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ABSTRACT

This document reports a study conducted to test the hypothesis that the level of abstraction of agreements and disagreements influences evaluations of and behavioral intentions toward other persons with the most abstract the most important. A "level of abstraction" theory, which predicts importance effects, holds that values, norms, roles, and facilities (specific means for reaching goals) form a level of abstraction hierarchy, from most to least important in producing conflict. A second hypothesis was that the race of a stimulus person would be important only in the determination of relatively intimate behavioral intentions. Complex stimulus persons differing in all combinations of race (black-white) and same-opposite values (highly abstract), norms, role beliefs, and facilities beliefs (least abstract) were constructed. Hypothesis one was partially supported; a clear level of abstraction effect was found but facilities beliefs controlled more variance than expected. This operated in addition to a proportion-of-agreement affect. Hypothesis two was not supported; a race main effect was observed only for superordination-subordination scores; in addition, race interacted with values, norms, and roles to determine evaluation scores. Results were discussed in terms of the perception of goal interdependence versus contrience. (Author/JM)

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Illinois Studies of the Economically Disadvantaged

RACE AND LEVEL OF ABSTRACTION OF DISAGREEMENT AS DETERMINANTS
OF EVALUATION AND BEHAVIORAL INTENTIONS

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Technical Report No. 12

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Preface

This report is part of a series which is concerned with the economically disadvantaged. We have shown, thus far, and will continue showing in reports to be published shortly, that economic disadvantages are associated with and presumably create characteristic ways of perceiving and thinking about the social environment which are different from non-disadvantaged groups. Such differences create barriers in communication between a disadvantaged employee and his supervisor, his fellow employees and his subordinates. Such barriers make it more difficult for such an employee to hold a job. If we are to rehabilitate such an employee we must train both the employee and the people in his job environment in ways which will reduce such barriers.

The present study explores the effects of different kinds of disagreements on interpersonal attitudes. It shows that the level of abstraction of the disagreements is an important influence on such attitudes. Generally, the more abstract the disagreement, the more negative is its effect. Race and type of disagreement also show certain interactions.

This kind of information is useful in constructing cultural training materials, since it tells us what we should emphasize in our training. Specifically, it tells us that we should emphasize the similarity in values between employers and employees, while putting less emphasis on disagreements at lower levels of abstraction. Emphasis on such similarity will have, in all likelihood, positive effects on interpersonal attraction, and will allow the trainees to learn about specific cultural differences without negative affect.

Harry C. Triandis

RACE AND LEVEL OF ABSTRACTION OF DISAGREEMENTS AS DETERMINANTS
OF EVALUATION AND BEHAVIORAL INTENTIONS

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A B S T R A C T

A study was conducted to test the hypothesis that the level of abstraction of agreements and disagreements influences evaluations of and behavioral intentions toward other persons with the most abstract the most important. A second hypothesis was that the race of a stimulus person would be important only in the determination of relatively intimate behavioral intentions. Complex stimulus persons differing in all combinations of race (black-white) and same-opposite values (highly abstract), norms, role beliefs and facilities beliefs (least abstract) were constructed. Hypothesis 1 was partially supported; a clear level of abstraction effect was found, but facilities beliefs controlled more variance than expected. This operated in addition to a proportion-of-agreement effect. Hypothesis 2 was not supported; a race main effect was observed only for superordination-subordination scores; in addition, race interacted with values, norms, and roles to determine evaluation scores. Results were discussed in terms of the perception of goal interdependence vs. contrivance.

RACE AND LEVEL OF ABSTRACTION OF DISAGREEMENTS AS DETERMINANTS
OF EVALUATION AND BEHAVIORAL INTENTIONS^{1,2}

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Introduction

It is generally agreed that interpersonal attraction (as measured by a variety of devices) is partially determined by attitudinal similarity, variously defined (Byrne, 1969; McGuire, 1969; and many others). However, it is not generally agreed that prejudice, defined by both evaluation and behavioral intentions measures, depends upon race--specifically, that race influences intentions to perform relatively intimate behaviors. Rokeach and his associates (Rokeach, 1961; Rokeach & Mezei, 1966; Rokeach, Smith, & Evans, 1960; Stein, Hardyck, & Smith, 1965) have argued that prejudice, defined primarily in terms of evaluation and friendship choice, is based entirely on belief differences, or the assumption of such differences, between blacks and whites. Mezei (1971) supported the intimacy hypothesis, originally proposed by Triandis (Triandis & Davis, 1965; Triandis, Loh, & Levin, 1965), and in addition showed that social pressure was responsible for the race effect, a finding not inconsistent with Triandis' position. This is especially true in light of Triandis and Triandis' (1965) investigation of cultural influences on the determinants of social distance.

Another unresolved issue in the interpersonal attraction literature is that of issue importance. In contrast to common-sense reasoning, it has been found (Byrne, 1969; Byrne & Nelson, 1964, 1965) that importance of an issue does not interact with agreement-disagreement, except under a very specific set of circumstances (Byrne, London, & Griffitt, 1968; Clore &

Baldrige, 1968). Triandis, Weldon and Gwynn (in preparation) have argued that disagreement may be used as a cue indicating a contrient relationship, one in which goal attainment by an individual prevents goal attainment by a second; agreement may imply interdependence, such that goal attainment by one means goal attainment by another. If this explanation has validity, it may be that attitudinal disagreement implies contrience or interdependence either in addition to or instead of providing immediate positive or negative reinforcement; thus, issue importance influences attraction when it is made extremely salient (Byrne et al., 1968; Clore & Baldrige, 1968), since it then permits a stronger judgment of the type of relationship.

Smelser (1963) has proposed a "level of abstraction" theory which clearly predicts importance effects, while at the same time dealing with non-attitudinal variables. He proposes that values, norms, roles, and facilities (specific means for reaching goals) form a level of abstraction hierarchy, from most to least important in producing conflict. From the Triandis et al. (1971) reasoning above, it may be argued that value disagreement indicates the most contrience, norm disagreement somewhat less, role disagreement still less, and facilities disagreement the least. Thus, disagreements at lower levels of abstraction should produce less negative evaluation of another person than disagreements at high levels of abstraction.

It is predicted that:

1. Agreement-disagreement on values, norms, roles and facilities will control decreasing amounts of variance in the determination of interpersonal evaluation and behavioral intentions.
2. Race will control a significant percent of variance only on relatively intimate behavioral intentions.

Method

Subjects

Thirty-four white male undergraduates participated in the study as part of a course requirement in introductory psychology.

Instruments

Agreement on values, norms, roles, and facilities was manipulated through two questionnaires designed to make the variables as salient as possible to the students. The first questionnaire was open-ended, and requested the student to write four or five sentences giving his own beliefs about political values, norms, roles, and facilities. He was also asked to write down those beliefs he considered most nearly opposite to his own. The subjects were given the following definitions of each variable:

Values. A person's basic beliefs about himself, who he should be, and how he should relate to nature, others, and society. For example, belief in revolutionary vs. evolutionary social change, or a belief in cleanliness.

Norms. Ideas about correct behavior applying to everyone in society. For example, a belief in non-violence, or a belief that everyone should keep his house clean.

Roles. Ideas about correct behavior which apply to persons having a particular position in a society. For example, a belief that students should be leaders in changing society, or that the wife should clean house.

Facilities. Ideas about appropriate means for achieving goals. For example, a belief that civil disobedience is a valid means of political expression, or that one should use only non-polluting detergents.

Political beliefs were chosen because these were felt to be most relevant to this particular subject population. If a church group were the subject population, perhaps moral beliefs would have been used.

The second questionnaire presented stimulus persons representing all possible combinations of agreement and disagreement on values, norms, roles, and facilities. Subjects were instructed to imagine that these stimuli were real people, and that "agreement" meant espousing the same beliefs the subject had written for himself, while "disagreement" meant a person espousing beliefs the subject had said were opposite to his own.

Because a completely crossed within-subjects design would have required too many judgments, "black" and "white" questionnaires were prepared. Thus, a subject responded only to white or black stimuli, except for four stimulus persons of the other race inserted into each booklet as the second, sixth, tenth and fifteenth pages. These other race stimuli were systematically varied in agreement on values and facilities, but always agreed on norms and roles. Other than this systematic placement, other stimulus persons were ordered randomly between booklets.

Subjects responded to each stimulus person on two types of scales: Beliefs and behavioral intentions. Beliefs were three items each from the Evaluation, Potency, and Activity scales of the Semantic Differential, presented as single words and rated on a 0 to 9 scale (0 = never true, 9 = always true). Behavioral intentions ratings were made on a 0 to 9 scale for three items from each of five factors of a Behavioral Differential (Triandis, Weldon, & Gwynn, in preparation). The factors were: Superordination-Subordination (command, obey [reverse scored], criticize); Hostility (exclude from neighborhood, reject as club member, refuse to introduce to your sister); Intimacy (reveal dreams that worry you to him,

discuss sex life with him, discuss intimate thoughts); Friendship (eat with him, be his close friend, gossip with him); Respect (admire his character, admire his ideas, ask for his opinion). Items were randomly ordered within the Belief and Behavioral Intentions categories.

In addition, subjects responded on a 0-10 graphic scale measuring the perceived likelihood of existence of the stimulus person (0 = impossible, 10 = certain) and gave a numerical estimate of the relative frequency of that combination of characteristics ("out of 100 randomly selected people, how many do you think would have these characteristics?").

Since the results dealing with Activity, Potency, Probability, and Relative Frequency are not directly relevant to the hypotheses, they will not be discussed further. Analyses of these variables showed patterns similar to the others. Interested readers may obtain tables from the author.

Procedure

Subjects were run in the evening, in one group. Questionnaires were randomly distributed among desks and subjects were seated systematically from front to rear in order of arrival.

The "Attitude Elicitation" (open-ended) questionnaire was given first. Subjects were assured of anonymity, and told that the belief elicitations were for their own use, which was true. Ss were also allowed to retain their elicitation questionnaires if they desired to do so.

The next section of the questionnaire dealt with behavioral intentions and evaluations. Subjects were told to respond as if they were faced with actual people who showed the given pattern of traits. The necessity for objective appraisal of one's own feelings was stressed. In essence, Ss were asked to take the role of an expert on their own behavior, rather than that of an experimental subject.

Results

Due to space limitations, only those results directly relevant to the hypotheses will be considered here. Data for each dependent variable was analyzed separately in a 2x2x2x2 analysis of variance, with race of stimulus person a between-subject factor and agreement-disagreement on values, norms, roles and facilities within-subject factors. Dependent variables were obtained by summing across relevant individual scales of the Semantic and Behavioral Differentials. Nineteen subjects rated black stimuli, and 15 rated whites.

Evaluation

As predicted by Hypothesis 1, no significant main effect of race was present ($F = 1.61, p < .21$). Significant main effects were obtained for agreement vs. disagreement on Values ($F = 40.19, p < .00001$), Norms ($F = 30.60, p < .00001$), Roles ($F = 19.99, p < .00009$), and Facilities ($F = 19.90, p < .00009$). The mean Evaluation scores for each main effect, together with percent-variance estimates (Hays, 1963), are presented in Table 1. With one reversal, Hypothesis 1 is supported. However, several significant interactions exist which cast some doubt on the original hypothesis, since no interaction effects between levels are predicted by the Smelser (1963) formulation. A Norm x Role interaction ($F = 7.40, p < .011$), a Value x Norm x Role interaction ($F = 5.09, p < .04$) and a Race x Value X Norm X Role interaction ($F = 5.01, p < .04$), while less important than the main effects, do occur and should be considered.

 Insert Table 1 here

Table 2 presents the four-way interaction; the lower-order effects may be obtained by averaging appropriate cells. Interested readers may obtain a complete set of tables from the author.

 Insert Table 2 here

Table 2 shows that blacks who agree over three issues are evaluated more highly than whites in the same position, but that blacks are evaluated lower than whites in all other cells. This may be because blacks are expected to disagree, and disconfirmation may be a pleasant surprise, much like agreement after a series of disagreements (Aronson & Linder, 1965; Stapert & Clore, 1969). It might also be that white subjects have a tendency to use any available negative evidence to lower their evaluation of blacks.

The within-race results indicate the presence of a proportion of agreement effect. Similar (in rank-order) evaluation scores are present in cells with zero, one, and two disagreements, regardless of issue. The level of abstraction effect clearly emerges, however, as a greater difference in evaluation between the agreement and disagreement cells for more abstract issues than between comparable cells for the less abstract issues.

Behavioral Intentions

Superordination-subordination. This variable was scored in the "superordinate" direction--that is, high scores indicate intentions to command, criticize, and not to obey the stimulus person. A main effect for race was found, indicating that whites would act in a superordinate manner to blacks (mean = 16.65) more often than to whites (mean = 14.32) ($F = 10.54$, $p < .003$; % variance = 9.3). Main effects for agreement-disagreement on values ($F = 11.34$, $p < .002$), norms ($F = 6.44$, $p < .02$), roles ($F = 8.75$, $p < .006$) and facilities ($F = 17.67$, $p < .0002$) were also found. Table 3 presents these main effects.

Insert Table 3 here

As can be seen from Table 3, the hypothesized level of abstraction effect is not obtained, though differences do exist. The race main effect may be due to the institutionalized subordinate role of the black; the fact that disagreement at the highest and lowest levels of abstraction account for equal amounts of variance is not so easily explained.

A significant Race x Facilities interaction effect is also present ($F = 4.88, p < .04$). Table 4 illustrates the effect. Disagreeing blacks are subordinated more than any other group, perhaps again due to the whites' belief that blacks should be subordinate to them. White resistance to black militancy is perhaps an example of this phenomenon.

Insert Table 4 here

Hostility

Four main effects, presented in Table 5, were found for this variable. No race main effect or interactions with race were obtained. Agreement-disagreement on values ($F = 40.40, p < .00001$), norms ($F = 15.20, p < .0005$), roles ($F = 13.23, p < .001$), and facilities ($F = 15.71, p < .0004$) lead to greater expressed hostility, as would be expected from the evaluation results.

Insert Table 5 here

Intimacy

Four significant main effects and two interactions were found for this variable. Disagreement on values ($F = 33.08, p < .00001$), norms ($F = 19.11, p < .0001$), roles ($F = 36.78, p < .00001$), and facilities ($F = 36.78, p < .00001$) lead to fewer expressions of intimate behavioral intentions, as presented in Table 6. Significant value x role ($F = 5.73, p < .03$) and norm x role ($F = 7.82, p < .009$) interactions are presented in Tables 7 and 8.

 Insert Tables 6, 7, and 8 here

These interactions once again illustrate a proportion of agreement effect, combined with an importance main effect, as predicted. More agreement leads to more expressed intimacy, but the level of abstraction also influences the amount expressed. Disagreement on more abstract issues leads, as predicted, to less intimacy than disagreement on less abstract issues.

The second hypothesis was not supported by these results, since no main or interaction effects involving race were significant.

Friendship

Four significant main effects and three significant interactions were found for the friendship variable. The main effects of values ($F = 55.77, p < .00001$), norms ($F = 32.16, p < .00001$), roles ($F = 35.57, p < .0001$), and facilities ($F = 34.46, p < .00001$) agreed with previous data, as Table 9 shows. Once again, percent of variance estimates were not exactly in accord with hypothesis 1, but a clear level-of-abstraction effect was obtained.

 Insert Table 9 here

The value x facilities ($F = 7.75, p < .009$), norm x role ($F = 8.03, p < .008$) and value x norm x role ($F = 4.78, p < .04$) interactions reflect the same patterns noted earlier--proportion effects combined with level of abstraction effects. Tables 10, 11, and 12 show that agreement at higher levels of abstraction leads to more "friendship" responses than agreement at lower levels, though more agreement per se leads to higher ratings as well.

 Insert Tables 10, 11, and 12 here

Respect

Results for this variable also agree with the previous analyses in giving partial support to hypothesis 1. The four main effects--values ($F = 56.15, p < .00001$), norms ($F = 48.30, p < .00001$), roles ($F = 55.84, p < .00001$), and facilities ($F = 46.79, p < .00001$) are all in the expected direction, though some reversals size of effect are present. Table 13 presents these main effects.

 Insert Table 13 here

Proportion and abstraction level effects are once again obvious in the three significant interactions--values x norms ($F = 4.45, p < .05$), values x roles ($F = 4.80, p < .04$), and norms x roles ($F = 7.20, p < .02$). These are presented in Tables 14, 15 and 16.

 Insert Tables 14, 15, and 16 here

These tables show that more rated respect goes with more agreement, but that agreement on a higher level of abstraction is "worth more" respect than agreement at a lower level.

Discussion

Although Smelser's (1963) hypothesis was not perfectly supported, the results of this study do indicate that level of abstraction of agreement-disagreement has a significant effect on interpersonal attraction and behavioral intentions. This effect appears to be similar to what Byrne (1969) has discussed under the topic of "issue importance."

Triandis et al.'s (1971) argument that agreement or disagreement is used as a cue indicating the likelihood of contrient or interdependent relationships remains the most parsimonious explanatory principle, especially in view of the specific issue used in this study. However, it should be remembered that the methodology used, which required subjects to predict their responses, may have favored a cognitive "expectancy" orientation rather than an immediate evaluative response to positive or negative reinforcement. One important question thus raised is the extent to which each orientation operates in actual interaction situations.

These results support the proportionality concept as well as the effect of levels of abstraction. The obtained interactions show a clear proportionality effect, in that more agreement leads to higher evaluation, less hostility, more respect, etc. The level of abstraction effect occurs in addition to the proportionality effect, adding or subtracting more or less evaluation, hostility, and so on, depending on the specific levels of agreement or disagreement. Once again, this is most easily explained by the contrience-

interdependence assumption. This may be made compatible with Byrne's (1969) reinforcement theory if it is also assumed that the perception of contrivance leads to a high expectancy of negative reinforcement in actual interaction situations.

The results, at first glance, appear to weaken the Triandis and Davis (1965) position, since no race effect occurred on the Intimacy factor. However, if the specific scales involved in this factor are considered (reveal dreams, discuss sex life, discuss intimate thoughts), it becomes apparent that this factor represents intimate friendship rather than, say, heterosexual intimacy. The fact that no race effects occurred on the Hostility factor (exclude from neighborhood, reject as club member, refuse to introduce to sister) is more damaging, since these are similar to previous social distance items.

The important race main effect and the race x facilities interaction on super-subordination also disagree with the Triandis and Davis (1965) position, since these are relatively formal behaviors (command, [not] obey, criticize). Perhaps the best unifying principle was proposed by Mezei (1971), who showed that perceived social pressure was responsible for the race effect, where obtained. (Of course, the fact that no heterosexual items were included in this study may have prevented the occurrence of more race effects.) It may well be that norms or expectancies exist in the white population that blacks should be or will be subordinate to them. This may also be a social class effect, since there is evidence (Feldman, in press) that whites tend to expect blacks to be lower-class, unless evidence to the contrary is presented.

Of course, the Triandis and Davis (1965) results were based on a within-subject design, while the present results are the product of between-subjects comparisons. While an attempt was made to increase the salience of race by

including other-race "dummy" ratings in each booklet, this may not have been entirely successful. On the other hand, the Rokeach (1961) position is contradicted by the significant four-way interaction involving race, values, norms, and roles. Table 2 shows clearly that blacks are evaluated, cell for cell, less positively than whites, except where the black stimulus person agrees on values, norms, and roles. In this case the black is evaluated more highly than the white. This may be a contrast, or a "happy surprise" phenomenon.

Stein et al. (1965) showed that whites tend to regard blacks as different from themselves unless specific information to the contrary is provided. Thus, any disagreement from a black may be used as a cue indicating more extensive disagreement than would be expected from a white at the same level.

The fact that agreement vs. disagreement on facilities controlled more variance than predicted calls for some comment. Political "facilities," such as a belief in civil disobedience, may be relatively more important as indicants of contrience or interdependence than roles, since the particular facilities chosen may imply characteristics of the person, such as a willingness to use violence. This would obviously be a more important source of information than the belief that students or their elders should be the leaders in changing society (roles).

Based on these results, a more empirically correct order of importance might be values, then norms and facilities equally, and roles. Of course, this ordering may be specific to the political issue; in this context, facilities beliefs may be strongly related to values, since they are the means by which values are attained. Other topics, less abstract than politics, might not show the same ordering, since the value-facility connection is probably not as strong. "Cleanliness" is one example of a more concrete issue.

The effect may also be methodological. Aronson and Linder (1965) showed that positive statements after a series of negative evaluations lead to greater liking than totally positive statements. Byrne, Lamberth, Palmer and London (1969) interpreted this as a recency effect and presented data consistent with this approach. Since "facilities" was always presented last, agreement after a series of disagreements (values, norms and roles) could have lead to an overevaluation of the agreeer on facilities, and thus to an increased percent-variance estimate. However, if this were the case, it seems likely that such an interaction would have been highly significant, with agreement on facilities alone producing an effect equal to that of agreement on several other levels. This, obviously, was not the case. Thus, while the hypothesis of order effects remains tenable, it is not likely to account for the results presented here.

This study has demonstrated clear abstraction-level effects, under circumstances where Byrne's (1969) theory would not have predicted their occurrence. This indicates that interpersonal attraction may be determined by more than proportion of agreeing responses. The theoretical explanation offered is, admittedly, not as well defined as Byrne's. Further work needs to be done to specify how the expectancy of negative or positive reinforcement is related to the perception of contrience or interdependence, and how these relate to the effectance model which presently dominates the literature on interpersonal attraction.

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Footnote

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Table 1
 Mean Evaluation Scores and Percent of
 Variance Estimates--Main Effects^a

Factor	Mean Evaluation Score		
	Agree	Disagree	% Variance ^b
Values	15.23	12.83	9.7
Norms	14.90	13.16	5.5
Roles	14.73	13.34	3.2
Facilities	14.83	13.24	4.2

^aMeans in this and all succeeding tables are rounded to the second decimal.

^b% variance refers to the term "Omega-squared" (Hays, 1963) in this and all succeeding tables; all estimates are rounded to the first decimal.

TABLE 2

Cell Means in the Race x Values x Norms x Roles
Interaction on Evaluation

Black Stimuli

Roles	<u>Values</u>	<u>Agree</u>		<u>Disagree</u>	
	<u>Norms</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
	Agree		17.57	14.30	13.70
Disagree		14.16	13.97	13.03	10.50

White Stimuli

Roles	<u>Values</u>	<u>Agree</u>		<u>Disagree</u>	
	<u>Norms</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
	Agree		17.07	14.92	15.11
Disagree		15.26	14.37	13.05	12.05

Table 3
Mean Super-Subordination Scores and Percent
of Variance Estimates--Main Effects

<u>Factor</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>% Variance</u>
Values	14.74	15.96	2.4
Norms	15.01	15.69	0.7
Roles	14.95	15.75	1.0
Facilities	14.75	15.96	2.4

Table 4
Cell Means in the Race x Facilities
Interaction--Super-Subordination

		<u>Race of Stimulus Person</u>	
		<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>
Facilities	Agree	15.69	14.00
	Disagree	17.61	14.64

Table 5
Mean Hostility Scores and Percent
of Variance Estimates--Main Effects

<u>Factor</u>	<u>Mean Hostility Score</u>		<u>% Variance</u>
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	
Values	6.21	9.03	4.4
Norms	6.65	8.59	2.0
Roles	6.97	8.26	0.8
Facilities .	6.68	8.56	1.8

Table 6
Mean Intimacy Scores and Percent of
Variance Estimates--Main Effects

<u>Factor</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>% Variance</u>
Values	8.54	6.25	5.0
Norms	8.37	6.42	3.6
Roles	8.17	6.62	2.2
Facilities	8.46	6.32	4.4

Table 7
 Cell Means in the Value x Role
 Interaction--Intimacy

		<u>Values</u>	
		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Roles	Agree	9.58	6.75
	Disagree	7.49	5.75

Table 8
 Cell Means in the Norm x Role
 Interaction--Intimacy

		<u>Norms</u>	
		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Roles	Agree	8.99	6.96
	Disagree	7.22	6.36

Table 9
Mean Friendship Scores and Percent of
Variance Estimates--Main Effects

<u>Factor</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>% Variance</u>
Values	14.06	10.94	8.6
Norms	13.68	11.32	4.9
Roles	13.61	11.39	4.3
Facilities	13.69	11.31	5.0

Table 10
 Cell Means in the Value x Facility
 Interaction--Friendship

		<u>Values</u>	
		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Facilities	Agree	15.62	11.76
	Disagree	12.50	10.13

Table 11
 Cell Means in the Norm x Role
 Interaction--Friendship

		<u>Norms</u>	
		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Roles	Agree	15.15	12.08
	Disagree	12.22	10.57

Table 12
 Cell Means in the Value x Norm x Role
 Interaction--Friendship

Norms	<u>Values</u>			
	<u>Agree</u>		<u>Disagree</u>	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Agree	17.46	13.41	12.83	10.75
Roles				
Disagree	13.37	12.01	11.07	9.12

Table 13
Mean Respect Scores and Percent of
Variance Estimates--Main Effects

<u>Factor</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>% Variance</u>
Values	13.97	10.16	11.0
Norms	13.52	10.61	6.5
Roles	13.37	10.76	5.0
Facilities	13.75	10.38	8.7

Table 14
 Cell Means in the Values x Norms
 Interaction--Respect

		<u>Values</u>	
		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Norms	Agree	15.77	11.26
	Disagree	12.18	9.05

Table 15
 Cell Means in the Values x Roles
 Interaction--Respect

		<u>Values</u>	
		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Roles	Agree	15.62	11.13
	Disagree	12.33	9.19

Table 16
Cell Means in the Norms x Roles
Interaction--Respect

		<u>Norms</u>	
		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Roles	Agree	15.21	11.53
	Disagree	11.82	9.70

- The Supplemental Food program intended for our 1.5 million poor pregnant women and new infants, reaches only about 150,000 of them. The food stamp and surplus foods programs make no allowance whatever for the special nutrition requirements of that critical period of development.
- More than 3 million poor must rely on the donated foods program which is undependable, cumbersome, and does not provide adequate nutrition.
- Roughly 12 million poor depend on the food stamp program, but they challenge whether less than \$1 per person per day provides the "nutritionally adequate diet" required by the food stamp act.
- 2 million poor and near-poor pre-school children have working mothers, but the USDA makes food assistance available to day-care programs serving fewer than 200,000.

The Department of Agriculture's assessment of the situation reflects some measure of the problem. Some help, for some of the poor, some of the time, apparently adds up to their idea of a job well done. For my part, that level of achievement is just not good enough. I believe we must look beyond the paper progress that has been cited here in recent days—that the programs exist, that they have grown, that they cost more now than in the past—to the extent of the need, and to the people those programs were intended to serve. When every American has access to a nutritionally adequate diet, then we may safely say, "the gap is closed." Not before.

Senator KENNEDY. I would like to express my appreciation for your being here. This is, I believe, a program of tremendous importance and consequence. I think I find it, quite frankly, just absolutely impossible to explain to the people of Massachusetts about the return of these funds. Now, you can come up and explain here that the formula is wrong; or you don't have the authority. But, to the American people, those that are in these programs, that saw the money authorized, saw the money appropriated, and know, closer than us in Congress because they are living with the problems of hungry children every day, that is not an answer. I find it completely incapable of response as to why the whole system, so to speak, has reached a grinding halt.

We see instances where the legislative process is corrupted. I just recently saw it with HEW and the nutrition program that we passed for elderly citizens. We provided that it go specifically into the AoA and they have it in the Social and Rehabilitation Services Administration. And, they are setting up a planning council for political subdivisions for \$250,000, which is completely out of what we were trying to do. It far exceeded any authority or responsibility.

Part of the problem all of us are facing are questions of confidence in the system. People who are working with hungry children say, "There you have the money and the authorization. Tell us why you can't get it out."

BROAD INTERPRETATIONS OFTEN MADE

I think it is a reflection of the real will and desire to do it, either that, or the intimidation by the Appropriations Committee. I think on this issue, if you said, "We have the money and we are going to interpret that broadly," we would find the administration willing to extend its interpretation. I see it all the time in the Public Health Service, section 314, they have used those funds there for the development of neighborhood health centers, to develop HMO's, which we specifically prohibited them from doing. They say it is specifically broad and general. They will do it any way they want to, when it serves their purposes. Here is a place where I think you have the overwhelming mandate of the Congress, both Democrats and Republicans.

I think you are bearing a tremendous responsibility for it. I am sure you are aware of it and understand it; but, I hope you understand our sense of frustration on it. We are not going to let up on it. I am sure you are not, either. To the extent that we can, we are going to make it as uncomfortable as possible until we get this out. I think we respect and understand each other on it. I don't think we are being unreasonable. I think we are just asking a lot of hungry children to be patient. You are asking them to be patient while we figure out the formula. There are going to be a lot of children who are not going to participate in the program because you say it needs more of a study.

I think it is unreasonable to ask them to be patient any further. So we are not going to be patient, either.

But I appreciate your being here, and I want to thank you very much. We will stay at it, and you will, too; and we will try and get the job done.

Mr. LYNG. Thank you, Senator.

Senator KENNEDY. Thank you very much.

The committee is in recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 12:38 p.m., the Select Committee was recessed, to reconvene at the call of the Chair.)

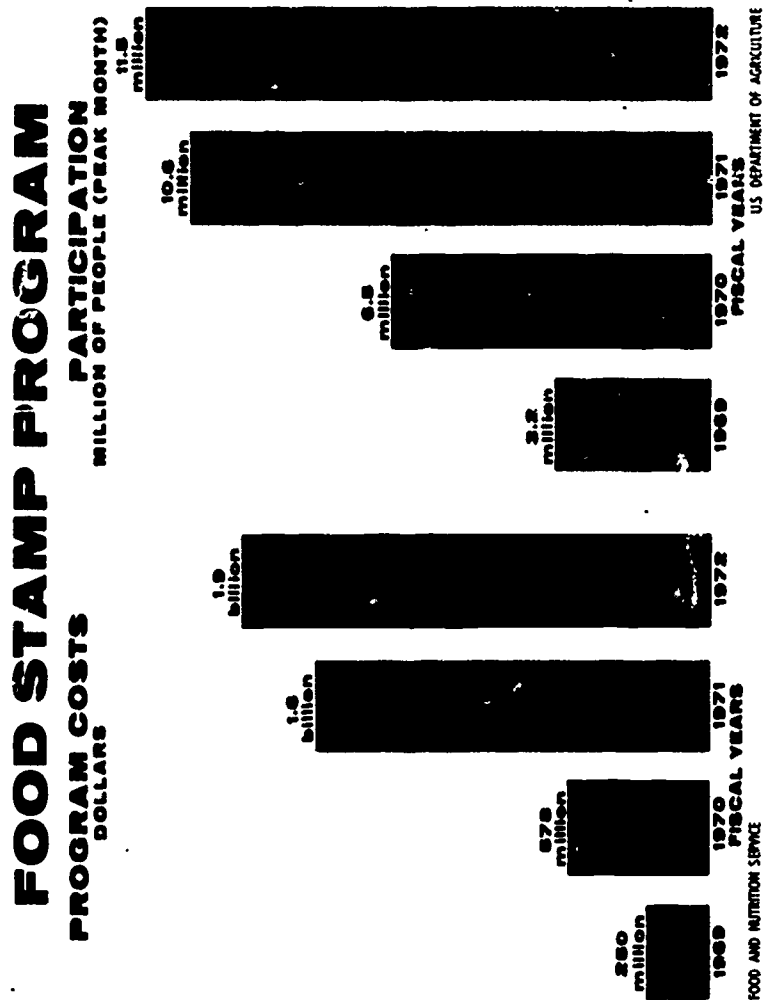
APPENDIXES

Appendix 1

ITEMS PERTINENT TO HEARING OF JUNE 7

Material Submitted by the Witnesses

FROM THE USDA



FOOD STAMP PROGRAM



Some people do not have money to buy the food they need for good health. The United States Department of Agriculture's Food Stamp Program is a way to help these people buy more and better food.

WHO CAN GET FOOD STAMPS?

Families or individuals who have low incomes, such as:

- Those with no jobs.
- Those with part-time work.
- Those that do not earn much money.
- Those on public welfare.
- Many people on Social Security or with small pensions.

HOW DOES A FAMILY FIND OUT ABOUT FOOD STAMPS?

The head of the family goes to the welfare office. There, someone will tell him about getting food stamps. He should bring papers to show:

- Where the family lives.
- How many are in the family.
- How much money they have coming in each month.
- How much the family is paying for doctor's bills and rent.

HOW DOES A FAMILY GET FOOD STAMPS?

To take part in this program, a family must have a place to cook meals. The family buys food stamps which will cost about the same as the family pays each month for food, but the family gets more food stamps than it pays for.

The welfare office tells the family how much to pay for stamps, how many stamps the family gets, and if any family members need to register for work. The total worth of stamps depends on how many people are in the family.

HOW ARE FOOD STAMPS USED?

Anyone in the family can take the food stamp book to a local food store and use the stamps like money to buy food.

Food stamps can buy almost all food. They cannot buy liquor, beer, cigarettes, soap, or other things sold in the food store that are not food. And stamps cannot be sold to the grocer or anyone else.

Most stores in a food stamp county or city will be glad to accept the stamps.

ARE ALL FAMILIES TREATED THE SAME WAY IN THIS PROGRAM?

The rules of the program are the same for all families, all over the United States. The family's need and willingness to obey the few easy rules of the program are the only things that count. No family may be denied food stamps or be dropped from the program just because any member of the family is active in trying to get fuller citizen's benefits.

Also, even if they are not able to get a wage statement from the people they work for, low-income families can still get food stamps. No family may be put in a special place in line or in a separate line or told to come on a different day because of race, color, or national origin.

If anyone believes his or her family is being unfairly denied food stamps, or has been unfairly dropped from the program, he or she has the right to ask for, and get a Fair Hearing—a chance to tell his or her side of the question with the help of friends or a lawyer. The family can get food stamps at least until the date of the Fair Hearing, regardless of whether the case is won or lost.

HOW CAN A COUNTY GET THIS PROGRAM STARTED?

The Food Stamp Program is one of two programs of the Food and Nutrition Service, USDA, for needy families. The other is called the "Food Distribution Program." State and local welfare offices decide if there is to be a Food Stamp Program in the county or city. If families ask about food stamps, the public welfare office will know that food help is wanted.

PROGRAMA DE ESTAMPILLAS PARA ALIMENTOS



Algunas personas no tienen el dinero suficiente para comprar los alimentos que necesitan para tener buena salud. El Programa de Estampillas para Alimentos del Departamento de Agricultura de Estados Unidos (USDA) es una manera de ayudar a esas personas a comprar más y mejores alimentos.

¿QUIENE PUEDE OBTENER ESTAMPILLAS PARA ALIMENTOS?

Las familias con ingresos bajos tales como:

- Familias sin trabajo.
- Familias que trabajan sólo parte del día.
- Familias que no ganan bastante dinero.
- Familias que dependen de la asistencia pública.
- Muchas personas que dependen del Seguro Social ó que tienen pensiones pequeñas.

¿CÓMO SE PUEDE INFORMAR UNA FAMILIA ACERCA DE LAS ESTAMPILLAS PARA ALIMENTOS?

El cabeza de familia va a la oficina de asistencia pública (welfare). Allí es informado acerca de las estampillas para alimentos. Deberá llevar los siguientes documentos para comprobar:

- Domicilio de la familia.
- Número de miembros de la familia.
- Ingresos mensuales con que cuentan.
- Gastos de la familia de renta y de servicios médicos.

¿CÓMO ADQUIERE UNA FAMILIA ESTAMPILLAS PARA ALIMENTOS?

Para participar de este programa la familia deberá tener un sitio para cocinar. La familia compra estampillas que le cuestan aproximadamente lo mismo que lo que gasta mensualmente en comida, pero adquiere más estampillas para alimentos que por las que paga.

La oficina de asistencia pública informa a la familia cuánto van a pagar por las estampillas, qué número de éstas pueden obtener, y si algún miembro de la familia necesita inscribirse para trabajar. El valor total de las estampillas depende de cuántos miembros se compone la familia.

¿CÓMO SE USAN LAS ESTAMPILLAS PARA ALIMENTOS?

Cualquiera en la familia puede llevar el libro de estampillas a la tienda de comestibles y usarlas como si fueran dinero para comprar alimentos.

Con las estampillas se puede comprar casi cualquier clase de alimentos. No se puede comprar licor, cerveza, cigarrillos, jabón, u otras cosas que se venden en dichas tiendas que no son alimentos. Las estampillas no se pueden vender ni al comerciante ni a nadie más.

La mayoría de las tiendas de comestibles, en los condados ó ciudades donde existe el Programa de Estampillas para Alimentos, las aceptarán con gusto.

¿SON TODAS LAS FAMILIAS TRATADAS CON IGUALDAD EN ESTE PROGRAMA?

Las reglas del programa son las mismas para todas las familias en Estados Unidos. Lo único que importa es la necesidad de la familia y su buena voluntad para seguir las reglas del programa. No se podrán negar las estampillas a ninguna familia, o quitarla del programa por el hecho de que alguno de sus miembros trate de adquirir beneficios plenos como ciudadano. Además, las familias de ingresos bajos pueden obtener las estampillas para alimentos aunque no puedan conseguir un certificado de ingresos de sus patrones. Ninguna familia debe ser puesta en un sitio especial en la línea de espera, ó en una línea separada ó se le podrá decir que vuelva otro día a causa de su raza, color u origen.

Si alguien cree que a su familia injustamente le niegan las estampillas ó la han quitado del programa, sepa que tiene derecho de solicitar y obtener una audiencia imparcial—o sea la oportunidad de explicar su caso ante personas desinteresadas con la ayuda de algún amigo ó un abogado. Mientras tanto su familia tiene derecho de seguir adquiriendo estampillas para alimentos hasta el día de la audiencia, a pesar de que gane ó pierda el caso.

¿CÓMO PUEDE UN CONDADO EMPEZAR ESTE PROGRAMA?

El Programa de Estampillas para Alimentos es uno de los programas de asistencia del Servicio de Alimentos y Nutrición del USDA para familias necesitadas. El otro se llama "Programa de Distribución de Alimentos."

Las oficinas de asistencia pública locales y estatales deciden si puede haber un Programa de Estampillas para Alimentos en el condado ó la ciudad.

Si las familias solicitan informes acerca de las estampillas para alimentos, la oficina de asistencia pública sabrá que se necesita ayuda de alimentos.



The Food Stamp Program enables low income households to buy more food of greater variety to improve their diets. Participants pay a small sum of money—the amount based on family size and net monthly income—and receive a larger value of food stamps, which can be spent like money in participating food stores.

Major changes were made in the Food Stamp Program by the 1971 amendments (Public Law 91-671) to the Food Stamp Act of 1964.

To qualify for food stamp benefits, households must meet certain nationwide eligibility standards that include income, relationship of household members, and work registration. With one exception, food stamp households must be able to prepare meals. Certain senior citizens may use food stamps to pay for delivered meals (Meals-on-Wheels). The following questions and answers pertain to this service.

1. WHAT ARE MEALS-ON-WHEELS?

This is a common name given to meals delivered to the home. Some of these services may be authorized by the Department of Agriculture's Food and Nutrition Service to accept food stamps.

2. WHO IS ELIGIBLE FOR MEALS-ON-WHEELS?

All food stamp recipients—aged 60 or over—who are physically handicapped, feeble or cannot prepare all of their meals may take part in the Meals-on-Wheels service if it is available in their area.

3. HOW WILL THE MEALS-ON-WHEELS RECIPIENT BE IDENTIFIED?

Each household with one or more persons that are eligible to use food stamps for delivered meals, will be given a regular food stamp identification card marked with the letter "M."

4. HOW LONG MAY A PERSON TAKE MEALS-ON-WHEELS?

As long as necessary. However, persons who are authorized to buy delivered meals for a short time, such as while convalescing, will have an expiration date on their identification cards.

5. MUST ALL OF THE FOOD STAMP ALLOTMENT BE SPENT FOR DELIVERED MEALS?

Food stamps may be used for meals delivered to the home or eligible foods in a retail food store authorized to accept food stamps, or both.

6. ARE COOKING FACILITIES NECESSARY FOR DELIVERED MEALS?

Cooking facilities are necessary unless the participant lives alone or lives only with spouse or with a roomer.

7. CAN THE SPOUSE OF THE ABOVE PARTICIPANT RECEIVE DELIVERED MEALS?

Yes, the spouse of a person without cooking facilities may be eligible to receive meals and need not be age 60 or over, nor disabled.

Any food stamp participant may request a fair hearing if he feels a decision regarding his participation has been unfair. Each household should be informed of its right to a fair hearing at the time of application. The standards for participation in the Food Stamp Program are the same for everyone without regard to race, color, religious creed, national origin, or political beliefs.

**FOR FULL AND COMPLETE INFORMATION, CONTACT YOUR LOCAL FOOD STAMP
CERTIFICATION OR WELFARE OFFICE**

The Food Stamp Facts series include:

- ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS
- PURCHASE REQUIREMENTS
- HOUSEHOLD DEFINITION
- HOUSEHOLD INCOME DEDUCTIONS
- WORK REGISTRATION
- MEALS-ON-WHEELS
- FAIR HEARINGS
- RECIPIENT RESPONSIBILITY