17.5	17.5	2.50
2. In my classes I often sit next to a black person.	38.6	20.0	11.4	30.0	0	16.9	41.9	21.0	18.5	1.60
RESIDENTIAL CONTACT										
3. I would not object to living in the same dorm/house with a black person.	67.1	28.8	1.40	1.40	1.40	46.0	42.9	6.30	2.40	2.40
4. It would not bother me to have a roommate who is black.	78.1	19.2	1.40	0	1.40	38.1	38.1	13.5	7.10	3.20
ACQUAINTANCE CONTACT										
5. I would spend time for recreation with a black person.	73.0	25.7	0	1.40	0	42.5	50.4	5.50	0	1.60
6. I would eat lunch with a black person.	70.5	28.2	0	1.30	0	56.9	43.1	0	0	0
INTIMATE CONTACT										
7. Having a black person as a friend would not bother me.	83.3	16.7	0	0	0	71.5	26.2	2.30	0	0
8. I would never consider dating a black person.	1.30	1.30	1.30	11.7	84.4	24.2	15.6	17.2	23.4	19.5
9. I would never consider marrying a black person.	2.60	0	1.30	13.2	82.9	32.0	9.40	25.8	16.4	16.4
EQUAL CONTACT										
10. I would not object to having a black person as a co-worker.	75.6	21.8	1.30	1.30	0	61.5	35.4	2.30	0	0.80
11. I would not have any problem with a supervisor who is black.	74.4	24.4	0	1.34	0	56.9	34.6	4.60	3.80	0

Subscales for the study are designed to examine different dimensions of perceived social contact. Comparisons for blacks and whites are examined for each subscale of perceived social contact. Two different dimensions of perceived casual contact were examined in the study. For perceived residential contact two dimensions were examined. There were two dimensions of perceived acquaintance contact examined, and three different dimensions of perceived intimate contact examined in the study. And finally, there were two different dimensions of perceived equal contact examined in the study.

The following findings show the degree of perceived

casual contact between whites and blacks. As a measure of perceived casual contact, 53.5 percent of blacks "strongly agreed" that they often sit next to a black person in the student union and 26.8 percent merely "agreed." For whites, 41.7 percent merely "agreed" and 20.8 percent "strongly agreed." While blacks and whites tended to agree with sitting next to a black in the student union blacks tended to agree by a considerable stronger degree.

In the classroom situation 38.6 percent of blacks "strongly agreed" and 30.0 percent "disagreed that they often sit next to a black in their classes. On the other hand, 41.9 percent of whites "agreed" that they often sit next to a black and 21.0 percent were "not sure" if they often sit next to a black. While blacks and whites tended to "agree" blacks tended to agree more strongly. There was a considerable number of whites who were "not sure" if they often sit next to a black.

The following findings are concerning the degree of perceived residential contact between whites and blacks. In measuring perceived residential contact, 67.1 percent of blacks "strongly agreed" and 28.8 percent "agreed" that they would not object to living in the same dorm or house with a black person. While for whites 46.0 percent "strongly agreed" and 42.9 percent "agreed" that they would not object living with a black. Again, there is a pattern that: while blacks and whites tended to agree blacks

tended to agree more strongly with not objecting to living with a black.

Concerning a black roommate, 78.1 percent of blacks "strongly agreed" that this would not bother them and 19.2 percent merely "agreed." For whites there was an even split between "strongly agree" and "agree" at 38.1 percent for each. The patter persists in this case, however, there is a considerable difference in the degree of agreement. Blacks tended to agree more strongly than whites that it would not bother them having a black roommate.

The following findings are concerning the degree of perceived acquaintance contact between whites and blacks. When measuring perceived acquaintance contact, 73.0 percent of blacks "strongly agreed" and 25.7 percent "agreed" that they would spend time with a black for recreation. For whites on the other hand, 42.5 percent "strongly agreed" and 50.4 percent "agreed" that they would spend time for recreation with a black. The consistent pattern persists between blacks and whites. Blacks tended to agree to a larger degree than whites, while over half of white respondents "agreed" that they would spend time for recreation with a black.

When asked concerning eating lunch with a black, 70.5 percent of blacks "strongly agreed" and 28.2 percent "agreed." For whites, 56.9 percent "strongly agreed" and 43.1 percent "agreed" that they would eat lunch with a

black, Blacks again were in agreement to a larger degree than whites. Whites were closely evenly split between "strongly agree" and " agree" concerning eating lunch with a black.

The following findings are concerning the degree of perceived intimate contact between whites and blacks (See Table III). In measuring intimate contact, 83.3 percent of blacks "strongly agreed" that it would not bother them having a black as a friend. For whites, 71.5 percent "strongly agreed" and 26.2 percent "agreed" that having a black as a friend would not bother them. Blacks tended to agree more strongly while nearly one-third of whites merely agreed. Overall there was universal agreement between both blacks and whites in having a black as a friend.

When asked concerning never dating a black, 84.4 percent of blacks "strongly disagreed" and almost universal disagreement among blacks. For whites there was a considerable range of responses. Whites by and large "strongly agreed" (24.2 percent) that they would never date a black person. It also should be noted that almost the same degree (23.4 percent) of whites disagreed and 19.5 percent "strongly disagreed" to never considering dating a black.

It was also found that, 82.9 percent of blacks "strongly disagreed" to never considering marrying a black person. Whites on the other hand, were in agreement at 32.0

percent and 25.8 percent were "not sure." While blacks were in almost unanimous agreement and to a larger degree, whites tended to "disagree" with marrying a black person.

The following findings are concerning the degree of perceived equal contact between whites and blacks (See Table III). In measuring perceived equal contact 75.6 percent of blacks "strongly agreed" and 21.8 percent "agreed" that they would not object to having a black co-worker. For whites, 61.5 percent "strongly agreed" and 35.4 percent "agreed" to having a black as a co-worker.

Concerning having a black supervisor, 74.4 percent of blacks "strongly agreed" and 24.4 percent "agreed". For whites, 56 .9 percent "strongly agreed" and 34.6 percent "agreed." While both whites and blacks agreed to having a black supervisor, blacks tended to agree more strongly than whites.

Statistical Analysis of Data

Factor Analysis On Racial Attitudinal Scale Attitudes

A factor analysis was conducted on each subscale measuring attitudes towards race. The factor analysis was conducted in order to test the validity of this scale on each item of the research instrument. Table IV shows the factor loadings for both the principle components as well as the rotated factors on the subscales of attitudes concerning: race relations, equal opportunity, equal

opportunity programs (affirmative action), the disadvantaged social status of blacks, the disadvantaged social status of whites, traditional prejudice, symbolic prejudice, and structural explanations for black social disadvantage.

In Table IV, three dimensions were examined in the subscale of attitudes towards race relations. Based on the factor loadings for each dimension there was evidence to support the notion of an overall measure of attitudes towards race relations.

TABLE IV

Factor Loadings on Attitudes Towards Race Scale

Items	Mean	Un-rotated Principle Components	Factors Rotated Orthogonally			
			I	II	III	IV
RACE RELATIONS						
1. How important is the issue of equal opportunity for blacks to you?	3.36	.71	.51	.36	.38	.02
2. How much do you know about the status of race relations on this campus?	2.38	.44	.18	.07	.74	.09
3. How firm are you in your opinions on race relations?	3.28	.30	.03	.12	.74	-.19
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY						
4. There should be an adequate enforcement of laws to protect black people from racial discrimination.	4.16	.61	.61	.34	.04	-.18
5. There is a need for programs such as affirmative action.	3.60	.74	.64	.30	.14	.30
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY PROGRAMS						
6. Affirmative action is reverse discrimination.	3.19	.71	.58	.31	.14	.34
7. Affirmative action gives preferential treatment to blacks.	3.05	.72	.54	.26	.26	.51
8. Affirmative action should require adequate qualifications for blacks.	1.96	.03	-.04	-.06	-.16	.79
DISADVANTAGED STATUS OF BLACKS						
9. Do you believe that most blacks have less income than do white people?	2.12	-.39	-.73	.27	-.07	-.02
10. The majority of blacks expect preferential treatment in employment.	4.11	.32	.59	-.02	-.14	-.20

TABLE IV Continued

Factor Loadings on Attitudes Towards Race Scale

Items	Mean	Un-rotated Principle Components	Factors Rotated Orthogonally			
			I	II	III	IV
DISADVANTAGED STATUS OF WHITES						
11. Do you believe that most whites have worse jobs than do black people?	3.41	.70	.54	.37	.16	.25
12. Whites are more discriminated against than blacks.	4.07	.76	.53	.49	.23	.12
TRADITIONAL PREJUDICE						
13. Blacks have less income than whites because they are lazy.	4.29	.58	.18	.78	.02	-.09
14. Blacks are not as intelligent as whites.	4.54	.51	.04	.83	.01	-.07
SYMBOLIC PREJUDICE						
15. I believe that blacks are getting more than they deserve.	4.11	.76	.38	.68	.18	.20
16. There are more blacks on welfare than whites.	3.30	.54	.07	.60	.29	.17
STRUCTURAL BARRIERS						
17. The reason blacks do not have as much income as whites is because they are discriminated against.	3.03	.73	.58	.37	.28	.04
18. Blacks have not been given the same opportunity as white people.	3.54	.78	.65	.32	.28	.15

The factor analysis on all eighteen items (Questions 6-23) revealed that there was sufficient evidence to suggest an overall variable for racial attitudes. The factor analysis of principle components showed that 6.67 percent of the total variance may be explained by the first factor. The first factor of principle components was established by an un-rotated factor analysis of the eighteen items of the racial attitudes scale. (See Table IV)

Contained in this overall scale were eight subscales of specific categories of racial attitudes: 1) attitudes towards race relations, 2) attitudes towards equal opportunity, 3) attitudes towards equal opportunity programs, 4) attitudes concerning the social disadvantage of blacks, 5) attitudes concerning the social disadvantage of

whites, 6) attitudes of traditional prejudice, 7) attitudes of symbolic prejudice, and 8) structural explanations for the social disadvantage of blacks.

The factor loading on item 8 (Question 13) might be arguably low. This however, might not be significant with a factor loading of .30. Question 13 presented an extremely insignificant factor loading on the first factor (.03). Based on this finding it was decided to eliminate this item for further analysis. (See Table IV)

The statistically insignificant loading was based on a subjective level of significance equal to or greater than .30. Substantively this item could be eliminated because of it's inability to serve as an indicator racial attitudes. This deletion was determined not to have a substantial impact upon the validity of the scale of racial attitudes nor the subscale of attitudes concerning equal opportunity programs.

The factor loading of -.39 on item 9 (Question 14) also presented a problem as an indicator of racial attitudes. A decision was made to reverse this item in order to make there highest possible value represent a more favorable response to the item. An anticipated "most favorable" response to the question, "Do you believe blacks have less income than do white people' might be represented by a value of "5" or "strongly agree." This is made possible be such a reversal on the five-point scale on this particular

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item. This adjustment might be supported both theoretically and substantively. Theoretically it might be said that the favorable attitudes towards blacks income would be represented by the acknowledgement of black socio-economic disadvantage relative to whites. (Kluegel and Smith, 1981)

TABLE V

Factor Loadings on Perceived Social Contact Scale

Items	Mean	Un-rotated Principle Components	Factors Rotated Orthogonally		
			I	II	III
CASUAL CONTACT					
1. I often will sit next to a black person in the student union.	3.84	.52	.15	.16	.87
2. In my classes I often sit next to a black person.	3.62	.54	.22	.10	.87
RESIDENTIAL CONTACT					
3. I would not object to living in the same dorm/house with a black person.	4.39	.69	.57	.31	.22
4. It would not bother me to have a roommate who is black.	4.25	.78	.48	.61	.26
ACQUAINTANCE CONTACT					
5. I would spend time for recreation with a black person.	4.46	.84	.73	.39	.20
6. I would eat lunch with a black person.	4.61	.78	.78	.14	.29
INTIMATE CONTACT					
7. Having a black person as a friend would not bother me.	4.63	.72	.82	.11	.07
8. I would never consider dating a black person.	4.55	.82	.85	.21	.13
9. I would never consider marrying a black person.	4.74	.74	.83	.11	.09
EQUAL CONTACT					
10. I would not object to having a black person as a co-worker.	3.64	.65	.18	.94	.08
11. I would not have any problem with a supervisor who is black.	3.47	.66	.18	.93	.12

Factor Analysis on Perceived Social Contact Scale

A factor analysis was also performed on each subscale measuring social contact. The factor analysis was conducted in order to test the validity of this scale on each item of the research instrument. Table V shows the factor loadings

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for both the principle components as well as the orthogonally rotated factors on the subscales concerning: casual contact, residential contact, acquaintance contact, intimate contact, and equal contact.

The un-rotated principle components indicated that there was reason sufficient evidence to suggest that there was an overall factor for perceived social contact. All factor loadings were high ranging from .52 to .84 on the overall variable "social contact."

Based on the factor analysis of "social contact" variables a construction of new variables was under-taken. From the five previously constructed variables, four new variables were constructed: 1) casual contact, 2) acquaintance contact, 3) intimate contact, and 4) total contact. Further statistical analysis will be conducted on both the newly constructed attitudinal variables and the newly constructed perceived social contact variables.

Based on the reconstructed "racial attitudinal" and "social contact" variables, it was necessary reformulate the hypotheses. Operationalizing new variables consequently resulted in a reformulation of previous hypotheses. The basis of the study was to examine the relationship between "social contact" and "attitudes towards race" by being able to explain this relationship with fewer variables is a "plus" toward constructing a more "parsimonious" model of examination. This will in turn allow for an examination of

how well the independent variables of "social contact" might predict "racial attitudes," for example between white and black respondents.

Modifications to the Study

The above operations were an essential aid in the analysis for the purposes of testing the validity of the racial attitudinal scale. The following changes were made in order to maximize both the validity of the racial attitudinal scale as well as for the purposes of theoretical parsimony.

The subsequent findings resulted in a reformulation of the originally constructed variables. As a result of the factor analysis there was a reduction in the number of variables examined in the study.

After establishing an overall factor of racial attitudes it was then necessary to determine the scaled items for each variable under investigation. Four new variables resulted from the factor analysis: 1) attitudes towards race relations (RAR), 2) attitudes towards equal opportunity (EO), 3) attitudes of prejudice (PREJ), and 4) total attitudes towards race.

The factor loading on items 14, 15, 16, 19, and 20 indicated a measure of attitudes towards equal opportunity. (See Table IV) These factor loadings resulted following an "orthogonal" rotation or a ninety degree rotation. For this

reason factors will be clearly seen to load on only a single factor. The first factor showed significant factor loadings based on the "Scree Method" of determining significant factor loadings. These factor loadings (or beta weights) were observed to be both strong and loading twice as strong on the first factor. (See Table IV)

Reformulated Hypotheses

Based on the revised social contact and racial attitudinal variables the previous hypotheses were also revised to maintain consistency. The four reformulated working hypotheses are as follows:

H^1 With whites increased degree of social contact with blacks, the more favorable attitudes they have towards race relations.

H_2 With whites increased degree of social contact with blacks, the more favorable attitudes they have towards equal opportunity.

H_3 With whites increased degree of social contact with blacks, the less attitudes of prejudice they have towards blacks." And finally,

H_4 With whites increased degree of total contact with blacks, the more favorable attitudes they have towards blacks."

These hypotheses will now be utilized in the analysis of the research data. First, a description of the findings from the statistical analyses will be shown. And Secondly, conclusions will be drawn based on the findings in relation to each hypothesis.

TABLE VI

Pearson's Correlation Coefficients on Perceived
Social Contact and Racial Attitudes

		Attitudinal Variables			
		RAR	EO	PREJ	TOTA
	CAS	.2908*	.1964*	.2360*	.2840*
Contact Variables	ACQ	.2103*	.2880*	.3685**	.3968**
	INT	.3087*	.5027**	.4315**	.6060**
	TOTC	.3063*	.4310**	.4819**	.5740**

*Significant at the .05 level when testing Ho that r is = 0.
**Strong and significant at the .05 level.
RAR = Attitudes towards Race Relations
EO = Attitudes towards Equal Opportunity
PREJ = Attitudes of Prejudice
TOTA = Total Attitudes Towards Race
CAS = Casual Contact
ACQ = Acquaintance Contact
INT = Intimate Contact
TOTC = Total Perceived Social Contact

Pearson Correlation Coefficients Between Attitudes Towards
Race and Perceived Social Contact Variables

Table VI shows the correlation coefficients between the
variables of racial attitudes and perceived social contact.
The table expresses both the coefficients believed to be
significant at the .05 level (designated by an asterisk).
Those figures not designated by an asterisk are considered
not significant at the .05 level.

The correlation analysis was performed first upon both
social contact and racial attitudinal variables. Secondly,
there was an analysis of the relationship between social
contact and attitudinal variables by race. I was observed
in the correlation matrix presented in Table VI, that all

correlations between racial attitudes and social contact
variables were statistically significant at the .05 level.
All correlations were also found to show a positive
relationship between social contact and racial attitudinal
variables. That is, for ever increase in social contact,
favorable attitudes towards race will increase
proportionately.

In Table VI, a very strong correlation of .6060 was
observed between "intimate contact" and "total attitudes."
This relationship is as would be expected for two reasons.
First, "intimate contact" represents the highest degree of
contact between persons of diverse ethnic backgrounds.
Secondly, the newly constructed variable of "total
attitudes" has a very strong explanatory power concerning
overall attitudes towards race. The latter is consistent
with the findings form the factor analysis, in relation to
the principle component of attitudes towards race.

There was also a strong correlation observed between
"total contact" and "total attitudes." This relationship
was represented by a correlation coefficient of .5740. The
strength of the variable "total contact" like "total
attitudes" is as would be expected for the factor analysis.
Based on this finding there is reason to believe that
"total contact" like "total attitudes" are statistically
significant in explaining the overall relationship between
social contact and attitudes towards race.

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It was also observed that there was a significant correlation between "intimate contact" and "attitudes towards equal opportunity." This is also as expected based on "intimate contact" representing the highest degree of social contact. The literature also states in relation to racial attitudes concerning equal opportunity, that they have significantly improved in recent decades. Though, this study did not examine changes in racial attitudes over time, these findings seem to suggest that there is evidence of favorable attitudes towards race among respondents in the sample population. At best it might be said that these findings give only a partial explanation of the relationship between social contact and racial attitudes.

In Table VI the relationship between "casual contact" and "attitudes towards equal opportunity" was represented by a weak correlation of .1964. This might be expected due to the low degree of contact represented as "casual contact." There was also a low correlation observed between "acquaintance contact" and "attitudes towards race relations." This relationship was represented by a correlation coefficient of .2103. This relationship expresses the low degree of contact represented by "acquaintance contact."

It was also observed that the relationship between the degree of social contact and attitudes towards race followed an observable patter across categories of social

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contact. However, there are some exceptions to this pattern. The correlation between "casual contact" and "attitudes towards race relations" with a correlation coefficient of .2908 was such an exception. And, the correlation between "intimate contact" and "total attitudes" ($r=$ .6060) was also an exception.

This pattern was not a perfectly consistent one, however, there is some evidence as to the relationship between racial attitudes and social contact across degrees of contact. In no way is it suggested that causality could be established. There is also a possibility that the correlations represented in the matrix (Table VI) are "spurious." That is, by not controlling for extemporaneous variables the correlations expressed could in fact be false.

TABLE VII

Pearson's Correlation Coefficient on Social Contact
and Racial Attitudes by Race (Blacks)

		Attitudinal Variables			
		RAR	EO	PREJ	TOTA
	CAS	.3891**	.1079	−.0415	.1349
Contact	ACQ	.2786*	.2394*	.1020	.2998**
Variables	INT	.1312	.1597	.0486	.1513
	TOTC	.3095**	.2140	.0840	.2630*

*Significant at the .05 level when testing Ho that r is = 0.
**Strong and significant at the .05 level.
RAR - Attitudes towards Race Relations
EO - Attitudes towards Equal Opportunity
PREJ - Attitudes of Prejudice
TOTA - Total Attitudes Towards Race
CAS - Casual Contact
ACQ - Acquaintance Contact
INT - Intimate Contact
TOTC - Total Perceived Social Contact

Pearson's Correlation Coefficients Between Attitudes Towards
Race and Perceived Social Contact by Race (Blacks)

Table VII shows the correlation coefficients between

the variables of racial attitudes and perceived social

contact by race for blacks. The table expresses both the

coefficients believed to be significant at the .05 level

(designated by an asterisk). Those figures not designated

by an asterisk are considered not significant at the .05

level.

There was a correlation analysis conducted for both

whites and blacks concerning social contact and attitudes

towards race in order to address the question of

spuriousness. For blacks it was observed in Table VII that

there were few significant correlations.   There were also

few strong and significant correlation between social

contact and attitudes towards race variables.

The strongest correlation was observed in the matrix

(Table VII) between "casual contact" and "attitudes towards

race relations." This relationship was represented by a

correlation coefficient of .3891. This might be due to the

nature of the questions concerning "social contact" and

"attitudes towards race." Most items on the research

instrument referred to "contact with blacks" and "attitudes

towards blacks."

There was a significant correlation observed between

"total contact" and "attitudes towards race relations" (r=

3095). The relationship between the "variables

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"acquaintance contact" and "total attitudes" also showed a significant correlation of . 998. The lowest correlation was expressed by a coefficient of -.0415 between "casual contact" and "attitudes of prejudice." Again this might be due to the nature of the questions on the research instrument.

Though, the matrix showed little relationship between the "attitudes of blacks" towards other blacks and "social contact" with other blacks there is utility that might be realized from these findings. First, this allows for an examination of the perceptions of blacks towards themselves. Both blacks perceived social contact and their attitudes towards race-specific issues. Secondly, this allowed for the comparison between blacks and whites perceived social contact and attitudes towards race.

Pearson's Correlation Coefficients on Social Contact and Attitudes Towards Race by Race (Whites)

Table VIII shows the correlation coefficients between the variables of racial attitudes and perceived social contact by race for whites. The table expresses both the coefficients believed to be significant at the .05 level (designated by an asterisk). Those figures not designated by an asterisk are considered not significant at the .05 level.

For whites (Table VIII), it was examined that there was a significant correlation between "total contact" and

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"total attitudes towards race." The correlation coefficient of .4701 between the variables "total contact" and "total attitudes" was as might be expected. there was also a significant correlation between "total contact" and "attitudes of prejudice" expressed by a correlation coefficient of .4593. This strong and statistically significant correlation shows that for whites that a positive relationship exists between "total contact" and "attitudes of prejudice." These two findings suggest that the above related variables warrant further investigation and further analysis.

TABLE VIII

Pearson's Correlation Coefficients on Social Contact
and Racial Attitudes by Race (Whites)

		Attitudinal Variables			
		RAR	EO	PREJ	TOTA
	CAS	.1607	.1105	.3033*	.2743*
Contact Variables	ACQ	.1221	.2028*	.4230*	.3847**
	INT	.2852*	.2075*	.2636*	.3951**
	TOTC	.2361*	.2162*	.4593**	.4701**

*Significant at the .05 level when testing Ho that r is = 0.
**Strong and significant at the .05 level.
RAR - Attitudes towards Race Relations
EO - Attitudes towards Equal Opportunity
PREJ - Attitudes of Prejudice
TOTA - Total Attitudes Towards Race
CAS - Casual Contact
ACQ - Acquaintance Contact
INT - Intimate Contact
TOTC - Total Perceived Social Contact

It was also found that there was a strong and statistically significant correlation between "acquaintance

contact" and "attitudes of prejudice" for white respondents. This relationship is expressed by the correlation coefficient of .4230. This seems to suggest that these two variables are useful in the analysis of the relationship between "perceived social contact" and "attitudes towards race."

Summary of Correlation Matrixes on Perceived Social Contact and Attitudes Towards Race

The correlation matrix (Table VIII) expresses a strong relationship between the "perceived social contact" variables and the "racial attitudes" variables. The newly constructed variables of "total contact" and "total attitudes towards race" were particularly good measures of the relationship between the two. The correlation matrix (Table VII), showed that there was limited information acquired concerning the "perceived social contact" and "attitudes towards race" for blacks. As stated above the information was not altogether futile to the overall analysis of social contact and attitudes towards race.

A substantial amount of information was acquired from the correlation matrix of "perceived social contact" and "attitudes towards race" among white respondents (Table VIII). Again, the correlations between "total contact" and "total attitudes" were both significant and strong. This is with few exceptions. All correlations expressed in this matrix (Table VIII) showed that there were statistically

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significant correlations with only three exceptions.

Regression Analysis on the Independent and
Dependent Variables: Attitudes Towards Race
and Perceived Social Contact by Race

Tables IX, X, XI, and XII examine the relationship
between the independent variables of "social contact" and
the dependent variables " attitudes towards race" by race.
A significance level of .05 is established to determine the
statistical significance of the beta weights in the
regression models.

An examination of standardized scores will be analyzed
in each model in explaining the dependent variables
concerning "attitudes towards race." By examining
standardized scores it is possible to yield more comparable
beta scores for analysis. Four dependent variables will be
examined, 1) attitudes towards race relations, 2) attitudes
towards race relations, 3) attitudes of prejudice, and 4)
total attitudes towards race.

Table IX shows the regression model on the dependent
variable attitudes towards race relations for blacks and
whites. Five dependent variables on "social contact" are
examined in explaining the dependent variable by race. In
Table IX, there was a statistically significant beta of .74
for blacks in the regression model on the independent
variable "casual contact." That is, for every one unit
change in blacks "causal contact", blacks "attitudes towards

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race relations" will increase .74 standard deviations. The R^2 shows that .1969 percent of the variance is explained by the model.

For whites there was a statistically significant beta of .59 was observed. That is, for every one unit change in whites "intimate contact", whites "attitudes towards race relations" will increase by .59 standard deviations. The R^2 shows that .1036 percent of the variance is explained by the model.

TABLE IX

Regression Analysis of Attitudes Towards Race
Relations by Race

		<u>Black</u> (N= 79) Beta Standardized	<u>White</u> (N=130) Beta Standardized
	CAS	.74	.34*
Independent Variables	ACQ	.67	.31
	INT	.19	.59*
	TOTC	-.91	-.69
		R^2=.1969	R^2=.1036

*Significant at the .05 level when testing Ho that r is = 0.
CAS - Casual Contact
ACQ - Acquaintance Contact
INT - Intimate Contact
TOTC - Total Perceived Social Contact

It was also observed in the model that the betas for blacks and whites were both strong and negative on the variable "total contact." The beta for blacks of -.91 shows that for every one unit change in blacks "total contact",

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blacks "attitudes towards race relations" will decrease by -.91 standard deviations. The beta for whites shows that for every one unit change in whites "total contact", whites "attitudes towards race relations" will decrease by -.69 standard deviations. Though, both betas were strong they were also found to be insignificant.

TABLE X

Regression Analysis of Attitudes Towards Equal Opportunity
by Race

		Black (N= 79) Beta Standardized	White (N= 130) Beta Standardized
	CAS	.30	.29
Independent Variables	ACQ	.73	.54
	INT	.13	.57
	TOTC	-.71	-.82
		R²=.1008	R²=.0939

*Significant at the .05 level when testing Ho that r is = 0.
CAS = Casual Contact
ACQ = Acquaintance Contact
INT = Intimate Contact
TOTC= Total Perceived Social Contact

Table XIII shows that there are no significant beta coefficients for social contact and attitudes toward equal opportunity. The very low R^2 shows that little variation can be explained in the model. Table X, shows that there is a statistically significant betas only for whites in explaining the dependent variable "attitudes towards equal opportunity."

It was found that for every one unit change in whites

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"acquaintance contact", whites "attitudes towards equal opportunity" will increase by .54 standard deviations. The R^2 shows that .0939 percent of the variance is explained by the model.

It was also found that for every one unit change in whites "intimate contact", whites "attitudes towards equal opportunity" will change by .57 standard deviations. With the same R^2 only .0939 percent of the variance is explained by the model. Again, both strong and negative betas on "total contact" were observed in Table X. The beta for blacks shows that for every one unit change in "total contact", blacks "attitudes towards equal opportunity will decrease by -.71 standard deviations. And, the beta for whites shows that for every one unit change in "total contact", whites "attitudes towards equal opportunity" will decrease by -.82 standard deviations.

TABLE XI

Regression Analysis of Attitudes of Prejudice by Race

		Black (N= 79) Beta Standardized	White (N=130) Beta Standardized
	CAS	-.31	.02
Independent Variables	ACQ	-.23	-.02
	INT	-.13	-.24
	TOTC	.54	.63
		R^2=.0210	R^2=.2316

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Table XI shows that there are no significant beta coefficients for blacks and whites in predicting the degree of change in attitudes of prejudice by knowing the degree of social contact. The very low R^2 shows that little of the variation for blacks and whites can be explained by this model.

In Table XI it was observed that there were no statistically significant betas for blacks or whites on "attitudes of prejudice." Statistical significance being determined by a significance level at the .05 level. However, it was observed that there were strong correlations for both whites and blacks on "total contact". Though, they were not statistically significant there is evidence that "total contact" has substantial power in explaining "attitudes of prejudice".

A beta for blacks shows that for every one unit change in "total contact" blacks "attitudes of prejudice" will increase by .54 standard deviations. A R^2 shows that .0210 percent of the variance might be explained by this model. For whites, the beta shows that for every one unit change in "total contact" whites "attitudes of prejudice" will change by .63 standard deviations. The R^2 for whites shows that .2316 of the variance was explained by this model.

TABLE XII

Regression Analysis of Total Attitudes Towards Race by Race

		<u>Black</u> (N= 79) Beta Standardized	<u>White</u> (N= 130) Beta Standardized
Independent Variables	CAS	.20	.19
	ACQ	.51	.26
	INT	.08	.33
	TOTC	-.40	-.10
		R^2=.0862	R^2=.2491

*Significant at the .05 level when testing Ho that r is = 0.
CAS - Casual Contact
ACQ - Acquaintance Contact
INT - Intimate Contact
TOTC - Total Perceived Social Contact

Table XII, shows that there were no statistically significant betas for blacks or whites in explaining the dependent variable "total attitudes towards race." It was also observed that there was only a single strong beta for blacks on "acquaintance contact." This beta showed that for every one unit change in blacks "acquaintance contact" blacks "total attitudes towards race" will increase by .51 standard deviations. The R^2 shows that only .0862 of the variation might be explained by this model.

Evaluation of Hypotheses

This study seeks to answer three basic questions: 1) Do whites attitudes tend to be more favorable toward blacks? 2) Is there a relationship between degrees of social contact and attitudes towards race? 3) Do whites attitudes towards

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blacks become more favorable with an increase in the degree of social contact? These questions will provide the focus for the analysis of the research hypotheses. Below there is a more detailed description of the hypotheses and their relation to the data analysis. These research questions serve as a guide to determine whether or not the research goals have been successfully attained .

H_1 With whites increased degree of social contact with blacks, the more favorable attitudes they have towards race relations.

The correlation coefficients in Table VIII shows that there is no significant relationship between "attitudes towards race relation" and degrees of "perceived social contact." None of the correlations were significantly related to any of the " perceived social contact" variables. If there is no significant relationship found between "attitudes towards race" and "perceived social contact", it is expected that there will be little evidence to support Hypothesis One.

For whites, it was found that there was a significant relationship between both "intimate contact" and "total contact" and "attitudes towards race relations." However, there is no increase in favorable "attitudes towards race relations" as the degree of "social contact" increases from "casual" to "total contact." Therefore, Hypothesis One was not supported because there was no increase in favorable "attitudes towards race relations" across degrees of social

contact while controlling for race.

The regression analysis for whites in Table IX shows that there was some evidence to support Hypothesis One. However, there were exceptions unanticipated in the regression model predicting "attitudes towards race relations." First, the beta weights for "casual contact" and "acquaintance contact" were there reverse of what was hypothesized. It was expected that "acquaintance contact" would designated a greater predictability of attitudes towards race relations." The contrary was actually found.

It might be concluded that Hypothesis One is not tenable. Based on the findings of the correlation analysis for whites there was little evidence of any significant relationship between "attitudes towards race relations" and degrees of "perceived social contact." The regression analysis showed that there was no indication that the increased degree of social contact increased the more favorable attitudes of whites towards race relations.

H_2 With whites increased degree of social contact with blacks, the more favorable attitudes they have towards equal opportunity.

The correlation analysis for whites in Table VIII showed that there was a significant relationship between favorable "attitudes towards equal opportunity" across degrees of "social contact." With the exception for "casual contact" all correlations between "attitudes towards equal opportunity" and degrees of "social contact" were

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statistically significant. In support of Hypothesis Two, there was also evidence suggested in Table VIII, that as the degree of "perceived social contact" increased from "casual" to "intimate" the more favorable attitudes whites had towards race relations.

The regression analysis in Table X shows that the same was also true. The beta coefficients appeared to increase as the degree of social contact increased. That is, as the degree of "social contact" increased, the more favorable "attitudes towards equal opportunity also increased. One exception was that of "total contact." For "total contact" the inverse was true, with whites increase degree of "social contact" the less favorable "attitudes towards equal opportunity." This beta coefficient being strong (-.82) would suggest that if the increased degree of contact was negative there would be a proportional decline in favorable attitudes towards "equal opportunity." This beta coefficient though strong was not found to be statistically significant at the .05 level.

The beta coefficients for "acquaintance" and "intimate" contact were both strong and statistically significant. Suggesting that "acquaintance contact" and "intimate contact" are good indicators of favorable "attitudes towards equal opportunity." According to the model "intimate contact" is the best indicator of favorable "attitudes towards equal opportunity." The variable "casual contact"

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as expected had the least amount of effect upon favorable "attitudes towards equal opportunity."

Based upon these findings there is evidence to support Hypothesis Two. Along with the above qualifications there is evidence here to support that increased degrees of contact can positively influence favorable attitudes towards race. Here favorable "attitudes towards equal opportunity" might be predicted by an increased degree of "social contact." It might be added that this relationship may in fact be negative as well, as in the case of "total contact" in predicting favorable "attitudes towards equal opportunity.

H_3 With whites increased degree of social contact with blacks, the less attitudes of prejudice they have towards blacks.

The correlation coefficients for whites in Table VIII, shows that all variables of "social contact" are significantly related to "attitudes of prejudice." In the case of "total contact" the relationship is both strong and statistically significant at the .05 level. The variable "acquaintance contact" follows directly behind "total contact" as the strongest related variable to "attitudes of prejudice." These findings from Table VIII are very significant toward testing the tenability of Hypothesis three but only partially so. More will be derived from the regression analysis.

In Table XI, it was found that none of the beta

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coefficients in the model of predicting whites "attitudes of prejudice" by knowing the degree of "attitudes of prejudice" were statistically significant. However, the independent variable "total contact" had the strongest beta coefficient represented in the model. That is, "total contact" held the strongest explanatory power of whites "attitudes of prejudice.

There was no evidence presented in either the correlation or regression analyses in support of Hypothesis Three. There appeared to be no evidence that the increased degree of contact could predict whites decreased "attitudes of prejudice." It was found that "acquaintance" and "intimate" contact were inversely related to whites "attitudes of prejudice." Instead of their being a decrease in "attitudes of prejudice" there was rather an increase in whites "attitudes of prejudice" with increased degrees of "social contact." Again this might indicate that the increased degree of contact might have been negative. Instead of increased degrees of contact decreasing "attitudes of prejudice" they might in fact increase "attitudes of prejudice." This conclusion might not very tenable because of the lack of statistical significance of the findings.

H_4 With whites increased degree of social contact with blacks, the more favorable total attitudes they have towards blacks.

Table VIII, shows the correlation coefficients for

whites between degrees of "social contact" and "total attitudes towards race." This table shows that the relationship between degrees of "social contact" and "total attitudes towards race" is statistically significant at the .05 level. One exception to this is that of "casual contact" which suggests that thought statistically significant the correlation coefficient could be arguably low.

There is strong support here for Hypothesis Four. It appears that with an increased degree of "social contact" the more favorable "total attitudes towards race" whites have. With increased degrees of contact the correlation coefficients appear to increase. Thus, higher degrees of "social contact" are more positively related to whites "total attitudes towards race."

The regression analysis in Table XII, shows that there is some support of Hypothesis Four. All beta coefficients are positive except for "total contact." There also appears to be an increase in the ability to predict whites "total attitudes towards race" with an increase degree of "social contact." Hypothesis Four, therefore, is not tenable based on the lack of statistical significance.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Review of the study

This study was conducted in order to examine the relationship between varied degrees of social contact on attitudes towards race. This work is an attitudinal study conducted from the theoretical framework of social psychology. Racial attitudes concerning race relations, equal opportunity, prejudice, and total attitudes were examined as dependent variables in the study. The dependent variables were examined in relation to the independent variables of perceived social contact: casual contact, acquaintance contact, intimate contact, and total contact.

Both the independent and dependent variables were analyzed statistically to examine correlation and predictability. Pearson's Product Moment Correlation was utilized to examine the relationship between the variables of social contact and attitudes towards race. In order to examine predictability, a regression analysis was utilized in order to see how the independent variables of social contact might explain the nature of racial attitudes.

As a result to the test of validity (factor analysis) there were some modifications to the original hypotheses

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presented in Chapter IV. There were four research
hypotheses examined in the study. These hypotheses were
formulated to empirically test three research questions.
One, "Is there a relationship between social contact and
attitudes towards race?" Two, "Can varied degrees of social
contact explain the nature of attitudes towards race?" And
third, "Is there an increased degree of favorable attitudes
towards race as the degree of social contact increases?"
The working hypotheses for the study were:

> Hypothesis One: With whites increased degree of social
> contact with blacks, the more favorable attitudes they
> have towards race relations.

> Hypothesis Two: With whites increased degree of social
> contact with blacks, the more favorable attitudes
> they have towards equal opportunity.

> Hypothesis Three: With whites increased degree of
> social contact with blacks, the less attitudes of
> prejudice they have towards blacks.

> Hypothesis Four: With whites increased degree of
> social contact with blacks, the more favorable total
> attitudes they have towards blacks.

These hypotheses were examined in relation to the data
presented in the analysis of data. The findings relative
the appropriate hypothesis was examined to determine whether
or not the hypothesis could or could not be supported.

Kerlinger (1973), states that survey research is able
to handle a wide scope of information from a large
population with a degree of sampling error. There are,
however, two major disadvantages to survey, 1) tendency of
respondents toward acquiescence, 2) the reliability of the

items, and 3) the problem in the validity of the measurement scale. These two major problems were addressed in the study.

First, the questions were carefully formulated in order to illicit the desired response to each item of the survey instrument. Even with the best efforts of researchers there exists the possibility that respondents will not give their truest responses. This presents a dilemma in the design of the research instrument and also the tendencies of respondents in participating in survey research.

Secondly, no research is of great value if it is not replicable. A test of reliability was conducted in the statistical analysis to test for inter-consistency. This is in order to see whether or not the responses to each item of the questionnaire have minimal error. The coefficient of alpha was used to measure the inter-consistency of both the social contact and racial attitudinal scales. The coefficient of alpha for the perceived social contact scale was statistically significant (.84) and a coefficient of alpha on racial attitudes (.80) was also found to be statistically significant. These findings ensured that the responses were consistently made in relation to each item on the questionnaire.

Finally, a factor analysis was performed in order to test the validity of the scales. That is, to ensure that the responses to the items on the questionnaire accurately

measured what they were intended to measure. The use of factor analysis aided in the process of formulating a more parsimonious research design as well. Specific modifications in the study were made concerning both the independent and dependent variables as well as the working hypotheses.

Summary of Findings

The study yielded a vast amount of important information concerning perceived social contact and attitudes towards race. These findings will have only a limited importance, however, due to the lack of support of the research hypotheses.

The frequencies of responses showed that there was some variation in blacks and whites perceived social contact and attitudes towards race. There was much more variation in the responses of whites than for black respondents. For example, 91.1 percent of blacks felt that equal opportunity for blacks was "very important." While, the responses of whites was much more dispersed, 53.1 percent responded "important," 25.4 percent responded "very important," and 20.8 percent responded "not very important."

On many of the items the responses of whites and blacks were quite similar with little variation in their responses. On the item of blacks not being as intelligent as whites, both whites and blacks tended to "strongly disagree." It

was found that 83.5 percent of blacks tended to "strongly disagree" and 54.6 percent of whites "strongly disagreed." This might be due to the fact that racial attitudes have improved based on previous research. Improved attitudes are primarily attributable to the decline of attitudes of traditional prejudice. Whites today tend not to characterized blacks as being inherently inferior to them. (Kluegel and Smith, 1981)

Both blacks and whites "agreed" that there should be an adequate enforcement of laws to protect black people from racial discrimination. Only by a slight margin did a higher proportion of blacks tend to agree. It was found that 71.1 percent of blacks agreed while 51.2 percent of whites also tended to agree. This seemed to be a pattern of similar views between blacks and whites on items concerning racial attitudes.

On the variable perceived social contact, both blacks and whites responded similarly to the item concerning having a black person as a friend. It was found that 83.3 percent of blacks "strongly agreed" while 71.5 percent of whites "strongly agreed." This was not the case concerning either never considering dating and/or never considering marrying a black person. The responses were almost complete opposites. There was a marked variation in the responses of whites between "strongly disagree" and "not sure." The largest percentage of whites (24.2 percent) responded that they

would never consider dating a black. It was also found that the largest percentage of respondents 32.0 percent responded that they would never consider marrying a black. This might be explained by the endogamous practice of mate selection practiced by whites. It was not know from the questionnaire to what extent black respondents would consider dating or marrying a white.

Concerning equality of contact, blacks and whites were both quite similar in their responses. It was found that 74.4 percent of blacks and 56.9 percent of whites had no problem having a black as a supervisor. Though the responses from the questionnaire showed some variation in the responses of blacks and whites on the questionnaire, there were many instances where the responses were quite similar.

In the correlation analysis it was found that there was a significant relationship between the racial attitudinal and the perceived social contact variables. (Table VI) The largest relationship was found between "intimate contact" and "total attitudes." The correlation .6060 was both strong and significant at the .05 level. Followed by a correlation coefficient of .5740 was the relationship between "total contact" and "total attitudes." Overall the correlation between these variables expressed the strongest relationship between the racial attitudinal and perceived social contact variables.

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For blacks it was found that the most significant relationship was found between "casual contact" and "attitudes towards race relations." (Table VII) A correlation coefficient of .3891 was both strong and statistically significant at the .05 level. There was also a significant correlation of .3095 between "total contact" and "attitudes towards race relations. These findings are helpful in understanding the relationship by race of racial attitudes and perceived social contact.

Much more relevant to the working hypotheses of the study was the correlation matrix for whites. It was found that the most significant correlation (.4701) for was between "total contact" and "total attitudes." Closely followed by the correlation .4593 on the variables "total contact" and "attitudes of prejudice." For whites, it was found that "total contact" and "total attitudes" were more significantly related concerning racial attitudes and degrees of perceived social contact. It is expected that these two variables would be very important in the model predicting racial attitudes by knowing degrees of perceived social contact.

The regression analysis by race examined to what extent the independent variables (degrees of perceived social contact) might predict the dependent variables (attitudes towards race). Only hypothesis two could be supported by the findings from both the correlation and regression

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analysis. However, there was knowledge gained as to what specific contact variables best explained the nature of racial attitudes. For example, intimate contact appeared to best predict whites attitudes towards race relations. With a beta coefficient of .57 it was found to be statistically significant at the .05 level.

The beta coefficients in predicting attitudes towards equal opportunity by race were found to be strong and in support of hypothesis two. The beta coefficient (.57) showed that intimate contact best explained the attitudes of whites towards equal opportunity. Acquaintance contact also was a significant predictor of whites attitudes towards equal opportunity. The beta coefficient of .57 showed that by knowing acquaintance contact a standard deviation change in whites attitudes towards equal opportunity might be predicted.

It was also determined by this model that with and increase in the degree of social contact there was an increase in the favorable attitudes of whites towards equal opportunity. This finding would be in support of hypothesis two. However, though all beta coefficients were strong, there were only two variables (acquaintance and intimate contact) which had statistically significant beta coefficients.

In Table XI, a regression analysis showed that there was a strong beta coefficient for total contact in

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predicting whites attitudes of prejudice. It was found that for every one unit change in total contact whites attitudes of prejudice increased by .63 standard deviations. Though strong this finding was not statistically significant. The R^2 was reasonably high explaining .2316 percent of the variance in the model.

Finally, no significant beta coefficients were found in Table XII, in predicting whites total attitudes towards race. There was however a tendency for whites total attitudes towards race to become more favorable as they increases the degree of contact with blacks. This finding might suggest that the nature of the contact had a negative effect on attitudes towards race.

It is notable that the findings showed some evidence that social contact may have either a negative or positive effect upon racial attitudes. This might not be very explicit but might be more implicit based on the research findings.

Conclusions

This study represents the first major research project conducted by the researcher. Many important lessons have been derived from the exercise itself as well as substantive knowledge in studying the phenomena of social contact and attitudes towards race.

In this study there was evidence found in support of

the notion that whites attitudes did in fact tend to be quite favorable. This finding was consistent with the research literature. (Campbell, 1971; Pettigrew, 1981; Schwartz, 1967; Sheatsley, 1966; Williams, 1977) In addition whites attitudes tended to be quite favorable toward black Americans, equal opportunity, and race-specific social policy.

The four dimensions of attitudes towards race, based on the findings in this study, are very promising in determining the nature of racial attitudes. Racial attitudes concerning race relations, equal opportunity, prejudice, and total attitudes provide a framework of characterizing the general spectrum of attitudes towards race. The four dimensions of social contact: casual contact, acquaintance contact, intimate contact, and total contact also serve as a generalized framework for the examination of the varied degrees of social contact.

It might be concluded that racial attitudes can be explained by knowing the degree of social contact of an ethnic group member may have with a particular out-group. Social contact, however, may be influenced both negatively and positively. There was no dimension of negative or positive contact incorporated into the study. But, the data does indicate that either negative or positive contact might explain the positive or inverse relationship between social contact and attitudes towards race.

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An underlying assumption of this study is that the variables of social contact and attitudes towards race had a linear relationship. In assuming this there was no way of accounting for possible non-linear relationships between the variables. It might be noted that social contact was seen as the independent variable having an effect upon the dependent variable attitudes towards race. It could very well be that at least among some of the variables that attitudes towards race in fact determine social contact. This does not, however, discount the findings of this study but might present a possible limitation.

The findings of this study were campus specific, thus, having a marked effect upon the responses to the research items. The respondents tended to be primarily young college students. The age cohort of eighteen years to twenty-two years were significantly represented. These respondents having limited life-experience might have not responded in a fashion representative of other age categories. This might explain the high degree of "uncertainty" among some respondents in reference to racial attitudes and perceived social contact.

Further study on this topic is highly warranted due to the limited amount of previous work on the topic. Gordon Allport (1958) has had no peer in the study of the nature of inter-group conflict. The study of attitudes continues to be one of the most active areas within social psychology.

Social psychology provides a useful framework in the analysis of attitudes and perceived social contact and other social phenomena as well.

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APPENDIX A

Letter of Confidentiality

Dear Volunteer:

Please take a few minutes of your valuable time to respond to this questionnaire. This questionnaire represents part of a larger research project concerning race relations. I am conducting this research in partial fulfillment of my Masters Degree requirement at Oklahoma State University's Department of Sociology. This research is being conducted as part of an investigation entitled: "The Effect of Attitudes Concerning Equal Opportunity, Race-Specific Policy, and Social Contact on Black/White Relations."

Your participation in this study is strictly voluntary, and there is no penalty for refusal to participate. You are free to withdraw your participation in this project at any time without penalty.

You may contact David L. Monk or Dr. Lee Maril at telephone number (405) 744-6105 should you wish further information about the research. You may also contact Beth McTernan, University Research Services, 001 Life Sciences East, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, OK 74078; Telephone: (405) 744-5700.

If you choose to participate, you can be assured the information you provide will be held in the strictest confidence. At no time will your name be associated with your responses on the questionnaire. Please answer each question completely and feel free to ask questions if you do not understand a question.

After completing the questionnaire, please remove this letter and return it and the pencil that you were provided. Note that my address and phone number at Oklahoma State University is located at the bottom of this letter. Please contact me if you would like information regarding the research project or if you would like to contribute additional information to the project. Thank you for your participation in this study.

Department of Sociology   David L. Monk
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(405) 744-6105

APPENDIX B

Questionnaire

This questionnaire is being used for a graduate research project. Your participation in this study is strictly voluntary. The questionnaire will address attitudes on issues such as equal opportunity, social contact, and equal opportunity programs." Please answer each question to the best of your knowledge in the appropriate space provided. Thank you for your participation in this study.

_____ 1. Age at last birthday.

_____ 2. Sex
       1. Male
       2. Female

_____ 3. Race or Ethnicity
       1. Native American or Indian
       2. Spanish American or Hispanic
       3. Black or Afro-American
       4. White or Caucasian
       5. Oriental or Asian (what country)
       6. Other (please specify)

_____ 4. College affiliation
       1. Agriculture
       2. Arts and Sciences
       3. Business
       4. Education
       5. Engineering
       6. Home Economics
       7. Veterinary Medicine
       8. Graduate

_____ 5. Classification
       1. Freshman
       2. Sophomore
       3. Junior
       4. Senior
       5. Special
       6. Graduate

_____ 6. How important is the issue of equal opportunity for blacks to you? Would you say it is:
       1. Very important
       2. Important
       3. Not very important
       4. Not important at all

_____ 7. How much do you know about the status of race
          relations on this campus?
             1. None at all
             2. Little
             3. Some
             4. A Lot

_____ 8. How firm are you in your opinions on race relations?
             1. Not firm at all
             2. Not very firm
             3. Somewhat firm
             4. Very firm

_____ 9. There should be an adequate enforcement of laws to
          protect black people from racial discrimination.
             1. Strongly Agree
             2. Agree
             3 Not Sure
             4. Disagree
             5. Strongly Disagree

_____10. There is a need for programs such as affirmative
          action.
             1. Strongly Agree
             2. Agree
             3. Not Sure
             4. Disagree
             5. Strongly Disagree

_____11. Affirmative action is reverse discrimination.
             1. Strongly Agree
             2. Agree
             3. Not Sure
             4. Disagree
             5. Strongly Disagree

_____12. Affirmative action gives preferential treatment to
          blacks.
             1. Strongly Agree
             2. Agree
             3. Not Sure
             4. Disagree
             5. Strongly Disagree

_____13. Affirmative action should require adequate
          qualifications for blacks.
             1. Strongly Agree
             2. Agree
             3. Not Sure
             4. Disagree
             5. Strongly Disagree

_____14. Do you believe that most Blacks have less income than do white people?
    1. Strongly Agree
    2. Agree
    3. Not Sure
    4. Disagree
    5. Strongly Disagree

_____15. Do you believe that most whites have worse jobs than do black people?
    1. Strongly Agree
    2. Agree
    3. Not Sure
    4. Disagree
    5. Strongly Disagree

_____16. The Majority of blacks expect preferential treatment in employment.
    1. Strongly Agree
    2. Agree
    3. Not Sure
    4. Disagree
    5. Strongly Disagree

_____17. Whites are more discriminated against than blacks.
    1. Strongly Agree
    2. Agree
    3. Not Sure
    4. Disagree
    5. Strongly Disagree

_____18. Blacks have less income than whites because they are lazy.
    1. Strongly Agree
    2. Agree
    3. Not Sure
    4. Disagree
    5. Strongly Disagree

_____19. Blacks are not as intelligent as whites.
    1. Strongly Agree
    2. Agree
    3. Not Sure
    4. Disagree
    5. Strongly Disagree

_____20. I believe that blacks are getting more than they deserve.
   1. Strongly Agree
   2. Agree
   3. Not Sure
   4. Disagree
   5. Strongly Disagree

_____21. There are more blacks on welfare than whites.
   1. Strongly Agree
   2. Agree
   3. Not Sure
   4. Disagree
   5. Strongly Disagree

_____22. The reason blacks do not have as much income as whites is because they are discriminated against.
   1. Strongly Agree
   2. Agree
   3. Not Sure
   4. Disagree
   5. Strongly Disagree

_____23. Blacks have not been given the same opportunity as white people.
   1. Strongly Agree
   2. Agree
   3. Not Sure
   4. Disagree
   5. Strongly Disagree

_____24. I often will sit next to a black person in the student union.
   1. Strongly Agree
   2. Agree
   3. Not Sure
   4. Disagree
   5. Strongly Disagree

_____25. In my classes I often sit next to a black person.
   1. Strongly Agree
   2. Agree
   3. Not Sure
   4. Disagree
   5. Strongly Disagree

_____26. I would not object living in the same dorm/house with a black person.
   1. Strongly Agree
   2. Agree
   3. Not Sure
   4. Disagree
   5. Strongly Disagree

_____27. It would not bother me to have a room-mate who is black.
1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Not Sure
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

_____28. I would spend time for recreation with a black person.
1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Not Sure
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

_____29. I would eat lunch with a black person.
1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Not Sure
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

_____30. I would not object to having a black person as a co-worker.
1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Not Sure
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

_____31. I would not have any problem with a supervisor who is black.
1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Not Sure
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

_____32. Having a black person as a friend would not bother me.
1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Not Sure
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

_____33. I would never consider dating a black person.
       1. Strongly Agree
       2. Agree
       3. Not Sure
       4. Disagree
       5. Strongly Disagree

_____34. I would never consider marrying a black person.
       1. Strongly Agree
       2. Agree
       3. Not Sure
       4. Disagree
       5. Strongly Disagree

VITA

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Master of Science

Thesis: THE EFFECT OF ATTITUDES CONCERNING EQUAL
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