PERCEIVED RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND POLITICAL-RACIAL STEREOTYPING

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Sociology

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

---

by

Stephen J. Morewitz

1978

APPROVAL SHEET

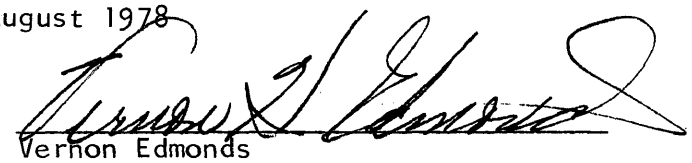
This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

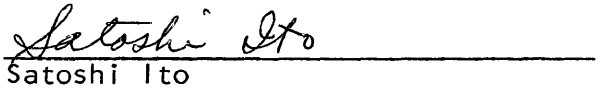
Master of Arts

Stephen J. Morewitz

Approved, August 1978



Vernon Edmonds



Satoshi Ito

Cynthia Null

TABLE ON CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to thank Dr. Vernon Edmonds who served as senior thesis advisor in this investigation. The author is also indebted to Dr. Satoshi Ito, Dr. Cynthia Null, Professor Sandy Carroll, Dr. Jack Van Horn and Dr. Wayne Kernodle for their excellent guidance and support. Without the help of David Reed, Computer Consultant for the William and Mary Computer Center, this project would not have been possible. The author also wishes to thank Anita L. King for typing the manuscript. This research was supported, in part, by grants from the Graduate Department of Sociology and the "William and Mary Faculty Research Committee," 1976-1977.

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis was to generate and test a number of hypotheses related to the individual's perception of racial discrimination and his political-racial stereotype favorability. One major hypothesis was that a respondent's stereotype favorability was based more on belief similarity than race similarity. This hypothesis was derived from Milton Rokeach's (1960) research which found that social distance was based more on belief similarity than race similarity. This thesis also tested Marvin Karlins' (1969) hypothesis that stereotype favorability was positively correlated with stereotype uniformity. The third hypothesis stated that the more Whites perceive "reverse discrimination" (unfair treatment) the lower would be their stereotype favorability of radical persons. A fourth hypothesis predicted that the more Whites feel alienated, the lower would be their stereotype favorability of radical persons. Similarly, the more Blacks feel alienated, the lower would be their stereotype favorability of conservative persons.

Based on an attitude survey of 110 Whites and 63 Blacks, the first hypothesis was supported. Using a newly designed political-racial stereotype model and Karlins' stereotype favorability procedure, it was discovered that a respondent tended to stereotype more on the basis of belief similarity than race similarity. Stereotype favorability scores, however, differed markedly by race of respondent. Blacks held much more favorable attitudes towards Blacks than Whites and towards conservatives as compared to radicals. The relationships were simple and additive in nature. On the other hand, Whites had substantially more favorable attitudes towards conservative Whites than they had towards radical Whites and towards conservative Blacks. No significant interaction occurred in the Whites' attitudes concerning political categorized members. Karlins' hypothesis that stereotype favorability was positively correlated with stereotype uniformity was supported for Blacks but the strength of the relationship was low. The constructed "Perceived Racial Discrimination Scale" was used to test the hypothesis that the more Whites perceive reverse discrimination, the lower would be their stereotype favorability of radicals. This hypothesis was verified, but the relationship was very low. Srole's Anomia Scale (1961) was employed to test the hypothesis that the more Blacks feel alienated, the lower would be their stereotype favorability of conservative persons. This hypothesis was confirmed for the Blacks, but not for the Whites.

PERCEIVED RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND POLITICAL-RACIAL STEREOTYPING

INTRODUCTION

This report explores the cognitive and affective processes which determine the relationship between the perception of racial discrimination and political-racial stereotyping. Milton Rokeach (1960) argued that an individual does not form attitudes about a person on the basis of race, per se. According to Rokeach, belief similarity was a better predictor of social distance than race similarity. Rokeach found that the respondent exhibited less social distance toward persons with similar beliefs, than toward persons with dissimilar beliefs.

Previous research by Rokeach et al. (1960) have used the Bogardus social distance scale to test the above relationship between belief similarity and race similarity. Following this procedure, each White respondent was exposed to three types of stimulus statements: Type R statement, Type B statement, and Type RB statement. In the type R statement, the race of the stimulus person is varied, while the belief is held constant (e.g. a Black who is a Communist and a White who is a Communist). While the Type B statement differs the stimulus person's belief and holds the race constant (e.g. a Black who is a Communist and a Black who is a Fascist). The final paired statement, Type RB, varies both the race and belief of the stimulus person (e.g. a White who is a Communist and a Black who is a Fascist). After being presented with these three kinds of paired statements, the respondent was asked to rate how closely he would accept these stimulus persons on the Bogardus social distance scale.

Instead of employing the Bogardus social distance scale, this thesis constructed a political-racial stereotype model to test the following hypothesis:

> The respondent's political-racial stereotype favorability will be based more on belief similarity than race similarity.

To test this hypothesis, the respondent was presented with four stimulus persons, which varied by race and political belief: radical Black, conservative White, radical White, and conservative Black. Each respondent was asked to select the five adjective traits from the Katz and Braly Adjective Checklist (1933) which were most typical of each stimulus person (Katz and Braly, 1935: 183). The data derived from the respondent's political-racial stereotypes were transformed into four standard favorability scores.

A newly designed attitude scale, "Perceived Racial Discrimination," was also introduced in this analysis. The scale was designed to measure the crucial impact of the perception of racial discrimination on the respondent's stereotype favorability. The perceived racial discrimination scale is supposed to measure Black college respondents' perception of racial discrimination against them and White college respondents' perception of reverse discrimination (i.e. unfair treatment) against them.

This investigation also explored the relationship between the perception of racial discrimination and alienation. The hypothesis is:

> The higher the respondent's perception of racial discrimination, the higher will be the respondent's alienation.

Another hypothesis is as follows:

> The perception of racial discrimination will be positively correlated with the Black respondent's politically liberal orientation.

It is believed that the more politically liberal a Black respondent is, the more likely he will perceive racial discrimination. For the White sample, the hypothesis is:

> The perception of reverse discrimination will be negatively correlated with the White respondents' politically liberal orientation.

It is hypothesized that the more politically liberal a White respondent is, the less likely he will perceive reverse discrimination (i.e. unfair treatment) against Whites. The politically liberal White will be less likely to perceive affirmative action policies as involving reverse discrimination. As a consequence, the politically liberal White respondent will be less likely to perceive reverse discrimination.

The hypotheses dealing with alienation and political orientation are similar to the hypothesized relationship between perceived racial discrimination and political orientation:

> Alienation will be positively correlated with the Black respondent's politically liberal orientation.

> Alienation will be negatively correlated with the White respondent's liberal orientation.

One of the central objectives in this thesis is to examine the link between the respondent's perception of racial discrimination and his political-racial stereotype favorability. The following hypotheses have been constructed along these lines:

> The higher the Black respondent's perception of racial discrimination, the lower will be his stereotype favorability of politically conservative stimulus persons.

A Black respondent, scoring high on the perception of racial discrimination, may be more likely to perceive a person's conservative beliefs as an important cause of racial discrimination. Consequently, this Black respondent may be more likely to have a low stereotype favorability of

politically conservative stimulus persons.

For the White sample, the hypothesis is:

> The higher the White respondent's perception of racial discrimination against Whites, the lower will be his stereotype favorability of politically radical stimulus persons.

It is hypothesized that White respondents, high on perceived reverse discrimination, will be more likely to perceive radical persons in society as promoters of affirmative action policies. Thus, these Whites will be more likely to maintain a low stereotype favorability of these radical stimulus persons.

The relationship between stereotype uniformity and stereotype favorability is another social psychological process, found within political-racial stereotyping. Stereotype uniformity refers to a group of respondents' homogeneity of trait attributions for a particular political-racial group. It is defined as the least number of adjective traits necessary to account for one half of all possible trait attributions for a given political-racial group. The hypothesis to be tested in this research is:

> The higher the group's stereotype favorability, the greater will be the group's stereotype uniformity.

This hypothesis suggests that there is a positive correlation between political-racial stereotype favorability and stereotype uniformity.

An attitude survey of Black and White college students was conducted to investigate the above cognitive and affective components which influence the relationship between the perception of racial discrimination and political-racial stereotype favorability. Chapter I focuses upon the perception of racial discrimination among Blacks and Whites. Chapter II defines the concept of stereotype and also explores

the relationship between stereotype favorability and stereotype uniformity. Furthermore, this chapter reviews the changes in racial stereotyping from Katz and Braly (1933) up to the present. Chapter III discusses political-racial stereotyping in light of the Rokeach (1960)-Triandis (1961) race/belief controversy. Chapter IV offers the methodological rationale by which the ten hypotheses are operationalized. Chapter V contains the results, discussion and summary.

CHAPTER I

THE PERCEPTION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AMONG BLACKS AND WHITES

This chapter will clarify the degree to which Blacks and Whites perceive racial discrimination in education, employment, transportation, and housing.

THE PERCEPTION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AMONG BLACKS

Throughout the history of the United States, Blacks have experienced racial discrimination in the form of slavery, Jim Crow laws, discrimination in the legal system, in education and in employment opportunities. This study proposes to examine the extent to which Blacks perceive racial discrimination in modern society.

Based upon data from 1,119 interviews drawn in 1964 from five Black samples (New York City, Chicago, Illinois, a non-Southern metropolitan area, Atlanta, Georgia, and Birmingham, Alabama), Gary T. Marx studied Black respondents' perception of racial discrimination. In response to the item, "Do you think things are getting better or worse for Negroes in this country?," eight out of ten Black respondents across all samples said "better" (Marx, 1967: 6). Most of those Black respondents who stated that things were improving for the Negro, believed that this was due to economic improvements in the Negroes' condition (Marx, 1967: 6). Marx noted that very few Black respondents stated that there had been a reduction in racial prejudice in the United States (Marx, 1967: 6).

The responses to another item, "In (name of city or town) how would you say that the police treat Negroes--very well, fairly well, fairly badly or very badly?," showed that a higher percentage of Black respondents felt that police treated Negroes "very badly" rather than "very well" (Marx, 1967: 36). Gary Marx also reported that more than seven out of ten Black respondents' across all samples, believed that "Most Whites want to keep Negroes down as much as they can" (Marx, 1967: 170). Furthermore, approximately one in five Black respondents in every sample felt that "Almost all White store owners take advantage of Negro customers" (Marx, 1967: 170).

In a similar study, Schuman and Hatchett (1974) compared three attitude surveys of Black residents in Detroit, 1968-1971, to determine the extent to which Blacks perception of racial discrimination changed over time (Schuman and Hatchett, 1974: 2). The first survey involved interviews with 2,809 Black respondents ages 16 to 69, living in Detroit in 1968. The second survey, also carried out in 1968, was called the Detroit Area Study. Three years later, the Detroit Area Study was replicated (Schuman and Hatchett, 1974: 13).

Schuman and Hatchett found a moderate percentage of Black respondents who perceived racial discrimination. For example, in the Detroit Area Study, 1968, 43 percent of the Black respondents believed that "Most Whites want to see Blacks get a better break" (Schuman and Hatchett, 1974: 13). However, in 1971, only 28 percent of the Black respondents felt that Whites want to see Blacks get a better break (Schuman and Hatchett, 1974: 13). Another item consisted of asking Black respondents if they felt Whites wanted to keep Blacks down. Twenty-three percent in 1968 and forty-one percent of the Black respondents in 1971, stated that

Whites wanted to keep Blacks down (Schuman and Hatchett, 1974: 13).

Furthermore, Black respondents' perception of racial discrimination by White store clerks in Detroit, increased by 12 percent from 1968 to 1971 (Schuman and Hatchett, 1974: 13). However, another item concerning racial discrimination in employment did not reveal significant differences in the Blacks' perceptions between 1968 and 1971 (Schuman and Hatchett, 1974: 15).

THE PERCEPTION OF REVERSE DISCRIMINATION AMONG WHITES

This thesis also analyzes how White respondents perceive reverse discrimination. Whites may perceive unfair treatment in obtaining employment and in getting admitted to professional schools. These Whites may believe that affirmative action policies bring about this unfair treatment by giving preferential treatment to Blacks and other minority groups in hiring and in admissions to professional schools. Advocates of affirmative action justify their policy, in part, because of the long history of pernicious discrimination against Blacks, women and some other minority groups. Furthermore, proponents of affirmative action see a beneficial effect in having a heterogeneous student population in professional schools. In addition, advocates of affirmative action believe that social policies in the United States should be directed toward training more qualified Black physicians (as well as women and other minority groups) so that they will be able to serve these underrepresented minority groups.

The question of whether or not affirmative action policies violate the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution may not be resolved until the U.S. Supreme Court rules on the present case, "Bakke vs.

The Regents of the University of California, Davis Medical School" (if indeed it is decided then). However, the objective of this thesis is not to delve into the constitutional, philosophical, sociological, and moral-ethical implications of affirmative action. Rather, this research studies the extent to which White college respondents actually perceive reverse discrimination.

Nathan Glazer (1975) is a prominent researcher who has looked at the degree to which Whites perceive reverse discrimination. Glazer found a "White ethnic backlash" in the Democratic Party during the 1960's (Glazer, 1975: 169). George Wallace's voter appeal in the Midwest and border states, embodies this type of White ethnic backlash in the election of 1964 (Glazer, 1975: 170). Glazer reported that White ethnics felt that they should be getting the same preferential treatment, which the Blacks were benefiting from in affirmative action programs (Glazer, 1975: 177). In fact, some White ethnics--Polish-Americans, and Jewish-Americans asserted that they too, had been discriminated against in earlier times (Glazer, 1975: 177).

Unlike Glazer's study, this thesis investigates the extent to which non-ethnic White college respondents perceive reverse discrimination in obtaining a job and in gaining admission to a professional school. These White college respondents, in the present sample, may differ substantially from the White ethnics in Glazer's research. College of William and Mary respondents, who are primarily White Anglo-Saxon Protestant, may not believe that their people had been previously discriminated against.

Thus far, we have only looked at the perception of racial discrimination among Blacks and Whites. The purpose of this thesis is to explore

how the respondent's perception of racial discrimination influences the respondent's political-racial stereotype favorability. Before investigating the relationship between perceived racial discrimination and political-racial stereotype favorability, this thesis will discuss the content, uniformity and favorability of racial stereotypes. With a general knowledge of racial stereotyping as a foundation, we can then unravel the race versus belief controversy underlying political-racial stereotype favorability.

CHAPTER II

RACIAL STEREOTYPING

This chapter will attempt to broadly define the concept, "stereotype," and operationalize it for use in the following thesis research. Secondly, this chapter discusses the relationship between stereotype uniformity and stereotype favorability. Finally, this chapter will summarize the changes in racial stereotyping from 1933 to the present.

DEFINITION OF STEREOTYPE

Walter Lippmann (1922) defined a stereotype as a picture inside one's head which is empirically incorrect and which is deduced from faulty reasoning (Brigham, 1971: 15). Thirteen years later, Katz and Braly (1935) defined a stereotype as:

> "...a fixed impression, which conforms very little to the facts it tends to represent, and results from our defining first and observing second" (Brigham, 1971: 17).

Some researchers such as Schoenfeld (1942), Allport (1954), Gilbert (1951), and Rokeach (1968) have defined a stereotype as an incorrect generalization (Brigham, 1971: 17). A generalization can be considered incorrect in two ways:

> 1. directionality--a generalization which states that group X possesses attribute Y, when in fact it does not.
>
> 2. magnitude of generalization--a generalization which states that all members of group X possess attribute Y, when in fact only most of the members of group X possess attribute Y (Brigham, 1971: 17).

For the purposes of this thesis, the above definitions will not be employed. As Brigham has pointed out, it is not possible to treat a stereotype as an incorrect generalization because criteria for judging the correctness of the stereotype is not available. Because of the methodological limitations in the Katz and Braly (1933) Adjective Checklist, the only useful definition would be the following:

> A stereotype is a generalization about the typical attributes assigned to a member of a group.

The above definition is operationally stated as the respondent's selection of the five adjective traits from the Katz and Braly Adjective Checklist (1933) which the respondent judges to be most typical of a given political-racial stimulus person.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STEREOTYPE UNIFORMITY AND STEREOTYPE FAVORABILITY

This section will describe the relationship between uniformity and favorability of racial stereotyping. Uniformity refers to the extent to which respondents share group attributions. Katz and Braly et al. (1933) have defined uniformity as the least number of traits necessary to obtain one half of all possible trait attributions.

The term, favorability, has taken on two different meanings in previous research. Katz and Braly (1935) had first defined the term, favorability, as the respondents' preference for associating with a given racial/ethnic group. Respondents in Katz and Braly's (1935) model were requested to rank order ten national groups on the basis of their preference for associating with these groups. On the other hand, Karlins (1969) had defined favorability as the favorability of the adjective traits assigned to the ten groups. Karlins (1969) obtained a mean favor-

ability value for each of the 84 traits on the Katz and Braly Adjective Checklist (1933), by asking respondents to rate each adjective trait from very unfavorable (-2) to very favorable (+2).

In using the first definition of favorability, Katz and Braly (1933, 1935) found no significant relationship between stereotype uniformity and stereotype favorability (Karlins, 1969: 12). For example, Katz and Braly discovered that Blacks and Turks were least preferred by the White respondents. Yet, these respondents showed the highest and lowest stereotype uniformity for the Blacks and Turks, respectively.

Even though no relationship was reported between stereotype uniformity and preference for racial groups, Karlins (1969) showed that stereotype uniformity was significantly correlated with the favorability of the assigned traits (Brigham, 1971: 23). Karlins computed a general favorableness rating for each racial group by multiplying each adjective trait's frequency by its mean favorableness value. Then the sum of the values was divided by the total frequency (Karlins, 1969: 10). Based on the above procedure, Karlins reported a rank order correlation of $r = .77$ ($p < .01$) between stereotype uniformity and stereotype favorability in their 1967 sample (Karlins, 1969: 12). Using the same procedure, Karlins reanalyzed Katz and Braly's (1933) research and found a rank order correlation of .16 (not significant) for the relationship between stereotype uniformity and stereotype favorability (Karlins, 1969: 12). On the other hand, Karlins did obtain a significant rank order correlation for this relationship in Gilbert's (1951) study ($r = .68$, $p < .05$) (Karlins, 1969: 12). Karlins concludes that stereotype uniformity is significantly correlated with the more favorable traits assigned to Germans, Jews and English stimulus persons in Gilbert's

(1951) and Karlins' (1969) reports. While stereotype uniformity is not significantly correlated with less favorable traits assigned to Turks, Blacks, and Irish in the previous studies (Karlins, 1969: 13).

CHANGES IN RACIAL STEREOTYPING

This section traces the changes in the content, favorability, and uniformity of racial stereotyping from Katz and Braly (1933) to the present. Also of interest is how mutual perceptions of racial groups have been affected by such social movements as the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements.

Katz and Braly conducted the first empirical investigations on racial stereotyping between 1933 and 1935. As a part of these studies, an adjective checklist was constructed from words pertaining to various groups. Katz and Braly administered the adjective checklist to a group of 65 Princeton students and the respondents were asked to rate each word on the basis of its desirability (Katz and Braly, 1935: 183). A separate group of sixty respondents were asked to rank order then stimulus racial groups in terms of their preference for associating with each group (Katz and Braly, 1935: 183). Katz and Braly referred to these responses as "public attitudes" because the respondents stated their preferences for associating with racial groups in general terms. After this initial task, the second group of respondents was directed to again rank order the ten stimulus groups. This time, the researchers told the respondents to disregard any practical considerations and to rank order the racial groups based upon the respondent's private preferences. Katz and Braly hoped to obtain private attitudes which were uninfluenced by the general public's attitude toward the specific racial group (Katz and Braly, 1935: 185).

Katz and Braly (1935) found preferences for racial groups which corresponded to the earlier 1933 findings. However, Jews and Japanese were ranked lower and higher respectively than in 1933 (Katz and Braly, 1935: 191). The only difference between public and private attitudes was that the Blacks were ranked higher in private than in public attitude measures (Katz and Braly, 1935: 191).

Two years earlier, Katz and Braly measured stereotype uniformity among similar Princeton students (Katz and Braly, 1933: 287). The investigators reported the highest stereotype uniformity for Blacks, Germans and Jews. The lowest stereotype uniformity was assigned to Chinese, Japanese and Turks (Katz and Braly, 1933: 288).

Max Meenes (1943) compared Katz and Braly's (1935) research with Black college respondents in 1942 (Meenes, 1943: 336). The results showed the racial stereotypes in 1942 to be in basic agreement with the traits assigned in 1935 (Meenes, 1943: 336). Dorothy Seago (1947) analyzed stereotypes concerning Germans, Japanese, Blacks, and Americans over a five year period (Seago, 1947: 63). The data indicated that stereotypes tend to be relatively stable, despite social changes (Seago, 1947: 63).

Karlins et al. (1969) utilized data from Katz and Braly (1933), Centers (1951), and Gilbert (1951) to ascertain changes in stereotyping in three generations of Princeton students (Karlins, 1969: 2). In 1951, Centers administered a partial list of the Katz and Braly adjective checklist to University of California, Los Angeles students and discovered that 75 percent of the respondents selected the traits comprising the stereotypes of Japanese, Chinese, and Turks (Karlins, 1969: 1). However,

Gilbert (1951) reported that stereotyping had declined in terms of stereotyping uniformity (Karlins, 1969: 2).

Karlins (1969) showed that college respondents held a significantly lower stereotype favorability of the American stimulus person than in 1933 (Karlins, 1969: 3). The stereotypes attributed to Blacks reflect one of the most noticeable trends in Karlins' study (Karlins, 1969: 6). The traits assigned to the Black stimulus person in 1933 were superstitious and lazy. In Karlins' report, there was a modest increase in the percentage of White respondents choosing such traits as musical, pleasure-loving and happy-go-lucky (Karlins, 1969: 8).

Karlins reported both a downward and upward trend in the mean favorability ratings of Japanese (Karlins, 1969: 10). For the Jews and Chinese, the trend in stereotype favorability reflects a consistent upward direction. While the stereotype favorability of Blacks stopped at an essentially neutral level (Karlins, 1969: 11).

In another study, E. L. Sisley (1970) further clarified how the content of racial stereotyping had changed since 1933 (Sisley, 1970: 781). Using the same Katz and Braly adjective checklist in New York City, Sisley discovered that the trait, "materialistic" was selected the most times to characterize Americans (Sisley, 1970: 781). Other traits such as boastful, stubborn, argumentative, evasive and sly were assigned to Americans (Sisley, 1970: 781).

The focus in more recent surveys has been on the self perceptions of racial groups. How has the Black stereotype affected Blacks, themselves? In what ways has the Black Power and Civil Rights Movements

influenced these self perceptions?

In 1957, Steckler confirmed the hypothesis that Blacks tended to internalize the dominant White norms (Banks, 1970: 740). William Banks (1970) tested this hypothesis in 1967, with a sample of 174 Black college respondents. The data revealed significant changes in the Black students' ideology from 1957 to 1967 (Banks, 1970: 742). The Blacks were less likely to hold low favorability traits toward Blacks than in 1957 (Banks, 1970: 742). Banks suggested that the Black Power Movement had greatly affected Black students' perception of themselves and of the dominant White society (Banks, 1970: 740).

In a more detailed investigation, Minako Maykovich analyzed mutual stereotypes attributed to Whites, Blacks, and Japanese-Americans (Maykovich, 1972: 880). Maykovich showed that White college respondents tended to stereotype their own group as materialistic, aggressive, and pleasure-loving (Maykovich, 1972: 882). In focusing on how Black respondents stereotype Whites, Maykovich reported such trait attributions as materialistic, pleasure-loving, deceitful, and conceited (Maykovich, 1972: 883).

Concerning the stereotypic images of Blacks, Maykovich found that none of the respondents depicted Blacks as superstitious and lazy (Maykovich, 1972: 886). A high percentage of respondents chose such traits as: musical, impulsive, and aggressive, to depict the typical Black (Maykovich, 1972: 886). When examining only the White respondents' stereotype of Blacks, Maykovich reported such traits as: persistent straightforward, grasping and revengeful (Maykovich, 1972: 886). According to Maykovich, these neutral/unfavorable traits may symbolize the White respondents' anxiety and fear over the rise of the Black Power Movement (Maykovich, 1972: 886).

This thesis introduces a new dimension to the study of racial stereotyping. Previous research has only looked at the stereotype of the "Negro" or the stereotype of the "American." The present thesis, however, has developed a model of political-racial stereotyping to test the hypothesis that a respondent's stereotype favorability is based more on belief similarity than race similarity.

CHAPTER III

POLITICAL-RACIAL STEREOTYPE FAVORABILITY

In order to understand the hypothesis that a respondent's stereotype favorability is based more on belief similarity than on race similarity, a brief review of the literature will be undertaken. The data used to test this hypothesis have been derived from social distance research.

SOCIAL DISTANCE STUDIES OF BELIEF VERSUS RACE PREJUDICE

Milton Rokeach (1960) carried out the first study to test the hypothesis that a respondent reacted more on the basis of belief similarity than on the basis of race similarity (Rokeach, 1960: 134). Rokeach argued that a respondent does not necessarily develop an attitude or stereotype on the basis of race, per se. Rather, the respondent formulated an attitude more on the basis of belief similarity than race similarity (Rokeach, 1960: 135).

In order to test this hypothesis, Rokeach devised a social distance study of White respondents from the North and South (Rokeach, 1960: 135). Rokeach administered three paired stimulus statements to respondents and requested that they place themselves on the Bogardus social distance scale with regards to each stimulus statement. Each respondent was presented with a Type R statement (race varied, belief held constant), Type B statement (belief varied, race held constant), and a Type RB statement (race and belief were varied). These stimulus statements dealt with racial

issues (desegregation, racial equality) and general issues, such as socialized medicine and the belief in God (Rokeach, 1960: 138).

Rokeach found some evidence to support his hypothesis (Rokeach, 1960: 140). For both racial and general issues, the White respondents accepted Black stimulus persons who agreed with them, over White stimulus persons who disagreed with the respondents' ideology (Rokeach, 1960: 140). Rokeach also discovered that the Type RB statements significantly correlated with the Type B statements. On the other hand, the data revealed a negligible correlation between Type RB statements and Type R statements. Thus, the data tended to substantiate the hypothesis that belief similarity was stronger than race similarity in predicting social distance responses (Rokeach, 1960: 142).

The results, however, also suggested that White respondents tended to prefer White stimulus persons more than Black stimulus persons (Rokeach, 1960: 143). Rokeach stated that respondents did discriminate on the basis of race similarity, but that belief similarity was still a better predictor of social distance than race similarity (Rokeach, 1960: 143).

Harry Triandis (1961) attacked Rokeach's social distance research for not going beyond the study of friendship choices (Triandis, 1961: 184). According to Triandis, Rokeach only accounts for a small segment of social distance attitudes, by examining only the respondent's preferences for friends (Triandis, 1961: 184). To resolve this issue, Triandis considerably modified Rokeach's procedure by asking respondents to rate stimulus persons on a social distance scale, involving sixteen pairs of stimulus persons. A pair of stimulus persons would be described as:

"White, same philosophy, same religion, bank manager"
"Different religion, Negro coal miner, different philosophy" (Triandis, 1961: 184)

In contrast to Rokeach's findings, Triandis reported that race similarity is a stronger predictor of social distance than belief similarity (Triandis, 1961: 184). According to Triandis, the stimulus person's race was four times as influential as the stimulus person's beliefs in predicting social distance (Triandis, 1961: 184).

Rokeach (1961) criticized Triandis (1961) for his use of such expressions as--"stimulus person with the same philosophy" (Rokeach, 1961: 187). Rokeach argued that this type of statement was too vague and therefore would not be able to generate salient social distance responses (Rokeach, 1961: 187). In response to Rokeach's criticism, Triandis asserted that using a label, such as "Communist" or "Atheist," along with a racial label (i.e. Communist Black) may result in merely an artifact of the methodology (Rokeach, 1961: 187).

In 1965, Triandis and Davis brought new light on the belief vs. race issue. Triandis and Davis (1965) asserted that race and belief responses varied as a function of the specific nature of the social distance statement and the psychology of the respondent (Triandis and Davis, 1965: 723). Through a factor analysis, Triandis and Davis obtained a number of factors, indicative of social distance responses:

Factor 1 Formal acceptance
Factor 2 Marital acceptance vs. rejection
Factor 3 Friendship vs. nonfriendship
Factor 4 Social Distance--excluding the person from the neighborhood (Triandis and Davis, 1965: 716).

Triandis and Davis' findings indicated that social distance responses on the Friendship Factor varied on the basis of race similarity or belief similarity, depending on the respondent's level of prejudice (Triandis and Davis, 1965: 723). The higher the level of prejudice,

the more a respondent assigns social distance responses on the basis of race similarity than on the basis of belief similarity (Triandis and Davis, 1965: 723).

Triandis and Davis concluded their assessment by suggesting that belief similarity was a better predictor of social distance items dealing with non-intimate and moderately intimate behavior (Triandis and Davis, 1965: 724). While for items concerning intimate conduct, respondents were more likely to make social distance responses on the basis of race similarity than belief similarity. For example, a White respondent tends not to be willing to accept a Black as a kin through marriage no matter what his beliefs are (Triandis and Davis, 1965: 724).

C. A. Insko and J. E. Robinson (1967) obtained results similar to Triandis and Davis. Insko and Robinson administered a semantic differential to White adolescents from the South to determine whether or not the race vs. belief phenomenon was evident in adolescents' attitudes (Insko and Robinson, 1967: 216). Insko and Robinson assessed very large effects of race similarity on social distance responses (Insko and Robinson, 1967: 220). Their findings substantiate Triandis and Davis' (1965) hypothesis that the items dealing with intimate behavior exhibit the largest effects of race similarity over belief similarity (Insko and Robinson, 1967: 220).

David Stein et al. (1965) and C. C. Anderson and A. D. Côte (1966) conducted empirical research which substantiated Rokeach's hypothesis belief similarity was a better determinant of social distance than race similarity (Stein, 1965: 289). Stein et al. (1965)

believed that a respondent, when exposed to the stimulus person's beliefs, will respond on the basis of belief similarity (Stein, 1965: 289). However, when the respondent is only presented with a limited amount of information about the person's beliefs, then the respondent will be more likely to react on the basis of race similarity (Stein, 1965: 289).

In research on Canadian French and Canadian English-speaking people, Anderson and Côte found confirmation for Rokeach's theory that belief similarity was a stronger determinant of social distance than ethnic similarity (Anderson and Côte, 1966: 450).

POLITICAL-RACIAL STEREOTYPE FAVORABILITY

The above social distance studies relate somewhat to the nature of political-racial stereotype favorability. However, social distance research differs greatly in methodology from research in political-racial stereotype favorability. Unlike the previous social distance reports, the study of political-racial stereotype favorability involves asking respondents to select adjective traits from the Katz and Braly adjective checklist (1933). The respondents were asked to assign these adjective traits to political-racial stimulus persons.

Thus far, Joel Aberbach and Jack Walker (1973) have been the only researchers to treat both the political stereotype and the racial stereotype simultaneously. Unlike other earlier studies, Aberbach and Walker did not attempt to measure the respondents' stereotypes. Instead, the researchers formulated their own political-racial stereotypes, based upon a survey of Black/White relations in Detroit between 1967 and 1971 (Aberbach and Walker, 1973: 70). Aberbach and Walker derived four

political-racial stereotypes from interviews with Detroit residents (1973: 71):

1. Traditional Blacks
2. Black Militants
3. Progressive Whites
4. Reactionary Whites

Aberbach and Walker constructed these four categories, using ideological and demographic criteria for selection. Black respondents were stereotyped as "Traditional Blacks" if they were born in the South, participated in religious activities, exhibited distrust for local and national government and if they felt antipathy toward the Black Power Movement (Aberbach and Walker, 1973: 71).

Just the opposite criteria were employed to assign Black respondents to the "Black Militant" category. Respondents were selected if they had been born in the North, exhibited distrust for the government, were not active in religious activities and if the respondents held favorable views toward the Black Power Movement (Aberbach and Walker, 1973: 72).

Reactionary Whites were classified as those who expressed contempt for racial integration, favored conservative local government and who were against local government spending to improve social conditions in Detroit (Aberbach and Walker, 1973: 72).

Progressive Whites were classified in terms of their favorable attitudes toward racial integration and the eradication of racial inequalities in Detroit (Aberbach and Walker, 1973: 72). These respondents also held a positive view of race relations in Detroit and they believed that the local government could solve the problems of racial inequalities in the city (Aberbach and Walker, 1973: 72).

This review of the literature has produced a number of hypotheses amenable to empirical testing. Using a sample of 100 Whites and 63 Blacks, a survey analysis was conducted to test a number of hypotheses, including: 1. The hypothesis that the perception of racial discrimination significantly influenced political-racial stereotype favorability. 2. Rokeach's hypothesis that a respondent's political-racial stereotype favorability was based more on belief similarity than on race similarity. 3. Karlins' hypothesis that stereotype favorability was positively correlated with stereotype uniformity.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

This chapter will delineate the ten hypotheses which have been formulated in the thesis. Some of the following hypotheses have been taken directly from the literature. While the other hypotheses did not come from earlier research.

HYPOTHESES

> Hypothesis 1A: The higher the Black respondent's perception of racial discrimination, the lower will be his stereotype favorability of politically conservative stimulus persons.

The perception of racial discrimination is operationally defined by the Black respondent's score on a 22 item Likert scale (7 items were reversed to minimize response set) (see Appendix A, page 60). The stereotype favorability scores were initially derived from adjective traits selected from the Katz and Braly adjective checklist (see Appendix B, page 61). The stereotype favorability scores were then converted into standard scores for the four political-racial stimulus persons: radical Black, conservative Black, radical White and conservative White.

Hypothesis 1A was not directly obtained from the literature. The higher the Black's perception of racial discrimination, the more likely he will hold a lower stereotype favorability of politically conservative persons.

Hypothesis 1B states that:

> The higher the White respondent's perception of reverse discrimination, the lower will be his stereotype favorability of politically radical stimulus persons.

The perceived Racial Discrimination scale for the White respondents differs from the Perceived Racial Discrimination scale administered to the Black respondents. The scale for the White respondents consisted of 19 items on a Likert scale (6 items were reversed) (see Appendix C, page 62). As in the case of Hypothesis 1A, Hypothesis 1B was not derived from the literature. Hypothesis 1B suggests that the higher the White's perception of reverse discrimination, the more likely he will perceive radical individuals as advocates of affirmative action policies. White respondents, high on the perception of reverse discrimination may be more likely to perceive these policies as representing reverse discrimination. As a consequence, these Whites may be more likely to exhibit a low stereotype favorability for politically radical stimulus persons.

> Hypothesis 2A: The higher the Black respondent's alienation, the lower will be his stereotype favorability of politically conservative persons.

> Hypothesis 2B: The higher the White respondent's alienation, the lower will be his stereotype favorability of politically radical stimulus persons.

Alienation was measured on the basis of the respondent's score on Dean's (1961) Alienation Scale (see Appendix D, page 63). It is a 24 item scale which measures alienation in terms of three separate components: powerlessness, normlessness, and social isolation. Hypotheses 2A and 2B have not been obtained from the literature. In a later hypothesis, we will expect a positive correlation between

alienation and the perception of racial discrimination. Therefore, it is postulated that alienation will be correlated with political-racial stereotype favorability in a similar fashion as Hypotheses 1A and 1B.

Hypothesis 3: The respondent's stereotype favorability will be based more on belief similarity than race similarity.

Hypothesis 3 is a direct translation of Rokeach's hypothesis that an individual stereotypes more on the basis of belief similarity than race similarity. Rokeach, however, utilized the Bogardus social distance scale to test this hypothesis. To analyze the present hypothesis, four standard favorability scores were computed for four political-racial stimulus persons: radical Black, conservative Black, radical White, and conservative White. The above standard scores were correlated with each other and the means of the Pearson correlations were then obtained. These calculations help to determine whether respondent stereotype favorability scores are based more on belief similarity rather than race similarity.

Hypothesis 4: The higher the group's stereotype favorability score, the greater will be the group's stereotype uniformity score.

Hypothesis 4 tests Karlins' (1969) hypothesis that stereotype favorability will be positively correlated with stereotype uniformity. Stereotype favorability refers to the standard favorability scores calculated for the four political-racial stimulus persons: radical Black, conservative Black, radical White, and conservative White. The stereotype uniformity score refers to the group of respondents' shared attributions for a given political-racial stimulus person. The stereotype uniformity score is a group measure because it

represents the group of respondents' homogeneity of trait attributions. The lower the group's stereotype uniformity score, the greater will be the group's overall uniformity. In other words, it takes fewer adjective traits from the Katz and Braly adjective checklist to explain one half of all possible trait attributions for a given political-racial stimulus person.

> Hypothesis 4A: The higher the respondent's stereotype favorability score, the greater will be the respondent's stereotype adherence score.

Hypothesis 4A introduces a stereotype adherence measure to explore the relationship between an individual measure of uniformity and stereotype favorability. Unlike the above stereotype uniformity measure, the newly designed stereotype adherence score represents the individual respondent's adherence to the group's stereotype. For example, if the group's stereotype uniformity score for the "radical Black" is 4, then the respondent's stereotype adherence score will be based on the number of traits he selects which correspond to this stereotype uniformity score.

> Hypothesis 5: The higher the respondent's perception of racial discrimination, the higher will be the respondent's alienation.

Hypothesis 5 was not derived from the earlier literature review. It seems plausible to expect a positive correlation between the individual's perception of racial discrimination and his feelings of alienation. The more a respondent perceives racial discrimination, the more likely he will experience a sense of social isolation, normlessness and powerlessness.

> Hypothesis 6A: Perceived racial discrimination will be positively correlated with the Black respondent's politically liberal orientation.

Hypothesis 6A and 6B were not found in the previous literature. Hypothesis 6A suggests that the more a Black reports himself as being politically liberal, the more likely he will perceive racial discrimination. Political orientation is operationally defined on the basis of self classification according to the following categories:

> very conservative, conservative, moderate, liberal, very liberal

> Hypothesis 6B: Perceived racial discrimination will be negatively correlated with the White respondent's politically liberal orientation.

For Hypothesis 6B, it is expected that liberal Whites will be less likely than conservative Whites to perceive reverse discrimination. The liberal Whites may be more likely than the conservative Whites to favor affirmative action policies. Thus, these liberal Whites will be less likely to perceive reverse discrimination.

> Hypothesis 7A: Alienation will be positively correlated with the Black respondent's politically liberal orientation.

> Hypothesis 7B: Alienation will be negatively correlated with the White respondent's politically liberal orientation.

Hypotheses 7A and 7B were not derived from the literature. Previously, Hypothesis 5 had predicted a significant positive correlation between the perception of racial discrimination and alienation. Therefore, we would expect alienation to be correlated with political orientation in a similar manner as the variable, "perceived racial discrimination."

> Hypothesis 8: Perceived racial discrimination will be negatively correlated with social desirability.

> Hypothesis 9: Alienation will be negatively correlated with social desirability.

Both Hypotheses 8 and 9 were not obtained from the literature. Hypothesis 8 asserts that the greater the respondent perceives racial

discrimination, the less likely he will respond to questionnaire items in a socially desirable manner. The measure of social desirability is based on the Crowne and Marlo Social Desirability Scale (1964) (see Appendix E, page 64).

Hypothesis 10: Stereotype favorability will be positively correlated with social desirability.

Hypothesis 10 was not found in the literature. It is hypothesized that the more favorable the respondent's stereotype, the more likely he will respond to questionnaire items in a socially desirable fashion. The respondent wishes to present to the experimenter a socially desirable picture of himself.

SCALES EMPLOYED

Perceived Racial Discrimination Scale is composed of the sum of a 22 item (for Blacks) and 19 item (for Whites), presented in the usual five point Likert format (see Appendices A and C, pages 60 and 62, respectively).

RELIABILITY

For the Black sample, a strong alpha coefficient= .80 was obtained for the perceived racial discrimination scale, when the scale was not split. When the scale was split into even and odd numbered items, the alpha coefficient= .64 (for part 1, 11 items) and the alpha coefficient= .70 (for part 2, 11 items). These alpha coefficients indicated that the scale was moderately reliable for the Black sample.

Dean's Alienation Scale (1961) consists of 24 items prepared along the Likert continuum from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) (Robinson, 1973: 275) (see Appendix D, page 63).

RELIABILITY

As in the case of the perceived racial discrimination scale, the alpha coefficient for the alienation scale (not split) was moderate (alpha coefficient= .72 for the Black sample). When the scale was split into two parts, the alpha coefficient for part 1 (12 items)= .52 and for part 2 (12 items)= .59. For the White sample, the alpha coefficient (scale not split)= .77. When the alienation scale was split, the alpha coefficient= .66 (part 1) and .63 (part 2).

The Katz and Braly Adjective Checklist (1933) consists of a list of 84 adjectives based on characterizations by 25 undergraduates from Princeton. Each respondent was asked to list as many possible attributes of certain racial and national groups, such as Germans, Italians, Negroes, and Jews (see Appendix B, page 61). In the present thesis, three terms were deleted from the original adjective checklist (conservative, radical and tradition-loving) because they would interfere with the respondent's assignment of political-racial stereotypes. A stereotype is operationally defined as the respondent's selection of the five adjective traits from the Katz and Braly adjective checklist which are most typical of a radical Black, conservative Black, radical White, and conservative White.

The present traits in the Katz and Braly adjective checklist were ranked ordered in terms of the mean favorability of each adjective trait, from the most favorable (1.84, honest, ranked first) to the least favorable trait (-1.78, cruel, ranked 81st) (see Appendix B, page 61). These mean favorability ratings were computed on the basis of 96 independent Black and White respondents, who rated each trait on the adjective checklist from -2 (very unfavorable) to +2 (very favorable).

The Crowne and Marlowe Social Desirability Scale (1964) consists of 33 items which reflect attitudes and behavior which are half culturally acceptable, but most likely untrue and also behavior which is probably true but not desirable (see Appendix E, page 64). Crowne and Marlowe keyed 18 items in the true direction and 15 items in the false direction (Robinson, 1973: 727). Each time the respondent answers an item in the socially desirable fashion, he receives 1 point, so that the lowest possible score is 0, while the highest possible social desirability score is 33 (Robinson, 1973: 727).

RELIABILITY

The reliability procedure, based on the Black sample, obtained a moderate alpha coefficient for the social desirability scale (not split)= .78. The alpha coefficients, when split into two parts, = .69 (part 1, 17 items) and the other alpha coefficient= .65 (part 2, 16 items). Using the White sample, a lower alpha coefficient was derived for the scale (not Split)= .68. When split, the alpha coefficient for part 1= .48 and for part 2, the alpha coefficient= .50.

PRETEST

A pretest was conducted on the newly designed perceived racial discrimination scale to determine the internal homogeneity of the scale items. Item total correlations and also intercorrelation of all items were computed in the pretest. The initial scale was administered in the Spring of 1977 to 15 White college respondents from Christopher Newport College and 25 Black respondents from the College of William and Mary.

The results suggested that Black and White respondents were not reacting in a similar manner to the items. One possible explanation is that the White respondents were answering the items in terms of perceived racial discrimination against both Blacks and Whites. Another reason for the disparity may be the small sample size of the pretest. The items have been revised to insure that White respondents are answering the items in terms of the perception of reverse discrimination against Whites.

SAMPLE

A sample of Black (N=63) and White (N=100) college respondents was selected. Out of all of the scheduled classes for the Spring semester (1977) at the College of William and Mary and Hampton Institute, different classes were chosen to tap a wide variety of liberal arts fields--philosophy, education, religion, psychology. Both introductory and advanced classes were administered the survey so as to get a wide distribution of ages. The race of the experimenter was controlled for both the Black and White samples.

STATISTICAL PROCEDURES

Measures of central tendency were first computed for the major variables such as the mean perceived racial discrimination score, the mean alienation score, and so forth. The statistical analysis treated the Black and White samples separately because of the substantial variations in the two group mean score on perceived racial discrimination and alienation. In the next operation, frequency distributions were obtained for the four political-racial stimulus persons.

The third major statistical routine involved computing a favorability score, based on a modification of Karlins' (1969) technique. A segment of a favorability procedure originally employed by Karlins was used to derive an overall standard favorability score for the respondent's four political-racial stimulus persons. In this routine, 96 (Black and White) independent respondents rated all of the 81 traits on the adjective checklist on a -2 (very unfavorable) to +2 (very favorable) scale. Based on these evaluations, a mean favorability value was determined for each adjective trait. These 81 favorability values were then matched with the five adjective traits which the primary sample of 163 respondents had selected for each of the four political-racial stimulus persons.

The above statistical routine produced four standard scores for the Black sample and four standard scores for the White sample. This technique differs from Karlins' (1969) method, in that, Karlins only calculated mean favorability scores on the basis of the stereotype uniformity measure (or the least number of traits necessary to account for one half of all of the possible trait attributions for each political-racial stimulus person).

Based on Katz and Braly's et al. (1933) procedure, a stereotype uniformity measure was developed. The measure of stereotype uniformity was based on the least number of traits necessary to account for one half of all possible trait attributions for a given political-racial stimulus person. The stereotype uniformity score is actually a group measure of shared attributions for a given political-racial stimulus person. A stereotype adherence score was then computed. The measure

of stereotype adherence was based on the number of traits selected by each respondent which corresponded to the traits comprising the stereotype uniformity. This stereotype adherence score was constructed to compensate for the inadequacies of the stereotype uniformity measure. The primary difficulty with the measure of stereotype uniformity is that it represents an aggregate measure of shared group attributions. For example, the Black sample's stereotype uniformity score of 5 for the "radical Black" indicates that for the Black sample as a whole, it takes 5 adjective traits to account for one half of all possible trait attributions. On the other hand, the measure of stereotype adherence constitutes each individual's adherence to the group's stereotype uniformity score of the "radical Black."

In the next statistical procedure, Pearson correlations were calculated for the political-racial stereotype favorability scores and the means of these Pearson correlations were then computed. These results help to test the hypothesis that the respondent's stereotype favorability is based more on belief similarity than race similarity. Pearson correlations were then computed to test the hypothesis that stereotype adherence was positively correlated with stereotype favorability. Other correlations were performed to test the hypothesized relationship between the perception of racial discrimination and stereotype favorability, and so forth.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

First of all, the measures of central tendency for the perceived racial discrimination scale, alienation, and socio-economic status variables will be presented. The measures of central tendency will be reported first, in order to provide a broad picture of the respondents' mean scores on the major variables. Next, the political-racial stereotype frequencies were reported in order to describe the content of the present stereotypes. Thirdly, the measures of stereotype favorability and stereotype uniformity as well as stereotype adherence were analyzed. These scores are included in this discussion because they help to test the hypothesis that a respondent's political-racial stereotype favorability is based more on belief similarity than race similarity. The measure of stereotype uniformity was compared with the measure of stereotype favorability to test Karlins' (1969) hypothesis that there was a positive correlation between the two variables. The latter part of this chapter will test the ten formal hypotheses, which were outlined previously in this thesis.

MEASURES OF CENTRAL TENDENCY

The evidence on mean perceived racial discrimination scores suggest that the Black respondents tended to perceive far more racial discrimination against themselves than did the White respondents (see

TABLE 1

MEASURES OF CENTRAL TENDENCY

	BLACK SAMPLE (63)			WHITE SAMPLE (100)		
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Range	Mean	Standard Deviation	Range
Perceived Racial Discrimination	80.13	9.93	45	48.01	9.35	48
Alienation	79.10	10.14	48	68.71	10.71	52
Father's Occupation[1]	72.91	13.71	93	81.49	13.71	93
Parent's Income[2]	2.48	.93	3	3.16	.83	3
Political Orientation[3]	3.23	.80	4	3.18	.80	4

[1]Based on estimations from the Hatt-North Occupational Prestige Scale.

[2]Based on a scale in which 1=under $10,000, 2=$10,000-14,999, 3=$15,000-29,999, and 4=$30,000 and over.

[3]Based on a scale in which 1=very conservative, 2=conservative, 3=moderate, 4=liberal, and 5=very liberal.

Table 1, page 39). Because there was such a large variation between the Blacks' and Whites' perception of discrimination, it would be misleading to combine both samples.

The difference between mean alienation scores for the Blacks and Whites were also substantial (see Table 1, page 39). These scores corresponded with Harold Burbach's (1971) findings. Burbach administered Dean's (1961) Alienation Scale to 428 White college students, 97 Black students, and 43 Puerto Rican students (Burbach, 1971: 248).

The measures of central tendency for the socio-economic variables reveal that Black respondents were generally lower in the level of father's occupation, and parents' income than White respondents (see Table 1, page 39). With regards to the mean political orientation, both the Blacks and Whites reported themselves as politically moderate (see Table 1, page 39).

STEREOTYPE TRAIT FREQUENCIES

In examining the political-racial stereotype frequencies, one can note that the Black and White respondents shared similar stereotypes of the four political-racial stimulus persons (see Figure 1, page 41). Furthermore, within each sample, respondents tended to stereotype more on the basis of political belief than race. For example, the Black respondents stereotyped both radical Blacks and radical Whites as: aggressive, argumentative, and persistent (see Figure 1, page 41).

The content of the stereotypes in this thesis compares somewhat to Aberbach and Walker's (1973) four political-racial stereotypes. However, in contrast to Aberbach and Walker's stereotype of the

FIGURE 1

BLACK AND WHITE RESPONDENTS' STEREOTYPE TRAIT FREQUENCIES
(PERCENTAGE CHECKING TRAITS)

BLACK RESPONDENTS (63)				WHITE RESPONDENTS (100)			
Radical Black	Conservative White	Radical White	Conservative Black	Radical Black	Conservative White	Radical White	Conservative Black
Aggressive (42.0)	Reserved (50.8)	Quarrelsome (33.3)	Reserved (52.4)	Aggressive (66.0)	Conventional (55.0)	Argumentative (43.0)	Reserved (59.0)
Argumentative (42.9)	Conventional (36.5)	Aggressive (28.6)	Loyal-to-Family (34.9)	Argumentative (44.0)	Materialistic (41.0)	Aggressive (40.0)	Conventional (50.0)
Persistent (33.3)	Practical (22.2)	Argumentative (27.0)	Intelligent (31.7)	Arrogant (38.0)	Reserved (40.0)	Progressive (37.0)	Loyal-to-Family (38.0)
Straightfoward (20.6)	Loyal-to-Family (22.2)	Arrogant (23.8)	Practical (28.6)	Persistent (27.0)	Loyal-to-Family (35.0)	Persistent (34.0)	Practical (34.0)
Intelligent (20.6)	Materialistic (22.2)	Persistent (22.2)	Materialistic (22.2)	Revengeful (25.0)	Extremely Nationalistic (33.0)	Individualistic (30.0)	Quiet (29.0)
Individualistic (20.6)	Extremely Nationalistic (20.6)	Sly (22.2)	Conventional (19.0)	Loud (24.0)	Practical (24.0)	Arrogant (23.0)	Industrious (26.0)
Ambitious (19.0)	Sly (15.9)	Alert (17.5)	Quiet (17.5)	Quiet Tempered (24.0)	Industrious (21.0)	Intelligent (23.0)	Materialistic (23.0)

traditional Black (as trustworthy, courteous, and religious). Black and White respondents in the present survey stereotyped the conservatime Black as: reserved, loyal-to-family, and intelligent (see Figure 1, page 41).

Aberbach and Walker's stereotype of the militant Black parallels the stereotype of the radical Black in this thesis (see Figure 1, page 41). Both Black and White respondents stereotyped the radical Black as: aggressive, argumentative, and persistent (see Figure 1, page 41). Aberbach and Walker's stereotype of the reactionary White (as being against racial integration, and in favor of conservative local government) does not correspond with the present stereotype of the conservative White. Likewise, Aberbach and Walker's stereotype of the progressive White (as having favorable attitudes toward integration and the resolution of racial inequalities) differs from the present thesis' stereotype of the radical White (see Figure 1, page 41).

MEASURES OF STEREOTYPE FAVORABILITY, STEREOTYPE UNIFORMITY AND STEREOTYPE ADHERENCE

Mean stereotype favorability scores were calculated for the respondent's stereotype of the conservative Black, radical Black, conservation White, and radical White. These four stereotype favorability or standard scores were obtained from mean favorability values for all of the 81 traits on the Katz and Braly (1933) adjective checklist (the 81 mean favorability values had been derived from 96 independent Black and White respondents, who had rated each adjective trait from -2 (very unfavorable) to +2 (very favorable). These 81 mean favorability values were combined with the five adjectives, which the 163 primary respondents

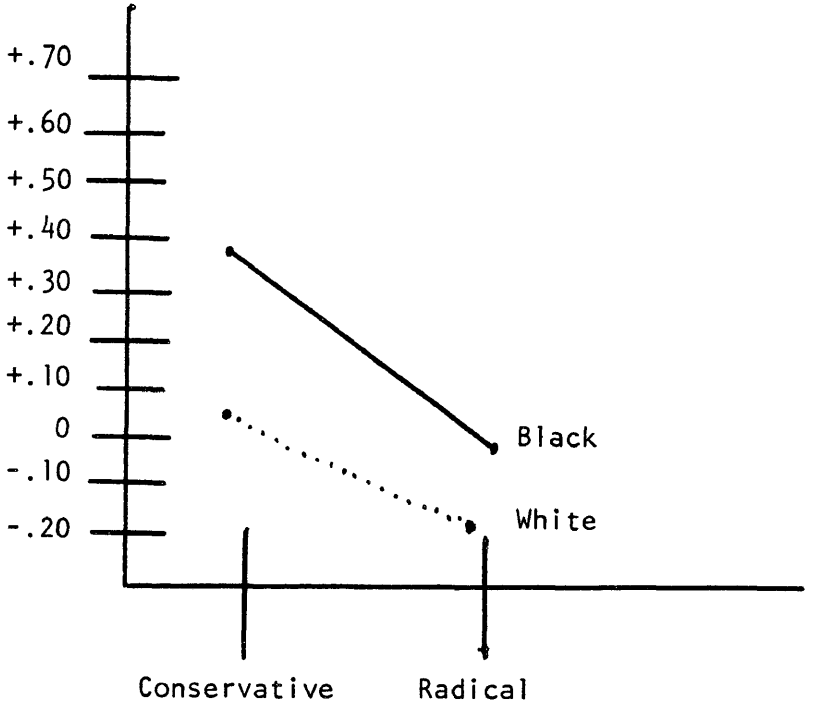
had chosen for each political-racial stimulus person. The above technique produced four political-racial stereotype scores for the Blacks and four scores for the Whites.

Based on the plotting of the mean political-racial stereotype favorability scores (Black sample) on a graph, we can test Hypothesis 3 which states that the respondent's political-racial stereotype favorability is based more on belief similarity than race similarity (see Figure 2, page 44). The graph reveals a Type B stereotype, in that, the Black respondents had a higher stereotype favorability for conservative Blacks than for radical Blacks. Another Type B stereotype was shown by the fact that Black respondents had a higher stereotype favorability for conservative Whites than for radical Whites (see Figure 2, page 44). A one way analysis of variance revealed that the Type B stereotype was statistically significant ($p < .001$).

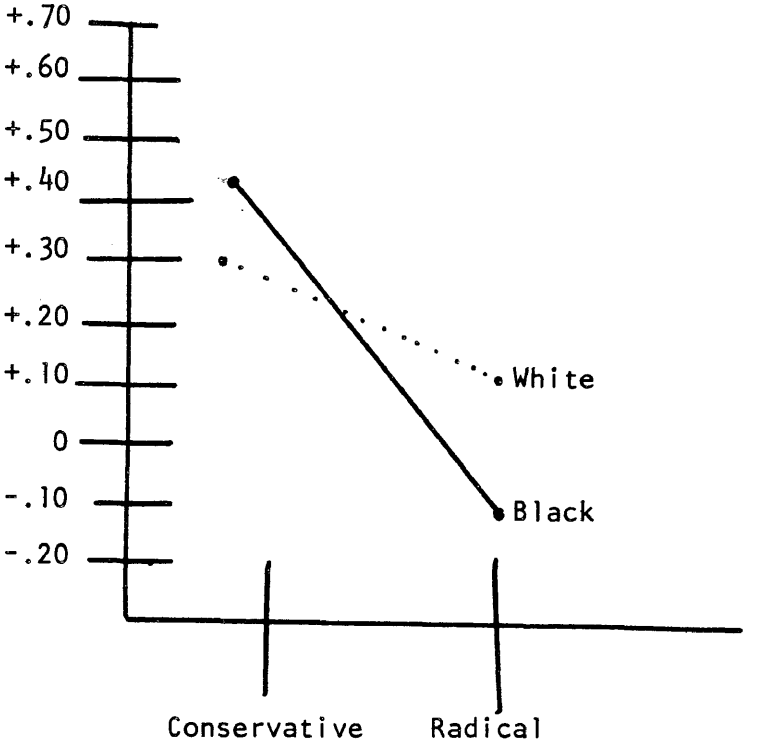
However, the Type R stereotype was also discovered in the Blacks' stereotype favorability scores (see Figure 2, page 44). Black respondents had a higher stereotype favorability for Black stimulus persons than for White stimulus persons, regardless of their political beliefs (see Figure 2, page 44). For example, the Black respondents showed a substantially higher stereotype favorability for conservative Blacks than for conservative Whites. Likewise, the Black respondents exhibited a moderately higher stereotype favorability for radical Blacks than for radical Whites (see Figure 2, page 44). A one way analysis of variance indicated that the Type R stereotype was significant for the Black sample (at the $p < .001$ level of significance). However, the interaction between the belief component and the race component was not statistically

FIGURE 2

MEAN STEREOTYPE FAVORABILITY SCORES, BLACK AND WHITE SAMPLES



BLACK SAMPLE (63)
STEREOTYPE FAVORABILITY SCORE



WHITE SAMPLE (100)
STEREOTYPE FAVORABILITY SCORE

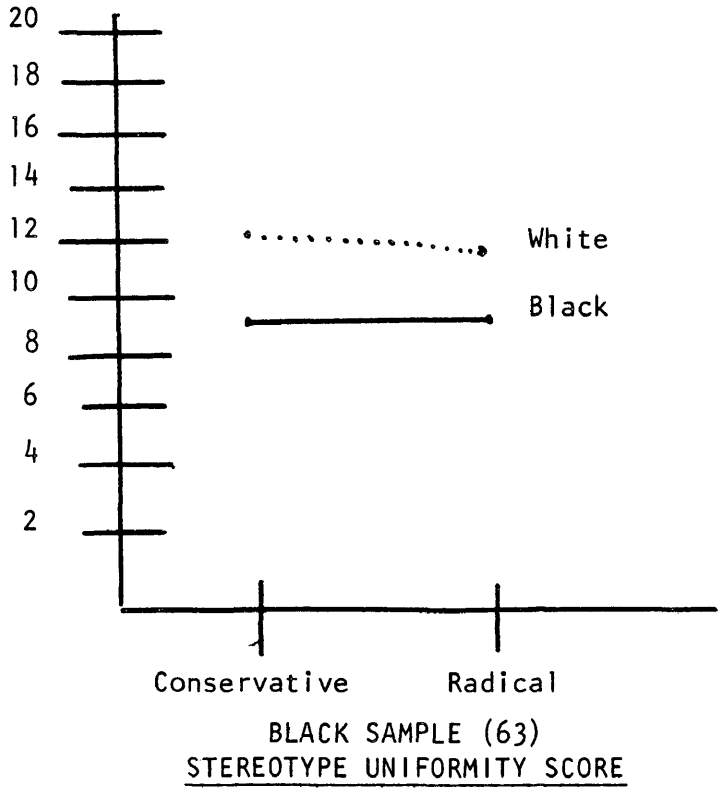
significant for the Black sample ($p < .248$).

Unlike the Black sample, the graph of the White sample indicates that race per se does not appreciably affect the attitudes of the White respondents (see Figure 2, page 44). For example, the White respondents showed a higher stereotype favorability for conservative Blacks than for conservative Whites (see Figure 2, page 44). While these same White respondents exhibited a higher stereotype favorability for radical Whites than for radical Blacks (see Figure 2, page 44). A one way analysis of variance also showed that the Type R stereotype was not statistically significant ($p < .341$) for the White sample. However, the one way analysis of variance indicated that the Type B stereotype was statistically significant ($p < .001$) for the White sample. The graph of the stereotype favorability for the White sample shows a steep slope, with obvious interaction between the political belief component and the race component (see Figure 2, page 44). The one way analysis of variance showed this interaction between belief and race to be statistically significant ($p < .001$).

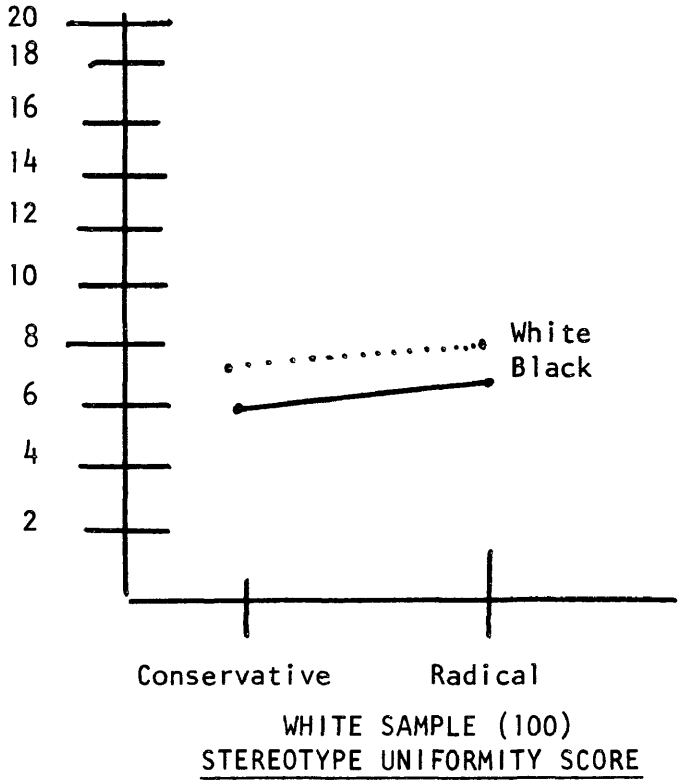
A stereotype uniformity score was then calculated, based on Katz and Braly's (1933) procedure (which took the least number of traits necessary to explain one half of all possible trait attributions for a given political-racial stimulus person. By plotting the stereotype uniformity for the Black and White samples, it was possible to obtain a primitive test of Hypothesis 4 (see figure 3, page 46). Hypothesis 4 stated that the higher the group's stereotype favorability, the greater would be the group's stereotype uniformity. The graph of the stereotype favorability scores does substantiate Hypothesis 4 for the Black

FIGURE 3

STEREOTYPE UNIFORMITY SCORES, BLACK AND WHITE SAMPLES



BLACK SAMPLE (63)
STEREOTYPE UNIFORMITY SCORE



WHITE SAMPLE (100)
STEREOTYPE UNIFORMITY SCORE

sample (see Figure 2, page 44, and Figure 3, page 46). As was seen earlier, the Black respondents had a higher stereotype favorability for Blacks than for Whites, regardless of political beliefs (see Figure 2, page 44). Likewise, the stereotype uniformity for the Black sample showed greater uniformity for both the conservative and radical Blacks over the White stimulus persons (see Figure 3, page 46).

The plotting of the stereotype uniformity for the White sample does not exhibit a clear-cut relationship between stereotype favorability and stereotype uniformity (see Figure 2, page 44, and Figure 3, page 46). The graph of the stereotype uniformity scores also revealed that the White sample had a greater stereotype uniformity than the Black sample (see Figure 3, page 46). Possibly, the adjective traits in the Katz and Braly adjective checklist (1933) were not as salient for the Blacks as they were for the Whites.

Besides computing a stereotype uniformity score (based on the least number of traits necessary to explain one half of all possible trait attributions for a stimulus person), a mean stereotype adherence measure was constructed. The stereotype adherence measure is based on the number of adjective traits selected by the respondent which corresponds to the traits constituting the stereotype uniformity score. The stereotype adherence score represents each individual's adherence to the group's stereotype of a given political-racial stimulus person. The stereotype adherence measure is different from the stereotype uniformity measure because the stereotype adherence measure ascertains the individual's rather than the group's adherence to a particular stereotype.

In plotting the mean stereotype adherence score for the Black and White samples, we can test Hypothesis 4A, which states that the higher the respondent's political-racial stereotype favorability score, the higher would be the respondent's stereotype adherence score (see Figure 2, page 44 and Figure 4, page 49). The data indicated that no appreciable relationship was found between stereotype favorability and stereotype adherence for both the Black and White samples (see Figure 2, page 44, and Figure 4, page 49).

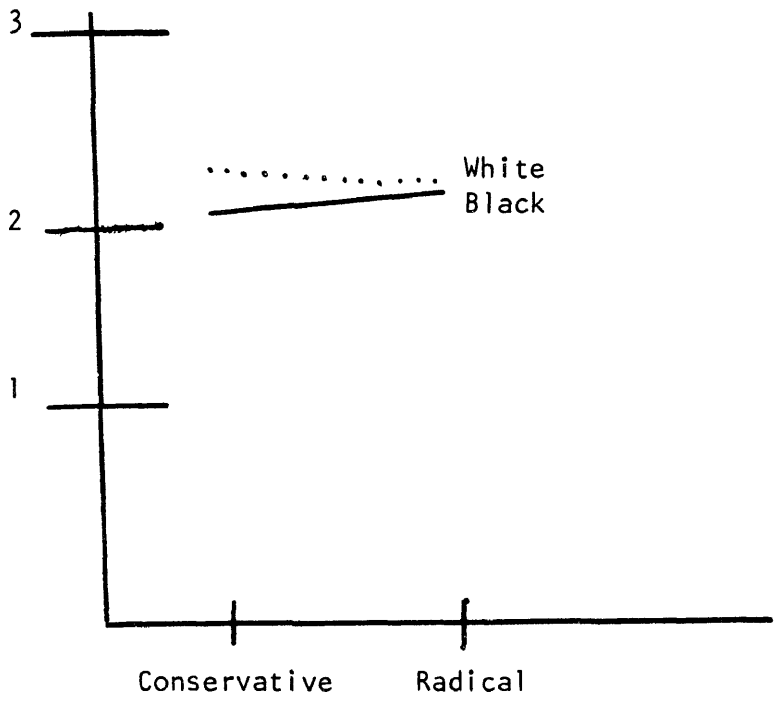
THE TEN HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis 1A was not substantiated by the correlation between the Black respondent's perception of racial discrimination and his stereotype favorability of the conservative Black and the conservative White stimulus persons (see Table 2, page 50). Hypothesis 1A proposed that the higher the Black respondent's perception of racial discrimination, the lower would be his stereotype favorability of politically conservative stimulus persons. Hypothesis 1A assumed that Black respondents, high on perceived racial discrimination, believed that conservative people would be slow in eradicating discriminatory practices in society. As a consequence, these Black respondents would have unfavorable stereotypes of politically conservative stimulus persons. However, the Black's perception of racial discrimination correlated negligibly with his stereotype favorability of the conservative White ($r = -.11$, $p < .19$, $N = 63$) and conservative Black ($r = -.18$, $p < .08$) (although both were in the predicted direction) (see Table 2, page 50).

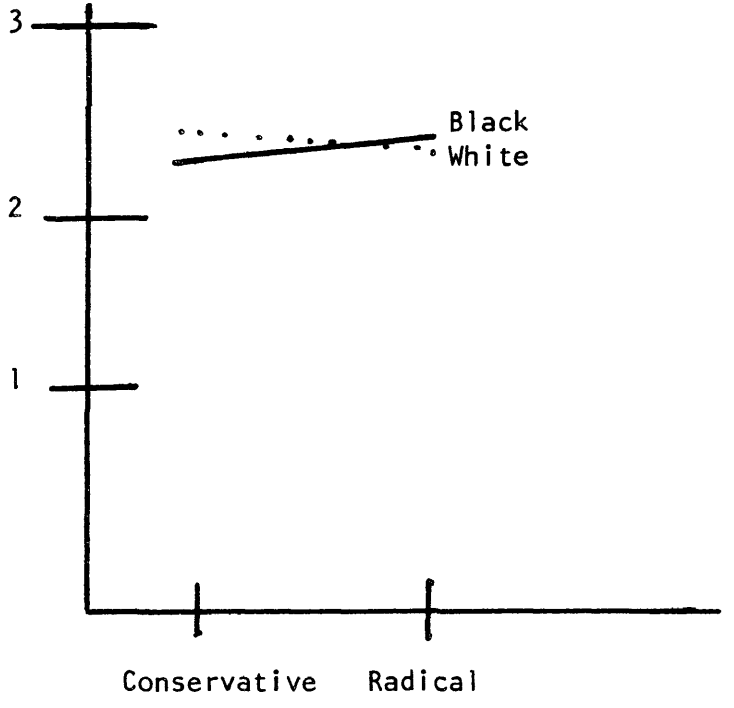
Hypothesis 1B was confirmed by the present thesis results (see Table 2, page 50). Hypothesis 1B predicted that the White respondents,

FIGURE 4

MEAN STEREOTYPE ADHERENCE SCORES, BLACK AND WHITE SAMPLES



BLACK SAMPLE (63)
STEREOTYPE ADHERENCE SCORE



WHITE SAMPLE (100)
STEREOTYPE ADHERENCE SCORE

TABLE 2

PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN PERCEIVED RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, ALIENATION, AND STEREOTYPE FAVORABILITY SCORES, BLACK AND WHITE SAMPLES

	BLACK SAMPLE (63) STEREOTYPE FAVORABILITY SCORES				WHITE SAMPLE (100) STEREOTYPE FAVORABILITY SCORES			
	Radical Black	Conservative White	Radical White	Conservative Black	Radical Black	Conservative White	Radical White	Conservative Black
Perceived Racial Discrimination Total Score	-.02	-.11	-.11	-.18	-.30	.11	.04	.21
	p < .433	p < .188	p < .188	p < .084	p < .001	p < .138	p < .337	p < .018
Alienation Total Score	-.21	-.05	-.18	-.27	-.13	.01	.04	-.07
	p < .048	p < .351	p < .082	p < .016	p < .096	p < .499	p < .320	p < .235

high on the perception of reverse discrimination, would have a lower stereotype favorability of radical stimulus persons because they support affirmative action programs (which supposedly work against the power and status of the dominant Whites in society). For the White sample, the higher the respondent's perception of reverse discrimination, the lower would be his stereotype favorability of radical Blacks ($r = -.30$, $p < .001$) (see Table 2, page 50). However, Hypothesis 1B was not substantiated in the correlation between the White respondent's perception of reverse discrimination and his stereotype favorability of the radical White ($r = .04$, $p < .337$) (see Table 2, page 50). The converse of Hypothesis 1B was confirmed in that the higher the White respondent's perception of reverse discrimination, the higher was his stereotype favorability of the conservative Black ($r = +.21$, $p < .018$) (see Table 2, page 50).

Hypothesis 2A predicted that the higher the Black respondent's alienation, the lower would be his stereotype favorability of politically conservative stimulus persons. Hypothesis 2A was confirmed only for the Black sample (however, the correlation was low). A statistically significant correlation between alienation and stereotype favorability of the conservative Black was found ($r = -.27$, $p < .016$) (see Table 2, page 50). The data also suggest that alienated Blacks tend to be down on everybody (see Table 2, page 50). Hypothesis 2B was not verified for the White sample. Hypothesis 2B stated that the higher the White respondent's alienation, the lower would be his stereotype favorability for politically radical stimulus persons.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that the respondent's stereotype favorability would be based more on belief similarity than on race similarity.

Hypothesis 3 was supported based on the calculation of the means of the Pearson correlations for the respondent's stereotype favorability scores. The mean of the Pearson correlation for the political component (radical Black stereotype favorability with radical White favorability; conservative Black stereotype favorability with conservative White favorability) =+.32 (Black sample). While the mean of the Pearson correlations for the race component (radical White with conservative Black stereotype favorability) =+.07 (Black sample). These results indicate that for the Black sample, political belief similarity explains significantly more of the respondent's stereotype favorability than race similarity.

A similar pattern was ascertained for the White sample. The mean of the Pearson correlations for the political component =+.44. While the mean of the Pearson correlations for the race component =+.16. Once again, it is evident that the White respondent's stereotype favorability was based more on belief similarity than race similarity.

Hypothesis 3 was also confirmed in a Spearman correlation between the White respondent's stereotype favorability of the conservative Black and his political orientation ($r = -.25$, $p < .007$). In other words, as Whites became more politically liberal, their stereotype favorability for the conservative Black decreased. Similarly, a Spearman correlation between the White respondent's conservative White stereotype favorability and his political orientation revealed a statistically significant relationship ($r = -.40$, $p < .001$). The above Spearman correlations showed that the respondents' stereotype favorability for the conservative Blacks and Whites were a function of their belief similarity.

Hypothesis 4 had been previously tested, based on the computation of the stereotype favorability and stereotype uniformity scores (see Figure 2, page 44, and Figure 3, page 46). Hypothesis 4 predicted that the higher the group's stereotype favorability, the greater would be the group's stereotype uniformity. The data confirmed Hypothesis 4 only for the Black sample (see Figure 2, page 44, and Figure 3, page 46).

Hypothesis 4A was disconfirmed earlier in the plotting of the mean stereotype favorability and mean stereotype adherence scores for both Black and White samples (Hypothesis 4A predicted that the higher the respondent's stereotype favorability, the higher would be his stereotype adherence score) (see Figure 2, page 44, and Figure 4, page 49). However, the Pearson correlations in the Black sample do support Hypothesis 4A (see Table 3, page 54). In the Black sample, the correlation between radical Black stereotype favorability and adherence to radical Black was significant ($r = +.45$, $p < .001$) (see Table 3, page 54). Much lower correlations were reported for the relationship between radical White stereotype favorability and adherence to radical White ($r = +.22$, $p < .045$) and conservative White stereotype favorability with adherence to conservative White ($r = +.35$, $p < .033$) (see Table 3, page 54).

For the White sample, Hypothesis 4A was not substantiated (see Table 3, page 54). The data on stereotype adherence suggest that stereotype adherence has no consistent and comprehensible relationship with stereotype favorability.

Hypothesis 5 posited that the higher the respondent's perception

TABLE 3

PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS FOR STEREOTYPE FAVORABILITY SCORES WITH STEREOTYPE ADHERENCE SCORES, BLACK AND WHITE SAMPLES

	BLACK SAMPLE (63) STEREOTYPE ADHERENCE SCORES		WHITE SAMPLE (100) STEREOTYPE ADHERENCE SCORES	
	Radical White	Conservative White	Radical White	Conservative White
Radical White Stereotype Favorability Scores	.22 p<.045	-.20 p<.058	.41 p<.001	.10 p<.156
Conservative White Stereotype Favorability Scores	-.02 p<.433	.35 p<.003	-.10 p<.158	-.20 p<.022
Radical White Stereotype Adherence Scores		.09 p<.239		.29 p<.001
	Radical Black	Conservative Black	Radical Black	Conservative Black
Radical Black Stereotype Favorability Scores	.45 p<.001	.14 p<.137	-.55 p<.001	.28 p<.002
Conservative Black Stereotype Favorability Scores	.12 p<.171	.37 p<.002	.04 p<.358	-.17 p<.050
Radical Black Stereotype Adherence Scores		.18 p<.078		-.02 p<.412

of racial discrimination, the higher would be his alienation score (because of the methodological limitations in the present thesis, it is not possible to determine the temporal priority between the above variables. Thus, it is equally plausible to hypothesize that the higher the respondent's alienation score, the higher would be his perception of racial discrimination). Hypothesis 5 was supported by the Pearson correlation between the perception of racial discrimination and alienation for the Black and White samples (see Table 4, page 56).

Hypothesis 6A predicted that the Black respondent's perception of racial discrimination would be positively correlated with his politically liberal orientation. However, no statistical evidence was obtained to substantiate Hypothesis 6A. However, Hypothesis 6B, which stated that the White respondent's perception of racial discrimination would be negatively correlated with his politically liberal orientation, was supported in this thesis. The Spearman correlation between the White respondent's total perceived racial discrimination score and political orientation $=-.30$, $p < .001$. As the White respondents became more politically liberal, their mean perceived reverse discrimination score decreased significantly (or vice versa).

Hypothesis 7A predicted that the Black respondent's alienation would be positively correlated with his politically liberal orientation. Hypothesis 7B proposed that the White respondent's alienation would be negatively correlated with the respondent's politically liberal orientation. Neither Hypothesis 7A nor 7B were substantiated in this thesis.

TABLE 4

PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN PERCEIVED RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, SOCIAL DESIRABILITY, ALIENATION, BLACK AND WHITE SAMPLES

	BLACK SAMPLE (63)		WHITE SAMPLE (100)	
	Social Desirability Total Score	Alienation Total Score	Social Desirability Total Score	Alienation Total Score
Perceived Racial Discrimination Total Score	-.14 $p < .134$	.53 $p < .001$	-.11 $p < .149$	.25 $p < .006$
Social Desirability Total Score		-.34 $p < .003$		-.24 $p < .008$

Hypothesis 8, which proposed that the respondent's perception of racial discrimination would be negatively correlated with the social desirability score, was not confirmed (see Table 4, page 56). Hypothesis 9 predicted that alienation would be negatively correlated with social desirability. For the Black sample, Hypothesis 9 was confirmed ($r=-.34$, $p < .003$) (see Table 4, page 56). For the White sample, the correlation between alienation and social desirability was weaker, but still statistically significant ($r =-.24$, $p < .008$) (see Table 4, page 56). The above data indicate, not surprisingly, that the alienation scale is contaminated by the social desirability set, though not as much as one would think. Perhaps there is a tendency for alienation to be fashionable among college students, especially Black students and especially arts and science students. This factor suppressed what would, otherwise, be much stronger negative coefficients.

Hypothesis 10 predicted that the respondent's stereotype favorability would be positively correlated with their social desirability scores. However, Hypothesis 10 was not verified by the evidence in either the Black or White sample.

SUMMARY

The purpose of this thesis was to generate and test a number of hypotheses related to the individual's perception of racial discrimination and his political-racial stereotype favorability. In this context, three major hypotheses were subjected to empirical verification:

1. The hypothesis that stereotype favorability was based more on belief similarity than race similarity.
2. Karlins' (1969) hypothesis that stereotype favorability was positively correlated with stereotype uniformity.

3. The newly constructed hypothesis that the more Whites perceive "reverse discrimination" (i.e. unfair treatment against Whites) against them, the lower would be their stereotype favorability of politically radical persons.

To test the above hypotheses, an attitude survey was administered to 100 White college respondents and 63 Black college respondents. To measure the first hypothesis, respondents were asked to select adjectives from the Katz and Braly adjective checklist (1933) which they considered to be most typical of the radical Black, conservative Black, radical White and conservative White. These trait attributions were then converted to standard favorability scores on the basis of evaluations from the independent sample of 96 Black and White respondents. Karlins' (1969) hypothesis was tested, using stereotype uniformity and stereotype favorability scores which were obtained from Katz and Braly (1933) and Karlins' (1969) statistical procedures. The third hypothesis, which stated that the Whites' perception of reverse discrimination and correlated with their low favorability of radicals, was tested, using the newly designed "Perceived Racial Discrimination Scale."

The results supported the first hypothesis, in that, the individual's stereotype favorability was based more on belief similarity than race similarity. The results parallel Rokeach's (1960) findings that a person will be more likely to make social distance responses as a function of belief similarity than race similarity. However, for the White sample, both race and belief significantly predicted stereotype favorability.

Karlins' (1969) hypothesis that stereotype favorability was positively correlated with stereotype uniformity was substantiated for the Black sample (but the strength of the relationship was low).

The third major hypothesis which predicted that the more Whites perceive "reverse discrimination," the lower would be their stereotype favorability of politically radical people, was confirmed (but the relationship was quite low).

From the findings, we can infer that knowing whether or not a person's political belief is similar to our own beliefs, will help us to predict how we will stereotype that person. The data also suggest that at least for the Black sample, the more favorable a group's stereotype, the greater will be the group's shared trait attributions (uniformity). Finally, our research has shown that the White respondent's low stereotype favorability of radicals tends to be a function of his perceived reverse discrimination. We must be very cautious from inferring wide generalizations from these results because of the methodological drawbacks in this kind of stereotype/survey research.

APPENDIX A

PERCEIVED RACIAL DISCRIMINATION SCALE (BLACK SAMPLE)

1. Police generally harass Blacks more than Whites.
2. Far too much attention is given to Whites in the mass media
*3. Most employers will not discriminate in their hiring practices against Blacks.
4. Blacks could get ahead in society if Whites would let them.
*5. I have rarely been discriminated against because I was Black.
6. A Black person has less chances than a White person in getting elected to a public office.
7. In today's society, I believe that social change is too fast.
*8. A Black person has more chances than a White person in getting a good job, in any given situation.
*9. In this society, few Blacks are faced with the problems of racial discrimination.
10. Not enough qualified Blacks are elected to public office in proportion to the overall population.
11. Members of Congress are more responsive to the needs of Whites.
12. Because I am Black, I feel discriminated against in competing with Whites for good jobs, educational opportunities, etc.
*13. There is little or no racial discrimination against Blacks in the United States judicial system.
14. Black people are the first to be fired and the last to be hired.
15. In many cases, the same law is applied preferentially to Whites over Blacks.
16. One of the chief obstacles to better jobs for Blacks is discrimination.
17. Sometimes I feel that I am not being treated fairly because I am Black.
18. Local public services provide better programs for Whites than for Blacks.
19. The police treat Blacks discourteously and even cruelly.
*20. The government's civil rights program does effectively deal with the problems of racial discrimination against Blacks.
21. White children get better grades in school than Black children for the same quality of work.
*22. Residential segregation in this society is related to many other factors than just race.

*Reversed Score Items

APPENDIX B

FAVORABILITY OF ADJECTIVES IN MODIFIED KATZ AND BRALY ADJECTIVE CHECKLIST (1977)

RANK AND ADJECTIVE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION	ADJECTIVE	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
1. Honest	1.84	.40	40. Agressive	.08	1.19
2. Courteous	1.75	.53	41. Ponderous	.02	1.10
3. Kind	1.75	.58	42. Gregarious	- .00	1.17
4. Alert	1.70	.46	43. Suggestible	- .01	1.27
5. Imaginative	1.66	.52	44. Shrewd	- .12	1.39
6. Faithful	1.64	.55	45. Grasping	- .14	1.29
7. Intelligent	1.62	.67	46. Stolid	- .22	1.06
8. Efficient	1.56	.56	47. Impulsive	- .22	1.12
9. Individual-istic	1.55	.66	48. Extremely-Nationalistic	- .47	1.19
10. Generous	1.54	.65	49. Argumentative	- .50	1.14
11. Industrious	1.53	.68	50. Imitative	- .52	1.05
12. Artistic	1.50	.68	51. Sly	- .63	1.15
13. Straight-forward	1.41	.69	52. Pugnacious	- .63	.92
14. Progressive	1.39	.69	53. Naive	- .67	1.04
15. Musical	1.35	.76	54. Materialistic	- .71	1.10
16. Sensitive	1.35	.86	55. Mercenary	- .73	1.13
17. Sportsman-like	1.34	.81	56. Suspicious	- .77	1.01
18. Neat	1.32	.73	57. Stubborn	- .83	1.07
19. Loyal-to-Family	1.31	.80	58. Evasive	- .85	.81
20. Witty	1.24	.82	59. Frivolous	- .98	.89
21. Brilliant	1.22	.95	60. Superstitious	- .99	.88
22. Ambitious	1.20	.92	61. Slovenly	-1.07	.80
23. Practical	1.17	.76	62. Cowardly	-1.19	.72
24. Passionate	1.04	.89	63. Lazy	-1.21	.87
25. Jovial	.94	.93	64. Showy	-1.24	.96
26. Pleasure-loving	.93	1.00	65. Loud	-1.31	.81
27. Sensual	.92	.93	66. Quarrelsome	-1.33	.98
28. Meditative	.87	.83	67. Arrogant	-1.33	.86
29. Persistent	.82	1.05	68. Humorless	-1.34	.93
30. Happy-go-Lucky	.82	.92	69. Gluttonous	-1.35	.85
31. Scientifically-minded	.79	.92	70. Quick-Tempered	-1.36	.76
32. Sophisticated	.76	.83	71. Ignorant	-1.43	.82
33. Quiet	.65	.92	72. Revengeful	-1.50	.80
34. Talkative	.60	.86	73. Boastful	-1.55	.58
35. Very Religious	.59	1.16	74. Stupid	-1.60	.64
36. Reserved	.51	.89	75. Conceited	-1.60	.87
37. Suave	.44	1.10	76. Physically-Dirty	-1.60	.89
38. Methodical	.37	1.04	77. Unreliable	-1.62	.73
39. Conventional	.14	1.06	78. Treacherous	-1.65	.78
			79. Rude	-1.73	.76
			80. Deceitful	-1.76	.68
			81. Cruel	-1.78	.79

APPENDIX C

PERCEIVED RACIAL DISCRIMINATION SCALE (WHITE SAMPLE)

1. Police generally harass Whites more than Blacks
2. Far too much attention is given to Blacks in the mass media.
*3. Most employers will not discriminate in their hiring practices against Whites.
4. Whites could get ahead in society if Blacks and their friends and supporters would let them.
*5. I have rarely been discriminated against because I was White.
6. A White person has less chances than a Black person in getting elected to a public office.
*7. A White person has more chances than a Black person in getting a good job, in any given situation.
*8. In this society, few Whites are faced with the problems of reverse discrimination.
9. Members of Congress are more responsive to the needs of Blacks.
10. Because I am White, I feel discriminated against in competing with Blacks for good jobs, educational opportunities
*11. There is little or no reverse discrimination against Whites in the United States judicial system.
12. White people are the first to be fired and the last to be hired.
13. In many cases, the same law is applied preferentially to Blacks over Whites.
14. One of the chief obstacles to better jobs for Whites is reverse discrimination.
15. Sometimes I feel that I am not being treated fairly because I am White.
16. Local public services provide better programs for Blacks than for Whites.
17. The police treat White people discourteously and even cruelly.
*18. The government's civil rights program does effectively deal with the problems of reverse discrimination.
19. Black children get better grades in school than White children for the same quality of work.

*Reversed Score Items

APPENDIX D

DEAN'S ALIENATION SCALE (1961)

POWERLESSNESS ITEMS

2. I worry about the future facing today's children.
6. Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are using me.
9. It is frightening to be responsible for the development of a little child.
10. There is little or nothing I can do towards preventing a major "shooting" war.
15. There are so many decisions that have to be made today that sometimes I could just "blow up."
18. There is little chance for promotion on the job unless a man gets a break.
20. We're so regimented today that there's not much room for choice even in personal matters.
21. We are just so many cogs in the machinery of life.
23. The future looks very dismal.

NORMLESSNESS ITEMS

4. The end often justifies the means.
7. People's ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on.
10. Everything is relative, and there aren't any definite rules to live by.
12. I often wonder what the meaning of life really is.
16. The only thing one can be sure of today is that he can be sure of nothing.
19. With so many religions abroad, one doesn't know which to believe.

SOCIAL ISOLATION ITEMS

1. Sometimes I feel all alone in the world.
3. I don't get invited out by friends as often as I'd really like.
*5. Most people today seldom feel lonely.
*8. Real friends are as easy as ever to find
*11. One can always find friends if he shows himself friendly.
*14. The world in which we live is basically a friendly place.
17. There are few dependable ties between people any more.
*22. People are just naturally friendly and helpful.
24. I don't get to visit friends as often as I'd really like.

*Reversed Score Items

APPENDIX E

CROWNE AND MARLOWE'S SOCIAL DESIRABILITY SCALE (1964)

1. Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates. (T)
2. I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble. (T)
3. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged. (F)
4. I have never intensely disliked anyone. (T)
5. On occasions I have had doubts about my ability to succeed in life. (F)
6. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way. (F)
7. I am always careful about my manner of dress. (T)
8. My table manners at home are as good as when I eat out in a restaurant. (T)
9. If I could get into a movie without paying for it and be sure I was not seen, I would probably do it. (F)
10. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability. (T)
11. I like to gossip at times. (F)
12. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right. (F)
13. No matter who I am talking to, I'm always a good listener. (T)
14. I can remember "playing sick" to get out of something. (F)
15. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone. (F)
16. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake. (T)
17. I always try to practice what I preach. (T)
18. I don't find it particularly difficult to get along with loud mouthed, obnoxious people. (T)
19. I sometimes try to get even, rather than forgive and forget. (F)
20. When I don't know something I don't at all mind admitting it. (T)
21. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable. (T)
22. At times I have really insisted on having things my own way. (F)
23. There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things. (F)
24. I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrong doings. (T)
25. I never resent being asked to return a favor. (T)
26. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own. (T)
27. I never make a long trip without checking the safety of my car. (T)
28. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortunes of others. (F)
29. I have almost never felt the urge to tell someone off. (T)
30. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me. (F)
31. I have never felt that I was punished without cause. (T)
32. I sometimes think when people have a misfortune they only get what they deserved. (F)
33. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings. (T)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aberbach, Joel D., and Jack L. Walter, Race in the City. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1973.

Anderson, C.C. and D. Côte, "Belief Dissonance as A Source Disaffection," Journal of Personalty and Social Psychology. 1966, 4, 447-453.

Banks, William, "The Changing Attitudes of Black Students," Personnel and Guidance Journal. 1970, May, 48 (9), 739-745

Bell, Daniel, The Coming of Post-Industrial Society. New York: Basic Books Inc., 1973.

Brigham, John C.,"Ethnic Stereotypes," Psychological Bulletin. 1971, 76, No. 1, 15-38.

Burbach, Harold J., "Alienation Among College Freshmen," Journal of College Student Personnel. 1971, 13, No. 4, 248-252.

Glazer, Nathan, Affirmative Discrimination. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1975.

Glazer, Nathan and Daniel P. Moynihan, Ethnicity and Experience. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975.

Insko, C. A., and J. E. Robinson, "Belief Similarity vs. Race," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology. 1967, 7, 216-221.

Karlins, Marvin, "On the Fading of Social Stereotypes," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology. 1969, 13, 1-16.

Katz, D., and K. W. Braly, "Racial Stereotypes of 100 College Students," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology. 1933, 28, 282-290.

Katz, D., and K. W. Braly, "Racial Prejudice and Racial Stereotypes," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology. 1935, 30, 175-193.

Marx, Gary T., Protest and Prejudice. New York: Harper and Row Inc., 1967.

Maykovich, Minako, "Reciprocity in Racial Stereotypes," American Journal of Sociology. 1972, 5, 876-897.

Meenes, Max, "A Comparison of Racial Stereotypes of 1935 and 1942," The Journal of Social Psychology. 1943, 17, 327-336.

Robinson, John P., and Phillip R. Shaver, Measures of Social Psychological Attitudes. Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, 1973.

Rokeach, Milton, The Open and Closed Mind. New York: Basic Books Inc., 1960.

Rokeach, Milton, "Belief vs. Race as Determinants of Social Distance," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology. 1961, 62, No. 1, 187-188.

Schuman, Howard, and Shirley Hatchett, Black-White Attitudes. Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, 1974.

Seago, D. W., "Stereotypes: Before Pearl Harbor and After," Journal of Psychology. 1947, 23, 55-63.

Sisley, E. L., Psychological Reports. 1970, 27, 3, 779-786.

Stein, David, "Race and Belief: An Open and Shut Case," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology. 1965, 1, No. 4, 281-289.

Triandis, Harry, "A Note on Rokeach's Theory of Prejudice," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology. 1961, 62, No. 1, 184-186.

Triandis, Harry, "Race and Belief as Determinants of Behavioral Intentions," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology. 1965, 2, No. 5, 715-725.

VITA

Stephen John Morewitz

Born on May 14, 1954 in Newport News, Virginia. Graduated from Hampton High School in 1972 and entered the College of William and Mary. Received A.B. in Sociology in 1975 and in 1976 entered the M.A. program in Sociology at William and Mary. In 1977, the author began his doctoral studies in Sociology at the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle.