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ABSTRACT

This study attempted to assess the racial attitudes of white college education seniors and to study the relationship between racial prejudice and the following predictor variables: personal contact, change orientation, religiosity, and efficacy. Three research instruments were used to assess racial attitudes and predictor variables: The Attitude Behavior Scale: White/Negro (developed by Jordan and Hamersma) to measure racial attitudes; the Personal Characteristics scale to identify teachers' attitudes toward habits, appearance, and interpersonal characteristics of blacks; the Education Content scale to assess attitudes of future teachers toward the abilities, motives, aspirations, and behaviors of black students. Data showed that contact, change orientation, and efficacy were significantly related to racial attitudes. A correlation between religiosity and prejudice was not supported by the data. Tables illustrating test data are included. [Because of the size of the print, the tables printed in this paper may not be clearly readable in hard copy reproduction.] (KG)

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ATTITUDES OF WHITE COLLEGE EDUCATION
SENIORS TOWARD BLACKS

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People in the teaching profession fulfill important modeling and educational roles for most of the children in the nation. Consequently, teachers' racial attitudes are influential in the development of their students' attitudes toward people of other races. Bibby (1960) states:

. . . the teacher has to do much more than merely tell his pupils the biological and sociological facts about race: he has to help whittle away preconceptions held since infancy, to dissolve irrational prejudices, and to erode false ideas sometimes held with almost wilful persistence (pp. 70-71).

An understanding of teachers' racial attitudes is an important variable in the current attempt to assess the conflict between the races.

The purpose of the present research was twofold: to assess the racial attitudes of white college education seniors and to study the relationship between racial prejudice and the following predictor variables: personal contact, change orientation, religiosity, and efficacy.

DESIGN AND RESEARCH POPULATION

Three research instruments were employed to assess racial attitudes and predictor variables. The Attitude Behavior Scale: White/Negro developed by Jordan and Hamersma was used to measure racial attitudes. The purpose of the study and the nature of the sample dictated the choice of two content areas. The Personal Characteristics scale was chosen to identify teachers' attitudes toward the habits, appearance, interpersonal

characteristics, and practices of Negroes. The Education content scale was employed to assess the attitudes of future teachers toward the educational abilities, motives, aspirations, and behaviors of black students. The Personal Data Questionnaire which accompanied the ABS: W/N was used to operationalize the predictor variables.

The sample consisted of college seniors in the last stage of their preparation to enter the teaching profession. The College of Education at Michigan State University has the largest teacher training program in the United States. Its students come from a variety of economic and social backgrounds. Since all the students in the program could not be included, it was decided to choose the students in one of the required courses in a particular term. Education 450, "School and Society," is offered all four quarters of the academic year, and the professors indicated that there was no noticeable difference in the type of student enrolled each quarter.

Seventy-nine per cent (382) of the students present on the date of administration completed all three instruments. Characteristics of the research sample were: (a) 74 per cent of the students were females, and 26 per cent were males; (b) 94 per cent were between the ages of 21 and 30, 4 per cent were under 20, and 2 per cent were over 30 years of age; (c) 79 per cent of the students were single, and 21 per cent were married; (d) 23 per cent identified their religious affiliation as

Catholic, 57 per cent as Protestant, and 6 per cent as Jewish.

Prejudice was operationally defined as existing on a continuum from high to low, inversely related to positive attitudes toward Blacks. A high or positive attitude score is a measure of low prejudice, and, conversely, high prejudice is represented by a low or negative attitude score.

Relating contact and prejudice

H-1: Persons who score high on the contact variable will tend to score low on prejudice. Scores on the contact variable will be significantly negatively correlated with scores on prejudice.

Relating change orientation and prejudice

H-2: Persons who score high on change orientation will score low on prejudice. Scores on the change orientation variable will be significantly negatively correlated with scores on prejudice.

Relating religiosity and prejudice

H-3: Persons who score high on religiosity will tend to score high on prejudice. Scores on the religiosity variable will be significantly positively correlated with scores on prejudice.

Relating values and prejudice

H-4: Persons who score high on efficacy will score low on prejudice. Scores on the efficacy scale will be significantly

negatively correlated with scores on prejudice.

Data analysis

Frequency distributions were provided for every item in the ABS: W/N. The means and standard deviations on every item, level and total score were supplied, as well as item-to-total and level-to-total correlations for the ABS: W/N. Relational and predictive statistics were obtained by zero-order, partial and multiple correlation analyses. The zero-order correlational analysis was derived from simple correlations among all variables employed in the study. Partial and multiple correlations were used to examine the relationships of selected variables to racial attitudes.

RESULTS

Descriptive data on racial attitudes

Table 1 shows the N's, means, and standard deviations of the sample on the variables employed in the study. The most positive score on the ABS: W/N subscales 1-5 was 42. On subscale 6 (personal action), the most positive score was 56 and the least positive was 14. The most positive total score was 266, and the least positive score was 84.

The trends in the data indicated that on the ABS: W/N Personal Characteristics scale the students' attitudes are least positive towards Blacks at the stereotypic level. The attitudes become more positive towards Negroes at the normative

and moral evaluation levels. The attitudes become most positive towards Negroes at the hypothetical level and then decrease slightly at both the feeling and action levels.

This data seems to indicate that senior college students entering the teaching field are most positive toward Negroes when they hypothesize how they might act toward them in various situations, but are less positive when they report personal past action toward Negroes.

On the ABS: W/N Education scale the students were most positive on the moral evaluation level and less positive on the hypothetical behavior and personal action levels. This data suggests that in the realm of education students are more favorable toward Blacks when they are asked to indicate how they should respond to Blacks in various situations than if they are asked to indicate how they would hypothetically or have actually responded to them.

H-1: Relating contact and prejudice

The contact variables were significantly negatively correlated with prejudice (Tables 2 and 3). The partial r indicated that enjoyment, nature, and amount of contact were correlated with positive racial attitudes more often than were the other contact variables.

The data also indicated that the contact variables were most often significantly related to levels 4 (personal hypothetical behavior), 5 (personal feelings), and 6 (personal action) on the ABS: W/N.

These levels are the personal, self oriented behavioral levels in contrast to levels 1 (societal stereotypic) and 2 (societal norm) which are more concerned with societal attitudes. This information suggests that it is not enough simply to provide an opportunity for college education seniors to have contact with Blacks in order to develop positive attitudes towards them. The nature of the contact and the enjoyment of the contact are important variables affecting white seniors' attitudes towards Blacks. H-1 was supported.

H-2: Relating change orientation and prejudice

Change orientation was significantly negatively related to prejudice (Tables 4 and 5). Perceived ability for self change was the primary contributor to the multiple correlation. Adherence to rules and attitudes towards automation were also small contributors. The personal - behavioral levels of attitudes were significantly related to change orientation. It seems that students' perceptions regarding self change are highly predictive of their racial attitudes at the personal-behavioral levels. H-2 was supported.

H-3: Relating religiosity and prejudice

Religiosity was not significantly related to prejudice (Tables 6 and 7). except in one instance. On both the ABS: W/N C and E scales, religiosity was significantly related to positive racial feelings (level 5). The partial correlations indicated that adherence to religious rules was the only variable significantly contributing. Apparently, students who practice the

dictates of their religion have fewer prejudiced feelings toward Blacks than those who verbally indicate the importance of religion in their lives. H-3 was not supported.

H-4: Relating values and prejudice

The attitude-value data indicated that efficacy (Wolf, 1967) i.e., man's sense of control over his environment, was significantly negatively related to prejudice (Tables 8 and 9). Efficacy was significantly correlated with the following subscales on the ABS: W/N: level 3 (personal moral evaluation), level 4 (personal hypothetical behavior), level 5 (personal feeling), and level 6 (personal action). These subscales measure the more personal aspects of racial attitudes. The data indicated that students who view the world as friendly or "conquerable" will have more favorable racial attitudes than those who view the world as beyond their control. H-4 was supported.

DISCUSSION

Three of the four hypotheses were supported by the data. Contact, change orientation and efficacy were significantly related to racial attitudes. The relationship between religiosity and prejudice was not supported.

As indicated by the data, contact with Blacks by college education seniors was strongly related to positive racial attitudes. Enjoyment of the contact was the most important variable in the development of positive attitudes. The nature of the contact, from impersonal to personal, was an important determinant of positive racial attitudes, especially at the general belief and stereotypic levels. The amount of contact was also

an important aspect of the contact variable.

The attitude that college seniors in education hold toward change in themselves and in their external environment was a valuable predictor of racial attitudes. The most important aspect of students' attitudes towards change is their attitude toward self change. If they perceive themselves as being able to change easily they are more likely to have positive attitudes toward Blacks than if they see themselves as being resistive to change.

Somewhat related to the change orientation variable was the efficacy variable, the degree of control that a student feels he has in his relationship to the social and physical environment. The efficacy variable was highly predictive of racial attitudes. Students who feel that man is at the mercy of his environment probably perceive unfamiliar aspects of the social environment as threatening. Therefore, they might view members of another race through negative perceptions in order to cope with their own fears.

The ABS: W/N was developed according to the Guttman and Jordan theory of facet analysis and provides an opportunity to observe that most of the predictor variables were significantly correlated with the "self" rather than the "other" levels of the scale. Levels 4 (personal hypothetical behavior), 5 (personal feelings), and 6 (personal action) were most often significantly related to the predictor variables. They are the levels on the ego involved, behaviorally oriented end of the

continuum, indicating that the contact, change, and efficacy variables predict students' personal behavior and feelings toward Blacks.

TABLE 1 --N's, means, and standard deviations of the variables for the ABS: BW/WW empathy study.

Variable			Characteristics			Education		
			N	M	SD	N	M	SD
Attitude Content	1. Stereotype		356	25.11	3.32	312	20.52	3.54
	2. Normative		356	28.57	4.15	312	30.08	5.98
	3. Moral Eval.		356	35.82	4.24	312	38.63	3.83
	4. Hypothetical		356	36.76	3.67	312	35.13	4.38
	5. Feeling		356	35.28	4.00	312	36.35	4.35
	6. Action		356	42.80	7.34	312	41.30	8.41
	7. Total		356	204.34	16.10	312	202.01	18.73
Attitude Intensity	8. Stereotype		356	30.40	5.40	312	31.68	6.62
	9. Normative		356	30.39	5.54	312	29.73	6.66
	10. Moral Eval.		356	35.40	5.11	312	36.93	5.28
	11. Hypothetical		356	37.44	3.82	312	35.96	5.48
	12. Feeling		356	37.28	4.68	312	36.74	5.66
	13. Action		356	41.10	7.84	312	40.07	9.28
	14. Total		356	212.02	22.23	312	211.11	28.32
Value	15. Efficacy-Cont.		354	23.42	3.25	310	23.29	3.47
	16. Efficacy-Int.		354	28.15	3.75	310	28.12	3.80
Contact	17. Nature of		345	2.51	1.05	305	2.48	1.04
	18. Amount of		350	3.78	1.54	309	3.80	1.52
	19. Avoidance		350	3.79	1.19	308	3.83	1.19
	20. Income		343	2.13	1.64	301	2.12	1.64
	21. Alternatives		344	2.46	1.77	302	2.41	1.75
	22. Enjoyment		348	4.42	1.00	307	4.43	1.00
Demo-graphic	23. Age		356	1.99	.27	312	1.98	.25
	24. Educ. Amount		356	4.14	.39	312	4.13	.38
	25. Income Amount		351	1.28	.73	309	1.23	.66
Religio-sity	26. Rel. Import.		356	3.73	.99	312	3.73	.98
	27. Rel. Adher.		354	3.47	1.21	310	3.49	1.22
Change Orientation	28. Self		355	2.57	.72	311	2.58	.70
	29. Child Rearing		354	2.93	.69	312	2.93	.68
	30. Birth Control		356	3.50	.60	312	3.49	.60
	31. Automation		355	2.99	.77	311	3.00	.76
	32. Rule Adher.		356	2.83	.78	312	2.82	.77
Education	33. Local Aid		354	2.71	.90	310	2.74	.90
	34. Fed. Aid		353	2.80	.86	309	2.81	.87
	35. Planning		354	3.15	.59	310	3.15	.58
Prejudice	36. Prejudice-Am		356	4.00	.84	312	4.05	.83
Empathy	44. Empathy		211	35.47	6.06	194	35.51	5.84

TABLE 2 --Multiple and partial correlations between attitudes toward Negroes and contact variables for Education 450 students^a on the ABS: W/N Characteristics.

Independent Variable	Societal Stereotype		Societal Norm		Personal Moral Evaluation		Personal Hypothetical Behavior		Personal Feeling		Personal Action		Total ^b	
	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.
Natured ^c	.02	.66	.03	.56	.06	.29	.06	.27	.07	.21	.10	.06	.11	.04
Amount	-.04	.46	.04	.43	.09	.08	.12	.02	.00	.94	.38	<.0005	.23	<.0005
Avoidance ^e	.06	.25	.10	.06	.06	.28	.08	.15	.03	.57	.11	.04	.13	.01
Income ^f	-.09	.08	.03	.60	-.03	.56	-.11	.03	-.08	.14	-.08	.13	-.11	.05
Alter. ^g	.12	.03	.04	.48	.01	.82	.01	.80	.06	.29	.02	.66	.07	.19
Enjoy. ^h	.05	.35	-.03	.60	.11	.03	.19	.00	.12	.03	.04	.52	.13	.02
Multiple R	.17	-- ⁱ	.14	-- ⁱ	.25	.001	.35	<.0005	.20	.02	.51	<.0005	.44	<.0005

^aN = 357.

^bTotal of 1-6 above.

^cNature of the contact with Negroes.

^dAmount of contact with Negroes.

^eEase of avoidance of contact with Negroes.

^fIncome derived from contact with Negroes.

^gAlternatives to the contact.

^hEnjoyment of the contact.

ⁱLess than .05 level, thus not computed.

TABLE 3 --Multiple and partial correlations between attitudes toward Negroes and contact variables for Education 450 students^a on the ABS: W/N Education.

Independent Variable	Societal Stereotype		Societal Norm		Personal Moral Evaluation		Personal Hypothetical Behavior		Personal Feeling		Personal Action		Total ^b	
	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.
Natured ^c	.07	.22	.06	.30	.09	.11	.13	.02	.09	.12	.12	.04	.16	.01
Amount	-.09	.10	-.03	.56	-.02	.73	.02	.68	-.01	.79	.22	<.0005	.07	.24
Avoidance ^e	.15	.01	.004	.90	.03	.65	.04	.45	.04	.52	.07	.21	.09	.12
Income ^f	.13	.02	.13	.02	-.08	.15	-.07	.19	-.06	.30	-.06	.30	-.005	.89
Alter. ^g	-.03	.66	-.07	.22	.01	.84	-.04	.46	-.03	.60	-.05	.41	-.07	.26
Enjoy. ^h	-.005	.89	-.001	.93	.07	.20	.16	.01	.19	.001	.19	.001	.18	.002
Multiple R	.21	.03	.15	-- ⁱ	.16	-- ⁱ	.28	<.0005	.26	.001	.44	<.0005	.36	<.0005

^aN = 312.

^bTotal of 1-6 above.

^cNature of the contact with Negroes.

^dAmount of contact with Negroes.

^eEase of avoidance of contact with Negroes.

^fIncome derived from contact with Negroes.

^gAlternatives to the contact.

^hEnjoyment of the contact.

ⁱLess than .05 level, thus not computed.

TABLE 4 --Multiple and partial correlations between attitudes toward Negroes and change orientation variables for Education 450 studentsa on the ABS: W/N Characteristics.

Independent Variable	Societal Stereotype		Societal Norm		Personal Moral Evaluation		Personal Hypothetical Behavior		Personal Feeling		Personal Action		Total ^b	
	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.
Self	-.01	.77	.09	.07	.13	.01	.18	.001	.09	.10	.17	.002	.19	<.0005
Child Rear.	-.02	.67	-.07	.16	.06	.27	.09	.09	.09	.08	.13	.02	.09	.07
Birth Con.	.04	.47	-.05	.31	.03	.55	.01	.78	-.02	.72	.03	.54	.02	.76
Automation	-.03	.60	.01	.84	-.08	.12	-.07	.18	.04	.47	-.04	.51	-.05	.36
Rule Adh.	.10	.06	.13	.02	.07	.21	.02	.65	-.07	.20	.18	.001	.14	.01
Multiple R	.11	---	.19	.03	.19	.02	.23	.002	.16	---	.31	<.0005	.29	<.0005

^aN = 357.

^bTotal of 1-6 above.

^cLess than .05 level, thus not computed.

TABLE 5 --Multiple and partial correlations between attitudes toward Negroes and change orientation variables for Education 450 studentsa on the ABS: W/N Education.

Independent Variable	Societal Stereotype		Societal Norm		Personal Moral Evaluation		Personal Hypothetical Behavior		Personal Feeling		Personal Action		Total ^b	
	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.
Self	-.05	.38	-.0002	.95	.12	.04	.22	<.0005	.21	<.0005	.17	.003	.19	.001
Child Rear.	-.004	.90	-.17	.004	.06	.32	.04	.48	.09	.11	.13	.02	.05	.42
Birth Con.	.002	.92	.01	.84	.03	.61	.05	.41	.002	.92	.10	.08	.07	.25
Automation	.01	.82	.17	.004	.05	.36	-.07	.21	-.001	.93	-.07	.21	.02	.75
Rule Adh.	.10	.08	.12	.03	-.02	.69	-.03	.56	-.06	.29	.09	.09	.07	.19
Multiple R	.11	---	.25	.002	.16	---	.25	.002	.25	.002	.29	<.0005	.25	.002

^aN = 312.

^bTotal of 1-6 above.

^cLess than .05 level, thus not computed.

TABLE 6 --Multiple and partial correlations between attitudes toward Negroes and religiosity variables for Education 450 students^a on the ABS: W/N Characteristics.

Independent Variable	Societal Stereotype		Societal Norm		Personal Moral Evaluation		Personal Hypothetical Behavior		Personal Feeling		Personal Action		Total ^b	
	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.
Importance of Religion	-.02	.77	-.02	.68	-.02	.66	-.09	.97	-.08	.12	.05	.32	-.03	.56
Adherence to Rules of Religion	-.08	.14	-.04	.47	.02	.65	.09	.07	.22	<.0005	-.07	.20	.03	.63
Multiple R	.11	-- ^c	.07	-- ^c	.03	-- ^c	.11	-- ^c	.23	<.0005	.07	-- ^c	.03	-- ^c

^aN = 357. ^bTotal of 1-6 above.

^cLess than .05 level, thus not computed.

TABLE 7 --Multiple and partial correlations between attitudes toward Negroes and religiosity variables for Education 450 students^a on the ABS: W/M Education.

Independent Variable	Societal Stereotype		Societal Norm		Personal Moral Evaluation		Personal Hypothetical Behavior		Personal Feeling		Personal Action		Total ^b	
	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.	r	sig.
Importance of Religion	-.06	.30	.04	.48	-.04	.54	-.10	.07	-.11	.05	.02	.78	-.05	.41
Adherence to Rules of Religion	.0005	.94	-.01	.86	.07	.22	.08	.14	.19	.001	.003	.91	.08	.17
Multiple R	.07	-- ^c	.05	-- ^c	.07	-- ^c	.10	-- ^c	.19	.004	.02	-- ^c	.08	-- ^c

^aN = 312. ^bTotal of 1-6 above.

^cLess than .05 level, thus not computed.

TABLE 8 --Zero-order correlations between attitudes toward Negroes and efficacy content variable for Education 450 students^a on the ABS: W/N Characteristics.

Independent Variable	Societal Stereotype	Societal Norm	Personal Moral Evaluation	Personal Hypothetical Behavior	Personal Feeling	Personal Action	Total ^b
Efficacy Content							
Zero-order Correlation	.074	.046	.173	.112	.177	.176	.222
Number of Respondents	354	354	354	354	354	354	354
Significance Level	.164	.385	.001	.034	.001	.001	.000

^aN = 357. ^bTotal of 1-6 above.

TABLE 9 --Zero-order correlations between attitudes toward Negroes and efficacy content variable for Education 450 students^a on the ABS: W/N Education.

Independent Variable	Societal Stereotype	Societal Norm	Personal Moral Evaluation	Personal Hypothetical Behavior	Personal Feeling	Personal Action	Total ^b
Efficacy Content							
Zero-order Correlation	-.004	.043	.209	.145	.126	.173	.197
Number of Respondents	310	310	310	310	310	310	310
Significance Level	.947	.448	.000	.010	.026	.002	.000

^aN = 312. ^bTotal of 1-6 above.

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