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AN INVESTIGATION OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AUTHORITARIAN SUGGESTION AND NON-AUTHORITARIAN INFORMATION AS METHODS OF CHANGING THE PREJUDICED ATTITUDES OF RELATIVELY AUTHORITARIAN AND NON-AUTHORITARIAN PERSONALITIES

by
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AN INVESTIGATION OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF AUTHORITARIAN SUGGESTION AND NON-AUTHORITARIAN INFORMATION AS METHODS OF CHANGING THE PREJUDICED ATTITUDES OF RELATIVELY AUTHORITARIAN AND NON-AUTHORITARIAN PERSONALITIES

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Previous research has indicated a relationship between attitudes of racial prejudice and authoritarian personality structure. This thesis seeks a dynamic test of the described relationship by experimentally modifying the attitudes of authoritarian and non-authoritarian subjects. Two attitude change methods, each fitted to the type of subject involved, are employed. An authoritarian suggestion method is particularly appropriate for an authoritarian personality because of his compelling need to identify with power groups. In the case of the relatively non-authoritarian personality, with his greater self-insight and freedom from fear of ambiguity, a non-authoritarian information method is more appropriate.

The hypotheses of this research are:

A. Attitude change in response to relatively non-authoritarian information varies as a function of the degree of the subjects' authoritarianism.

B. Attitude change in the direction of an authoritarian suggestion varies as a function of the degree of the subjects' authoritarianism.

The experimental manipulations involved 250 elementary psychology students, distributed among three experimental conditions. In each condition, a before-after design was arranged with experimenter as administrator and with a week's interval between the pre-administration,

the change procedures and post-administration. To test the hypothesis involving attitude change through cognitive restructuring processes, the class instructor administered (under a cover story) a booklet containing information about the variable attitudes taken by different cultures toward the same behaviors, an examination of the adjustive value of current beliefs and a review of the progress of the American Negro. To test the hypothesis involving attitude modification through authoritarian suggestion, instructors administered (under disguised conditions) a booklet containing spurious norms of the attitudes held by military leaders and business executives in the areas of military segregation and industrial discrimination. Accompanying this norm presentation, and attributed to these "power figures," was a rationale of efficiency, communicative effectiveness and military defense. The norm and rationale contents were varied in two experimental conditions--an anti-discrimination and a pro-discrimination suggestion.

The results are as follows:

1. The prediction that "under exposure to information techniques aimed at cognitive restructuring, relatively non-authoritarian as compared with relatively authoritarian personalities will show more attitude change (in the direction of the information content)" is demonstrated for three of the four attitude change measures. For the authoritarian subjects, attitude change opposite to that intended occurs (boomerang effect).

2. The prediction that "under an authoritarian suggestion urging reduction of prejudice toward Negroes, relatively authoritarian personalities as compared with relatively non-authoritarian personalities will show more suggestion acceptance" is confirmed in part. For one of the four measures, the predicted direction of difference is found at the .01 level. For the other three measures, unpredicted changes occur, but none attain a .05 level.

3. The prediction that "under an authoritarian suggestion urging intensification of prejudice toward Negroes, relatively authoritarian as compared with relatively non-authoritarian personalities will show more suggestion acceptance" is demonstrated for three of the four measures. Replacing extreme thirds on F Scale (authoritarian personality measure) with quartiles, all four measures show the predicted direction of change, two at less than the .05 level. In addition, relatively non-authoritarian subjects react in a boomerang fashion.

Based on the above findings and on an analysis of the relative effectiveness of the attitude change procedures, the following conclusions seem to be indicated. For relatively authoritarian personalities, attitudes of racial prejudice seem most modifiable in either an accentuated or diminished direction under an authoritarian suggestion method. A non-authoritarian information method, while effective for non-authoritarian subjects, tends to boomerang for relatively authoritarian subjects.

It is finally concluded that the results of this attitude change experiment support a theory of interaction between ethnocentrism and personality needs.

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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM AND ITS HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Section A: The Problem

It has become clear in recent years that attitudes of racial prejudice, like other phenomena, need to be seen in a context of multiple rather than monolithic determination. Thus, the analytically oriented researchers of the California school devote considerable emphasis in their concluding chapter to the role played by such non-individualistic forces as education, economic structure, historical developments--the mores and folkways. Similarly, the sociologist Louis Wirth, in drawing up a plan for prejudice reduction, devotes considerable attention to the function of personality needs.

Given this over-determination of prejudice, it would seem that a comprehensive and intensive program of action would have to operate simultaneously on all fronts. While this is recognized by the authors of The Authoritarian Personality (12), they nevertheless underscore the point of view that treatment must deal not merely with the socially expressed symptoms, but primarily with the pathological drives. Unfortunately, however, it is not the authoritarian personality who, feeling the presence of inner conflicts and the unhappiness of personal maladjustment, would likely be motivated strongly enough to initiate and to maintain the sometimes drastic experiences of psychotherapy. The problem of this thesis, from one standpoint, is to describe what other ways and means may exist for modifying the attitude structure involved in racial prejudice, whether it derives its support predominantly from repressed impulses or from the norms

of a given social structure.

The attempt will be made in this thesis to use two methods of attitude change, each suited to the two groups of persons who demonstrate ethnocentrism but who differ in the relative contribution of personality and field forces. For the authoritarian personality, we plan to take advantage of his need to identify with power groups by exposing him to a suggestion deriving from authoritarian figures. For the relatively non-authoritarian personality, we intend to take advantage of his greater insight by presenting him with certain information placed in a broad frame of reference which will permit, though not suggest, attitude modification through restructuring processes on the cognitive level.

Section B: Racial Prejudice as Related to Personality

The relevant literature for this thesis will be sub-divided into three convenient and overlapping areas. In this section we shall consider recent studies which are concerned with the interrelationships between personality dynamics and attitudes of racial prejudice. The following section will be devoted to a discussion of research which has employed suggestion and/or information as attitude change techniques, but which have not considered the personality dynamics of the recipient. In the final section, we shall present those few studies which have predicted the consequences of an influence attempt by knowledge of the personality structure.

The most noteworthy contribution in recent years to an understanding of ethnocentrism from the personality-oriented point of view is, of course, the well-known volume The Authoritarian Personality (12), by Frenkel-Brunswik, et. al. This extensive study began with the

development of a number of Likert-type scales dealing with attitudes toward Negroes, Jews and other minority groups. Following numerous researches, the most satisfactory items of these sub-scales were collected into an instrument known as the Ethnocentrism Scale. Having developed this highly reliable measure of ethnocentrism, Frenkel-Brunswik and her colleagues turned their attention to the construction of a scale whose items, while superficially like those of the E Scale, would actually reflect such personality dynamics as authoritarian aggression, authoritarian submission, projectivity. This Predisposition to Fascism Scale (F Scale), following many modifications, finally appeared in a 30-item form which correlated about .7 with scores on the E Scale. Working with a sample of University of California students, the upper and lower quartile on the F Scale were selected out for subsequent study through a variety of clinical techniques, including intensive interviewing and TAT testing. The essential results of this extended research was to demonstrate a relationship between high scores on the Predisposition to Fascism Scale and marked possession of such personality characteristics as idealization of parents and other authorities, repressed sexuality and hostility, projectivity and displacement. Racial prejudice, then, could be understood from this point of view as the consequence of projected hostile impulses which, originally directed against parents, had been repressed from consciousness. Minority groups, occupying a lower position on the power scale, could serve as safe non-retaliative targets. A few examples of the type of research most closely deriving from this source will be presented.

Working independently, but using the same projective test,

Reichard (26) and Himelhoch (15) present strikingly similar evidence concerning the personality structure lying back of ethnocentric ideology. Himelhoch's findings, fully in line with the Berkeley group (12), were obtained from a comparison of extreme high and low groups on the F Scale, in terms of their responses to the Rorschach ink blot test. As compared to the low groups, the high F's showed a pattern which would be expected to occur as a constellation, namely repression of hostile and sexual impulses, and consequent immaturity in emotional development and severe restriction in personal and interpersonal insight. Additional support for the California school comes from the work of the English psychiatrist, Dicks (10), in which he described by means of intensive personal interviews, the personality dynamism of German prisoners who had been independently dichotomized into a group displaying strong Nazi ideology, and a group who showed little or no appreciation of Nazism. This study may be considered in part to contribute to the validity of the Berkeley Public Opinion Questionnaire (F Scale). Dicks concludes that the Nazi group was especially characterized by strong homosexual impulses, involving the usually-to-be-expected characteristics of homosexuality, viz. sadism and masochism, obeisance toward a strong male figure, narcissism, and projectivity. However, as Dicks indicates, the frequency of such traits among all members of the Nazi party would be reduced by the many individuals whose membership derives from such non-personality needs as economic deprivation, social depression, motives of belongingness, etc.

While studies such as the previous usually deal with prejudice toward minority groups, Sarnoff (29) has indicated the personality dynamics involved in Jewish subjects who are strongly anti-Semitic.

Sarnoff places the burden of explanation upon the identification mechanism. The childhood situations of his subjects was such that in order to survive in the face of a rejecting and punitive parental atmosphere, they were forced to achieve some measure of stability through introjecting the aggressor. Thus, as children they have strong attitudes of self-condemnation, and as they mature they continue to seek a measure of personal stability through identification with power sources, even though this be at their own expense. The identification with anti-Semites is a continuation of their earlier identification with punishing parents.

Also dealing with anti-Semitism, but in a rather different setting, Ackerman and Jahoda (1) describe a number of studies which show a reduction in anti-Semitism following a period of psychoanalytic therapy.. However, no data is shown concerning attitudes toward other minority groups, and it would not be safe to conclude that here is clearly supporting evidence for the personality approach to racial prejudice. In the case of some of these subjects, anti-Semitism may not have been simply the resultant of forbidden hostile wishes, but may concomitantly reflect social norms. Thus they report that some patients selected Jews rather than Negroes as cathected objects because Jews were seen as combining material success with a satisfactory emotional life; other patients with similar personality difficulties but with a personal outlook of liberalism, punitively rejected anti-Semitism. Commenting on the latter group, the authors describe their liberalism as essentially a reflection of self-deprecatory attitudes, extended to identification with the underdog. This latter group showed no reduction in liberalism following psychoanalytic therapy, though the personality foundations for such attitudes had

been shifted.

A line of evidence supporting the Berkeley position comes from the work of Haimowitz and Haimowitz (13), who indicate that following group therapy there was a significant decrease in unfavorable attitudes toward the racial and religious outgroups, and toward low-status occupational groups. One especially interesting finding was that the counselors rated as most effective were likely not to be the least prejudiced, but rather to show a mild antagonism. At least two lines of thought may be considered: if it is assumed that effective counseling depends on an optimal personal adjustment, then it is possible to interpret the mild antagonism as a product either of general aggressiveness on the part of the counselor, or as a resultant of group memberships. Again, we have the work of Dombrose and Levinson (8), which indicates that the extremely low in prejudice may be just as hostile and compulsively oriented as the highs. The way out of this and other similar problems in the field probably lies in the direction of assuming a multiple rather than a single causation theory.

In 1948, Frenkel-Brunswik reported on a number of researches dealing with the relationship between ethnic intolerance and intolerance of ambiguity. Before discussing the experiments directly involving intolerance of ambiguity, the closely allied phenomenon of cognitive rigidity will be considered.

Using the Luchins Einstellung arithmetic problems, Rokeach (25) demonstrated a relationship between high F scores and failure to solve the Einstellung problems. This finding was later interpreted by Rokeach as showing that the rigidity of the authoritarian personality included not merely a fixed perception of social relationships,

but also an inability to modify a cognitive set when such modification would be appropriate. Beginning with these findings, Brown (5) indicated in a series of experiments that the relationship between extreme authoritarianism and behavioral rigidity needs to be mediated by consideration of two other variables: ambiguity of instructions for the Einstellung problems, and amount of anxiety over achievement. When placed in an ego-involving situation and faced with a set of ambiguous directions, persons high on the authoritarian variable are also high on behavioral rigidity. However, when non-ego-involved and when operating under explicit directions, such individuals are as capable as others in breaking the set and discovering a short-cut to problem solution. Brown hypothesizes that children who have been raised in a dependent orientation, emphasizing competitive success as a means of parental acceptance, will develop both an authoritarian ideology and a high achievement anxiety. Thus, when ego-involved in an unstructured situation, their intense fear of failure will compel them to stick to the tried and true, albeit laborious, solution and will prevent arrival at new and more efficient insights.

Block and Block (4) report that in an investigation dealing with norm stabilization in the autokinetic situation, the velocity of structuration was directly related to amount of ethnic prejudice. As an aspect of their overall research, they also present evidence to indicate a relationship between the latter two variables and tendency to accept authoritarian suggestion. This particular investigation will be discussed together with other studies which include personality variables within the overall attitude change framework (Section D).

Confirming the earlier reported Frenkel-Brunswik investigations are the results of an experiment by Fisher (11), in which he demonstrated a relationship between ethnocentrism and the tendency to yield to increasingly simpler reproductions (pragnanz) in a series of repeated trials for recall of simple design patterns. In a closely related experiment, Korchin (19) contributes something to an understanding of the dynamics underlying Fisher's results. Using a small sample of psychiatric social workers and resident psychiatrists, he found that following involvement in a frustrating task, subjects' recall of geometric shapes tended to show perceptual regression and primitivation. It is interesting to speculate on the reported relationship by Haimowitz and Haimowitz (13) to the effect that the most effective counselors demonstrate mild prejudice, rather than extreme lack of prejudice; and that the Korchin subjects, probably somewhat better adjusted than the average run, responded to frustration in a manner similar to that reported by Dembo, Barker and Lewin (3) in work with children. Knowing that authoritarian personalities have had relatively frustrating, unhappy childhoods, we may have some explanation of the relationships between ethnic prejudice, fear of ambiguity, and tendency to accept prestige suggestion, where the latter phenomenon is interpreted in the older suggestion school as involving a narrowing of the field of consciousness. While the Korchin study provides support for the proposition that frustration may lead to regression, supporting evidence for aggression as an alternative reaction mode comes from work of Lindzey (21).

Lindzey exposed a group of volunteer subjects to a series of physiological and psychological frustrations, including starvation over eight hours, forced consumption of several quarts of water and

prevention of urination for several hours, injecting their arms with a dull needle and arranging things in a social situation in such a way that they were made both the scapegoat for group failure and the object of derision by members of the opposite sex. Lindzey had derived the logical requirements of a scapegoat theory of prejudice and proceeded to evaluate them by comparing high and low prejudiced subjects following their involvement in the traumatic situations. His results are to the effect that while displacement to non-instigating objects can be a consequence of fear of the instigator, there is no difference between highs and lows in prejudice in their tendency toward such displacement, nor in their overall aggressive behavior following the instigating frustrations. Several questions arise concerning the experimental method. It may be seriously questioned that Lindzey was dealing with a representative sample of college subjects, since no report is made of any of these subjects dropping out of the study, in spite of its masochistic character. In addition, the results may be explained in terms of severity of the frustrating experiences. Given a sufficiently traumatic experience, the frustration tolerance of all subjects may be exceeded and the consequent outpouring of hostility be undifferentiated among them. In this connection the results of the Korchin experiment may be compared. Another line of explanation could run to the effect that there is no necessary relationship between the quality of outwardly directed aggression and the amount of fantasied aggression. Evidence in this direction comes from obtained results reported by Sears (30) in his laboratory work with the aggressive behavior of school children, in which he found a

correlation of only .12 between teachers' ratings of socially directed aggressiveness and aggression scores made in doll play. The hypothesis offered is to the effect that when aggression is punished in one situation, the likelihood of subsequent aggression in similar situations is reduced, but is increased for very dissimilar experiences. One difficulty involved in the frustration-aggression approach is the fact that there are multiple reactions to frustration, and that these, occurring on various psychic levels, call for the operation of still other defenses.

The final paragraphs of this section will be devoted to those recent researches which, like the work of Sears, take into account in conjunction with personality variables, the prohibitions and prescriptions of primary and secondary groups. Placing stress on environmental rather than personal factors are two recent investigations conducted by Prothro (25) and by Christie and Garcia (7). Using a sample of southern adults, Prothro found a triangular relationship between expressed attitudes toward Negroes and Jews, as measured by Bogardus and generalized Remmers scales; a sub-group who were favorable to both, a second sub-group favorable to Jews but not to Negroes, and a third unfavorable to both. In addition, he obtained an overall correlation of .49 between attitudes toward the two groups. Unfortunately, he did not employ the F Scale in addition to his other measures, but operating at the broad collective level simply ascribes the different sub-correlations obtained within a generally similar environment to differences in personality. Support is provided by the Christie and Garcia (7) finding that those highest on the Predisposition to Fascism Scale, both among

California and Southern students, were also highest on scales measuring attitudes toward minority groups. Moreover, the Southern group was higher in both acceptance of F Scale items and ethnocentric items. Finding no difference in a host of background factors, mostly of a socio-economic kind, but finding that the environment of the Southern students was more restricted and narrow in exposure to divergent ideologies, they conclude that lifetime experiences in such a constricted environment lead to agreement with authoritarian ideology, as well as with attitudes of racial intolerance. While they have no evidence of differences between the two college groups in child-rearing practices, they conclude that if the Frenkel-Brunswik position concerning the personality determinants of authoritarian ideology is essentially sound, that both the higher ethnocentric and Predisposition to Fascism scores may be explained in terms of an authoritarian culture which includes an authoritarian style of parent-child relationship.

Section C: Suggestion and Information as Techniques for Attitude Change

In this section we shall discuss two techniques which have been used for attitude modification. The first consists of the presentation of stimulus material which is so arranged as to effect a reorganization in the perception of the attitude object, but which is not ascribed to a prestige source, and which does not directly suggest change. The second technique consists of a direct suggestion deriving from authority figures. The two techniques may be seen as lying along a continuum of suggestion directness, and also along another continuum of the degree of the originator's prestige or authority. The two techniques used in this thesis

can be fitted along each of these dimensions: a highly direct and authoritarian suggestion, and a much less pointed information presentation. The latter consists of: cultural relativism orientation and examples; examination of the adjustive value of current attitudes; and education, medical and social data concerning the American Negro. Some experiments which contain aspects of the latter technique will now be discussed and then an historical consideration of prestige suggestion will follow.

In a series of investigations, Thurstone (24) attempted to measure the effect on school children of films dealing with Negro and Chinese cultures. Depending on the favorable or unfavorable presentation in the film, children's attitudes were accordingly modified. Thus, the effect of "The Birth of a Nation" on elementary school children who resided in a completely white Illinois community, was to increase their prejudice toward Negroes by one-and-one-half units. The film "Sons of God," which took a favorable position toward the Chinese, and the movie called "Welcome Danger," which was unfavorable, produced attitude change in the expected directions.

Using written materials, Remmers found that the attitude toward Negroes of high school students could be significantly modified immediately after presentation and remained fairly stable for six months (27). These students were exposed to a reading of Dark Water, by W. E. B. DuBois; a biography of George Washington Carver; and a short story entitled "So Lucille Went to College." Remmers and Morgan (27) found that by using a story which told of the unhappiness produced in a previously popular Jewish boy following Nazi ascent to power, attitudes of anti-

Semitism could be markedly changed, provided that group discussion followed reading of the selection. Many students misinterpreted the story and saw the Jewish boy as an Aryan German. Under no experimental condition was any increase in anti-Nazi attitude found. This misinterpretation is often found in such studies. Thus, Jahoda and Cooper (31) report that some prejudiced subjects do not accept or reject pro-Jewish propaganda, but "pretend" non-comprehension, and evade the essential point.

The boomerang effect was demonstrated in an experiment by Chen (6), using six groups of Columbia students. Two groups read pro-Chinese, two groups pro-Japanese propaganda, and two groups received neutral material. Under each experimental setup, the average change was in the direction of the propaganda. However, there were numerous boomerang effects under both experimental conditions. One possible explanation of the boomerang effect in such experiments may be related to the amount of information or education possessed by the recipient. Thus, the Information and Education section of the War Department conducted research in which it was concluded that the presentation of both sides (as compared to just one side) of a given issue would be more likely accepted by the well-educated men. They rejected the direct suggestion approach (18).

The use of suggestion as an attitude change technique continues to be represented in a number of experiments, and likewise the historical controversies over the interpretation of the suggestion process continue unresolved. A recent example of the effect of suggestion is one by Donceel, Alimena and Burch (9).

That prestige suggestion is accepted even under detailed instructions to respond as on the first administration is the claim of a recent study by Hastorf and Piper (14). Using forty-five statements on various political, social and educational issues, with a sample of students in a business administration curriculum, a design was set up in which a month after the initial administration of the statements, subjects in two experimental groups were told the responses of 100 business executives, and for one group were also instructed to respond as previously. A control group was given no instructions other than to evaluate the statements. The results indicate that even the experimental group which was told the responses of business executives and also told to respond as before, changed significantly in their attitude response to the statements in the direction of the prestige suggestion. The authors conclude that it is unnecessary in such prestige suggestion experiments to disguise the suggestion. It may be questioned whether following a month's lapse, subjects retain very much about their responses on a seven-point scale to forty-five statements. Be this as it may, however, the Donceel et. al. (9) experiment, and the Hastorf and Piper experiment, are samples of a situation which has frequently served as material for varying interpretation on the part of two schools of thought.

The older interpretation is that suggestion is essentially an unreasoned, impulsive acceptance, under conditions of emotional or other stress, which lead to a narrowing of the field of consciousness. The position taken by the Gestalt school, and represented by such students as Lewis, Hertzman, Berenda, Dunker and Asch, is essentially to the effect that suggestion is by no means a separate psychological phenomenon, but rather can be explained in

terms of the principles of cognitive organization and reorganization. Thus, Lewis interprets her own and similar experiments in terms of the notion that subjects modify their attitudes, not arbitrarily under a prestigeful source, but in a rational manner, when, striving after meaning, they find a different frame of reference as satisfactory or more satisfactory then their previous one. However, the suggestion school would argue that her subjects first emotionally identified with the prestige source, and then secondarily sought for a rationalization of their behavior. The situation in the experiment, according to Asch, would be an essentially ambiguous one in the sense that the subject's relative paucity of knowledge should yield in the face of expert opinion. The Hastorf and Piper experiment (14) essentially resembles that of the classic Lewis research.

In his article on the "Doctrine of Suggestibility," (2), Asch asserts that many of the suggestion experiments were set up in relatively meaningless or ambiguous terms, in which the subject had little or no understanding of the basis for the expert's opinion. Thus, suggestion is accepted as a means of providing some organization in the perceptual chaos. Luchins (22) describes an experiment of his in which the negative correlation between situational ambiguity and suggestion acceptance was demonstrated, by exposing subjects to suggestions concerning the identity of an object which was shown in a series of increasing structuration. However, the perception of degree of ambiguity of a given object depends on functional as well as structural factors. The experiments of Korchin (19) and Fisher (11) taken together would mean that following frustration immediate and later recall of the degree of perceptual ambiguity would be reduced. Also, Block and Block's finding of authoritarian

personality correlates of ambiguity intolerance may lead to the conclusion that both the "classical" and Gestalt school of suggestion are describing significant features of the situation, with the former stressing the tension level, and the latter giving more weight to the cognitive level in both the determination of the degree of ambiguity and the likely reaction with or without a social suggestion. In the next section we shall describe two experiments which indicate a positive intercorrelation between F Scale, intolerance of ambiguity, and tendency to accept prestige suggestion.

Section D: Attitude Change Techniques and Personality

The theme running through the first three experiments to be discussed (Block and Block, Hoffman and Lasky), concerns demonstrated relationships between a tendency to accept individual or group suggestion, and the possession of authoritarian personality syndromes. The fourth experiment, that of Mussen, is significant because it relates personality variables to attitude change under a field condition of contact with the object of attitudes.

Block and Block (4) set up a satiation-type experiment in which subjects were assigned the pointless task of piling spools on a movable platform, which, when filled, was retracted so that the spools dropped and had to be reloaded. Subjects were instructed that they could terminate this perpetual motion at any time they liked. When subject thus indicated a satiation state, the experimenter responded with a standard question, "Don't you want to do some more?" Three possible reactions occurred:

"1. The experimental protocol of a subject who does not accept the suggestion to continue:

Subject indicates satiation.

Experimenter: "Don't you want to do some more?"

Subject: "No."

Experimenter: "You really want to stop now?"

Subject: "Yes."

The experiment was then considered concluded.

2. The experimental protocol of a subject submitting to the pressures from the experimenter:

Subject indicates satiation.

Experimenter: "Don't you want to do some more?"

Subject: "well....(pause)...All right."

Subject resumes spool-packing. When he again stops--

Experimenter: "Don't you want to do some more?"

Subject: "No."

Experimenter: "You really want to stop now?"

Subject: "Yes."

The experiment was then terminated.

3. In some instances, the subject responded to the experimenter's implicit command with an indefinite answer or an appeal for structure, e. g. "I'll do more if you want me to." In such cases, the question, "Don't you want to do some more?" was repeated. If he did not resume spool-packing, the experiment was concluded."

The authors interpret the interpersonal situation as an ambiguous one, since at the outset the experimenter had indicated subject's control over termination, and then asked the rather

unstructured question, "Don't you want to do some more?" Continuation of the spool-packing after self-reported satiation is taken as indicating an acceptance of an authoritarian suggestion, and this tendency is shown to be correlated both with subject's tendency to rapidly stabilize his judgments in autokinesis, and with high scores on the Predisposition to Fascism Scale. The authors prefer the explanatory concept of excessive ego-control, which is tantamount in part to repression of hostility and of self-determing reactions. In a somewhat similar experiment, Hoffman (16) set up a situation in which subjects who previously had shown high and low acceptances of a spurious group norm concerning estimated linear distances, were tested on approximately 30 measures of personality variables, essentially the same as those investigated in the California Public Opinion Study. Like the Block and Block findings (4), Hoffman reports that the highs are low in ego-strength, and like the Frenkel-Brunswik findings (12), are high on the following variables: domineering parents, repressed hostility toward parents, intrapunitive handling of aggression, over-idealization of parents, positive attitudes toward parental and familial authority, success strivings, agreement with "important" people on political and religious attitudes, and conformity as a value. Dealing with a student nurse population, Lasky (20) found that the tendency to modify F Scale responses in the direction of a specious nursing school norm was correlated with pre-experimental F scores. In greater detail, the findings were that using two experimenters, differing on ratings made by subjects of their personal qualities, two experimental high F

groups significantly reduced their average F score, and one of the two experimental low F groups, under instructions read by the more highly-approved experimenter, accepted the suggestion to increase scores, while the other low F group under the other experimenter showed no shift. The failure of the prediction in the case of the one low F group which did change is explained by the experimenter in terms of two sets of pressures which exceeded their ego-strength--the liking for the experimenter, and their greater involvement in the activities of the Nursing School.

It is almost two decades since Horowitz's important conclusion (17) concerning anti-Negro attitudes--viz., attitudes are learned by contact, not with the objects, but with persons possessing anti-Negro attitudes. There is some opportunity to ponder on the relationship between this formulation and the findings of Mussen (23) in a four-week interracial camp. Using the Horowitz Faces Test as a measure of prejudice, and the TAT as measures of covert aggression and fears of retaliation and punishment, Mussen found that those who showed the greatest increase in prejudice were characterized by inhibited feelings of aggression, fear of environmental retaliation, rebellion against the camp authorities and greater dislike of the camp situation. The conclusion drawn is that essentially of the scapegoating theory--projected aggressions and retaliative fears are displaced into prejudice channels. It would seem to be the implication of the Mussen findings, and of the numerous studies previously discussed, that prejudiced behavior, like other social behavior, is fully understood only when all its determinants, both personal and cultural, are taken into account.

CHAPTER II

THEORY, HYPOTHESES AND PROCEDURE

Section A: Substantive Theory and Hypotheses

1. Authoritarian Personality and Cognitive Reorganization

In the preceding chapter we have presented some evidence supporting the view that such social attitudes as those of racial prejudice derive their supports from both the structure of personality and the structure of society. In this section, we shall bring together some theory which will lead to hypotheses concerning modification of ethnocentric ideologies through procedures aimed at cognitive restructuring.

The syndrome of traits within the authoritarian personality, as indicated by the Frenkel-Brunswik school (12), and as further supported by the research of Block and Block (4), Himelhoch (15), Reichard (26), Dicks (10), Hoffman (16), Lasky (20), et. al., included the following: over-idealization of parents and other authorities, repression of hostile and sexual impulses, projectivity, intolerance of ambiguity. This syndrome rather closely resembles the description of the sado-masochistic character as presented by Eric Fromm and other analytic theorists. The sado-masochistic character can be discussed under three interrelated categories: attitudes of hostility, concern with power, and black-and-white thinking. This character structure would seem likely to develop in a child-parent relationship distinguished by severe psychological and/or physical rejectivity and punitiveness. The child, in an essentially weak, helpless and dependent position, may strive for a semblance of order by identifying with the destructive

parental power. Rigid adherence to parental commands avoids punishment and augments self-confidence. For such a child, punishment and love seem to be hopelessly intertwined. Self-determination can hardly develop to any extent, as love and approval come only for strict adherence to rules. The same superego which is so ready to punish the self for violations of prohibitions is on guard against similar violations on the part of others. Nonconformity with his values calls for punitive action. Moreover, the consequence of inhibiting hostile behavior toward his parents is the turning outward of emotion in a projective sense, with accompanying perception of a threatening, depriving world and consequent self-justification for hostile behavior. But those social objects who are in a position of comparative weakness can serve as safe, non-retaliative targets and can be used to build up self-esteem.

For the problem of cognitive reorganization, it is the sado-masochist's rigid adherence to dichotomous thinking which is most important. In terms of the above discussion, it would seem that such restructuring would occur only through processes of threat. To modify his perceptions in any basic way is to be, once more, placed in a helpless, weak position. Only through superior force could we produce significant shifts.

In the previous chapter, the research of Frenkel-Brunswik, Block and Block, and Fisher were presented to document the posited relationship between fear of ambiguity and authoritarian personality (sado-masochistic). The problem now is to apply this theory and supporting research to the area of race prejudice and its reduction. If we could locate a group of subjects for whom racial prejudice

served not primarily as a release channel for repressed hostility, but had been learned as other social attitudes under conditions of group reward, it might be feasible to attempt modification through the techniques of information and/or suggestion, as discussed in Chapter One. At the same time, we could compare them with a group of relatively authoritarian personalities exposed to the same influence.

In particular, how would each of the two groups react to an information technique which presented material illustrative of the variety of attitudes taken toward the same behavior among different societies; a discussion of the adjustive value of contemporaneous beliefs and attitudes; and an historical review of the Negro culture during the last century in the United States? For the authoritarian personality group, it would be presumed that such information, with its emphasis on non-dichotomous perceptions, would have little or no effect. For the relatively non-authoritarian group, we might expect some movement in the direction of an increased friendliness toward Negroes. The likelihood of finding two such extreme groups in a college population is relatively small, so that with such subjects only a rough test of the hypotheses could be made. As shown by previous research, persons making low scores on the F Scale are likely also to demonstrate minimal scores on scales dealing with attitude toward Negroes. One might thus argue that the non-authoritarian people were already moving in the direction of prejudice reduction, and that, therefore, the theoretical distinctions would not be adequately tested. For this and other reasons, a second situation could be set up, in which the technique of suggestion would be employed. Before discussing this any further, the hypothesis in the area of cognitive restructuring to be tested through an information technique will be stated:

Hypothesis A: Attitude change in response to relatively non-authoritarian information varies as a function of the degree of subjects' authoritarianism.

Prediction One: Under exposure to information techniques aimed at cognitive restructuring, relatively non-authoritarian as compared with relatively authoritarian personalities will show more attitude change (in the direction of the information content).

2. Authoritarian Personality and Authoritarian Suggestion

In the final two sections of the previous chapter, we discussed the theoretical notions and research findings concerning the interrelationships among prestige suggestion, authoritarian personality and attitude change. The relevant researches were those of Block and Block, Lasky and Hoffman; the relevent theories were those of the "classical" and Gestalt approach to the problem of suggestion and suggestibility. Taking this and the above discussion of sado-masochistic character together, we can present some theoretical notions and specific experimental hypotheses.

The authoritarian personality, as indicated by the findings of Frenkel-Brunswik, Hoffman, and others, has strong attitudes of idealization of parents and other authorities. Lasky, and Block and Block, have shown how high scorers on the F Scale, when faced with conflict between their own self-interest and the individual or group force lying behind a suggestion, respond in a submissive, yielding way. To accept the spurious group norm is to restore feelings of strength through power introjection. The "classical" school of suggestion points to an unreasoned and the Asch school to a rational explanation of suggestion phenomena. A possible reconciliation is through a

consideration of the personality characteristics of the suggestee.

Applying these considerations to the racial prejudice problem, it might be possible to modify attitudes toward Negroes through a suggestion deriving from such prestigeful sources in American society as business executives and military commanders. Several difficulties arise. In the first place, Crockett showed that under his experimental conditions, counter-argument plus norms produced more attitude change than norms alone. We would therefore want to supplement a simple norm report with a rationale. This rationale should be one which would customarily be expected to derive from the prestige source. However, such a rationale, while appealing to motives of profit, efficiency, military defense, etc. rather than to humanitarian and equalitarian notions of respect, would appeal in some measure to non-authoritarian as well as to authoritarian personalities. Thus, it seems desirable to arrange a variation on this authoritarian suggestion theme in which the content of the suggestion and the supporting rationale are in the direction of accentuated rather than diminished prejudice toward Negroes. The hypothesis and specific predictions to be tested are as follows:

Hypothesis B: Attitude change in the direction of an authoritarian suggestion varies as a function of the degree of subjects' authoritarianism.

Prediction Two: Under an authoritarian suggestion urging reduction of prejudice toward Negroes, relatively authoritarian personalities as compared with relatively non-authoritarian personalities will show more suggestion acceptance.

Prediction Three: Under an authoritarian suggestion urging intensification of prejudice toward Negroes, relatively authoritarian

as compared with relatively non-authoritarian personalities will show more suggestion acceptance.

Section B: Procedure

The design for testing the substantive theory hypotheses follows a before-after procedure, in which there was a week's interval between the three experimental administrations (see Figure One for outline of design). The subjects consisted of eleven sections of introductory psychology classes at the University of Michigan, during the spring of 1953. All administrations were done during regular class time. Subjects were recruited from other psychology and sociology classes to form a control group who participated in the first and third administrations, but did not experience the change procedure. Because some students were present only for the first and third administrations, an additional control group was available. The eleven sections of approximately 25 students each were allocated to three different experimental conditions to be described below.

FIGURE ONE

ADMINISTRATIVE SCHEMA FOR EXPERIMENTAL CONDITIONS

Experimental condition	First administration (April 15th)	Second administration (April 22nd)	Third administration (April 29th)
Cognitive Restructuring Measures	Scales A,B,C,D; F Scale	Information booklet	Scales A,B,C,D; F Scale; Take measure; Feedback
Administrator	Experimenter	Instructor	Experimenter
Time	One hour	Thirty-five minutes	One hour

FIGURE ONE

(continued)

Experimental condition	First administration (April 15th)	Second administration (April 22nd)	Third administration (April 29th)
Authoritarian suggestion			Scales A,B,C,D;
Measures	Scales A,B,C,D; F Scale	Suggestion booklet	F Scale; Take measure; Feedback
Administrator	Experimenter	Instructor	Experimenter
Time	One hour	Thirty mimutes	One hour
Authoritarian suggestion reverse			Scales A,B,C,D;
Measures	Scales A,B,C,D; F Scale	Suggestion booklet	F Scale; Take measure; Feedback
Administrator	Experimenter	Instructor	Experimenter
Time	One hour	Thirty mimutes	One hour
Control group			Scales A,B,C,D;
Measures	Scales A,B,C,D; F Scale		F Scale; Take measure; Feedback
Administrator	Experimenter		Experimenter
Time	One hour		One hour

As previously stated, the attitudes involved in the hypotheses had to do with the employment of Negroes as supervisors in industry, and with segregation in the Armed Forces. Scale A (Appendix A) is a Likert-type scale, consisting of eight items dealing with various discriminative practices toward Negroes, both on and off the job. While they are all prejudicial, each is presented in a rationalized form. The specific areas covered by the items are: residential segregation, Negroes in supervisory positions, restaurant and hotel facilities, church services, and recreational activities. The scoring

system ran from 6 (strong agreement) to 1 (strong disagreement). The full range of scores, then, is from 8 to 48. Scale B (Appendix A) consists of six Guttman-type items dealing with the problem of Negroes as supervisors in industry. The most prejudicial statement was, "Except in very rare cases, I am completely opposed to having Negroes occupy any positions in business firms or industrial plants which entail in any degree supervision over white workers." The least prejudicial statement was, "I am completely in favor of having Negroes occupy positions in business firms or industrial plants which entail supervision over white workers. Moreover, I myself would be willing to actively participate in various educational programs which would be designed to change the policy of those business firms or industrial plants which maintain a standing rule of never permitting Negroes to rise above the worker level." The emphasis on action in this alternative was a consequence of a pre-test finding that mere statement of favorable opinion resulted in a relatively large number of responses agreeing with the least prejudicial items, so that for these respondents the possibility of attitude change was zero. In scoring Scale B, the 6 graduated items were arbitrarily assigned numbers from 6 to 1 in order of increasing acceptance of Negroes as supervisors. The subject's score was taken as the number corresponding to the item with which he was in greatest agreement.

Scale C (Appendix A), consisting of six Likert-type items, is analogous to Scale A and deals with discriminative practices both on and off the military post. The areas covered are: veterans' organizations, Officer Candidate School, professional staff of military hospitals, segregated barracks, USO and other recreational organizations. The scoring setup followed exactly the pattern used in Scale A. The

final measure, Scale D (Appendix A), was analogous both in construction and scoring to the Guttman-type Scale B. The two extreme statements in the series of six are: "I am completely opposed to having both Negro and white personnel living within the same military platoon," and, "I am completely in favor of the principle of having both Negro and white personnel living within the same military platoon and I believe we should proceed to put the principle into operation at once in all units of the services." In addition to responding for himself, each subject was asked to state his estimate of how the class would respond to the various scale items. Besides the two measures of authoritarian personality, there was included a scale concerned with the prestige of ten different occupational groups. Its purpose was to discover whether differential reactions to a suggestion derived from such occupations as business executives and military officers could be related to differential feelings of admiration and respect for such positions.

The booklets used in the first and third administrations were exactly the same, and are reprinted in Appendix A. These two experimental sessions were administered by the experimenter. The instructions for the first administration (Appendix A) essentially stated that "The Social Science Foundation" was conducting research on the standardization of a number of attitude scales, dealing with a variety of social issues. Subjects were told that a code number was necessary in case a re-administration would be desired to complete the standardization procedure.

To reduce the possibility of subjects becoming aware of the nature of the experiment, and to increase acceptance of the cover story for the second administration, the instructors rather than the experimenter administered the instruments. For the Cognitive Restructuring

condition, subjects were informed that University research was being conducted into the relative advantages and deficiencies of multiple choice as compared with essay-type questions (Appendix B). Therefore, they would be given for a half-hour study typical college level material, and would then be asked to answer both multiple choice and essay questions, some of the simple information variety, others of the application type. The materials provided actually consisted of a nine-page booklet, discussing variations in behavior and attitudes among different cultures, together with an examination of the adjustive value of present-day beliefs and opinions, and an historical consideration of the developments experienced by the United States Negro population in such areas as education, health, arts and letters, etc.

Also under the instructor as administrator, both the Authoritarian Suggestion and Authoritarian Suggestion Reverse condition used the guise that an investigation of memory processes was being carried on (Appendices C and D). The subjects were to have 15 minutes in which to study "graphic and non-graphic" materials. The regular class activity was then to ensue until approximately five minutes before the end of the hour, when a measure of the amount retained would be given (see Appendix C). They were also told that recognition memory would be tested at a later time. In addition to operating as a cover story, this procedure might provide additional information concerning the differential retention on the part of authoritarian and non-authoritarian personalities over a brief and long period of time. The Authoritarian Suggestion booklet (Appendix C) consisted, in part, of a "Summary Report of the Position of Business Executives' Responses to the Attitude Toward Negro Scale," purportedly to have been gathered by the Social Science Foundation. The report covered approximately two

pages and presented the reasons which the majority of business executives gave for responding as they did to the problem of Negroes as supervisors and to other discrimination problems on and off the job. These reasons were designed to appeal to motives of efficiency of production, clarity of communication, military preparedness, etc. To maximize impressiveness, the responses of business executives were presented in a bar graph, and arranged in a sharply J-curve pattern. Each of the two scales dealing with problems of Negro discrimination in industry had its individual bar graph, with essentially the same score distribution. The booklet also contained a similar setup for the Armed Forces segregation problem: a Summary Report, the two scales and two appropriate bar graphs. "The Measure of Amount Retained After Thirty Minutes" consisted of ten true-false statements, directly based on the booklet contents. For the Authoritarian Suggestion Reverse condition, an analogous procedure and booklet were used, except of course for modification of the "Summary Reports" and bar graphs, designed to suggest attitude movement in the direction of heightened rather than reduced prejudice (Appendix D). A similar measure of amount retained was used.

Finally, following the administration of the post-measure, an instrument of "experimental take" (Appendix E) was given. Taking about ten minutes to complete, this take measure consisted of the subject's estimate of how business executives and military leaders would respond to the four attitude scales, and, in addition, 12 true-false statements based on the various contents of the Authoritarian Suggestion condition booklets and the Cognitive Reorganization booklet. Throughout each phase of the experiment, subjects were asked not to communicate either in or out of class concerning any aspect of the procedure.

CHAPTER III

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The plan of this chapter is to discuss each of the three experimental conditions in terms of the specific findings and implications for additional research. This will followed by a consideration of the comparative effectiveness of the three conditions for attitude change.

Before presenting the data dealing with attitude modification, it seems appropriate to indicate the degree of authoritarianism in our subjects, as measured by the Predisposition to Fascism Scale. The possible range of scores on this scale is from 30 to 180, with a mean of 105. As may be seen from Table One below, the subjects used in this experiment form a distribution of scores which is skewed toward the non-authoritarian pole. With the exception of the recruited control group, mean scores for all groups are within three points of the theoretical mean score. In considering the results which are to be presented, it will be important to keep in mind that while we have labeled the highest third of F scores as "the authoritarian group," such subjects actually fall at about the mid-point along a dimension of authoritarian personality.

TABLE 1

MEAN AND RANGE OF HIGHEST AND LOWEST THIRDS IN F SCORE FOR SUBJECTS IN THE EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS

Experimental condition	Mean		Range	
	Upper third	Lower third	Upper third	Lower third
Cognitive restructuring	105.96	61.12	92-114	51-77
Authoritarian suggestion	104.32	65.15	95-118	46-78
Authoritarian suggestion reverse	104.38	57.30	91-139	35-75
"Natural" control group	108.24	62.19	100-128	32-77
Recruited control group	91.55	46.55	78-113	32-55

Section A: Cognitive Restructuring Condition

Before turning to our hypothesis concerning the relative amount of change occurring in the upper and lower thirds under the Cognitive Restructuring condition, we will present data showing the mean changes which occurred for each F group separately. (At this point, the reader may desire to refresh his memory of the nature of Scales A, B, C, D, which are the attitude measures referred to in the subsequent table and all succeeding tables. A brief description is found on page 26, and all scales are fully reprinted in Appendix A).

TABLE 2

MEAN ATTITUDE CHANGE OF UPPER AND LOWER THIRDS
IN F SCORE
UNDER COGNITIVE RESTRUCTURING CONDITION

Upper third	Mean before	Mean after	Difference (after-before)	t	P
Scale					
A	27.20	27.38	.18	.16	.80<P<.90
B	4.00	3.72	-.28	1.40	.10<P<.20
C	23.31	23.75	.44	.34	.70<P<.80
D	2.88	3.40	.52	2.99	P<.01
Lower third					
Scale					
A	17.85	16.45	-1.40	1.62	.10<P<.20
B	2.70	2.65	-.05	.20	.80<P<.90
C	18.26	16.66	-1.60	1.93	.05<P<.10
D	2.45	2.30	-.15	.77	.40<P<.50

It may be recalled that Hypothesis A for this experimental condition predicted that the lower third, as compared to the upper third, would show more attitude change in the least prejudiced direction (Prediction One, page 23). The hypothesis was stated in this form because, while we would expect the low F group to move in the reduced prejudice direction, we were not so certain of the more authoritarian group. On the one hand, their personality structure, especially their fear of ambiguity, would block attitude modification. On the other hand, they might not merely resist making any shift, but might react by movement in a counter-direction. Inspection of Table 2 shows this counteraction for three out of the four scales in the case

of the upper F group, one of which is significant at the .10 level of confidence. No boomerang effect is evidenced for the low authoritarian group, where change in the predicted direction occurred in every one of the four scales, though only one approaches the .05 level of significance.

In Table 3, data is presented relevant to Prediction One, which was stated as: "Under exposure to information techniques aimed at cognitive restructuring, relatively non-authoritarian as compared with relatively authoritarian personalities will show more attitude change (in the direction of the information content)." It shows for each of the four scales the relative difference in the amount of change taking place for the low F as compared to the high F group.

TABLE 3

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN UPPER AND LOWER THIRDS IN THEIR MEAN ATTITUDE CHANGE UNDER THE COGNITIVE RESTRUCTURING CONDITION

Scale	Mean Change Upper F Third	Mean Change Lower F Third	Direction		t	P
			Predicted	Unpredicted		
A	.18	-1.40	x		1.11	.20<P<.30
B	-.28	-.05		x	.70	.40<P<.50
C	.44	-1.60	x		1.32	.20<P<.30
D	.52	-.15	x		2.57	.01<P<.02

Inspection of Table 3 discloses that 3 out of the 4 scales show attitude change in the predicted direction. For Scale D, significance is obtained at the .01 level.

Despite efforts made to construct scales whose items would permit room for change in attitude response, some subjects both among the upper and lower thirds responded to one or more of the four scales with minimal prejudice. If we drop from the two comparison groups those subjects who were at the "zero point," we would then enhance the chances of demonstrating our prediction. The reason for this lies in the fact that low F subjects were more likely than high F to be found at the minimal point of each attitude scale. On the other hand, we can not fully test the hypothesis, unless we are dealing with movable scores. Table 4 presents the data for the same groups of subjects as those involved in Table 3, except for those who made minimal response scores. A comparison of the two tables shows that while no additional significant differences are obtained, all four instead of just three scales now indicate change in the predicted direction.

TABLE 4

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN UPPER AND LOWER THIRDS
IN THEIR MEAN ATTITUDE CHANGE
UNDER THE COGNITIVE RESTRUCTURING CONDITION
(OMITTING SUBJECTS AT MINIMAL POSITION ON BEFORE MEASURE)

Scale	Mean change upper F	Mean change lower F	Direction		t	P
			Predicted	Unpredicted		
A	.18	-1.40	x		1.11	.20<P<.30
B	.34	- .29	x		.31	.80<P<.90
C	.44	-1.60	x		1.32	.20<P<.30
D	.47	-.33	x		3.39	P<.01

In the preceding analysis, we have attempted to test the hypothesis in terms of the mean amount of change. Another mode of data

interpretation involves the frequency of changes in direction, regardless of amount of change. In Table 5, a chi-square setup is shown, comparing upper and lower thirds in terms of frequency of changes in increased and decreased prejudice directions. It would have been desirable to include a category of zero changers, but the obtained frequencies were excessively small.

TABLE 5

FREQUENCIES OF INCREASED AND DECREASED PREJUDICE FOR UPPER AND LOWER THIRDS UNDER THE COGNITIVE RESTRUCTURING CONDITION

Scale	Increased Prejudice		Decreased Prejudice		P
	Upper	Lower	Upper	Lower	
A	8	6	9	12	.50<P<.70
B	4	6	7	3	.18
C	9	5	11	12	.50<P<.70
D	7	3	0	5	.19

Inspection of the table yields essentially the same conclusion as the above analysis. Thus, in three out of four scales, the frequency of shifts in the direction of reduced prejudice is greater for the low authoritarian group than for the high authoritarian group. No chi-square reached the .05 level of confidence. The boomerang effect discussed in connection with Table 2 is in clear evidence for three out of the four scales.

Section B: Authoritarian Suggestion Condition

Before discussing the difference in mean change produced by the authoritarian suggestion, Table 6, showing the change occurring for the high and low F groups separately will be presented.

TABLE 6

MEAN ATTITUDE CHANGE OF UPPER AND LOWER THIRDS IN F SCORE UNDER AUTHORITARIAN SUGGESTION CONDITION

Upper third	Mean before	Mean after	Difference (after-before)	t	P
Scale					
A	25.90	23.76	-2.14	2.69	.02<P<.05
B	3.90	2.85	- 1.05	4.38	P<.001
C	22.86	20.41	-2.45	3.00	P<.01
D	2.30	2.50	.20	.96	.30<P<.40
Lower third					
Scale					
A	18.05	15.24	-2.81	3.36	P< .01
B	2.60	2.48	-.12	.61	.50<P<.60
C	17.36	14.14	-3.22	2.90	P<.01
D	2.08	1.82	-.25	1.81	.05<P<.10

Inspection of this table discloses that the Authoritarian Suggestion influence was fairly successful in reducing prejudice for both the authoritarian and relatively non-authoritarian groups. In the case of the former, three out of the four scales show change at the .05 level or less in the predicted direction, and, in the case of the lower third, all four scales show prejudice reduction with two at the .01 level and one approaching a .05 probability. For the authoritarian suggestion condition, the hypothesis had merely predicted that the high F group would change more than the low F in the direction of minimized prejudice. The fact that the low F group accepted the suggestion does not in and of itself negate a personality basis for

reaction to the experimental influence. After all, the low F group is already fairly unprejudiced, and a suggestion to become moreso, even though phrased in terms of appeal to values of efficiency of production and clarity of communication, would hardly be altogether disapproved. This leads to the problem of considering what occurs when the suggestion is to become more rather than less prejudiced. We shall want to inspect the Authoritarian Suggestion Reverse condition in order to see whether the high F, as compared with the low F, seems to be manipulatable in either direction.

The data of Table 7 will be used as a means of more directly testing the hypothesis for the experimental condition of Authoritarian Suggestion.

TABLE 7

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN UPPER AND LOWER THIRDS IN THEIR MEAN ATTITUDE CHANGE UNDER THE AUTHORITARIAN SUGGESTION CONDITION

Scale	Mean change upper F third	Mean change lower F third	Predicted	Unpredicted	t	P
A	-2.14	-2.81		x	.58	$.50 < P < .60$
B	-1.05	-.12	x		2.98	$P < .01$
C	-2.45	-3.22	x		.56	$.50 < P < .60$
D	.20	-.25		x	1.77	$.05 < P < .10$

While the data of Table 7, in part, tends to refute our hypothesis, part of it tends toward support. Of the three scales which show greater reduction for the lower third, two (Scales A and C) show only a slight difference, and all fail to attain the .05 level. Scales

B shows difference in the predicted direction at a P value of .01.

As in the Cognitive Reorganization condition, so now we should like to consider what happens when we drop from the comparison groups those subjects who were at the minimal scale point on the before measure. For all conditions, such subjects come more from the lower than the upper third. In the case of the Cognitive Reorganization condition, dropping such subjects would tend to work in favor of the hypothesis. In Table 8, it may be seen that a similar procedure works against the hypothesis of the Authoritarian Suggestion condition. Thus, where Scale B had shown changes in the predicted direction at the .01 level, it now shows change at a P value between .05 and .10. The high F group becomes less prejudiced by an amount of .06 units, while the low F group shows a relatively huge change of .34.

Table 8

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN UPPER AND LOWER THIRDS
IN THEIR MEAN ATTITUDE CHANGE
UNDER THE AUTHORITARIAN SUGGESTION CONDITION
(OMITTING SUBJECTS AT MINIMAL POSITION ON BEFORE MEASURE)

Scale	Mean change upper F	Mean change lower F	Direction Predicted	Direction Unpredicted	t	P
A	-2.14	-2.81		x	.58	.50<P<.60
B	-1.11	-.46	x		1.95	.05<P<.10
C	-2.45	3.38	x		.66	.50<P<.60
D	.12	-.33		x	1.51	.10<P<.20

Turning now to a consideration of the frequency rather than the amount of change in each direction, we find in Table 9 a setup

of chi-square data which indicates that the sole support for the hypothesis comes from Scale A. However, this type of analysis fails to take into account those subjects who showed no change, and in the case of Scale D, this represents the quite substantial frequency of 26 out of 40 possible cases.

Table 9

FREQUENCIES OF INCREASED AND DECREASED PREJUDICE
FOR UPPER AND LOWER THIRDS
UNDER THE AUTHORITARIAN SUGGESTION CONDITION

Scale	Increased prejudice		Decreased prejudice		P
	Upper	Lower	Upper	Lower	
A	6	1	13	17	.052
B	1	2	12	6	.316
C	5	3	14	17	.316
D	4	1	3	6	.132

Section C: Authoritarian Suggestion Reverse Condition

Attention may now be turned to a consideration of data showing the mean amount of change which occurred for the upper and lower third separately, under the Authoritarian Suggestion Reverse condition.

Table 10

MEAN ATTITUDE CHANGE OF UPPER AND LOWER THIRDS
IN F SCORE
UNDER AUTHORITARIAN SUGGESTION REVERSE CONDITION

Upper third	Mean before	Mean after	Difference (after-before)	t	P
Scale					
A	22.62	25.85	3.23	1.40	.10<P<.20
B	3.08	3.27	.19	.39	.70<P<.80
C	21.92	21.54	-.38	..39	.70<P<.80
D	2.62	2.66	.04	.10	.90<P<1.00

TABLE 10
(continued)

Lower third	Mean before	Mean after	Difference (after-before)	t	P
Scale					
A	16.23	16.15	-.08	.05	.90<P<1.00
B	2.23	2.31	.08	.37	.70<P<.80
C	16.23	14.31	-1.92	2.05	.05<P<.10
D	1.84	1.92	.08	.56	.50<P<.60

The hypothesis stated that under the Authoritarian Suggestion Reverse condition, relatively authoritarian, as compared with relatively non-authoritarian personalities, will show more attitude change in the direction of increased prejudice. Table 10 indicates only slightly more support than opposition for the hypothesis. Thus, in the case of the upper third, 3 out of 4 shifts occur in the predicted direction, while for the lower third, the direction of change is in the predicted direction for only two scales.

We turn immediately to a presentation of data showing the significance of the difference in the just described mean changes.

TABLE 11

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN UPPER AND LOWER THIRDS
IN THEIR MEAN ATTITUDE CHANGE
UNDER THE AUTHORITARIAN SUGGESTION REVERSE CONDITION

Scale	Mean change upper F	Mean change lower F	Direction Predicted	Direction Unpredicted	t	P
A	3.23	-.08	x		1.16	.20<P<.30
B	.19	.08	x		.21	.80<P<.90
C	-.38	-1.92	x		1.13	.20<P<.30
D	.04	.08		x	.09	.90<P<1.00

Table 11 indicates support for the hypothesis in the case of three out of four scales, though no scale reaches the .05 level of confidence. There is also some evidence of a slight boomerang effect in the case of the low F group.

In order to increase the focus in this variation on the Authoritarian Suggestion Reverse technique, we have in Table 12 broken the data down for the upper and lower quartiles. It now appears that for the upper quartile there is a consistent change on the four scales in the direction of suggestion acceptance. Moreover, when comparing the upper with the lower quartile, two of the four scales are significant at less than the .05 level.

TABLE 12

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN UPPER AND LOWER QUARTILES
IN THEIR MEAN ATTITUDE CHANGE
UNDER THE AUTHORITARIAN SUGGESTION REVERSE CONDITION

Scale	Mean change upper F	Mean change lower F	Direction Predicted	Direction Unpredicted	t	P
A	6.11	-2.44	x		3.68	$.001<P<.01$
B	.50	.11	x		.95	$.30<P<.40$
C	.33	-3.11	x		2.36	$.02<P<.05$
D	.22	.11	x		.19	$.80<P<.90$

It should be mentioned that the reason for not analyzing the data in Table 12 in terms of those subjects who remain after those who are at the minimum point are dropped, is the small size of the comparison groups. A chi-square analysis of those who shifted to positions of less and more intense prejudice is presented below. Four out of the four scales show alteration in the predicted direction. Scale A,

as mentioned, shows not only an acceptance of the suggestion on the part of the authoritarian personalities, but what appears to be a counter-reaction on the part of the relatively non-authoritarian personalities.

TABLE 13

FREQUENCIES OF INCREASED AND DECREASED PREJUDICE FOR UPPER AND LOWER THIRDS UNDER THE AUTHORITARIAN SUGGESTION REVERSE CONDITION

Scale	Increased prejudice		Decreased prejudice		P
	Upper	Lower	Upper	Lower	
A	10	3	3	8	.02<P<.05
B	4	2	4	2	1.00
C	6	2	7	9	.16
D	5	2	4	1	.64

Section D: Control Groups

Data will be presented for two different kinds of control groups. The recruited control group was composed of subjects who volunteered from classes other than those registered for the elementary psychology course. The total N of 27 was equally divided between students coming from courses in elementary sociology, psychology of religion and social psychology. They came to the experiment on the evening of the same days on which the experimental groups were run. All administrative conditions were the same as those for the experimental groups, except of course for the influence attempt. A "natural" control group was formed by those students of the experimental classes who happened to be present for both the pre- and post-administrative sessions, but absent for the change

procedure. This control group is thus somewhat more satisfactory, but the data for both groups will be presented.

Table 14 below shows for the two control groups, the significance of difference in means for the before and after condition for the upper and lower thirds. Of the sixteen differences, only one is significant at less than the .05 level (recruited control group, lower third, Scale A). This difference may be interpreted as a likely chance occurrence. Yet, it may be of significance to note that 3 out of the 4 scales for this particular low F group show a negative (reduced prejudice) change. A point to consider in this connection is that these subjects came at night for two one-hour sessions, entirely on their own, as compared with the "natural" control group and the experimental subjects. In addition, as was indicated in Table one, the subjects in the recruited control group had a mean F score of 91.55, as compared with the experimental group mean of 105, and the "natural" control group mean of 108.24.

TABLE 14

MEAN ATTITUDE CHANGE OF UPPER AND LOWER THIRDS IN F SCORE

"NATURAL" CONTROL GROUP

Upper third	Mean before	Mean after	Difference (after-before)	t	P
Scale					
A	26.06	24.62	-1.44	1.48	.10<P<.20
B	2.93	3.31	.38	1.19	.20<P<.30
C	23.56	22.56	-1.00	1.19	.20<P<.30
D	2.62	2.84	.22	1.24	.20<P<.30
Lower third					
A	16.46	16.94	.48	.57	.50<P<.60
B	2.43	2.31	-.12	.81	.40<P<.50
C	15.94	16.13	.19	.32	.70<P<.80
D	2.00	1.93	-.07	.29	.70<P<.80

TABLE 14
(continued)

RECRUITED CONTROL GROUP

Upper third	Mean before	Mean after	Difference (after-before)	t	P
Scale					
A	17.22	17.11	-.11	.09	.90<P<1.00
B	2.22	2.00	-.22	1.00	.30<P<.40
C	19.33	16.44	-2.89	1.67	.10<P<.20
D	2.33	2.11	-.22	.80	.40<P<.50
Lower third					
Scale					
A	12.00	10.89	-1.11	2.86	P<.05
B	1.55	1.44	-.11	.55	.50<P<.60
C	10.11	9.55	-.56	.52	.60<P<.70
D	1.33	1.44	.11	.55	.50<P<.60

Table 15 below is concerned with significance of the differences in mean amount of change between the high and low F subjects for each of the two control groups. Inspection of the data shows no significant differences for any of the eight comparisons.

TABLE 15

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN UPPER AND LOWER THIRDS
IN THEIR MEAN ATTITUDE CHANGE

"NATURAL" CONTROL GROUP

Scale	Mean change upper F	Mean change lower F	t	P
A	-1.44	.48	1.49	.10<P<.20
B	.38	-.12	1.43	.10<P<.20
C	-1.00	.19	1.16	.20<P<.30
D	.22	-.07	1.00	.30<P<.40

TABLE 15
(continued)

RECRUITED CONTROL GROUP

Scale	Mean change upper F	Mean change lower F	t	P
A	-.11	-1.11	.79	.40<P<.50
B	-.22	-.11	.37	.70<P<.80
C	-2.89	-.56	1.15	.20<P<.30
D	-.22	.11	.97	.30<P<.40

Table 16 below shows a chi-square analysis for frequency of changes in the increased and decreased directions for the two control groups. None of the eight chi-squares attain a .05 level of confidence.

TABLE 16

FREQUENCIES OF INCREASED AND DECREASED PREJUDICE FOR UPPER AND LOWER THIRDS

"NATURAL" CONTROL GROUP

Scale	Increased prejudice		Decreased prejudice		P
	Upper	Lower	Upper	Lower	
A	3	4	10	9	.50
B	5	1	3	2	.42
C	6	6	10	6	.70<P<.80
D	5	2	2	3	.31

RECRUITED CONTROL GROUP

A	2	0	3	6	.18
B	0	1	1	2	.75
C	2	5	7	4	.17
D	0	2	3	1	.20

ction E: Comparison of Relative Strength of Experimental Conditions

In this section we shall discuss the comparative effectiveness of the three att-
ude change procedures. Table 17 below is set up for this purpose, and compares each
the four scales for the relatively authoritarian and relatively non-authoritarian
oups.

TABLE 17

COMPARISON OF RELATIVE STRENGTH
OF EXPERIMENTAL CONDITIONS

	Authoritarian Suggestion-Cognitive Restructuring				Cognitive Restructuring-Authoritarian Suggestion Reverse				Authoritarian Suggestion-Authoritarian Suggestion Reverse			
ble	M-AS	M-CR	t	P	M-CR	M-ASR	t	P	M-AS	M-ASR	t	P
per	-2.14	.18	1.69	.05<P<.10	.18	3.23	1.31	.10<P<.20	-2.14	3.23	2.61	.01<P<.02
wer	-2.81	-1.40	.12	.90<P<1.00	-1.40	-.08	.77	.40<P<.50	-2.81	-.08	1.62	.10<P<.20
per	-1.05	-.28	2.46	.01<P<.02	-.28	.19	.99	.30<P<.40	-1.05	.19	2.47	.01<P<.02
wer	-.12	-.05	.22	.80<P<.90	-.05	.08	.35	.70<P<.80	-.12	.08	.66	.50<P<.60
per	-2.45	.44	1.89	.05<P<.10	.44	-.38	.46	.60<P<.70	-2.45	-.38	2.18	.02<P<.05
wer	-3.22	-1.60	1.16	.20<P<.30	-1.60	-1.92	.25	.80<P<.90	-3.22	-1.92	.81	.40<P<.50
per	.20	.52	1.17	.20<P<.30	.52	.04	1.26	.20<P<.30	.20	.04	.04	.90<P<1.00
wer	-.25	-.15	.42	.60 P<.70	-.15	.08	.85	.40<P<.50	-.25	.08	1.60	.10<P<.20

In comparing the Authoritarian Suggestion and Cognitive Restructuring conditions,
ay be observed , dealing simply with direction of change (regardless of significance),
t the former procedure is more effective for both the upper and lower thirds. However,
the low F group, none of the differences between the two conditions approaches the
level, whereas for the high F group this level is approached in the case of Scales A
C, and is exceeded in the case of Scale B. These findings are in line with the

theoretical expectations. The interesting boomerang effect is seen again for the upper third group of subjects in the case of Scales A and C.

We should now like to discuss the comparison data for the Authoritarian Suggestion and Authoritarian Suggestion Reverse conditions. The theory of this thesis has predicted that under each of these conditions, relatively authoritarian personalities tend more than relatively non-authoritarian personalities to move in the direction of the suggestion content. This means that the difference between changes under each of these two conditions should be larger for the upper third than for the lower third. Inspection of the data in Table 17 shows this to be the case. Thus, the three significant differences out of the eight all pertain to the upper F group (Scales A, B, C).

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY

Section A: The Problem

The authors of the now classic volume The Authoritarian Personality emphasize that attitudes of racial prejudice operate for some persons as derivatives and satisfiers of repressed needs. They further assert that for such individuals, reduction in basic ethnocentrism can occur almost exclusively only through procedures of psychotherapy, and that programs of education and pursuasion are of little avail. This thesis attempts, without raising the question of fundamental personality change, attitude modification for both relatively authoritarian and relatively non-authoritarian personalities through two different procedures, each fitted to the type of personality involved. For the authoritarian personality, we plan to take advantage of his need to identify with power groups by exposing him to a suggestion deriving from authoritarian figures. For the relatively non-authoritarian personalities, we intend to take advantage of his greater insight by presenting him with certain information placed in a broad frame of reference, which will permit, though not suggest, attitude modification through restructuring processes on the cognitive level.

Section B: Hypotheses

The two hypotheses and the specific predictions were stated as follows:

Hypothesis A: Attitude change in response to relatively non-authoritarian information varies as a function of the degree

of subjects' authoritarianism.

Prediction One: Under exposure to information techniques aimed at cognitive restructuring, relatively non-authoritarian as compared with relatively authoritarian personalities will show more attitude change (in the direction of the information content).

Hypothesis B: Attitude change in the direction of an authoritarian suggestion varies as a function of the degree of the subjects' authoritarianism.

Prediction Two: Under an authoritarian suggestion urging reduction of prejudice toward Negroes, relatively authoritarian personalities as compared with relatively non-authoritarian personalities will show more suggestion acceptance.

Prediction Three: Under an authoritarian suggestion urging intensification of prejudice toward Negroes, relatively authoritarian as compared with relatively non-authoritarian personalities will show more suggestion acceptance.

Section C: Procedure

The testing of these hypotheses involved the use of 250 undergraduate students enrolled in the elementary psychology course at the University of Michigan, during the spring semester of 1953. The subjects were divided among three experimental conditions, each of which was set up in a before-after design, in which successive administrations occurred at one-week intervals. The first and third administrations were the same for the three experimental conditions, and in each of them subjects were presented with a booklet containing four measures of attitude toward Negroes and the Predisposition to

Fascism scale. Two of the attitude measures were in the area of discrimination in industrial relations, and two were concerned with segregation practices on and off the military post. As a cover story for these administrations, subjects were told that the "Social Science Foundation" was interested in obtaining standardization data on a number of scales dealing with a variety of opinions and attitudes. The second administration for each of the three experimental conditions will now be briefly explained.

To test the prediction involving attitude change through cognotive restructuring, subjects were informed by their class instructors that university research was being conducted into the relative merits of multiple choice and essay-type examination questions. For this purpose, they would be provided during the class hour with typical college level material on which, after a 30-minute study period, they would be tested by questions of each type. The booklet presented to subjects contained several kinds of information. The first portion attempted to acquaint the reader with the idea that the amount of approval or disapproval for given behaviors was not universal, but varied among different cultural groups. The second portion then proceeded to examine the adjustive value of contemperaneous beliefs and attitudes, beginning with rather innocuous areas, e. g. etiquette and education, and then moving on to a discussion of essentially outworn characterizations of the American Negro. In the final portion, progress of the Negro group was charted from the post-Civil War era to the present, in such areas as health, literacy, occupational status.

The procedure used to test each of the two predictions under the hypothesis concerned with attitude change through authoritarian suggestion will now be described. The instructor informed his class (cover story) that they would participate in an investigation of

memory processes. In this investigation, subjects would be permitted a 15-minute period in which to study some graphical and non-graphical material, and then, after a 30-minute delay, would be tested for the amount retained. In one experimental variation (prediction 2 above), the graphical materials consisted of a bar graph showing the supposed responses of business executives and military leaders to attitude scales measuring discrimination in the respective areas. This bar graph suggested that the overwhelming majority of business administrators were in favor of Negroes filling supervisory positions, and that approximately 90% of all military leaders were in favor of mixed white and Negro platoons. These norm-presentations were supplemented with a summary statement explaining why these authorities responded as they did. This rationale in both cases was formulated in terms designed to appeal to authoritarian rather than to humanitarian motives, e. g. maximization of profit, efficiency of production, clarity of communication and military defense. In the other experimental variation (prediction 3 above), the content of the bar graphs and the accompanying rationale was such as to suggest a more unfavorable attitude toward Negroes in the areas of industrial discrimination and military segregation.

Section D: Results

The presentation of results will be organized under each of the three experimental conditions. Unless otherwise indicated, "relatively authoritarian subjects" refers to subjects scoring in the highest third on the F Scale; "non-authoritarian subjects" refers to subjects scoring in the lowest third on the F Scale. For the Cognitive Restructuring condition (prediction 1 above), the following was found:

1. For 3 out of the 4 measures, the non-authoritarian subjects, as compared to the relatively authoritarian subjects, show a greater change in the direction of a more favorable attitude toward Negroes. One of these scales reaches the .01 level of confidence.

2. For these same measures and with the same level of confidence, the relatively authoritarian subjects respond in a boomerang fashion.

The results for the Authoritarian Suggestion condition (prediction 2 above) are as follows:

1. In the case of 2 out of the 4 measures, the non-authoritarian subjects, as compared to relatively authoritarian subjects, show a greater change in the direction of a more favorable attitude toward Negroes. Neither of these differences attains the .05 level of confidence.

2. For the other two measures, the relatively authoritarian subjects show more change than the non-authoritarian subjects in the more favorable direction, and one of these differences occurs at the .01 level of confidence.

In the case of the Authoritarian Suggestion Reverse condition (prediction 3 above), the results obtained are as follows:

1. For 3 out of the 4 measures, the relatively authoritarian personalities, as compared to non-authoritarian personalities, show a greater increase in unfavorable attitude toward Negroes. However, no difference attains the .05 level of confidence.

2. For all 4 measures, the highest fourth of subjects in F score, as compared with the lowest fourth, show a greater increase

in unfavorable attitude toward Negroes. Two of these 4 scales are at less than the .05 level of confidence.

3. For 2 out of the 4 measures, the lowest fourth of subjects in F score show movement in a direction counter to the suggestion.

A final analysis of the data is concerned with the comparative effectiveness of the three attitude change techniques. When the Authoritarian Suggestion and Cognitive Restructuring techniques are compared, the following results appear:

For both the relatively authoritarian and non-authoritarian subjects, the Authoritarian Suggestion technique, as compared with the Cognitive Restructuring technique, produces greater change in the direction of a more favorable attitude toward Negroes. This superiority of the Authoritarian Suggestion technique is more marked in the case of relatively authoritarian subjects. These findings are taken as supporting evidence for the theoretical hypotheses.

Comparison of the relative effectiveness of the Authoritarian Suggestion and Authoritarian Suggestion Reverse techniques yields the following results:

For the relatively authoritarian personalities, the difference in mean amount of attitude change which occurs on 3 out of the 4 measures is significant at less than the .05 level of confidence. This finding is taken as supporting data for the theory of this thesis.

Section E: Conclusions

Within the limits of the experimental design, the following tentative conclusions seem to be indicated. For relatively authoritarian personalities, attitudes of racial prejudice seem most modifiable through processes of authoritarian suggestion. This mod-

ification may occur in either direction, depending on the content of the suggestion. The use of an information technique not only is less effective than an authoritarian suggestion for prejudice reduction, but may produce attitude change in the opposite direction. When exposed to information aimed at cognitive restructuring, relatively non-authoritarian as compared with relatively authoritarian personalities show more attitude change in the direction of reduced prejudice.

Future research might employ the two techniques of this experiment in attempting to change relatively authoritarian and relatively non-authoritarian personalities in other attitude areas, e. g. political-economic conservativism and educational philosophy.

APPENDIX A:

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INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

A. The following instructions are read to subjects before distributing the experimental booklets. "The Social Science Foundation is conducting research at the University of Michigan on a number of attitude scales which are concerned with public opinion on a variety of social issues. The present phase of this research is concerned with the obtaining of standardization data. We're going to ask you to respond to these attitude and opinion scales. It will probably take the entire hour to complete filling out the booklets which will be distributed to you.

It will not be necessary for you to supply your name, but we would like you to use a code number which will help to keep the papers straight in case it should be necessary to ask you to respond to the scales at a later time. This code number consists of the first initial in your father's first name followed by the numbers in your home address — not your Ann Arbor address, but your home residence. Thus, J-301.

When the standardization data has been obtained we shall be glad to give you a report of the results. I will now distribute the booklets to you. The directions for responding to each scale are clearly indicated. Be sure to indicate your code number as soon as you receive the booklet.

Thank you very much for your cooperation in this investigation."

B. The following remarks should be made to the subjects after collecting the booklets at the end of the hour. Subjects should be kept until everybody is finished. "I'd like to thank you for helping in this research investigation, and I should appreciate it if you would not discuss the various materials in the booklet with other students in or out of class, since this is likely to interfere with the standardization process. OK? Thanks again."

Code No _____

SOCIAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

RESEARCH PROJECT

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

SCALE A

This is an investigation of general public opinion. The following are statements with which some people agree and others disagree. Please mark each one in the left margin, according to the amount of your agreement or disagreement by using the following scale:

+1	slight support, agreement	-1	slight opposition, disagreement
+2	moderate support, agreement	-2	moderate opposition, disagreement
+3	strong support, agreement	-3	strong opposition, disagreement

_____1. Property owners are justified in excluding Negroes from their residential areas to the extent that admission of Negroes would depress property values.

_____2. In most cases, it would be best not to place Negroes as foremen over white workers since the average wage-earner is not yet ready to accept Negroes as leaders and would not accord them proper respect.

_____3. The people who raise all the talk about putting Negroes on the same level as whites and giving them the same privileges are mostly radical agitators trying to stir up conflicts.

_____4. It is a good idea to have some restaurants and hotels from which Negroes are excluded.

_____5. Negroes feel more comfortable in jobs which do not require a high level of skill and responsibility.

_____6. While Negroes and whites might on the surface pretent to welcome inter-racial church services, it is only fair and honest to recognize that both groups underneath it all feel quite disturbed and would really prefer separate services, free from all tensions.

_____7. While it is a good idea to have the same recreational facilities open to both Negroes and whites, we cannot achieve this goal immediately. For the present, such facilities as swimming pools should not be available to whites and Negroes at the same time.

_____8. Negroes feel more comfortable in jobs where they do not have to compete with whites.

1. With regard to the last item, please indicate how you think the majority of <u>this class</u> would respond. Indicate this class response by circling the appropriate number:

+1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3

2. You have now indicated the response which you think the majority of <u>this</u> <u>class</u> would make to the last item. Now, please indicate how large a percentage of the class this majority constitutes. Circle the appropriate percentage below:

50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

SCALE C

This is an investigation of general public opinion. The following are statements with which some people agree and others disagree. Please mark each one in the left margin, according to the amount of your agreement or disagreement by using the following scale:

+1	slight support, agreement	-1	Slight opposition, disagreement
+2	moderate support, agreement	-2	moderate opposition, disagreement
+3	strong support, agreement	-3	strong opposition, disagreement

_____1. Just as there is a Catholic War Veterans organization and a Jewish War Veterans organization, it would be a good idea to have a separate Negro War Veterans organization.

_____2. Before the quota restrictions on admission of Negro enlisted men into Officers Candidate Schools are removed, it would be most judicious to carry out an unbiased investigation of the relative effectiveness of Negro officers, both in and out of military combat.

_____3. Negroes should not be admitted to the staff of military hospitals. White patients lack the confidence in the competence and training of Negro doctors.

_____4. While the principle of non-segregation in the armed forces is acceptable, we should proceed with great caution when it comes to applying the principle. Otherwise, it may provoke unnecessary racial antagonism.

_____5. Since the USO and other recreational organizations are supported by public funds, they should admit both Negro and white military personnel. By the same token, restaurants, hotels, and recreational businesses which are owned by private individuals should be permitted to serve whom they like.

_____6. The problem of housing the families of Negro and white personnel at a military post is not easily solved. It would be a hindrance rather than a help to mix Negroes and whites. Both groups would be more contented if they were alloted to housing areas of their own.

1. With regard to the last item, please indicate how you think the majority of <u>this class</u> would respond. Indicate this class response by circling the appropriate number:

+1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3

2. You have now indicated the response which you think the majority of <u>this class</u> would make to the last item. Now, please indicate how large a percentage of the class this majority constitutes. Circle the appropriate percentage below:

50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

SCALE E

This is an investigation of general public opinion. The following are statements with which some people agree and others disagree. Please mark each one in the left margin, according to the amount of your agreement or disagreement by using the following scale:

+1	slight support, agreement	-1	slight opposition, disagreement
+2	moderate support, agreement	-2	moderate opposition, disagreement
+3	strong support, agreement	-3	strong opposition, disagreement

_____1. Medical schools should restrict the number of Negroes they admit to the number of Negro doctors which society will accept

_____2. Negro musicians are excellent at swing music and jazz, but have demonstrated no capacity for classical music.

_____3. It is best that Negroes should have their own fraternities and sororities, since they have their own particular interests and activities, just as whites get along best in all-white fraternities.

_____4. The Negroes would solve many of their social problems by not being so irresponsible, lazy and ignorant.

_____5. Public institutions such as public schools should admit Negroes and whites, but private schools should have the right to decide for themselves whether they should admit Negroes.

_____6. There is something inherently primitive and uncivilized in the Negro, as shown in his music and extreme aggressiveness.

_____7. A state university should follow a representative policy and not admit more Negroes proportionately than there are Negroes in that state's population.

1. With regard to the last item, please indicate how you think the majority of <u>this</u> <u>class</u> would respond. Indicate this class response by circling the appropriate number:

+1 +2 +3 -1 -2 -3

2. You have indicated the response which you think the majority of <u>this</u> <u>class</u> would make to the last item. Now, please indicate how large a percentage of the class this majority constitutes. Circle the appropriate percentage below:

50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

Public Opinion Questionaire A

This is an investigation of general public opinion. The following are statements with which some people agree and others disagree. Please mark each one in the left margin, according to the amount of your agreement or disagreement by using the following scale.

+1	slight support, agreement	-1	slight opposition, disagreement
+2	moderate support, agreement	-2	moderate opposition, disagreement
+3	strong support, agreement	-3	strong opposition, disagreement

_____1. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
_____2. No weakness or difficulty can hold us back if we have enough willpower.
_____3. Science has its place, but there are many important things that can never possibly be understood by the human mind.
_____4. Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict.
_____5. Every person should have complete faith in some supernatural power whose decisions he obeys without question.
_____6. When a person has a problem or worry, it is best for him not to think about it, but to keep busy with more cheerful things.
_____7. A person who has bad manners, habits, and breeding can hardly expect to get along with decent people.
_____8. What the youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country.
_____9. Some people are born with an urge to jump from high places.
_____10. Nowadays when so many different kinds of people move around and mix together so much, a person has to protect himself especially carefully against catching an infection or disease from them.
_____11. An insult to our honor should always be punished.
_____12. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.
_____13. It is best to use some prewar authorities in Germany to keep order and prevent chaos.
_____14. What this country needs most, more than laws and political progress, is a few courageous, tireless, devoted leaders in whom the people can put their faith.
_____15. Sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped, or worse.
_____16. People can be divided into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong.
_____17. There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.
_____18. Someday it will probably be shown that astrology can explain a lot of things.
_____19. Nowadays more and more people are prying into matters that should remain personal and private.
_____20. Wars and social troubles may someday be ended by an earthquake or flood that will destroy the whole world.
_____21. Most of our social problems would be solved if we could somehow get rid of the immoral, crooked, and feebleminded people.

_____22. The wild sex life of the old Greeks and Romans was tame compared to some of the goings-on in this country, even in places where people might least expect it.

_____23. If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off.

_____24. Most people don't realize how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places.

_____25. Homosexuals are hardly better than criminals and ought to be severely punished.

_____26. The businessman and the manufacturer are much more important to society than the artist and the professor.

_____27. No sane, normal, decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relative.

_____28. Familiarity breeds contempt.

_____29. Nobody ever learned anything really important except through suffering.

_____30. When you come right down to it, its human nature never to do anything without an eye to one's own profit

SCALE B

The question of having Negro as well as white supervisory personnel in business and manufacturing organizations is of considerable and growing significance to many people. This is especially true since it brings up the issue of Negro supervisors in charge of white workers. Consider your own feeling with regard to this issue.

The following statements (a,b,c,d,e,f) are a series of six opinions concerning the issue of having both Negro and white persons performing supervisory activities in the same industrial plant or business concern. This would mean that there could be Negro foremen over white workers. Please rank them: 1,2,3,4,5,6, according to how close they come to representing your own point of view. Place a 1 beside the statement with which you are most in agreement, a 2 beside the statement with which you feel the second greatest amount of agreement, etc. End with a 6 beside the proposal with which you have the least amount of agreement.

_____a. Except in very rare cases, I am completely opposed to having Negroes occupy any positions in business firms or industrial plants which entail in any degree supervision over white workers.

_____b. I am not opposed to the general theory of having Negroes occupy positions in business firms or industrial plants which entail supervision over white workers, but when it comes to applying such a principle I think it is impractical and unworkable.

_____c. I favor the principle of having Negroes occupy positions in business firms or industrial plants which entail supervision over white workers, but I think it is too idealistic and ignores the fact of existing racial animosities in the general public. We should wait until education modifies these prejudices and not use compulsory methods.

_____d. I favor the principle of having Negroes occupy positions in business firms or industrial plants which entail supervision over white workers and I think the principle is a practical one. However, we should not move too hastily in applying the principle throughout the business and industrial world.

_____e. I am completely in favor of having Negroes occupy positions in business firms or industrial plants which entail supervision over white workers and I believe in immediately putting the principle into action throughout the business and industrial world.

_____f. I am completely in favor of having Negroes occupy positions in business firms or industrial plants which entail supervision over white workers. Moreover, I myself would be willing to actively participate in various educational programs which would be designed to change the policy of those business firms or industrial plants who maintain a standing rule of never permitting Negroes to rise above the worker level.

1. Now consider how you think the majority of <u>this</u> <u>class</u> would respond to the above six statements. To which statement would the class majority assign the rank of 1? Indicate this statement by circling the appropriate letter;

a, b, c, d, e, f

2. How large a percentage of the class would this majority constitute. Circle the appropriate percentage below;

50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

Now that you have ranked the above items will you please respond to the following rating scale by placing a check mark at the point along the scale which best typifies the intensity of your feeling about the issue of having Negroes occupy positions in business firms and industrial plants which entail supervision over white workers.

---

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

I am not concerned at all. The intensity of my feeling about this issue is extremely weak.

The intensity of my feeling is rather moderate. I am somewhat interested, somewhat concerned.

My feeling is extremely intense about this issue. I am extremely concerned and interested.

SCALE D

The problem of segregation in the Armed Forces has been of general interest for some time. People differ considerably about what should be done and there is support by many people for each of a number of solutions. The crucial point of controversy is whether the mixing of Negro and white soldiers should extend down to the platoon which is an intimate military unit composed of approximately forty men living within the same barracks room, sharing the same sanitary facilities and eating together in a common mess hall. We should like to know how you feel with respect to this particular issue.

The following statements (a,b,c,d,e,f) are a series of six opinions concerning the issue of Negro-white segregation in the Armed Forces. Please rank them: 1,2,3,4,5,6, according to how close they come to representing your own point of view. Place a 1 beside the statement with which you are most in agreement, a 2 beside the statement with which you feel the second greatest amount of agreement, etc. End with a 6 beside the proposal with which you have the least amount of agreement.

_____a. I am completely opposed to having both Negro and white personnel living within the same military platoon.

_____b. I am opposed to having both Negro and white personnel living within the same military platoon save under very exceptional circumstances.

_____c. I am not opposed to the general principle of having both Negro and white personnel living within the same military platoon but I think it just won't work in practice.

_____d. I favor the principle of having both Negro and white personnel living within the same military platoon but I think it is an ideal which fails to take account of existing attitudes and prejudices. We should first try to solve this problem by education rather than compulsion.

_____e. I favor the principle of having both Negro and white personnel living within the same military platoon and I think it is practical provided that we do not move too rapidly in applying it throughout the military services.

_____f. I am completely in favor of the principle of having both Negro and white personnel living within the same military platoon and I believe we should proceed to put the principle into operation at once in all units of the services.

1. Now consider how you think the majority of <u>this</u> <u>class</u> would respond to the above six statements. To which statement would the class majority assign the rank of 1? Indicate this statement by circling the appropriate letter;

a, b, c, d, e, f

2. How large a porcentage of the class would this majority constitute. Circle the appropriate percentage below;

50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

Now that you have ranked the above items will you please respond to the following rating scale by placing a check mark at the point along the scale which best typifies the intensity of your feeling about the issue of having Negro and white personnel living within the same military platoon.

---

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

I am not concerned at all. The intensity of my feeling about this issue is extremely weak.

The intensity of my feeling is rather moderate. I am somewhat interested, somewhat concerned.

My feeling is extremely intense about this issue. I am extremely concerned and interested.

Discriminative Practices of Ann Arbor Business Proprietors Toward Non-White University Students

For some time it has been known that various service industries in Ann Arbor such as barber shops and restaurants have not offered their facilities for use by non-white students at the university. Measures aimed at changing this state of affairs have been variously proposed with some support for particular lines of action and some support for no action, etc. Consider now your attitude toward this problem.

The following statements (a, b, c, d, e, f) are a series of six opinions concerning the issue of measures aimed at eliminating discriminative practices of Ann Arbor businessmen, such as restaurant and barber shop proprietors, toward non-white university students. Please rank them; 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 according to how close they come to representing your own point of view. Place a 1 beside the statement with which you are most in agreement, a 2 beside the statement with which you feel the second greatest amount of agreement, etc. End with a 6 beside the proposal with which you have the least amount of agreement.

_____a. I am opposed to eliminating discriminative practices on the part of Ann Arbor businessmen, such as barber shop and restaurant proprieters toward non-white university students. Moreover, I would be willing to work with others <u>to prevent</u> any change in the existing situation.

_____b. I favor the <u>idea</u> of eliminating discriminative practices on the part of various Ann Arbor businessmen, such as barber shop and restaurant proprietors toward non-white university students. However, I think it is equally important that the proprietors' <u>freedom to serve</u> whom he pleases be preserved. No <u>action</u> should be taken.

_____c. I favor the <u>idea</u> of eliminating discriminative practices on the part of various Ann Arbor businessmen such as barber shop and restaurant proprietors toward non-white university students. However, I believe that any significant change will not occur <u>for a long time</u> and then only through a process of <u>general education.</u>

_____d. I favor the idea of eliminating discriminatory practices on the part of various Ann Arbor businessmen such as barber shop and restaurant proprietors toward non-white university students. Moreover, I believe that a program of education and persuasion should be immediately begun. However, resort should not be made to <u>compulsory measures</u> such as <u>picketting</u> and <u>boycotting</u>.

_____e. I favor the idea of eliminating discriminative practices on the part of various Ann Arbor businessmen, such as barber shop and restaurant proprietors toward non-white university students. Moreover, I would advocate that a program of action including both educational measures and stronger measures such as picketting and boycotting should be immediately organized.

_____f. I favor the idea of eliminating discriminative practices on the part of various Ann Arbor businessmen, such as barber shop and restaurant proprietors toward non-white university students. Moreover, I would be willing to work with others in a program of action, including both educational measures and stronger measures such as picketting and boycotting.

1. Now consider how you think the majority of <u>this</u> <u>class</u> would respond to the above six statements. To which statement would the class majority assign the rank of 1? Indicate this statement by circling the appropriate letter;

a, b, c, d, e, f

2. How large a percentage of the class would this majority constitute. Circle the appropriate percentage below;

50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

Now that you have ranked the above items will you please respond to the following rating scale by placing a check mark at the point along the scale which best typifies the intensity of your feeling about the issue of discriminative practices on the part of Ann Arbor businessmen such as restaurant and barber shop proprietors toward non-white University students.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
I am not concerned at all, the intensity of my feeling about this issue is extremely weak.				The intensity of my feeling is rather moderate. I am somewhat interested, somewhat concerned.					My feeling is extremely intense about this issue, I am extremely concerned and interested.

Questionaire P

Below are listed ten different groups of persons. Each group is a different profession or occupation in our country. People feel differently as to how important each position is. Please rank the following ten groups according to how much you respect and admire their jobs and value their opinions. Place a (1) beside the occupation which has the greatest amount of prestige for you; place a (2) beside the occupation which has the second greatest amount of prestige for you; end with a (10) beside the occupation that has the least amount of prestige for you.

_____a. social workers

_____b. ministers

_____c. mechanics

_____d. doctors

_____e. professors

_____f. military officers

_____g. bankers

_____h. lawyers

_____i. artists

_____j. business executives

The Michigan Sentence Completion Study

Directions: Please complete in your own words each of the following sentences.

1. I sometimes wondered whether

2. Most women are

3. It is wrong to make people

4. A friend can get in your hair when

5. I need

6. The difference between mom and dad was

7. The most important thing in my life was

8. I despise

9. Compared to boys, girls

10. My home

11. I cannot understand what makes me

12. A man wants a woman who

13. When I think back, I am ashamed that

14. I could hate a person who

15. A sister

16. Mother was all right but

17. As a youth my greatest unfilled emotional need was

18. I am

19. The kind of people who irritate me

20. The thing I want most in my closest friend

21. I sometimes hated father because

22. I suffer most from

23. I couldn't get along without

24. Love

25. The dirtiest thing a woman can do to a man

26. When I felt that others were doing better, I

27. When he struck me in the face

28. I failed when

29. As a youth I became attached to people who

30. Because of mom, I

31. I am afraid

32. He hated her when

33. One must never

34. When I am criticized for my behavior, I

35. I could murder a man who

36. The kind of people I like most are

37. It makes me nervous to

38. Although he loves her, she

39. The worst thing a man can do to a woman

40. When praised for my behavior, I

41. My greatest fault

42. I used to feel "down in the dumps" when

43. To get along well in a group, you have to

44. I have to watch what I say when

45. A brother

46. I feel very close to people who

47. I liked Dad when

48. My greatest ambition is

49. I was happiest when

50. When people push me around

APPENDIX B:

Contents

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Instructions for Cognitive Restructuring Condition 77

Booklet of materials administered for Cognitive Restructuring Condition 78

INSTRUCTIONS FOR SECOND ADMINISTRATION

Please read the following directions to your class before distributing the booklets called "College Study of Examination Questions." These directions will serve as a cover story of the change procedure, and should therefore be given a fair amount of emphasis in the usual experimentally orthodox style.

"At the present time, a committee of interested faculty members is conducting research into the nature of typical college examination questions. The ultimate aim of this research is to discover the optimal variety and quantity of examination questions.

The present focus is on the relative merits and deficiencies of multiple choice as compaired with essay type questions. Some of the hypotheses to be tested are: What is the correlation between student performance on essay type questions and performance on multiple choice questions, when both are based on exactly the same material, and when time is controlled? Do essay questions serve better than multiple choice questions in measuring knowledge of given subject matter? How do multiple choice questions differ from essay questions in measuring a student's understanding of, and ability to apply course content?

The answers to these and other questions are of considerable significance to both instructors and students and the results of this study, when available, will be distributed throughout the Literary School. In order to test these hypotheses, the following design will be followed in today's class: Booklets containing typical college level material will be distributed to you, and you will have approximately a half an hour to study the contents, and to answer a number of multiple choice and essay questions which are found at the close of the reading selection. Some of these questions are of the direct information type, while others are of the application type. You should not look at the questions until you have carefully read and studied the selection.

In case it should be necessary to repeat the procedure at a later time, we should like you to use a code number which will help us to keep the papers straight. This code consists of the day on which you were born, followed by the numbers in your <u>permanent</u> home residence. Thus, if you were born on October 14, and live at 136 Houston Street, your code would obviously be 14-136. I shall now distribute the booklets, and wish to thank you for your cooperation in this investigation of the relative effectiveness of multiple choice and essay questions in measuring information and understanding of typical college level material."

Would you please check to see that each student has entered his code number before turning in his booklet. Also, it's important <u>not</u> to carry on a class discussion about the reading selection. Thanks again for your cooperation in carrying out this experiment and putting over the cover story.

P.S. Would you please ask your students not to discuss this research either in or out of class, since this would interfere with the study of the relative effectiveness of multiple choice and essay questions.

CODE NO.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

RESEARCH ON COLLEGE EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

Habits, our customary ways of doing things, have many advantages. They are adjustments to our world which require little conscious thought and so permit us to give uncritical attention to other matters while we let the habit take care of coordinating our movements. This uncritical nature of habits does have one great disadvantage which is especially noticeable in the area of beliefs and attitudes. We often fail to check our habitual ways of thinking and doing against the world of reality. Thus, the traditional beliefs and attitudes we acquire during childhood may have the disadvantage of being carried along on too uncritical a basis. This is one reason why we come to regard our own attitudes and behavior as normal and universally appropriate. We come to accept our own customs and ideas as natural and inevitable. And in the same way people in other societies see their own patterns of behavior as proper, civilized and normal, and scoff at our customs.

To appreciate how much our well-established beliefs may not necessarily be the only way of dealing with the world nor even the most appropriate, it is interesting to look at other societies. Their ways of dealing with their friends, their children, their old people, may seem strange to us at first glance, and in some cases they hardly seem like good adjustments. Yet in other instances they raise real questions about the validity of some of our own customs.

Societies, for example, vary greatly in the treatment of children. In England until 100 years ago the rod was widely used as an essential part of the child's education and, even today, parents are generally regarded as having the right to punish their children in moderation when they seem to deserve it. There are some societies, however, which regard any form of physical punishment as definitely inhuman. The Eskimos

consider that White people do not deserve to have children since they are so heartless as to strike them; and in New Guinea some native villagers once almost killed a White trader for spanking his own child. In other societies we find examples of what we would consider extremely harsh treatment towards children on the part of their parents. Many peoples, for instance, are in the habit of selling their children. The Botocudo in South Africa are often willing to trade their children to the Brazilians; in the Upper Congo children are surrendered in the payment of debt; and among the Aztecs they were sold as slaves. If we should travel to other cultures we would see a variety of different mother-child relations and expectancies. There seems to be little attachment between mother and child in the Murray Islands of the Torres Straits because of the prevalence of adoption. Here it is customary to adopt the child of another, sometimes before the child is born, and it is customary in these cases to keep the child ignorant of his real parents. Even after reaching adult life the child will give the name of his adopted father. It is reported that on the Adaman Islands it is a rare occurrence to find a child above the age of six or seven residing with its own parents, "because it is considered a compliment and also a mark of friendship for a married man, after paying a visit, to ask his hosts to allow him to adopt one of their children." The foster parents treat their adopted children with exactly the same kindness and consideration as their own.

It is also of interest to note that in ancient China the concept of maternity was radically distinct from the ties of blood. Family life was based upon the principle that there can be only one wife, and therefore only one mother. In consequence, all of the children of the

secondary wives were regarded as the off-spring of the principal wife, and to her alone they paid the respect due to a mother. She received the title of mother, while the blood mothers were "aunts" to all children alike. In order for a woman to have a son, therefore, it was not necessary to bring a child into the world; it was enough to be first wife, and for the second wife to have a son. If, for one reason or another, the first wife was repudiated, all the children called her successor "mother."

Thus different cultures produce numerous patterns of mother-child relationships. What is considered as normal in one society may be considered improper in another.

In the area of personal disputes we also find a wide range of socially approved patterns of behaviors bewteen various cultures. The Indians of Santa Marta in Colombia are peaceable and carry no weapons. When there is a grievance between two of them they go to a rock or a large tree, each one carrying a stick, and they strike ardently at the tree or rock, uttering a multitude of insulting words until one cracks or breaks his stick. To this one is accredited the victory, his enemy recognizing him as the braver. Embracing, they return to their homes, renewing their friendship and drinking. Among the Crow Indians personal brawls were looked upon with contempt, and a man would readily imperil his social position and invite public derision by engaging in fisticuffs with a fellow tribesman.

When a dispute happens to arise among the Eskimo, they will frequently arrange to have a public duel or contest of a special kind. The contestants appear before the little village community and sing satirical and abusive songs about each other, each one trying to humble

and ridicule his enemy in the eyes of the judges. The victory goes to the one who sings the more effective song. Occasionally it may be necessary for the contest to be renewed a number of times before the matter is settled and in the intervening period the two "enemies" are on perfectly friendly terms.

These examples indicate that beliefs and customs may not always be rational and appropriate solutions for the problems facing a society. Ideas and practices which may originally have had some basis in fact can become part of the social heritage and can be maintained long after there is any real utility to them. There are so many unconscious habits whose owners are not aware of their real nature. Take the classic instance of men walking on the outside or street side when accompanying women. Originally this served the purpose of protecting the women from the 18th century British scheme of garbage disposal, namely, throwing it into the street from the windows of the upper stories. The habit of men walking on the street side has persisted as the correct procedure, even after the removal of the original cause.

It would be a mistake to conclude, however, that all beliefs and practices are considered right or wrong, proper or improper, on the accidental basis of what happens to get into the approved pattern of a culture. Some of the values and customs of a society may have no natural basis but others may reflect a good adjustment to the realities of the situation. The medicine men in some primitive African tribes gave small quantities of snake poison during initiation ceremonies to the incoming members of the craft. This successfully built up their resistance to snake bites and gave the medicine men special immunity. This

was of first importance to the medicine men since they had to handle snakes during tribal ceremonies.

In advanced cultures our patterns of behavior, our customs and our beliefs are often in the process of gradual change to accord with changing conditions.

Practices appropriate to a small agricultural country are not necessarily appropriate to a large industrialized nation. Even the liberal arts college has seen changes from the classical education of the English pattern, in the direction of the needs of a democratic society and a mechanical age. In England the liberal arts college of the early 1800's had the function of educating gentlemen's sons for their role in society. One aspect of this role was a smattering of classical learning to put them above the common herd. Within the past fifty years, the American college has been drastically changed to give a much greater place to science and practical studies.

The basic problem then is to see to what extent our beliefs, values, and customs are realistic solutions to our difficulties and to what extent they are cultural heritages of an accidental and irrational character. In social science we no longer justify a belief as valid because it is a majority belief or because our fathers accepted it. The natural sciences would never have made any progress if they had accepted this limitation. We would still believe the world was flat. We need to examine the factual basis of our beliefs and see whether present facts justify our ideas. Some of our "sacred" beliefs may rest upon inadequate foundations and may fail to take into account the most relevant facts.

Our attitudes toward other races and peoples need to be examined on this basis. We have often assumed that other groups were inferior to us either mentally, morally or socially, and so deserved a treatment other than that accorded our own kind. But the facts of history and anthropology show no justification for the belief in the inherited inferiority of races. History proves that progress in civilization is not the monopoly of one race or sub-race. When our White forebears in Europe were rude stone-age primitives, the civilizations of the Babylonians and the Egyptians had already flourished and been eclipsed. There were great Negro states in Africa when Europe was a sparsely settled forest. Negroes made iron tools and wove fine cloth for their clothing when fair-skinned Europeans wore skins and knew nothing of iron.

When Europe was just emerging from the Middle Ages, Marco Polo visited China and found there a great civilization, the like of which he had never imagined. Europe was a frontier country in those days, compared with China.

Since the beginning of history an unusual collection of fortunate circumstances have been present among one race, sometimes among another. Up to now, every great center of civilization has had its day and has given place to others. The proud rulers of yesterday become the simple peasants of another era. The crude people who once threatened the great cities become later the kings and emperors in the same country. The people change, but the old arts of life are, for the most part, not permanently lost. They pass into the common heritage of mankind.

Out attitudes toward other races and peoples are in the process of change to accord with the realities of our democratic society. Old beliefs about Negroes, for example, were a function of their inferior

status, first as slaves, then as menial and unskilled workers. The picture of Negroes as ignorant, superstitious, dirty, emotional, naive, and primitive goes back to the time when they were denied a chance to learn to read or write, when they lived in miserable hovels, when disease rates were high and when they were restricted to occupations requiring brawn rather than brains. Without opportunities for education or cultural development their emotional life may have been more primitive in experience than that of the Whites. But as educational and economic opportunities have become available they have shown remarkable progress in meeting White standards of cleanliness, health, economic well-being, literacy, and professional achievement. Some of the facts which follow indicate the long way Negroes have come since the time they occupied the lowest rung on the social ladder. They indicate, moreover, that as opportunities are extended to Negroes in democratic fashion, Negroes become indistinguishable from Whites in their values, their ways of behaving, their accomplishments—in fact, in everything but their skin color and physical characteristics.

The past 75 years have seen tremendous gains by Negroes in raising their general educational level and in narrowing the differences between themselves and Whites. In 1870, 81 per cent of the Negro population was illiterate, as compared to 11 per cent of the White population. Gradually, this illiteracy has been reduced until, in 1946, it had dropped to only 10 per cent for the Negro population and 5 per cent for the White. In some three generations, a people, previously denied educational opportunities, has reduced its illiteracy from 78 to 10 per cent of its population.

A corresponding change can be seen in school attendance over the years. In 1850 only 2 per cent of the Negroes between the ages of 5 and 20 were in school, compared to 52 per cent of the Whites. In 1940, however, there were 65 per cent of the Negroes in this age group in school, and the figure for the White group had increased to about 72 per cent. Thus, in one hundred years the picture had completely changed for the Negro group. In 1850 the Negro attending school was a great exception, and even until 1900 only a minority of the age group between 5 and 20 were in school. By 1940 this had become the pattern for the majority of Negroes.

In the same way the percentage of the Negro population in the professions (law, medicine, engineering, teaching) has doubled in the last fifty years. In 1890 it was 1.2 per cent, and in 1940 it was 2.5 per cent. Thus, even at the top level of professional employment there has been great progress toward meeting the White norms, and we can expect to see even more progress in the years to come.

The same story is told in the figures dealing with health standards. Two of the most significant indicators of the health standards of a group are the life expectancy rates and the mortality rate at birth. In 1900 the life expectancy of the Negro male at birth was only 33 years. Today it is 58 years. This is still less than the expectancy for White males (65 years) but the gap between Negro and White males has been slowly closing. Similarly, the Negro female at birth has a life expectancy of 62 years (1946 figures), whereas in 1840 the expectancy was only 35 years. The infant mortality rates for Negroes and Whites have both decreased markedly since 1900. The Negro rate, however, has declined more rapidly. Even though Whites show fewer deaths, the rates

for the two groups are now fairly close, whereas in 1900 they showed great differences. In brief, as educational and economic opportunities have become available, Negroes have improved their health, their educational, and their economic status. There is still not complete equality of opportunity in all fields, but Negro contributions in the arts are well known. In the area of science and invention where opportunities for Negroes have been limited by social and economic conditions, there have still been notable contributions; the names of Professor Ernest Just, of Professor Henry Turner, and of Dr. Parsons are well known. In the area of public life, Negroes have been represented by such distinguished persons as Ralph Bunche, Adam Clayton Powell, and Walter White. Bunche is noted for his contributions to the United Nations, especially for his competent handling of the critical Palestine question.

The old belief about Negroes as an inferior group, by nature ignorant, superstitious, dirty, primitive, no longer has any basis in fact. Such beliefs come from a time when Negroes were not full-fledged citizens in our democracy, from a time when educational and economic opportunities were denied to them. Today they show the same essential characteristics as do the Whites. Individuals differ, whether we deal with Whites or Negroes, and these individual differences, rather than differences attributed to skin color, are the only important differences which should concern us.

.....

MULTIPLE CHOICE AND ESSAY QUESTIONS

Now that you have completed the reading of the article, we should like you to answer the following multiple choice and essay questions, some of which are of the direct information type and some of which are of the application type. In attempting to answer these questions please do not refer back to the reading selection. You will probably be able to complete all questions in about five minutes, but you will be allowed up to a maximum of eight minutes. Once more, we should like to thank you for your cooperation in this study of the relative effectiveness of multiple choice and essay questions for measuring knowledge and understanding of typical college level material.

1. INSTRUCTIONS: Circle the letter corresponding to the one best alternative.

   1. Which of the following is (are) correct? (a) In 1870 the illiteracy rate for Negroes was about 80%, in 1946 the illiteracy rate was about 10%. (b) Between 1850 and 1940 Negro school attendance rose from about 2% to about 65%. (c) The percentage of Negroes in the professions (law, medicine, engineering, teaching) has doubled in the last 50 years. (d) The United Nations' outstanding mediator, Dr. Ralph Bunche, and the great American historian, Prof. Henry Turner, are both Negroes. (e) All of the above are correct.

   2. From knowing only that a given person has a particular skin color, a scientist or other objectively minded individual (a) can predict what intellectual level that person has reached and what level he cannot exceed in the future (b) can accurately predict the person's attitude toward almost any behavior (c) can state with certainty whether or not that person will be socially acceptable (d) can do all of the above (e) can do none of the above.

   3. An important conclusion drawn in the above article is that (a) civilization is the monopoly of one race (b) white-skinned persons have throughout each period of history been the leaders of civilization (c) Negro states in Africa have never passed beyond the stone age level (d) there is no relationship between the skin color of a group of persons, and the level of civilization, industrial organization, and artistic achievement which that group may attain.

   4. One basic conclusion drawn in the reading selection is that (a) there is a universal agreement among all societies as to what is considered proper behavior (b) the educational and health standards of Negroes have shown little change in the past 100 years (c) our beliefs and values should be determined by past rather than present conditions (d) what is considered proper behavior in one society may be considered as improper in other societies.

II. INSTRUCTIONS: Now, please answer the following essay questions. Note that Part A attempts to measure information, while Part B is of the application type.

A. State in your own words what you consider to be the most significant conclusion reached in the above article.

B. Discuss at least two important applications or implications of the above conclusions which relate to your own personal experience or personal outlook.

APPENDIX C:

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INSTRUCTIONS FOR SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

The following instructions will be read by the Psychology 31 instructors to their sections before giving them the Authoritarian Suggestion booklet, and will also appear in part as the introductory page of this booklet.

"The Research Institute, in cooperation with the College Study Bureau, is asking a number of Literary School classes to participate in an investigation of memory processes. Today, our class will be taking part in this study.

The special focus of this investigation is concerned with the comparative retention of graphical and non-graphical materials over short and long periods of time. The overall plan consists of a 15 - minute study of the material to be learned, followed by a 30 minute period of regular class activity, and then a 5 minute study of the amount that is recognized and the amount that can be recalled. Finally, a repeat measure of the amount retained will be given later in this semester.

In order that the results may be of maximum use, we have selected materials which, while not limited to the specific course content, are yet already familiar to you and which will be of some interest to you. These materials have been supplied by the Social Science Foundation and consist of a report of research conducted into the beliefs and attitudes of business executives and military leaders. The Social Science Foundation had asked these two groups how they felt about a particular problem of interest to them, and also asked them to respond to a number of attitude scales dealing with the problem. The booklet which I will shortly give you contains a summary report of the feelings of these business executives and military leaders and a number of graphs showing their responses to the attitude scales. Experience with other classes has shown that this booklet holds considerable interest for most students.

You will have about 15 minutes to study both the graphical and non-graphical materials. At the end of this time the booklets will be collected and regular class work will ensue. Approximately ten minutes before the end of the hour you will be given the retention measures. Since the research is concerned with group results and not with individual results you will not be asked to supply your name or other personal identification. However, in order to make possible the comparison of present retention with the amount retained over a longer time period, it will be necessary for you to write in a code symbol on the Memory Measure. This will consist of the day on which you were born, followed by the house number of your <u>permanent</u> residence. Thus, if you were born on the 23rd of July and your permanent home residence is 617 Maple St., your code symbol would obviously be 23-617. I will now distribute the booklets and you should begin right away."

Approximately 5 to 10 minutes before the end of the class hour, the instructor should say, "We'll have to stop now and continue the research on memory processes. The booklet which I will now distribute will measure how much you have retained."

I would appreciate it if you would check to see that each student has entered his code number before turning in the Memory Measure.. Would you please also ask your students not to discuss the material with other students in or out of class, since this would interfere with the study of memory being carried out. Thanks again for your help in this experiment and in carrying off the cover story.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE

STUDY OF MEMORY PROCESSES

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The Research Institute, in cooperation with the College Study Bureau, is asking a number of Literary school classes to participate in an investigation of memory processes. Today, your class will be taking part in this study.

The special focus of this investigation is concerned with the comparative retention of graphical and non-graphical materials over short and long periods of time. The overall plan consists of a 15-minute study of the material to be learned, followed by a 30 minute period of regular class activity, and then a 5 minute study of the amount that is recognized and the amount that can be recalled. Finally, a repeat measure of the amount retained will be given later in this semester.

In order that the results may be of maximum use, we have selected materials which, while not limited to the specific course content, is yet already familiar to you and which will be of some interest to you. These materials have been supplied by the Social Science Foundation and consist of a report of research conducted into the beliefs and attitudes of business executives and military leaders. The Social Science Foundation had asked these two groups how they felt about a particular problem of interest to them, and also requested them to respond to a number of attitude scales dealing with the problem. This booklet contains a summary report of the feelings of these business executives and military leaders and a number of graphs showing their responses to the attitude scales. Experience with other classes has shown that this booklet holds considerable interest for most students.

You will have about 15 minutes to study both the graphical and non-graphical materials. At the end of this time, the booklets will be collected and regular class work will ensue. Approximately ten minutes before the end of the hour you will be given the retention measures. Since the research is concerned with group results and not with individual results you will not be asked to supply your name or other personal identification. However, in order to make possible the comparison of present retention with the amount retained over a longer period of time, it will be necessary for you to write in a code symbol on the Memory Measure. This will consist of the day on which you were born, followed by the house number of your <u>permanent</u> residence. Thus, if you were born on the 23rd of July and your <u>permanent</u> home residence is 617 Maple St., your code symbol would obviously be 23-617. Please begin now to study the contents of this booklet.

Thank you very much for your cooperation in this investigation of memory processes.

SUMMARY REPORT O. BUSINESS EXECUTIVES POSITION ON ATTITUDE TOWARD NEGROES SCALE.

When the Social Science Research Foundation first gave the scale printed below to business administrators, exhaustive interviews were held to ascertain the basis on which each executive made his particular rating of the items in Scales A and B. The following is a summary statement of the majority opinions obtained in the course of these interviews.

These businessmen indicated that they determined their own position on the attitude toward Negro scales in relationship to their primary goals as business and manufacturing leaders. They agreed that the basic goal was the maintenance and advancement of the free enterprise profit system, in which the greater the profit of the organization as a whole, the greater the profit of the workers in that organization; and in which maximum profit could be achieved through increased production, greater efficiency and heightened competition among individual workers. In brief, it was their fundamental contention that workers should be rewarded for productive effort and that segregation and discrimination prevented the full operation of rewards and promotions in the American incentive system. Moreover, the most efficient organization is one based upon units which take into account productive skills and technical abilities rather than religion and race.

These top-level administrators felt that just as segregation practices on the job are simply incompatible with the American incentive system, so likewise is any discriminative practice away from the job. From years of responsible experience they know that there is an essential unity between the quality of a worker's job performance and his activities at home, in church worship, in recreation and social life. To the extent that a worker is denied opportunities in any of these areas, his production level will be seriously reduced and he just won't be able to pull his load. As far as executives are concerned, segregation and discrimination on or off the job simply do not belong in the American free enterprise system. All other reasons notwithstanding, they agreed that the health of the American economy with its system of rewards and promotions for productive skills must not be threatened by segregation of workers either in or out of the plant.

The attitudes of these business executives may be summarized as follows:

1. They indicated that their basic goals, as business and manufacturing leaders, was the maintenance and advancement of the free enterprise profit system, in which the greater the profit of the organization as a whole, the greater the profit of the workers in that organization; and in which maximum profit could be achieved through increased production, greater efficiency and heightened competition among individual workers.

2. It was their fundamental contention that workers should be rewarded

for productive effort and that segregation and discrimination prevented the full operation of rewards and promotions in the American incentive system.

3. Our American incentive system is based on working units which take into account productive skills and technical ability, rather than religion and race.

4. Knowing the essential unity between a worker's job performance and his activities at home, in church worship, in recreation and social life, these businessmen felt that just as segregation practices on the job are incompatible with the American incentive system, so likewise is any discriminative practice away from the job.

5. All other reasons notwithstanding, they agreed that the health of our American economy, with its system of rewards and promotions for productive skills must not be threatened by segregation of workers, either in or out of the plant.

SCALE A

This is an investigation of general public opinion. The following are statements with which some people agree and others disagree. Please mark each one in the left margin, according to the amount of your agreement or disagreement by using the following scale;

+1	slight support, agreement	-1	slight opposition, disagreement
+2	moderate support, agreement	-2	moderate opposition, disagreement
+3	strong support, agreement	-3	strong opposition, disagreement

_____1. Property owners are justified in excluding Negroes from their restricted areas to the extent that admission of Negroes would depress property values.

_____2. In most cases, it would be best not to place Negroes as foremen over white workers since the average wage-earner is not yet ready to accept Negroes as leaders and would not accord them proper respect.

_____3. The people who raise all the talk about putting Negroes on the same level as whites and giving them the same priviliges are mostly radical agitators trying to stir up conflicts.

_____4. It is a good idea to have some restaurants and hotels from which Negroes are excluded.

_____5. Negroes feel more comfortable in jobs which do not require a high level of skill and responsibility.

_____6. While Negroes and whites might on the surface pretend to welcome interracial church services, it is only fair and honest to recognize that both groups underneath it all feel quite disturbed and would really prefer separate services, free from tensions.

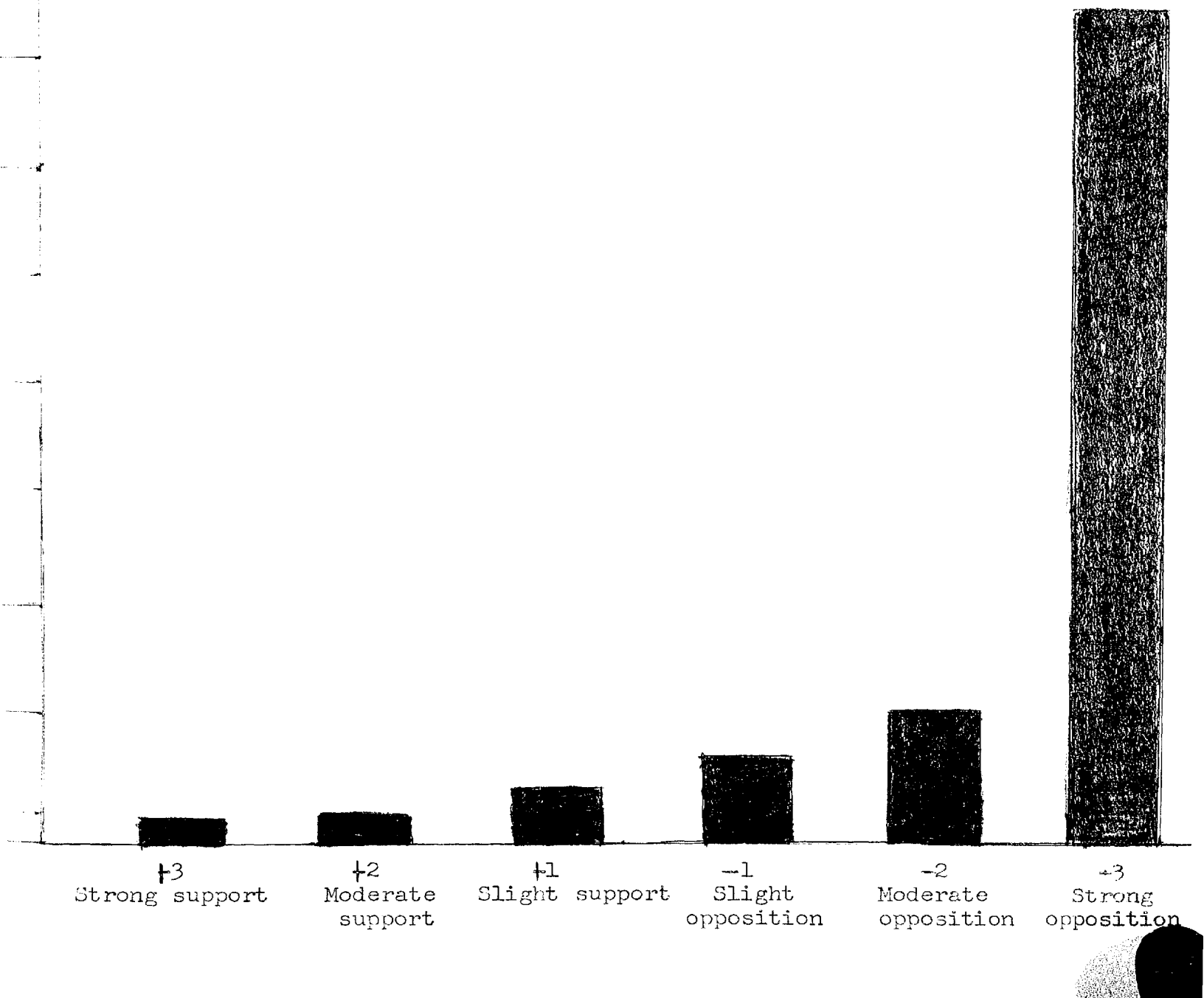
_____7. While it is a good idea to have the same recreational facilities open to both Negroes and whites, we cannot achieve this goal immediately. For the present, such facilities as swimming pools should not be available to whites and Negroes at the same time.

_____8. Negroes feel more comfortable in jobs where they do not have to compete with whites.



BAR GRAPH FOR SCALE A

BUSINESS EXECUTIVES RESPONSE TO SCALE A



SCALE B

The question of having Negro as well as white supervisory personnel in business and manufacturing organizations is of considerable and growing significance to many people. This is especially true since it brings up the issue of Negro supervisors in charge of white workers. Consider your own feeling with regard to this issue.

The following statements (a,b,c,d,e,f) are a series of six opinions concerning the issue of having both Negro and white persons performing supervisory activities in the same industrial plant or business concern. This would mean that there could be Negro foremen over white workers. Please rank them: 1,2,3,4,5,6 according to how close they come to representing your own point of view. Place a 1 beside the statement with which you are most in agreement, a 2 beside the statement with which you feel the second greatest amount of agreement, etc. End with a 6 beside the proposal with which you have the least amount of agreement.

_____a. Except in very rare cases, I am completely opposed to having Negroes occupy any positions in business firms or industrial plants which entail in any degree supervision over white workers.

_____b. I am not opposed to the general theory of having Negroes occupy positions in business firms or industrial plants which entail supervision over white workers, but when it comes to applying such a principle I think it is impractical and unworkable.

_____c. I favor the principle of having Negroes occupy positions in business firms or industrial plants which entail supervision over white workers, but I think it is too idealistic and ignores the fact of existing racial animosities in the general public. We should wait until education modifies these prejudices and not use compulsory methods.

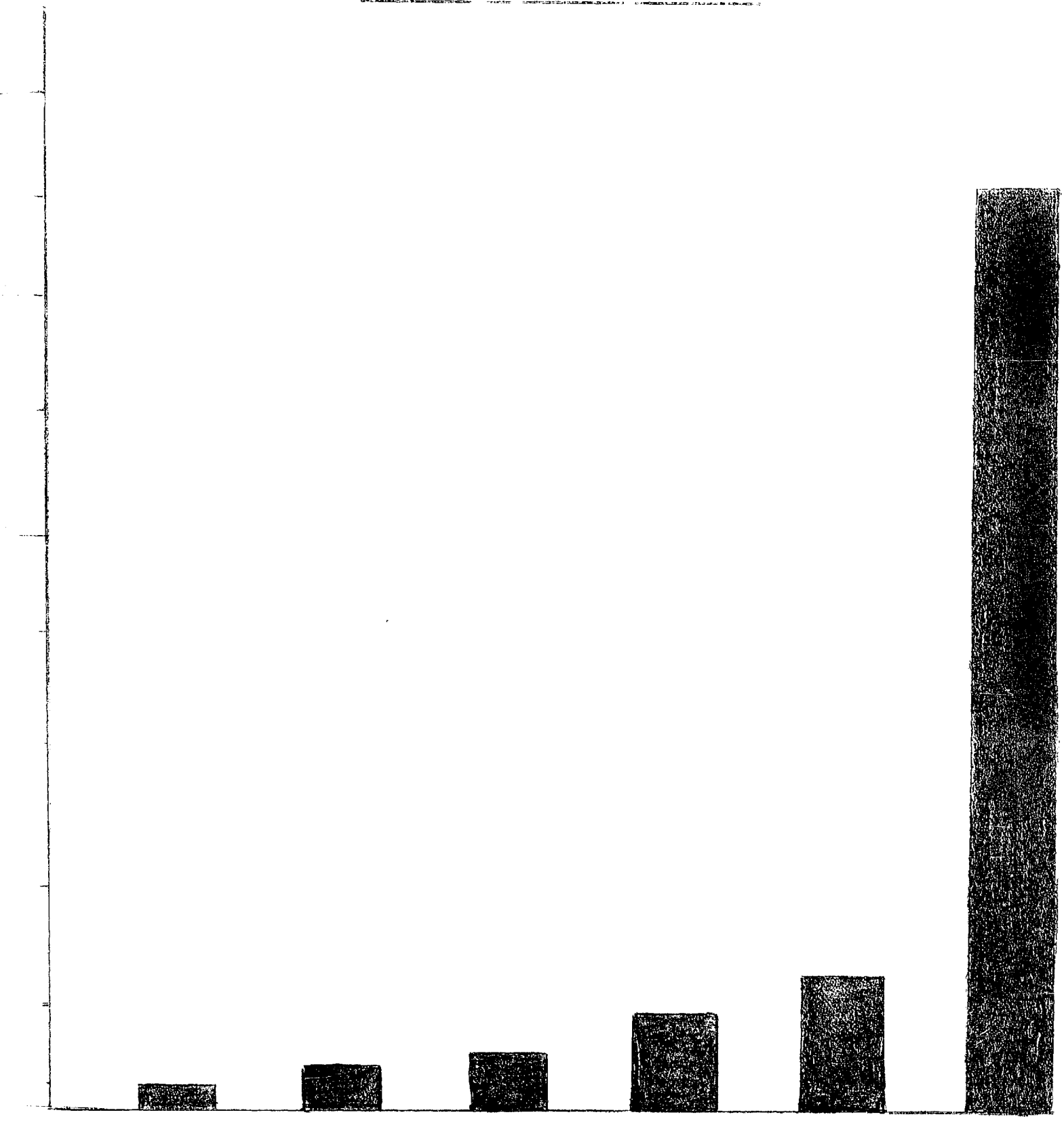
_____d. I favor the principle of having Negroes occupy positions in business firms or industrial plants which entail supervision over white workers and I think the principle is a practical one. However, we should not move too hastily in applying the principle throughout the business and industrial world.

_____e. I am completely in favor of having Negroes occupy positions in business firms or industrial plants which entail supervision over white workers and I believe in immediately putting the principle into action throughout the business and industrial world.

_____f. I am completely in favor of having Negroes occupy positions in business firms or industrial plants which entail supervision over white workers. Moreover, I myself would be willing to actively participate in various educational programs which would be designed to change the policy of those business firms or industrial plants who maintain a standing rule of never permitting Negroes to rise above the worker level.

BAR GRAPH FOR SCALE B

Responses of Business Executives



a
completely opposed to Negro supervisors

b

c

d

e

f
completely in favor of Negro supervisors

SUMMARY REPORT OF MILITARY LEADERS POSITION ON THE NEGRO-WHITE SEGREGATION PROBLEM

The following paragraphs contain the essence of how military leaders questioned by the Social Science Research Foundation, at the time when they responded to the scale printed below, viewed the problem of Negro-White relations in the armed forces of the United States

The overwhelming majority of military commanders at all levels reported that they examined the segregation problem not in relation to their preferences as private persons, but rather in relation to their official position within a chain of command, the general objective of which was to utilize and deploy their forces in such a way as to maximally guarantee the execution of the policies of the American people. Their objective was and is to build and maintain the most efficient and most highly organized military machine to serve in defense of our country.

It was their considered judgement that efficiency of military organization necessitates a reliable network of communication channels for the purpose of issuing orders down the various levels of command and that segregation policies could only interfere with the smoothness of communication and only serve to confuse administrative orders for troop deployment and maneuver all along the chain of command. In addition, these military leaders agreed that segregation even at the level of platoons would prevent integration and work against the most effective functioning of the army as a unit.

Furthermore, the strength of a military organization in or out of combat cannot be separated from the strength of its component units, or ultimately from the quality of the individual enlisted man or officer. In order to guarantee such quality it is absolutely essential that the abilities and capacities of each raw recruit be scientifically analyzed so that no man who is potentially officer material is prevented, on the basis of color, from making his contribution to the overall military effort. This principle of careful selection is especially important in view of the inescapable numerical inferiority which characterizes American military forces as compared to those of potential enemies. We cannot afford to waste any manpower in organizing our military defenses.

With regard to manpower utilization, these military commanders felt that the maintainence of morale is crucial. Therefore it is necessary to prevent any discriminative practices toward any military personnel, white or Negro, in or out of the military camp. Thus, they highly disapproved of segregation and discrimination practices in housing, restaurants, recreation, etc. Their attitude can be summarized as follows:

1. Segregation and discrimination interfere with clear communication of orders along the chain of command.

2. Segregation and discrimination prevent the best utilization of our manpower and they block the selection of qualified officers.

3. Segregation and discrimination prevent integration and work against the most effective functioning of the army as a unit.

4. Segregation and discrimination in housing and recreation seriously lower morale.

SCALE C

This is an investigation of general public opinion. The following are statements with which some people agree and others disagree. Please mark each one in the left margin, according to the amount of your agreement or disagreement by using the following scale:

+1	slight support, agreement	-1	slight opposition, disagreement
+2	moderate support, agreement	-2	moderate opposition, disagreement
+3	strong support, agreement	-3	strong opposition, disagreemsnt

_____1. Just as there is a Catholic War Veterans organization and a Jewish War Veterans organization, it would be a good idea to have a separate Negro War Veterans organization.

_____2. Before the quota restrictions on admission of Negro enlisted men into Officer Candidate Schools are removed, it would be most judicious to carry out an unbiased investigation of the relative effectiveness of Negro officers, both in and out of military combat.

_____3. Negroes should not be admitted to the staff of military hospitals. White patients lack the confidence in the competence and training of Negro doctors.

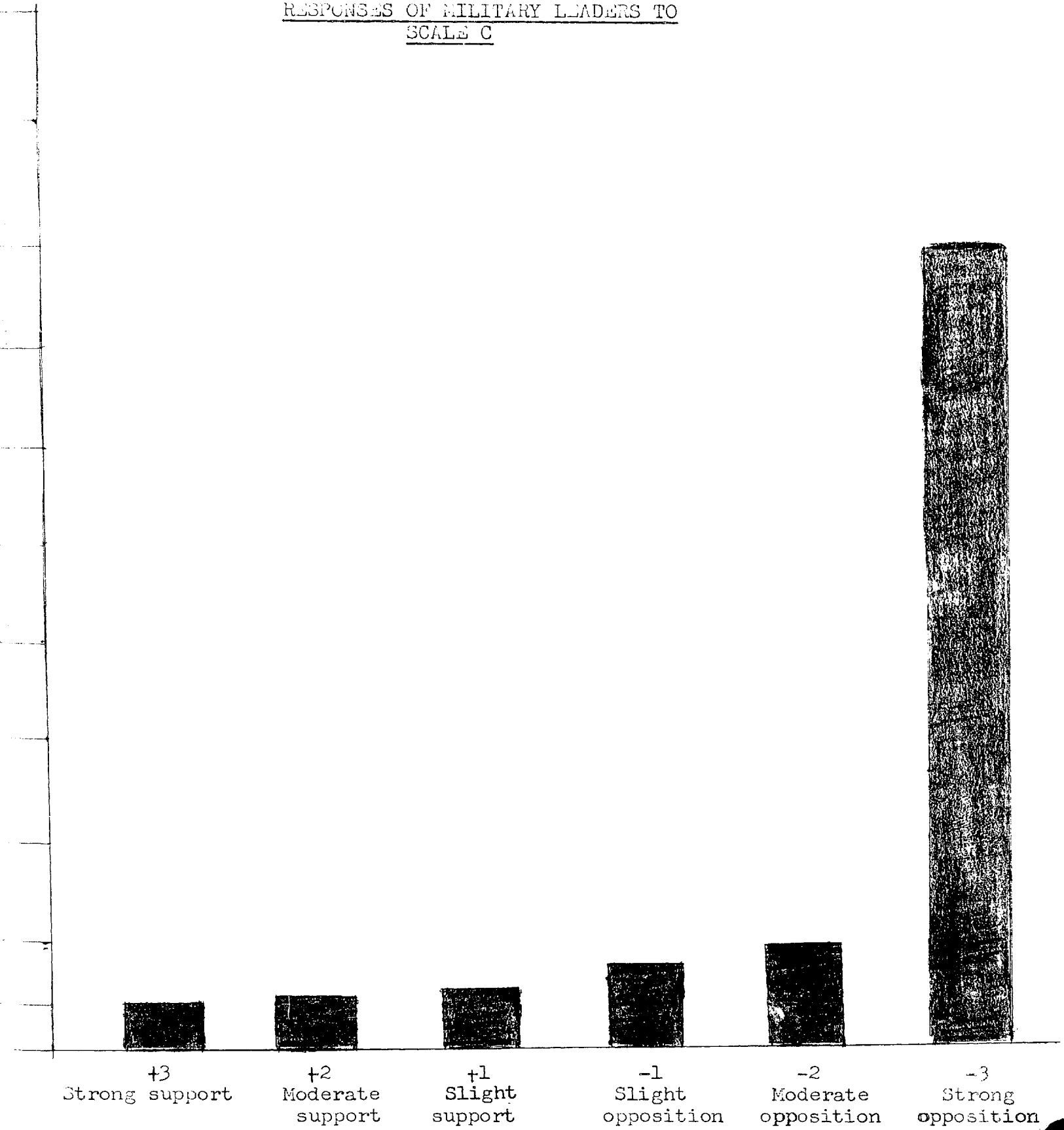
_____4. While the principle of non-segregation in the armed forces is acceptable, we should proceed with great caution when it comes to applying the principle. Otherwise, it may provoke unnecessary racial antagonisms.

_____5. Since the USO and other recreational organizations are supported by public funds, they should admit both Negro and white military personnel. By the same token, restaurants, hotels and recreational businesses which are owned by private individuals should be permitted to serve whom they like.

_____6. The problem of housing the families of Negro and white personnel at a military post is not easily solved. It would be a hindrance rather than a help to mix Negroes and whites. Both groups would be more content if they were alloted to housing areas of their own.

BAR GRAPH FOR SCALE C

RESPONSES OF MILITARY LEADERS TO SCALE C



SCALE D

The problem of segregation in the Armed Forces has been of general interest for some time. People differ considerably about what should be done and there is support by many psople for each of a number of solutions. The crucial point of controversy is whether the mixing of Negro and white soldiers should extend down to the platoon which is an intimate military unit composed of approximately forty men living within the same barracks room, sharing the same sanitary facilities and eating together in a common mess hall. We should like to know how you feel with respect to this particular issue.

The following statements (a,b,c,d,e,f) are a series of six opinions concerning the issue of Negro-white segregation in the Armed Forces. Please rank them: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 according to how close they come to representing your own point of view. Place a 1 beside the statement with which you are most in agreement, a 2 beside the statement with which you feel the second greatest amount of agreement, etc. End with a 6 beside the proposal with which you have the least amount of agreement.

_____a. I am completely opposed to having both Negro and white personnel living within the same military platoon.

_____b. I am opposed to having both Negro and white personnel living within the same military platoon save under very exceptional circumstances.

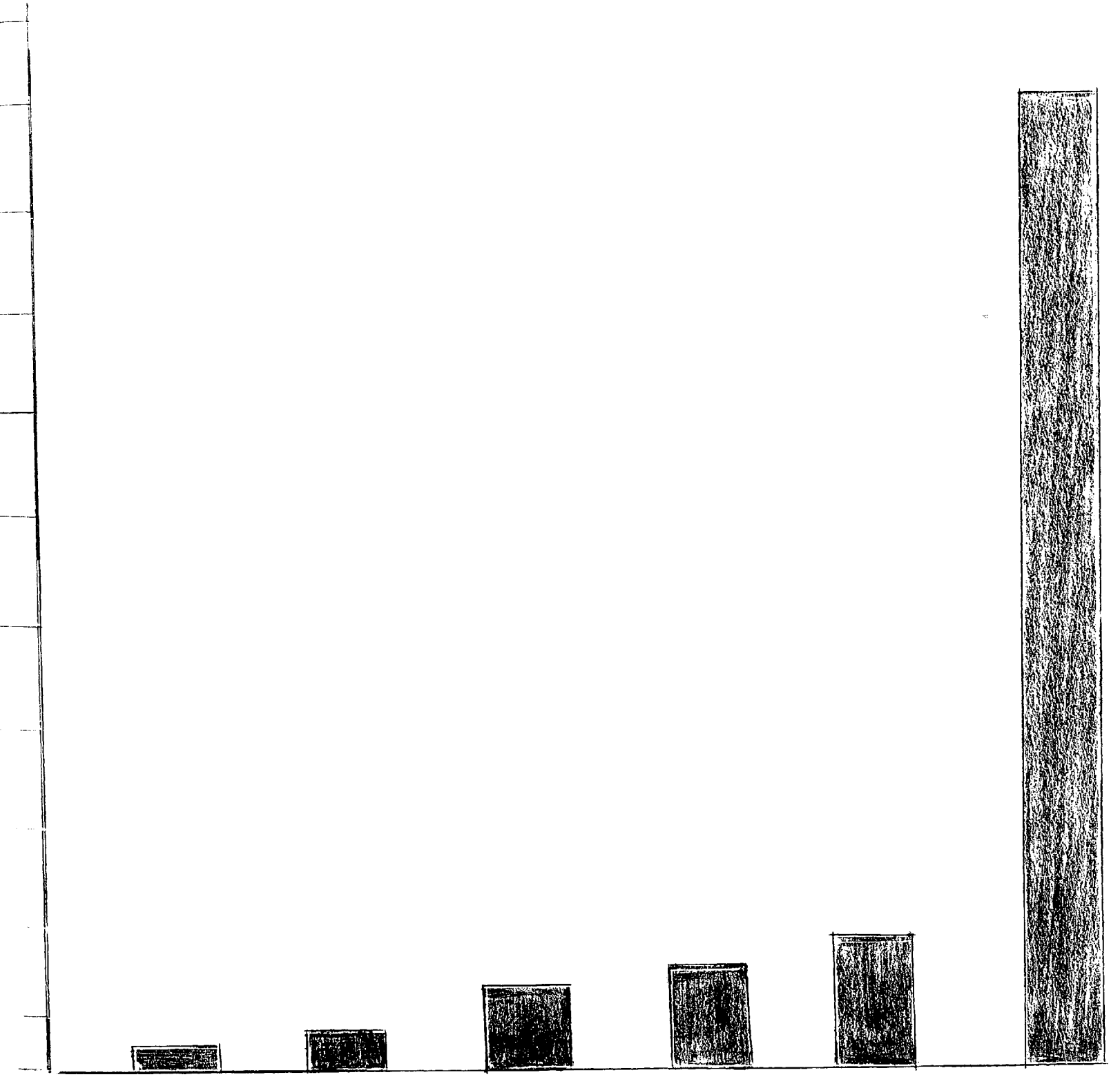
_____c. I am not opposed to the general principle of having both Negro and white personnel living within the same military platoon but I think it just won't work in practice.

_____d. I favor the principle of having both Negro and white personnel living within the same military platoon but I think it is an ideal which fails to take account of existing attitudes and prejudices. We should first try to solve this problem by education rather than compulsion.

_____e. I favor the principle of having both Negro and white personnel living within the same military platoon and I think it is practical provided that we do not move too rapidly in applying it throughout the military services.

_____f. I am completely in favor of the principle of having both Negro and white personnel living within the same military platoon and I believe we should proceed to put the principle into operation at once in all units of the services.

BAR GRAPH FOR SCALE D
Responses of Military Leaders



CODE SYMBOL_____

MEASURE OF AMOUNT RETAINED AFTER THIRTY MINUTES

Please indicate your code symbol in the space above. Answer the following questions as best you can. Do not spend too much time on any one question. Your cooperation in this investigation of memory processes is very much appreciated. Thank you.

DIRECTIONS: Place a T in front of the correct statements, and an F in front of the incorrect statements.

1. Most business executives were somewhat opposed to Negroes occupying supervisory positions.

2. Just about all military leaders questioned were in favor of the principle of non-segregation in the armed forces, but doubted the advisibility of putting the principle into action.

3. About 80% of all business executives were completely in favor of having Negroes occupy supervisory positions.

4. Approximately 90% of military commanders were in favor of whites and Negroes living in the same platoon.

5. When it came to a matter of segregation off the military post, most military commanders took a noncommittal position.

6. Most business executives felt that segregation in such areas as housing, church-worship, social life and recreation had only a negligible relationship to job performance.

7. It was the fundamental contention of business executives that workers should be rewarded for productive effort and that segregation and discrimination prevented the full operation of rewards and promotions in the American incentive system.

8. All other reasons notwithstanding, business executives agreed that the health of our American economy, with its system of rewards and promotions for productive skills must not be threatened by segregation of workers, either in or out of the plant.

9. Military leaders felt that segregation and discrimination interfere with clear communication of orders along the chain of command.

10. These same military commanders agreed that segregation and discrimination in housing and recreation seriously lower morale.

APPENDIX D:

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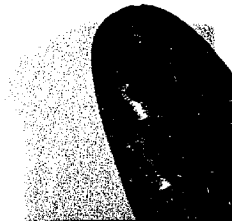
Instructions for Authoritarian Suggestion Reverse. These are the same as the Instructions for Authoritarian Suggestion condition, page 91 . . . . . .

Booklet of materials for Authoritarian Suggestion Reverse condition. It seemed unnecessary to reprint the identical materials used under the Authoritarian Suggestion condition. Therefore, the only extract presented contains the rationale for the Authoritarian Suggestion Reverse condition. 109

Measure of amount retained after thirty minutes . 114

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE

STUDY OF MEMORY PROCESSES



SUMMARY REPORT OF BUSINESS EXECUTIVES POSITION ON ATTITUDE TOWARD NEGROES SCALE

When the Social Science Research Foundation first gave the scale printed below to business administrators, exhaustive interviews were held to ascertain the basis on which each executive made his particular rating of the items in the scale. The following is a summary statement of the majority opinions obtained in the course of these interviews.

These businessmen indicated that they determined their own position on the "Attitude Toward Negroes" scale in relationship to their primary goals as business and manufacturing leaders. They agreed that the basic goal was the maintainance and advancement of the free enterprise profit system, in which the greater the profit of the organization as a whole, the greater the profit of the workers in that organization; and in which maximum profit could be achieved through increased production, greater efficiency and heightened competition among individual workers. In order to achieve a maximum output, it is absolutely imperative that supervisory and other leadership positions be filled only with fully qualified individuals.

Business leaders felt that supervision implies levels of ability and status, and individuals occupying higher status need to have superior qualities to those under them. Since Negroes have not demonstrated such superiority, and since white workers do not accept them as superior, the principle of having Negro supervisors is unsound theoretically and unworkable in business experience.

Just as freedom is required for the economic well-being of their business firms and industrial plants, so is freedom also essential for the prospering of other enterprises in the American business system. Only in a free market can the natural economic laws operate so as to guarantee a maximum of satisfaction to all people, regardless of color. Thus, investors in real estate should have the right to rent or sell to whomsoever they please, and similarly owners of restaurants, hotels, and recreational businesses should be entitled to serve the kind of clientele who will insure the greatest return on their venture capital. Just as freedom in the market place is a key American principle, so freedom to associate or not to associate is likewise at the core of the American tradition.

The attitude of these outstanding business executives may be summarized as follows:

1. Since Negroes have not demonstrated aptitude for leadership and since white workers do not accept Negroes as supervisors, it would be undesirable to permit Negroes to occupy any supervisory positions.

2. If the American economic system is not to be endangered, freedom to invest capital, to realize profits, and to enter or to refuse to enter into a contractual relationship with any individual or group must be preserved at all costs. Thus, freedom to serve or to refuse service to Negroes is a matter to be decided entirely by the individual who is risking his capital in a business enterprise.

3. Freedom to associate or not to associate with any individual or group is part of the American heritage. This principle applies to all persons, regardless of skin color.

SUMMARY REPORT OF MILITARY LEADERS POSITION ON THE NEGRO-WHITE SEGREGATION PROBLEM

As part of its overall investigation into problems of attitudes toward Negroes, the Social Science Foundation conducted an intensive study in the area of military segregation. A large number of military leaders at various levels of command were first asked to respond to the items printed below, dealing with the segregation issue, and then were interviewed in order to discover their general policy governing such decisions. The following paragraphs epitomize this policy and indicate the various considerations which determined their responses to the attitude scale items.

These military commanders agreed that in order to maintain the strength and striking-power of our military forces, it is absolutely imperative to assure effective organizational processes in four main areas—communication of orders, efficiency of performance, leadership excellence and high-level morale. It was their duty to anticipate the consequences of a non-segregation policy in each of these four areas.

While most of them felt that a policy of non-segregation would eventually be developed, they also felt that present conditions could not warrant such a policy. After all, the realities of the present situation show a picture of existing civilian segregation in housing, industry, recreation, etc. As much as they disapproved of the existing state of affairs, it is altogether unwise to ignore hard facts. Having squarely faced the situation, they then went on to examine its meaning for the four areas of communication, efficiency, leadership and morale.

With regard to leadership, it is difficult to see how the Negro group, inexperienced as it is in civilian life with the leadership role, could be expected to assume the highly exacting responsibilities of military leadership, in or out of combat. When the Negro gradually demonstrates leadership ability in civilian life, only then might he be considered for military leadership. Concerning the area of efficiency, a similar situation exists. While these military commanders agreed that the Negro was not inately incapable of performing skilled and technical jobs, he just hasn't had these kind of job experiences in civilian life and thus must be carefully placed at his achievement level and not above this level, where he would constitute a hazard and risk to the safe and efficient operation of military units.

When it comes to the problem of maintaining separate or mixed military platoons, these military leaders saw that the problems of communication and morale must be made the basis of decision. Given the existing state of racial antagonism and distrust in all areas of civilian life, it would be foolhardy to place Negro and white enlisted men within the same intimate unit, where they would share sleeping, sanitary and eating facilities. In such a situation, the clear and efficient communication of orders would be severely interfered with and only chaos could result. Again, knowing the significance of recreation,

both on and off the military post for maintainence of good morale, it would be highly undesirable to have very much mixing among white and Negro personnel. They agreed that the tensions and demands of military life were excessive enough without increasing the burden by attempting to force essentially undesirable contact either in the barracks or off the post. The attitude of these military commanders may be summarized as follows:

1. The problems of communication, efficiency, leadership and morale, as related to the segregation issue, must be seen against the existing reality of civilian life which is obviously characterized by separation between Negro and white groups in all spheres. We may not like this situation, but it must be frankly faced.

2. With regard to military leadership, the Negro has simply not had the kind of responsible positions in business and industry which would prepare him to assume the responsibilities of military command.

3. Similarly, though it may be regretable, the Negro is not prepared to efficiently execute highly skilled and technical jobs.

4. The mixing of Negro and white personnel is undesirable because it would drastically interfere with the communication and execution of orders. Effective communication of commands depends on mutual respect and trust.

5. Military morale would likewise deteriorate under conditions of mixing on or off the post. The tensions and pressures of military life cannot be reduced in mixing association, where an atmosphere of underlying distrust and antagonism prevails.

CODE SYMBOL_____

MEASURE OF AMOUNT RETAINED AFTER THIRTY MINUTES

Please indicate your code symbol in the space above. Answer the following questions as best you can. Do not spend too much time on any one question. Your cooperation in this investigation of memory processes is very much appreciated. Thank you.

DIRECTIONS: Place a T in front of the correct statements, and an F in front of the incorrect statements.

1. Most business executives were somewhat opposed to Negroes occupying supervisory positions.

2. Just about all military leaders questioned were in favor of the principle of non-segregation in the armed forces, but doubted the advisibility of putting the principle into action.

3. About 90% of all business executives were completely opposed to having Negroes occupy supervisory positions.

4. Approximately 90% of military commanders were opposed to whites and Negroes living in the same platoon.

5. When it came to a matter of segregation off the military post, most military commanders took a noncommittal position.

6. Most business executives felt that segregation in such areas as housing, church-worship, social life and recreation had a strong and direct relationship to job performance.

7. It was the fundamental contention of business executives that since Negroes have not demonstrated aptitude for leadership and since white workers do not accept Negroes as supervisors, it would be undesirable to permit Negroes to occupy any supervisory positions.

8. Business executives agreed that if the American economic system is not to be endangered, freedom to invest capital, to realize profits, and to enter or to refuse to enter into a contractual relationship with any individual or group must be preserved at all costs. Thus, freedom to serve or to refuse service to Negroes is a matter to be decided entirely by the individual who is risking his capital in a business enterprise.

9. Military leaders felt that though it may be regretable, the Negro is not prepared to efficiently execute highly skilled and technical jobs.

10. These same military leaders agreed that the mixing of Negro and white personnel is undesirable because it would drastically interfere with the communication and execution of orders. Effective communication of commands depends on mutual respect and trust.

APPENDIX E:

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Booklet of experimental "take" measures. 117

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THIRD ADMINISTRATION

The following instructions should be given to subjects before distributing the first of the two experimental booklets.

"You will probably recall that I was here several weeks ago, at which time you participated in Social Science Foundation research concerned with the standardization of a number of attitude scales dealing with a variety of opinions and attitudes. Today I have returned to enlist your cooperation in completing the gathering of this standardization data.

You will be given two booklets which will probably take you about a half an hour to complete. The first is the longer booklet and will take about 25 minutes; the second will take about five or ten mimutes. Past experience with other groups has shown that this time interval permits sufficient opportunity to work through each booklet in a careful way, considering the various aspects involved. If you need additional time, this, of course, will be given.

For the purpose of this standardization procedure it will not be necessary for you to give your name, but to enable us to keep the booklets in reasonably good order we should like you to use a code number. This code number will consist of your father's first initial, followed by the numbers in your house address — and this should be your permanent hhome residence, not your Ann Arbor address. (The experimenter should, in addition to reading the directions for the code number, write them on the black board.)

I will now distribute to you the first booklet and you will probably take about 25 minutes to carefully work through it. The directions for responding to each attitude scale are contained within the booklet and are fairly clear and complete. When you have completed this booklet, please raise your hand and I will distribute the second booklet. Once more, we should like to express our appreciation for your cooperation in this research study on the standardization of attitude scales."

Upon completing the final booklet, subjects are informed that an abstract of the research design and a summary of available results will be distributed at a later time in the class. These feedback abstracts also contain a space for the subject to enter his name and address in case he wants a summary account of the final group results.

CODE NO._____

You have been cooperating in the establishment of University standardization data concerning a number of scales. Now, the problem of using Negroes as supervisors in Industry is of particular importance to business executives who must make the relevant decisions. We should like you to conceive how such business managers feel about this issue. In particular, would you please follow these directions:

1. Printed below are six statements concerning the problem of using Negro supervisors in business firms and industrial plants. Place a check mark next to that statement which you believe represents the viewpoint of most business executives.

2. Now indicate the percentage of business executives who you think would agree with the statement which you checked.

_____a. Except in very rare cases, I am completely opposed to having Negroes occupy any positions in business firms or industrial plants which entail in any degree supervision over whate workers.

_____b. I am not opposed to the general theory of having Negroes occupy positions in business firms or industrial plants which entail supervision over white workers, but when it comes to applying such a principle I think it is impractical and unworkable.

_____c. I favor the principle of having Negroes occupy positions in business firms or industrial plants which entail supervision over white workers, but I think it is too idealistic and ignores the fact of existing racial animosities in the general public. We should wait until education modifies these prejudices and not use compulsory methods.

_____d. I favor the principle of having Negroes occupy positions in business firms or industrial plants which entail supervision over white workers and I think the principle is a practical one. However, we should not move too hastily in applying the principle throughout the business and industrial world.

_____e. I am completely in favor of having Negroes occupy positions in business firms or industrial plants which entail supervision over white workers and I believe in immediately putting the principle into action throughout the business and industrial world.

_____f. I am completely in favor of having Negroes occupy positions in business firms or industrial plants which entail supervision over white workers. Moreover, I myself would be willing to actively participate in various educational programs which would be designed to change the policy of those business firms or industrial plants who maintain a standing rule of never permitting Negroes to rise above the worker level.

The percentage of business executives who would check the statement I have just checked is about:

0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%

90%	100%

You have just indicated how you think business executives feel about the problem of Negro supervisors. Now, we should like you to consider how you think business executives feel about a number of related behaviors in and out of the plant. Printed below are eight statements which deal with problems of considerable significance to all industrial leaders.

1. Would you please indicate how you think most business executives would respond to each of the eight statements, using the following notation:

+1 slight support, agreement	-1 slight opposition, disagreement
+2 moderate support, agreement	-2 moderate opposition, disagreement
+3 strong support, agreement	-3 strong opposition, disagreement

2. Having indicated the amount of support or opposition which you think business executives maintain for each statement, please consider the percentage of business executives who would make this particular response. Please indicate this percentage by circling the most appropriate figure under each of the eight statements.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

_____1. Property owners are justified in excluding Negroes from their residential areas to the extent that admission of Negroes would depress property values.

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

_____2. In most cases, it would be best not to place Negroes as foremen over white workers since the average wage-earner is not yet ready to accept Negroes as leaders and would not accord them proper respect.

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

_____3. The people who raise all the talk about putting Negroes on the same level as whites and giving them the same privileges are mostly radical agitators trying to stir up conflicts.

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

_____4. It is a good idea to have some restaurants and hotels from which Negroes are excluded.

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

_____5. Negroes feel more comfortable in jobs which do not require a high level of skill and responsibility

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

_____6. While Negroes and whites might on the surface pretend to welcome inter-racial church services, it is only fair and honest to recognize that both groups underneath it all feel quite disturbed and would really prefer separate services, free from tensions.

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

_____7. While it is a good idea to have the same recreational facilities open to both Negroes and whites, we cannot achieve this goal immediately. For the present, such facilities as swimming pools should not be available to whites and Negroes at the same time.

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

_____8. Negroes feel more comfortable in jobs where they do not have to compete with whites.

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

Now, would you please direct your attention to the problem of segregation in the armed forces. Specifically we should like you to consider how military leaders in general feel about the issue of having Negro and white personnel living within the same military platoon.

1. Place a check mark next to the statement which you believe most military leaders would endorse.

2. Now, indicate below the percentage of all military leaders who would make this particular endorsement.

_____a. I am completely opposed to having both Negro and white personnel living within the same military platoon.

_____b. I am opposed to having both Negro and white personnel living within the same military platoon save under very exceptional circumstances.

_____c. I am not opposed to the general principle of having both Negro and white personnel living within the same military platoon but I think it just won't work in practice.

_____d. I favor the principle of having both Negro and white personnel living within the same military platoon but I think it is an ideal which fails to take account of existing attitudes and prejudices. We should first try to solve this problem by education rather than compulsion.

_____e. I favor the principle of having both Negro and white personnel living within the same military platoon and I think it is practical provided that we do not move too rapidly in applying it throughout the military services.

_____f. I am completely in favor of the principle of having both Negro and white personnel living within the same military platoon and I believe we should proceed to put the principle into operation at once in all units of the services.

The percentage of military leaders who would check the item which I have just checked is about:

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

In addition to the problem of having separate or mixed Negro-white platoons, military commanders must make many important decisions regarding policy of individual and group operations both on and off the military encampment. The six statements printed below deal with such important areas of concern as officer training, psychological morale, recreation, housing, etc. How do you think military commanders would formulate the relevant policy?

1. Please indicate how you think military commanders would respond to each of the six statements below, using the following notation:

+1 slight support, agreement	-1 slight opposition, disagreement
+2 moderate support, agreement	-2 moderate opposition, disagreement
+3 strong support, agreement	-3 strong opposition, disagreement

Having indicated the amount of support or opposition which you think military commanders would maintain for each statement, please consider the percentage of military commanders who would make this particular response. Please indicate this percentage by circling the most appropriate figure under each of the six statements.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

_____1. Just as there is a Catholic War Veterans organization and a Jewish War Veterans organization, it would be a good idea to have a separate Negro War Veterans organization.

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

_____2. Before the quota restrictions on admissions of Negro enlisted men into Officers Candidate Schools are removed, it would be most judicious to carry out an unbiased investigation of the relative effectiveness of Negro officers, both in and out of military combat.

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

_____3. Negroes should not be admitted to the staff of military hospitals. White patients lack the confidence in the competence and training of Negro doctors.

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

_____4. While the principle of non-segregation in the armed forces is acceptable we should proceed with great caution when it comes to applying the principle. Otherwise it may provoke unnecessary racial antagonisms.

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

_____5. Since the USO and other recreational organizations are supported by public funds, they should admit both Negro and white military personnel. By the same token, restaurants, hotels, and recreational businesses which are owned by private individuals should be permitted to serve whom they like.

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

_____6. The problem of housing the families of Negro and white personnel at a military encampment is not easily solved. It would be a hindrance rather than a help to mix Negroes and whites. Both groups would be more contented if they were alloted to housing areas of their own.

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%

Please answer the following true-false questions by placing a T in front of the correct statements and an F in front of the incorrect statements.

_____1. There is no relationship between the skin color of a group of persons, and the level of civilization, industrial organization, and artistic achievement which that group may attain.

_____2. Military leaders are in favor of the principle of non-segregation in the armed forces, but doubt the advisibility of putting the principle into action.

_____3. In 1870 the illiteracy rate for Negroes was about 80%, in 1946 the illiteracy rate for Negroes was about 10%.

_____4. What is considered proper behavior in one society may be considered as improper in other societies.

_____5. Most business executives feel that segregation in such areas as housing, church-worship, social life and recreation has a strong and direct relationship to job performance.

_____6. The percentage of Negroes in the professions (law, medicine, engineering, teaching) has doubled in the last 50 years.

_____7. Concerning the segregation of personnel off the military post in such areas as housing, recreation, etc, most military commanders take a noncommittal position.

_____8. Our beliefs and values should be determined by past rather than present conditions.

_____9. It is the fundamental contention of business executives that since Negroes have not demonstrated aptitude for leadership and since white workers do not accept Negroes as supervisors, it is undesirable to permit Negroes to occupy any supervisory positions.

____10. White-skinned persons have throughout each period of history been the leaders of civilization.

____11. Business executives agree that if the American economic system is not to be endangered, freedom to invest capital, to realize profits, and to enter or to refuse to enter into a contractual relationship with any individual or group must be preserved at all costs. Thus, freedom to serve or to refuse service to Negroes is a matter to be decided entirely by the individual who is risking his capital in a business enterprise.

____12. The educational and health standards of Negroes have shown little change in the past 100 years.

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