A STUDY OF CHANGES IN WHITE STUDENT-TEACHER RACIAL ATTITUDES
RELATIVE TO BLACKS, AS MEASURED BY THE MULTIFACTOR
RACIAL ATTITUDE INVENTORY

DISSERTATION

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For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

By

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The problem of this study involved the identification of white student teacher racial attitudes relative to blacks and whether these attitudes changed during the course of student teaching. The purpose of the study was to determine the nature of these racial attitudes, to determine if these attitudes were influenced by the experience of student teaching or the racial environment in which student teaching was accomplished, and, in light of the findings of the study, either to reinforce the manner in which racial attitudes are treated in traditional teacher preparation programs or suggest new directions in the curriculum that might lead to more realistic and desirable teacher attitudes.

The Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory, composed of thirteen interspersed subscales each measuring a separate facet of racial attitude, was administered to two groups. The experimental group consisted of an intact group of twenty-eight future teachers who had volunteered to participate in a unified core professional preparation sequence sponsored jointly by the North Texas State University School of Education and the Dallas Independent School District. Of special
significance is the fact that this voluntary program was housed in a teaching center atmosphere in a predominantly black (80 percent or more) inner city school.

The control group consisted of all those North Texas State University secondary student teachers (32 in all) scheduled to teach in a more traditional student teaching environment in the Dallas metropolitan area. At North Texas State, a traditional student teaching environment has tended to be primarily middle class, 80 percent or more white, and suburban.

The Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory was administered to both groups at the beginning of the student teaching experience and again during the eighth week of the student teaching semester. The t-test and analysis of covariance were used to analyze the data, and the .05 level was designated as the point of rejection of the hypotheses. The following conclusions were based upon the findings thus obtained:

1. Hypothesis 1 was tested for significant differences between control group pre-test means and post-test means. In that no statistically significant changes in inventory or subscale scores were noted, the null hypothesis was confirmed.

2. Hypothesis 2 was tested for significant differences between experimental group pre-test means and post-test means. For nine of the subscales and for the inventory as a whole, the null hypothesis was confirmed. For the subscales measuring Ease in Interracial Contacts, Interracial Marriage, and
Approaches to Negro Progress, statistically significant changes toward more equalitarian attitudes were observed.

3. Hypothesis 3 was tested for significant differences between control group mean change and experimental group mean change both with regard to the attitude inventory as a whole and with regard to each of the separate subscales. For nine of the subscales and for the instrument as a whole the null hypothesis was confirmed. However, statistically significant differences did emerge regarding Ease in Interracial Contacts, Interracial Marriage, and Negro Militance.

In light of the above findings, the following conclusions seem warranted:

1. The contact thesis of racial attitude change is confirmed. However, among experimental group subjects, the nature of the contact achieved was incongruous with what research has found to be most conducive to positive attitude change.

2. Racial attitudes are so deeply and emotionally embedded that attitude change, if it is to be accomplished, should be treated as a priority item, and any programmed attempt to alter racial prejudice should be comprehensive in design.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

Student teaching is widely regarded among many student teachers as the most beneficial experience of the professional preparation sequence (22; 30, p. 319). That it is held in equally high esteem by those responsible for training future teachers is evidenced in the general acceptance of the concept by those writing in the field (2; 36; 43; 45, p. 451; 51, p. 327) and by the almost universal reliance on the practice by teacher education institutions. In spite of the agreed-upon critical importance of student teaching, however, surprisingly little experimental research has been done relative to it in the last five years. Particularly is this true with respect to student teacher attitudes. While some attention has been devoted to the phenomenon of dogmatism, and a number of studies have indicated that dogmatism tends to increase during the course of student teaching (12, 14, 18, 23, 24, 31, 33, 34, 35, 42, 44, 49), little attention has been paid to the importance of and role of racial attitudes. Grossman has contended that "... there is being produced a large corps of teachers whose attitudes and beliefs about the ghetto children they teach remain hidden and unchallenged" (19, p. 490). If one believes with Mazer that the attitudes and personal constructs of prospective inner city teachers
are a legitimate concern to teacher educators (27), then this belief coupled with a knowledge of the generally deteriorating condition of educational efforts in the inner city constitutes a situation that can no longer be tolerated.

Statement of the Problem

The problem to which this study was addressed involved the identification of white student teacher racial attitudes relative to blacks and whether these attitudes changed during the course of student teaching.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to determine the nature of white student teacher racial attitudes relative to blacks, determine if these attitudes were influenced by the experience of student teaching or by the racial environment in which student teaching was completed, and, in light of the findings of the study, either reinforce the manner in which racial attitudes are treated in traditional teacher preparation programs or suggest new directions in the curriculum that might lead to more realistic and desirable teacher attitudes.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were tested:

1. Traditional group subjects, teaching in a predominantly white suburban school environment, will undergo no significant changes in racial attitudes during the course of student teaching as measured by the Multifactor Racial Attitude
Inventory, either with regard to the Inventory as a whole, or with regard to any of the separate subscales.

2. Experimental group subjects, teaching in a predominantly black, inner city school environment but following a unified core professional preparation sequence, will undergo no significant changes in racial attitudes during the course of student teaching as measured by the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory, either with regard to the Inventory as a whole, or with regard to any of the separate subscales.

3. During the course of student teaching, there will emerge no significant differences in racial attitudes between the traditional group subjects and the experimental group subjects as measured by the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory, either with regard to the Inventory as a whole, or with regard to any of the separate subscales.

Background and Significance of the Study

Somehow, I happened to be alone in the classroom with Mr. Ostrowski, my English teacher. . . . I was one of his top students, one of the school's top students. . . . He told me, "Malcolm, you ought to be thinking about a career. Have you been giving it thought?"

Well, yes sir, I've been thinking I'd like to be a lawyer.

Mr. Ostrowski looked surprised, I remember, and leaned back in his chair and clasped his hands behind his head.

Malcolm, one of life's first needs is for us to be realistic. Don't misunderstand me, now, we all like you, you know that. But you've got to be realistic about being a nigger. A lawyer--that's no realistic goal for a nigger. . . .
The more I thought afterwards about what he said, the more uneasy it made me. It just kept treading around in my mind. It was then that I began to change—inside! (50, pp. 36-37)

Obviously the young man who would someday call himself Malcolm X did not misunderstand his English teacher, nor, unfortunately, is the insensitive, misguided attitude of such a teacher an uncommon thing in the inner city. That teacher attitudes and expectations are a crucial factor in pupil learning and pupil self concept is a principle disputed by no one. The literature emphasizing this relationship is extensive (1, 4, 8, 13, 16, 21, 25, 26, 37, 38). The theme of much of Clark's excellent volume, *Dark Ghetto*, centers on the so-called "self-fulfilling prophecy" (7), and Davidson and Lang have concluded that the assessment a child makes of himself is significantly related to the evaluation "significant" people, such as teachers, make of him (11). Furthermore, Davidson and Greenberg have found that the lower the level of self-esteem, the lower the level of achievement (10). In studying the phenomenon of "halo effect" as it applies to teachers' attitudes toward students, Good and Brophy have drawn the reluctant conclusion that "... because expectations guide both perceptions and behavior, their self-perpetuating capacity is very strong. Being human, all teachers are much more likely to see what they expect to find than what they don't expect to find" (17, p. 53). An interesting study by Nash suggests that with regard to the matter of academic achievement, the teacher's perception of
his students is of even greater importance than the pupils' social class (28), a general conclusion also reached by Rosenthal and Jacobson in the classic study Pygmalion in the Classroom (39).

In 1965, Rosenthal and Jacobson retested this hypothesis in a South San Francisco elementary school with a large majority of low socioeconomic status Mexican-American students. Teachers were told that certain students (actually randomly selected by the experimenters) were potential academic "spurters." The results of Flanagan IQ tests administered to the supposed "spurters" and to a control group at the beginning of school and several times throughout the next two years indicated strongly that children from whom teachers expected greater intellectual gains tended to exhibit such gains. In fact, the average gain of the "spurters" was over twenty-seven IQ points. Furthermore, at the end of the first year, the "spurters" were described by their teachers as "... having a better chance of being successful in later life and as being happier, more curious, and more interesting than other children." Moreover, these children were seen as "... more appealing, better adjusted and more affectionate, and as less in need of social approval." On the other hand, teacher ratings given to those children who had not been designated as spurters but who did register a gain in IQ scores did not tend to be nearly so favorable. Indeed, the more these children gained, the less favorably they tended
to be rated by their teachers, and often times were identified as exhibiting "undesirable behavior" (40, p. 22).

In summary, then, there seems to be substantial evidence to support Conlin's contention that the most powerful determinant of a student's achievement is his teacher's assessment of his potential, for "methodology, curriculum, school organization and materials are all launched from this teacher perception" (9, p. 393). If that teacher perception is a negative one, if the teacher whose responsibility it is to teach instead engages in self-fulfilling prophecy, deciding that certain students cannot be educated and refusing to educate them (26), then when the prophecy comes true, the result can be a deplorable and unnecessary waste of human potential. If the teacher involved is a ghetto teacher, and if the student involved is a black ghetto child, then, as Whitney Young once observed, among that child's greatest obstacles to learning might well be his own teacher and specifically his teacher's prejudiced attitudes (52, pp. 140-141).

In an era when, according to the Kerner Commission, the United States is evolving into two societies, separate and unequal, one white and one black (29, p. 1), the public school has, according to Banks, served mainly to reinforce social class and racial stratification rather than alleviate it (3, p. 267). Yet, Schueler recognizes the irony in this situation by pointing out that it is the fate of the
disadvantaged child to have the limits of his horizon
dependent largely upon this self-same public agency, the
public school (41, p. 175), and, it must follow, upon the
teacher in that school. Indeed, says Conlin, the positive
regard of that teacher may be the deprived child's only
hope (9, p. 395).

Without drawing specific conclusions of any kind, other
than by implication, Wiles (47) has undertaken the formidable
task of trying to assess just what teachers' attitudes are
about a number of things, and just how their attitudes might
vary according to the type of school in which they taught.
The survey was conducted in a large unidentified urban area
with 1150 teachers participating. Some of Wiles' more cogent
findings are summarized below:

Teacher Perceptions about Their Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>Student Aspirations</th>
<th>Student Motivation</th>
<th>Clarity of Speech</th>
<th>Student Self-Image</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%) indicating poor or below average</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner City</td>
<td>74.3</td>
<td>63.5</td>
<td>57.4</td>
<td>52.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitional</td>
<td>58.7</td>
<td>58.0</td>
<td>49.1</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peripheral</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

General Feelings about the Job of Teaching

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>Staff Morale</th>
<th>Involvement in Policy-Making</th>
<th>In-Service Training</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%) indicating poor or below average</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner City</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>26.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitional</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peripheral</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Overall Feeling about the Type of Student Taught

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>Below Average</th>
<th>Above Average</th>
<th>Excellent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inner City</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>1.6 0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitional</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>4.3 0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peripheral</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>53.1</td>
<td>24.2 2.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


While Wiles' study deals with experienced teachers, not student teachers, and while he does not address his study directly to the matter of racial attitudes, the implications of his findings with regard to the present study are obvious. If the attitudes of experienced teachers differ so drastically about such things as general teacher perceptions of students or general feelings of job satisfaction relative to the cultural, socio-economic nature of the schools in which those teachers teach, then it would seem reasonable to suppose that student teacher attitudes about the sensitive area of race might also vary according to the racial environment of the school in which they teach. If such were proven to be the case, and assuming such attitudes carry over into the actual classroom teaching years, then these findings would have far-reaching implications as far as the overall program of teacher preparation is concerned. If, for example, it is shown that students who do their student teaching in a predominantly black, inner city school environment develop appreciably more negative attitudes about blacks than do
future teachers who student teach in suburban, predominantly white schools, then it would seem such knowledge would obligate the university to re-examine its teacher training efforts in light of the well-documented relationship between teacher attitude and student achievement and self-perception and in light of the probability that a large percentage of future teaching jobs will be in inner city schools. The pattern of scores obtained on the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory subscale measures should suggest some of the directions such revised efforts could take.

In the Winter, 1969, issue of the Journal of Teacher Education, former editor Arthur Pearl contends that "Schools of Education have not even begun to eradicate vestiges of racism as it affects programs or courses" (32, pp. 433-434). Pearl's charge would seem to be borne out, at least to some extent, by Egerton's 1967 survey for the Southern Education Report. Of the 281 colleges and universities responding to Egerton's questionnaire, 269 (95.7 percent) believed teacher education schools have a special responsibility to help improve the education of the disadvantaged, but only 108 (38.4 percent) thought these institutions were in fact helping. Only 45 (16 percent) of these colleges and universities had actually changed their methods of preparing teachers to teach in the inner city, and only 117 of them (41.6 percent) intended to make such changes in the foreseeable future (15, p. 2). Hall characterizes the attempts of
teacher education programs to "alter the course of the river of racism" as "pathetic" (20, p. 407). If in fact this is the case, if the charges of Pearl and Egerton and Hall are warranted, then it would seem few issues in teacher education could be of more immediate significance than the racial attitudes of those in the process of entering the profession.

Limitations of the Study

This study was limited to the attitudes of student teachers seeking secondary school certification, and by its very nature, the study was restricted to white student teacher attitudes relative to blacks. The term "white student teacher" was defined so as specifically to exclude Mexican-Americans. Because of sample size requirements, additional limitations included the inability to control and assess the significance of such variables as the sex of the student subjects participating and the attitudes and influences of the cooperating teachers involved.

Basic Assumptions

It was assumed that, given adequate assurances of anonymity and confidentiality, subjects would respond truthfully and candidly to the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory, and that changes observed in the attitudes measured would be significantly related to the experiences each subject undergoes relative to his student teaching, or to the environment in which he did his student teaching.
Instrument of Measurement

The measuring instrument used in this study is the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory (MRAI) developed by John J. Woodmansee and Stuart W. Cook (48) and subsequently revised by J. C. Brigham, Woodmansee, and Cook (5), and T. Weissbach and Cook (46). The MRAI is composed of thirteen interspersed subscales, with each subscale consisting of ten items, and with each subscale designed to identify and isolate a particular dimension of white attitudes toward blacks. The thirteen subscales cover such areas as Integration-Segregation Policy, Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships, Derogatory Beliefs, Approaches to Negro Progress, and Negro Militance. Scoring of the individual items is on the basis of an "agree-disagree" format with one point being awarded for each equalitarian response. The more equalitarian the attitude, the higher the subscale score should be.

In the process of establishing validity scores for the MRAI, the authors have resorted to a known groups approach, deriving subscale scores for each criterion category. Correlation ratios, or eta's, calculated from the analysis of variance of each subscale score against attitudinal group memberships, yielded an index of the relative effectiveness of the subscales as measures of the attitude criterion. Reliability coefficients were computed using the same criterion group subject responses for internal consistency, and test-retest scores for stability (48, pp. 8-10).
In summary, internal consistency coefficients ranged from .72 to .93 with a median of .84; stability coefficients from .51 to .95 with a median of .81; and eta coefficients from .50 to .83 with a median of .58.

In that the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory is still a relatively new instrument and not as yet widely known, no mention of it can be found in the Seventh Mental Measurements Yearbook (6). And, since the MRAI was designed to meet a specific need heretofore unmet by other instruments, no attempt has been made at cross-validation. Consequently, assessment of validity is limited to the previously mentioned known groups method employed by the authors and to the content validity knowledgeable persons in the field may afford.

An extensive review of the literature since the development of the MRAI reveals only one study to date based on the instrument, a survey undertaken by Allen at Florida State University in 1970, in which he administered nine of the subscales to 174 pre-service teacher education students, finding a pattern of "clearly equalitarian" responses on four of the subscales, "somewhat equalitarian" responses on two of the subscales, and "clearly inequalitarian" responses on the other three subscales (1, pp. 326-327).
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42. Scott, Owen and Sterling G. Brinkeley, "Attitude Changes of Student Teachers and the Validity of the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory," Journal of Educational Psychology, 51 (April, 1960), 76-81.


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CHAPTER II

RELATED LITERATURE

As indicated in Chapter I, recent experimental research relating to student teaching and student teacher racial attitudes is surprisingly sparse. However, in a study of anxiety as measured by the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale, Carter found that future teachers placed in biracial situations do experience a significant mean increase in anxiety scores (21). In a study which exposed Columbia University Teachers College students to leading Harlem Negroes and measured attitude change, Smith found significant favorable changes on at least the verbal level (138, pp. 121-125). On the other hand, Boyce's study of experienced teachers revealed no definitive changes in attitude toward race and poverty occurring in teachers who lived in the ghetto during in-service training as opposed to those who merely engaged in academic study of poverty and racial differences (9). Upon providing a variety of positive and successful experiences with the inner city community and its schools, Ross and Swick confirmed that positive attitudes toward teaching in the inner city could be developed (117). In a subsequent study they concluded that only "... total immersion in the urban school-community context will provide future urban teachers with the requisite cognitive and affective skills for a
successful inner-city teaching experience" (118, p. 46).

In a recent survey by the Longs concerning socio-political ideology as a correlate of attitudes toward poverty and the disadvantaged, six hypotheses were confirmed. Compared to those teachers-to-be who identified themselves as political liberals, the more conservative candidates tended to (1) view poverty as being an inevitable societal condition, (2) show less tolerance toward the impoverished, (3) feel that the impoverished were themselves responsible for their deprived condition, (4) agree less with economic equality as a socio-political value, (5) perceive less discrimination toward the disadvantaged student in school, and (6) express less acceptance of political activism by the disadvantaged as a viable poverty-alleviation alternative. Furthermore, the above seemed to hold true regardless of the candidates' sex, race, school year, grade-point average, parental education level, university, certification level, or size of home community (83, pp. 263-264). Israel's dissertation study dealt with culture shock among student teachers, and he was able to confirm the phenomenon but found that it varied widely from one subject to another (66).

Allen's (1) study, mentioned briefly toward the end of Chapter I, deserves further elaboration. The results of this study, involving the administration of nine Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory subscales, are summarized below:
Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory Results for Teacher Education Students at a White Southeastern University

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subscale</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Integration-Segregation</td>
<td>8.993</td>
<td>1.913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close Personal Acceptance</td>
<td>8.360</td>
<td>2.482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro Inferiority</td>
<td>8.007</td>
<td>1.709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ease in Interracial Contacts</td>
<td>3.316</td>
<td>2.618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtle Derogatory Beliefs</td>
<td>4.626</td>
<td>2.563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Autonomy</td>
<td>6.022</td>
<td>2.935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Rights</td>
<td>5.129</td>
<td>3.318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acceptance in Status</td>
<td>9.331</td>
<td>1.426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superior Relations</td>
<td>3.748</td>
<td>3.440</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interpreting as "clearly equalitarian" those mean scores above 7.5, as "somewhat inequalitarian" those mean scores ranging from 5.0 to 7.5, and as "clearly inequalitarian" those mean scores falling below 5.0, Allen drew the following general conclusions from his study findings:

1. White pre-service teachers do not believe in the abstract notion that blacks are inherently unequal, yet they subscribe to much of the degrading mythology about black Americans and accept the stereotype of the black as somehow inferior and socially backward.

2. White pre-service teachers accept blacks in status-superior relationships and will associate with blacks in group situations, yet on a more intimate plane involving dancing together, dating, and marriage, they are decisively negative.

3. White pre-service teachers are favorably disposed toward the long-range goal of integration, or at least are not willing to continue segregation forever, yet they oppose immediate integration in education and support a gradualistic approach to achieve this objective.

4. White pre-service teachers are equivocal with respect to societal efforts to bring about conditions which would ensure blacks equal access to institutional participation. They are ambivalent about whether the private right to discriminate against blacks supersedes the public responsibility to eliminate barriers which exclude blacks from non-public facilities and accommodations (1, pp. 326-327).

While the literature pertaining specifically to student teacher racial attitudes is limited, the material dealing with significantly related topics is quite extensive. This additional literature has, consequently, been reviewed, summarized, and organized into six additional related categories: (1) Other Student Teacher Attitude Studies, (2) Racial Attitudes of Experienced Teachers, (3) The Effects of Positive and Negative Teacher Attitudes, (4) Racial Attitudes of College Students, (5) New Teachers and the Inner City, and (6) Conclusions. A summary and analysis of a related branch of the literature, entitled Combatting the Problem of Prejudice, completes Chapter II.

Other Student Teacher Attitude Studies

A significant area of student teacher attitude studies in recent years has centered on self-concepts and especially on how self-concepts and concepts of others may be related. Conlin has said that a critical problem arises from the fact that Americans are socialized to believe that they should be able to solve life's problems independently. When this "fantasy-like moral prescription" is overlayed with structural problems as teacher or pupil faults, then an impossible role perception has been conveyed to teachers (29, p. 394).
In a 1969 dissertation study using the semantic differential, Buckley found a significant relationship between student teaching experience and changes in attitude toward the concepts "Myself" and "Secondary School Students." Student teachers were found to be more negative in their attitudes toward themselves after student teaching and more positive in their attitudes toward secondary school students. Buckley inferred that this more negative self-concept could be the result of a realization by the student teachers that they did not possess as many "ready solutions" as anticipated. The more positive attitude toward students Buckley attributed to the possibility of less apprehension on the part of the student teachers after having overcome an initial fear of their pupils (16, pp. 65-66).

Lantz's 1964 study of student teacher attitude changes revealed that student teaching experience not only results in quantitative changes of skills and understandings, but also in qualitative changes of self-concept and concepts of others. According to Lantz, if self-concept and concepts of others are important determinants in teaching behavior, then perhaps student teachers should be placed in non-threatening situations where their concepts might be able to change (79, p. 203). Wright and Tuska likewise found a dramatic drop in self-concept following initial teaching experience (160), and Petrusich discovered that after student teaching, prospective teachers exhibited increased levels of insecurity and lowered levels of ego strength (104).
The spectrum suggested by the Valenti-Nelson Survey of Teaching Practices includes a progression from an "impersonal, formal, and rigid style of behavior" through intermediate styles to a "personal, informal, and indirect style of behavior." The progression could be considered analogous to a continuum ranging from an authoritarian point of view to a democratic point of view. In 1967, Jacobs administered the survey, as pre-test and post-test, to 1007 education students at five teacher education institutions. The findings of Jacob's study indicated that modifications toward more democratic points of view accomplished in initial professional education courses were actually reversed during the student teaching experience (68), a finding consistent with the dogmatism studies cited in Chapter I.

In a somewhat related study, Sandgren and Schmidt administered the Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory to 393 student teachers and found that attitudes of student teachers improved during the time they were actually engaged in student teaching. On the other hand, while MTAI norms indicated training increases scores, they also indicated that experience tends to decrease scores. These apparently incongruous findings raise the question, then, of whether student teaching falls into a training or experience category (126, p. 679). Weinstock's study attempted to answer the question of whether or not student teachers' ideas and values tend to survive student teaching. Based on his analysis of
MTAI scores, he concluded that they did not (153). MacDonald and Zaret's study led them to conclude that the pressure of actual first year teaching may produce significantly greater changes in teacher behavior than that which took place during student teaching. From this they hypothesized that "... student teacher behavior is essentially a conforming behavior that does not reflect the true action tendencies of the student," and they concluded that some doubt should therefore rest on the traditionally held value of student teaching (86, p. 57).

The relationship between student teachers and cooperating teachers has been the object of concentrated attention, particularly in so far as the cooperating teacher's influence over the student teacher is concerned. Yee's study has confirmed that the attitudes of student teachers toward young people "generally reflect the predominant influence of their cooperating teachers" (162, p. 331), a general conclusion also reached by McAulay (85), Price (108), and Brim (10). Corrigan and Griswold, however, found that student teachers tend to hold certain principles of teaching to be important only to the extent that their college supervisors, cooperating teachers, and schools put them into practice. Otherwise, they tend to look on these principles with suspicion (31, p. 94). In studying student teachers' attitudes toward youth, Dunham has found these attitudes tend to be affected more by off-campus experiences during the professional semester than by
on-campus experiences. Likewise, their attitudes tend to approximate the attitudes of either their on-campus instructors or off-campus supervising teachers depending upon which group they are in contact with at the time (40).

Racial Attitudes of Experienced Teachers

"For most disadvantaged children, the word 'teacher' does not connote respect. If anything it represents an alien and hostile world." And the reason for this, Ornstein went on to add, can be traced in large part back to the matter of teacher attitudes (101, p. 216). According to Landes, often times those teachers who think they understand the culture of their inner city and usually black students actually behave in ways which tend to alienate and offend (78, pp. 24-25). However, if the problem is one of prejudice, then, according to Kirman, such teachers can justifiably expect to have problems, particularly with discipline, for the students will sense their teachers' attitudes and react accordingly (74, p. 179). As Niemeyer has pointed out, teachers' attitudes and aspirations extend beyond the determination of student achievement also to influence markedly the provinces of teacher-learner roles and interpersonal relations (99, p. 31). Clothier has viewed this problem not so much in terms of overt prejudice or lack of understanding as in terms of a conflict in life-styles:

... Many of these teachers tend to see pupils as shiftless, lazy, dishonest, disrespectful, and immoral. Pupils are quick to sense these feelings, even if they
are not verbalized, and are likely to become either antagonistic or apathetic. The teacher often becomes disenchanted, the pupils alienated (27, p. 665).

While opinions on teacher attitudes and the disadvantaged are plentiful, empirical research studies are relatively few. Brown's study of the relationship between praise and criticism and race, however, is especially worth re-examining. Using a variation of interaction analysis, Brown found that classes where the teacher is of a different race than the students produce significantly more praise and apparently less criticism than classes where the teacher and the students are of the same race. The results regarding praise reflected significance at the .03 level, while the results regarding criticism reflected significance at a somewhat questionable .09 level. The praise-criticism ratio of the "mixed" classes was approximately nine to one; that of the "same" classes, less than three to one (15, pp. 374-376).

A somewhat similar study by Gottlieb (52) has yielded results quite different from those uncovered by Brown. Gottlieb found Negro teachers to be less critical and less pessimistic in their evaluation of urban, low income, predominantly black students than white teachers. Gottlieb asked both white and black teachers to indicate which of a list of adjectives they thought most accurately described inner city students. The results of the survey are summarized below:
Claye's study of white cross-over teachers involved identifying the most common problems they encountered. In rank order, the problems named were as follows:

1. discipline and classroom control
2. working with students who have less parental support, resources, and enrichment experiences than those of previous classes
3. unfamiliarity with students' backgrounds, race, and/or language
4. inadequate preparation for the experience
5. fear of loss in professional and social status
6. negative parental reactions as reflected and/or expressed in student behavior
7. gaps in communication between teacher and teacher
8. gaps in communication between teacher and student
9. social isolation of cross-over teachers
10. fear and insecurity--afraid of the new, the untried, the unknown


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>% of White Teachers</th>
<th>% of Black Teachers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ambitious</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperative</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Happy</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>65</td>
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<tr>
<td>High strung</td>
<td>39</td>
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<td>Impetuous</td>
<td>33</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lazy</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>19</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rebellious</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talkative</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjective list: Ambitious, Cooperative, Culture, Happy, High strung, Impetuous, Lazy, Rebellious, Talkative.
11. working with teachers of the opposite race
12. unprepared for the prejudice and hostility encountered (26, p. 15).

In his study Wynn surveyed 41 white and 26 black Georgia teachers to uncover their feelings about their communicational status with students of the other race. He found that one-half of the white teachers felt a communications problem existed while none of the black teachers did. In addition, more white teachers than black admitted experiencing discipline problems with students of the other race (161).

In a study of 167 urban elementary teachers, North found the proportion of poverty children in classes taught to be unrelated to the level of favorability exhibited by the teacher. On the other hand, he found a high proportion of poverty children in classes taught to be significantly related to the degree of teacher frustration. Those teachers found to be most successful with poverty children exhibited relatively high favorability and relatively low frustration (100).

St. John's in-depth study of the attitudes of 36 teachers toward black and white pupils has led her to conclude that teachers play a crucial role in the inter-racial classroom in that they contribute more to the academic growth of black children than of white (124, p. 646). However, Schwartz has made the charge that in many cases slum teachers have a
psychological need for failure and through a variety of strategies actually guide their students so as to achieve this destructive goal (132, p. 380). Henderson and Bibens have interpreted such a situation to be the result of fear on the part of white teachers who do not know what to expect, a fear that is an inevitable precursor of prejudice. For this reason, they have suggested it would be better to exclude such future teachers from a sensitive inner city environment where they might actually do more harm than good (61, p. 73).

The Effects of Teacher Attitude on Student Achievement and Self-Concept

The effect of teacher attitude on student achievement and self-concept has already been spelled out to some degree in Chapter I. Since it is a topic that warrants further elaboration, four specific areas of the literature will be further considered. These areas or topics are (1) The Relationship Between Pupil Self-Concept and Achievement, (2) The Effects of Negative Teacher Attitudes, (3) Further Studies of the Self-Fulfilling Prophecy, and (4) Miscellaneous Studies and Viewpoints Relative to Racially-Based Teacher Attitudes.

The Relationship Between Pupil Self-Concept and Achievement

That many Negroes have a serious problem with self-concept almost goes without saying. Malcolm X has placed much of the blame squarely on the shoulders of whites. The
worst crime the white man has committed, he says, is not slavery, or discrimination, or even prejudice per se. The worst crime the white man has committed has been to teach black people to hate themselves (45, p. 119). Particularly does this self-hatred seem evident in black males. As the Committee for Economic Development's report on education for the urban disadvantaged has pointed out, the American economic system has traditionally favored black women over black men for the better of the nation's inferior jobs. The result has been not only a perpetuation but an accentuation of the negative self-image of the typical poverty-ridden black male (28, p. 26).

Rather poignant evidence of the debilitating nature of Negro self-hatred can readily be found in the concentrated attempts of black leaders in recent years to promote the idea of black pride. According to Banks and Grambs (5, p. xiii) and Goldschmid (51, p. 19), however, the so-called black revolt has done little to change the negative self-concepts and self-evaluations of most black youth, and Sciara has admitted that the slogan "black is beautiful" is more a "concept in rhetoric than in actuality" (133, p. 154).

The significance of the above as far as public education is concerned is clear, for it is generally accepted that the schools have a fundamental responsibility to enhance the self-concepts of their students (164, p. 211). That the schools all too often fail this responsibility is well known.
All too often, students develop a sense of academic failure based on repeated exposure to frustration and failure and based on teachers who reinforce their poor self-images rather than enhance their positive ones (61, p. 18). All too often, says Scribner, it is the negative attitude of the teacher that provides the incentive for the disadvantaged black student to become negative in his own assessment of his role (134).

Following their study of self-concept as related to school adjustment, Williams and Cole concluded that "... few factors are more fundamental to a child's success and happiness than his evaluation and acceptance of himself" (157, p. 480). Del Popolo (36) has emphasized this same relationship and, moreover, has acknowledged that it is the teacher and his attitudes and personality that plays a particularly potent role in determining what that child's self-evaluation will be. Furthermore, Heath has determined that a teacher's ability to relate to his students is likely to bear a substantial relationship to the ethnic background of the student group (60, p. 9).

In 1966, Meyers based her study on the hypothesis that Negro boys from an economically disadvantaged environment but with a positive self-concept would be achievers in the elementary school situation. She found her hypothesis confirmed at the .01 level. For all 46 subjects, a positive self-concept correlated with a positive attitude toward the
concept "Negro" at the .05 level (92). In addition, studies by Brookover and Thomas (11), Campbell (19), Caplin (20), Davidson and Greenberg (33), Paschal (102), and Zirkel (164) have all lent reinforcement to the idea of a direct linear relationship between self-concept and school achievement.

The Effects of Negative Teacher Attitudes

Heretofore, because of the relative scarcity of suitable racial attitude measures, much of the literature relating to the effects of the negative racial attitudes of teachers has been largely conjectural and hypothetical. For example, Young has identified the "most pernicious element" in the destruction of inner city black children to be the contempt in which they are held by the educational establishment. "Black kids fail," he says, "because they are expected to fail and because the whole system of American education is designed to encourage their failure" (163, p. 139).

Gehring has charged that if the teacher believes, for whatever reason, some students cannot learn, then those students will not learn (46, p. 220). To give up on a student, Levine and Doll have said, whether in frustration or pity, is to render tremendous damage. To give up is to reinforce the all too conscious feelings of inadequacy already haunting the student (80, pp. 22-23), for no matter how hopeless the situation may seem to the teacher, it may not seem so hopeless to the child. And because it isn't hopeless to the child, he may never accept, unless we teach it to him, the deadening conclusion that he is doomed because of his environment (80, p. 13).
So far as inner city black children are concerned, however, Rist has perhaps phrased the potential tragedy most succinctly by observing that an even greater tragedy than being labeled a slow learner is to be treated like one (113, p. 448).

As was expressed in Chapter I, a great number of authorities subscribe to the belief that a major reason for low school achievement among inner city students is the low expectations of their abilities held by their teachers. Still others who share this view would include Passow (103), Smith (136), Strom (142), White (155), and Wisniewski (159). In elaborating further on this theme, Knowles and Prewitt have charged that

... once the child's intellectual ability is "fixed" by his IQ test score and his teachers form an opinion of his potential, his intellectual growth is largely determined. For the black student, such a combination of testing procedures, ability grouping, and teachers' stereotypes can prove disastrous (75, p. 42).

While Henderson and Bibens have contended that the low expectations held by teachers of inner city black children is fostered by "explicit or implicit commitment to the notion of the biological inferiority of Negroes" (61, p. 70), Jerrems has perhaps framed this charge in the most damning rhetoric of all:

... a teacher in the black ghetto who does not expect children to achieve up to the level of white children is just as racist and is doing more harm to black people than a field full of southern farmers in white sheets (70, p. 271).

In the emphatic words of Donald H. Smith, "... what black pupils want and need are teachers who believe they can learn, who expect them to learn, and who teach them" (94, p. 64).
Further Studies of the Self-Fulfilling Prophecy

In recalling the wealth of research confirming the reality of the "self-fulfilling prophecy," Phenix has added that

people tend to live up (or down) to what others expect of them, because the image of oneself is determined in large part from the appraisals of others. The educative (or miseducative) effect of a racially biased social order is to help actualize the images of man found in the prejudiced minds of its members. So powerful is the force of social influence that unjust racial appraisals infect the consciousness both of those who are discriminated against and of those who discriminate . . . (106, p. 181).

The Morines have defined the self-fulfilling prophecy or self-confirming hypothesis as

the reasoning that black children are stupid, stupid children can't learn, and if they can't learn there is no sense in teaching them. At the end of the school year the tests show that the black children didn't learn anything which, of course, proves that black children are stupid (93, p. 15).

As Henderson and Bibens have pointed out, however, there can be a positive as well as negative effect of the self-fulfilling prophecy, for it frequently happens that if a teacher believes a student is capable of learning, he often becomes capable (61, p. 4). As far as the reality of teacher expectation effects is concerned, Brophy and Good have argued, after an extensive review of the literature, that the accumulation of evidence is such as to render further debate academic (13, p. 276). Others who agree with this general assessment would include Idzerda (64), MacKinnon (88), Merton (91), Pritzkau (109), Rubovits and Maehr (121), and Wilson (158).
Meichenbaum and Smart, in studying the effect of direct expectancy statements in modifying the academic performance and attitudes of college students, have found that in two of the four courses studied those students who were given expectancy statements to the effect that they had the potential ability and interests to "blossom" did in fact exhibit significant improvement relative to the control groups. A further analysis of the questionnaire responses revealed that the "... major effect of the expectancy statements was in significantly altering the expectancy subjects' attitudes toward their own self-confidence and feelings of likelihood of success" (90, p. 535).

In the late 1960's, Schranck conducted a series of studies at the Air Force Academy involving what he called the "labeling effect." Students were assigned to five so-called "ability groups" on a strictly random basis. Schranck discovered that the high group achieved significantly more than the low group, and group achievement means fell into position in precisely the same order as the five "ability" labels. The labels clearly seemed to affect the amounts that each group learned (127, 128).

In a study involving the other end of the educational spectrum, Doyle and his associates asked first-grade teachers to estimate their students' IQ's shortly before their IQ's were measured. When reading achievement scores taken at the end of the year were analyzed, they revealed that students
whose IQ's had been overestimated achieved more than their IQ's would predict, while students whose IQ's had been underestimated achieved less. Further analysis revealed that when teachers generally overestimated their students' IQ's, higher achievement scores were a result; when they generally underestimated IQ's, the result was lower scores. Doyle and his associates interpreted their findings as being indicative of a selective expectation effect within each classroom (39). In a similar study involving tutors of Head Start children, Beez found that those tutors who were told their students were of high ability taught more than those tutors who were told their students were of low ability. Furthermore, the supposedly high ability students did in fact score higher on end-of-year achievement tests (6).

Miscellaneous Studies and Viewpoints Relative to Racially-Based Teacher Attitudes

Thompson has stated that even though there may be many different sources of social influence within the classroom, still it is the teacher's behavior which tends to set the pattern of the classroom climate. Eventually the complex personality of the teacher, his human needs, attitudes, prejudices, conflicts, and values, translates into a behavior pattern which has a powerful influence on his students' social growth (144, p. 529). Yet as Lohman has observed, part of the problem is that Negro children and parents often do not view the teacher as an individual like anyone else, but as
a representative of that group which has discriminated against them so long. He goes on to add that even though the teacher may in fact be relatively unprejudiced, if he intends to serve effectively, he must be willing to accept feelings of suspicion and hostility directed toward him without becoming defensive (81, pp. 83-84). Such an attitude is absolutely essential if, as Schueler has repeated, the school holds the key for achieving social change (129, pp. 174-175) and if, as Haubrich (58) and Gies and Leonard (47) among others have claimed, the teacher is the crucial variable in the school.

As Hall (56) and Saenger (122) have suggested, it is not enough that the teacher of the urban disadvantaged be an accomplished hypocrite, for his true sentiments are going to surface one way or another. For this reason alone, then, if for no other, it is mandatory that the professional training of teachers begin with the prospective teacher's beliefs about people.

Racial Attitudes of College Students

While the number of studies dealing specifically with the racial attitudes of student teachers or even teacher education students is quite limited, studies dealing with the broader subject of the racial attitudes of college students are numerous. A significant study by Muir and McGlamery was designed to assess the evolution of desegregation attitudes among college students. Using a multidimensional instrument with six subscales (Attitude Regarding Desegregation,
Social Distance, Perception of Negro Characteristics, Attitude Regarding Equality of Political Opportunity, Attitude Regarding Equality of Economic Opportunity, Attitude Regarding Compatibility of Democracy and Segregation), administered to 676 white University of Alabama students in 1963 before integration, and to 871 white University students in 1966 after integration, the researchers found significantly more favorable responses in 1966 on four of the six subscales. What is perhaps even more significant, however, is that as of 1966, 84 percent still would not date a Negro, 80 percent still would not double-date with a Negro, 73 percent still did not want to room with a Negro, 63 percent still did not want Negroes in the same fraternity or sorority, and 60 percent still would not eat at the same cafeteria table. Furthermore, 35 percent still did not believe that segregation conflicts with the ideals of democracy any more than does integration or desegregation (95, pp. 106-108).

A 1952 study by Stephenson called for administering the Hinckley Attitude Toward the Negro Scale to a broad cross-section of freshmen and senior students in all the schools of Miami University of Ohio. Using samples drawn from the Schools of Arts and Sciences, Business Administration, and Education, Stephenson found significant differences in scale scores relative to the schools in which students were enrolled. In descending order of positive attitudes, freshmen education majors ranked first, followed by freshmen arts and sciences
majors, then freshmen business majors. The only statistically
significant finding, however, was a positive shift in atti-
tude from the freshman year to the senior year in the School
of Education. While apparent attitude changes were noted in
the other two schools, they did not attain statistical sig-
nificance (141).

Dunlap's study also involved the relationship between
education and degree of liberality toward the Negro. His
findings revealed only a slight difference in attitude between
students of psychology and students of business administration.
While the differences were not statistically significant,
they did suggest a somewhat higher degree of liberality in
the School of Psychology (41).

In 1951 Gilbert repeated Katz and Braly's 1933 Princeton
University study (73) and found indications that uniformity
in verbal racial stereotyping had declined markedly. He
considered especially significant the spontaneous expressions
of irritation at even being asked to make broad racial gen-
eralization by the 1951 students. Gilbert attributed the
change to (1) the influence of entertainment and communi-
cations media, (2) a greater interest in and sophistication
regarding social science, and (3) a significantly different,
more "proletarian" student body at Princeton (48).

In 1967 Karlins, Coffman, and Walters repeated the Katz
and Braly study again, this time using a sample of 150
Princeton undergraduates. Whereas Gilbert's findings are
sometimes cited as an indicator of improvement in the perception of ethnic groups and perhaps as an indicator of a decline in stereotyping itself (71, p. 2), Karlins and his associates have concluded that Gilbert's apparent fading of social stereotypes should not be considered a genuine overall trend. While traditional stereotyping assignments have declined in frequency, apparently they have been, in the long run, simply replaced by others, thus resulting in "restored stereotype uniformity" (71, p. 14).

When Centers presented Katz and Braly's original 1933 norms to undergraduates at the University of California at Los Angeles, he found that each of the traits listed was correctly identified by a large majority of students, ranging from 75 percent who recognized the 1933 characterizations of Japanese, Chinese, and Turks to the 95 percent who recognized the 1933 descriptions of English and Jews (23).

After a comprehensive review of a number of studies involving the relationship between education and liberality of racial and ethnic views, Feldman and Newcomb found a positive correlation documented again and again (42). Following a similar survey, Webster, Freedman, and Heist concluded that greater liberalism and sophistication in politics, religion, and social assessment is an almost axiomatic attribute of the college student (151). While Chickering would, in the main, agree with this conclusion, his study has indicated that such a generalization does not necessarily hold true from one campus to another (24, pp. 600-602).
A 1970 study by Ratcliffe and Steil zeroed in on yet another area of significant racial attitudes. On a 100-item survey covering the whole spectrum of social, educational, and political issues of the day administered to 113 black and 235 white Michigan college students, Ratcliffe and Steil found significant statistical differences emerging on 70 of the 100 items (110).

Finally, in a most significant study exploring the vital issue of permanence in racial attitudes, Bogardus has compared responses of national samples of college students to his social distance scale for the years 1926, 1946, and 1956. The results have led him to conclude that racial attitudes are not only potent but that they tend to endure through time (8).

New Teachers in the Inner City

Until recently, new teachers as well as experienced teachers enjoyed the luxury of deciding, at least to some degree, where they wanted to practice their profession. For some time it has been obvious that one place they do not wish to teach is in the inner city. Rivlin has characterized this reluctance as a kind of "subtle, nationwide teachers' strike, a strike based primarily on fear" (114). That this fear could be well founded is illustrated in a study by Deutsch which revealed that as much as 80 percent of the school day in the inner city is devoted to disciplinary and organizational details. Deutsch has reasoned that the lower
class, inner city, Negro child is getting one-half to one-third the exposure to learning his more fortunate age-mates in the suburbs receive (37, pp. 3, 23).

In any case, it is becoming increasingly obvious that beginning teachers are going to be compelled to adopt new outlooks regarding where they want to teach. According to United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, between 1968 and 1980, 4.2 million new teachers will have entered the market competing for only 2.4 million new openings (55, p. 12). A substantial teacher surplus, at least in terms of openings if not in terms of actual need, is now a reality. In light of these statistics, and in light of the clearly demonstrated fact that inner city schools are not the first choice of most teachers, the inevitable result is that many of the teachers who will fill these positions will be beginners, persons lacking in classroom experience and lacking the preferences and privileges accorded their tenured colleagues. That it should not be so will not alter the fact that teaching is the only profession in which "the most complex and most difficult problems are assigned to the least expert and least experienced practitioners" (142, p. 31).

The potential depth of the problem emerging can be seen in the results of a number of recent studies of the inner city teaching force. Already a significant imbalance between experienced and inexperienced teachers, between tenured teachers and newcomers, is developing. In 1968, on a
nation-wide basis, 5.6 percent of all full-time teachers were teaching with less than standard certificates. In Baltimore, however, the percentage was 23.8; in Washington, D.C., 26.0; and in Chicago, a rather incredible 33.9 (148, p. 155). Likewise, the so-called Hauser Study found teachers in Chicago's inner city to have less experience and less education than teachers in the outlying areas. Furthermore, the inner city schools were plagued with markedly higher incidences of temporary appointments and faculty turnover (98, pp. 125-129).

In his well known study of public education in Chicago, Havighurst's findings concur with those of the Hauser Report. For example, Havighurst found that in the inner city schools the median level of experience was four years, whereas in the higher status, outlying Chicago schools the median level of experience was nineteen years. Furthermore, only 64 percent of the inner city faculties were found to be regularly assigned personnel, whereas in the outlying areas the figure was 94 percent (59, p. 170). Lest anyone should think that this is a problem peculiar only to Chicago or the mammoth Eastern metropolises, the President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders has found that throughout the nation teachers of the disadvantaged rank below other teachers in experience and level of education (97, p. 428).

Whereas all of the above statistics are interesting, they could remain relatively inconsequential if no
relationship to learning outcomes or personality development could be shown. However, there is evidence that training and experience do make a difference. For example, in another study of the Chicago schools, this time concerning high school reading performance, Burkhead has found that next to the socioeconomic character of the school itself, teacher experience is the only other contributing variable bearing a clear relationship (17).

Given the situation as it now exists, with more and more experienced teachers opting for the suburbs and more and more beginners compelled to begin their careers in the inner cities, it is obvious that the teacher training institutions must do a better job of facing reality. Their task goes beyond simply preparing teachers who will consent to begin in the inner cities or who can survive in the inner cities. The need is for teachers who will choose to make the inner cities schools their field of service. In reflecting on the failure experienced by so many young teachers today, B. O. Smith has laid the blame at the college door:

Some teachers become dropouts for the same reason that their students are dropouts: they quit because they fail. And they fail because they have not been trained to do the job . . . (136, pp. 27-28).

This training is a responsibility the college or university has to recognize and assume.
Conclusions

In an educational age stressing "behavioral objectives" and "measurable learning outcomes," it is important to remember, as Smith has emphasized, that "education . . . is still obviously and preeminently a value enterprise" (139, p. 408). The attitudes and values of teachers play a crucial role in determining not only learning outcomes but in influencing pupil attitudes about themselves and their world. The abundant evidence cited in this chapter verifies that the most important variable in achieving a quality educational system is the teacher in the classroom, and certainly one of the most important variables in the make-up of an effective teacher is the attitude of that teacher toward the students in his charge. If education is a value enterprise, and if fair-minded, unbiased attitudes are values worth striving for, then it must follow that the attitudes and values of those preparing to enter the teaching profession, and particularly their racial and ethnic attitudes, should themselves be of obvious and preeminent concern to those with teacher training responsibilities.

Combatting the Problem of Prejudice

Historically, the methods of combatting the problem of prejudice have run the gamut. Perhaps the most frequently chosen and almost automatic response has been to submit the problem to the universal curative of education. Some very influential figures have suggested just such a course,
Allport (2, p. 434), Glock and Siegelman (49, p. 172), Seymour (135, p. 11), Banks (4, p. 268), Banks and Grambs (5, p. 16), and Hunter (63, pp. 89-95). Hunter calls education the "key, the lever" to initiating widespread attitudinal change and argues that the only reason educational efforts have failed so far is that so far such efforts have remained "piecemeal and sporadic" (63, p. 89). Even former President Lyndon Johnson presumably meant to include prejudice when he stated that one great truth he had learned was that "the answer for all the problems of the world comes down . . . to one single word--education" (43, p. 491). Other advocates, citing research studies or surveys to lend credence to an alleged relationship between education and prejudice reduction, would include Campbell (18, pp. 157-158), Dawson (34, p. 203), Harding (57, p. 1039), Plant (107, pp. 162-165), Robinson and Spaights (115, p. 170), Samelson (125, pp. 11-13), and Tumin, Barton, and Burrus (147, pp. 370-377).

By no means does everyone regard education as a panacea. Cuban has termed the belief that racism can be eliminated by information a basic error in educational thinking (32, p. 270), and Vander Zanden has argued that the nature of prejudice is such that it would be naive to believe that all that would be required to dispel it would be knowledge and experience (150, p. 18). Rubin has charged that educators should by no means be surprised to find programs stressing factual input meeting only with moderate success (119, p. 44).
Not only, Kvaraceus has said, does education have relatively little impact on attitude formation, but what changes do occur seem primarily to reflect reinforcement of attitudes that already exist (77, p. 36). Caselli (22, p. 100), Jacob (67), Schuman and Harding (130, p. 371), and Schwartz (131, pp. 116-127) likewise have questioned the effectiveness of education in altering attitudes, and Stember has concluded that even if prejudice could be shown to be less blatant, less obvious in the better educated, prejudicial stereotyping would resurface in more subtle and sophisticated guises (140, p. 20).

Next to education, perhaps the most widely employed attempts to alleviate discrimination and prejudice have been the legal efforts to desegregate American society. Unfortunately, study findings relative to an anticipated trend toward greater equalitarianism are contradictory, and most deal only with observed changes of attitude among public school students in desegregated situations. For example, a study of desegregation among San Francisco pupils has found that in general they were doing better academically and displaying improved attitudes toward other races than they were in the years prior to desegregation (65, p. 361), and authorities such as Hunter (63, p. 91), Caselli (22, pp. 100-101), and Deutsch and Collins (38, p. 148) have expressed a great deal of faith in integration as a way of changing prejudiced attitudes. It is, however, significant to note that Caselli, Deutsch and Collins, and
Hunter all call for more than legal desegregation, arguing instead that the key to effecting positive change lies in achieving the much more elusive goal of social integration (22, 38, 63).

On the other hand, there are at least an equal number of studies denying altogether the efficacy of compulsory togetherness. Again, using public school students as subjects, Webster found that after a year of desegregation, white students proved less willing to accept Negro students than they had been before (152, pp. 292-296), a conclusion also reached by Lombardi (82, pp. 129-136). In a study of desegregation in the Cairo, Illinois, schools, Valien found an actual strengthening of the negative stereotypes white students already had of Negroes (149, pp. 80-110), and in a somewhat similar study, Krovetz found a similar pattern prevailing over a two-year period of time (76, pp. 247-249). Gottlieb and Ten Houten found that in general two separate social systems tend to evolve at desegregated schools (53, pp. 204-212), and, according to St. John, what interracial association does develop tends to remain of the formal rather than the informal variety (123, pp. 326-344).

A growing trend in recent years has been to view prejudice not as an educational problem, or legal problem, but more as reflective of a psychological need. Much attention has been devoted to theories of the origins of prejudice and to explanations of why people tend to cling to them in the
face of abundant factual evidence that they are irrational and ill-founded. For example, Allport has attributed the growth of prejudice to a process he has termed "subsidiation," a process whereby a person acquires ethnic attitudes conforming to his own self-image and which satisfy his personal psychological needs. If, as a result of the socialization process, his self-image is characterized by guilt, fear, or anxiety, a form of prejudice may very well develop to support his life style (2, p. 301). In a similar statement, Marrow has identified a

... virulent kind of prejudice which draws its force from man's inner conflicts, from a kind of self-hatred which is projected on others. The hater loads on the object of his hate all the defects which he cannot confront in himself and thus provides himself with a scapegoat. Thus his prejudice is rooted in his personal insecurity and explains why it is so difficult to alter (89, pp. 32-33).

Myrdahl, in his monumental study of American racism, has traced its origins back to a basic incongruity in American society, to an inability among Americans to reconcile their cherished democratic ideals with the historical exploitation of blacks in this country. According to Myrdahl, the dogma of race provided "nearly the only way out for a people... not prepared to live up to its faith" (96, p. 89), the kind of conclusion also shared by Clark (25, p. 102), Deutsch and Collins (38, pp. 132-133), Westie (154, pp. 527-538), Young (163, p. 135), and the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry (54, p. 17).
It is worthy of note that in none of the instances above is prejudice regarded as a product of a lack of information or education. Prejudice is seen as developing and enduring because it satisfies in the person or the society some psychological need. Rubin has suggested that anyone interested in developing strategems for reducing racial prejudice should begin by asking, "What does an individual gain by holding an attitude? What functional purpose does it serve in the individual's efforts to cope with his environment?" (120, p. 43).

As if in response, Redl has argued that

Prejudices usually have little basis in fact . . . that the real battle against the more vicious forms of prejudice is not successfully waged by historic, economic, realistic or other kinds of logical argument. It is waged successfully only when we help people live in such a way they don't need their prejudices (111, p. 257).

Specifically, Redl has identified six stereotypes of prejudice and why people hand on to them:

1. **Prejudice as a piece of grandfather's furniture.** Some people keep certain prejudices just for the purpose of "treasuring them."

2. **Prejudice as a societal entrance or as a subgroup loyalty oath.**

3. **Prejudice as a tax exemption certificate from guilt, shame and fear.** You can always allow yourself a little act of meanness which you would not think of doing to your own group.

4. **A master race complex in the vest pocket.** No matter how miserable things may get, my own superiority is guaranteed because other groups are by my definition "evil" or "inferior."

5. **The use of prejudice as the flag of the disinherited.** . . . If you are in a miserable condition, you certainly cannot afford to drop a prejudice because it's the only thing you have left to hang on to in order to explain your misery.
6. **The Devil's Mirror**... I resort to something close to [a] "paranoid" mechanism of projecting my own unconscious desire onto an outgroup, blow it up, way out of proportions—and persecute it in them (lll, pp. 254-257).

If prejudice is principally a psychological problem rather than an educational or legal one, then the proposed solutions are many. Caselli maintains the problem warrants nothing less than a massive mental health program for the sick white majority employing the tested procedures and techniques of phenomenological psychology (22, pp. 100-101). Tillman also calls for the same kind of massive mental health commitment (145, p. 239). DeKock has suggested simulation as a particularly effective technique of achieving attitude change (35, pp. 181-183); Janis and King, role playing (69, p. 13); Rosenberg, a carefully drawn program of human engineering (116); and Rubin, sensitivity training (119, p. 29). In his study of college classrooms, Wieder found that therapeutic classroom techniques such as socio-drama and psychodrama were superior to traditional lecture-discussion approaches in modifying intergroup prejudice. Wieder and his associates interpreted their findings to be supportive of those researchers who believe prejudice to be a symptom of a personality need syndrome "not readily amenable to modification by factual information, exhortation, propaganda, or other simple linear approaches" (156, p. 343). Without suggesting a specific remedy, Katz has concurred that
At the psychological level the reasons for holding or for changing attitudes are found in the functions they perform for the individual, specifically the functions of adjustment, ego defense, value expression, and knowledge. The conditions necessary to arouse or modify an attitude vary according to the motivational basis of the attitude (72, p. 163).

As introduced earlier, association or contact constitutes a final major approach to dealing with the problem of prejudice. Substantive reservations, however, are in order. As Vander Zanden has emphasized, "In and of itself . . . contact does not necessarily dispel prejudice. In fact, superficial contact is often a means by which prejudice is increased" (150, pp. 432-433). Pettigrew adds that "if groups are of widely different social status, contact between them may do little more than reinforce old and hostile stereotypes" (105, p. 987).

Quite consistently those writing in the field clearly delineate among types of contact. The theme repeated time and again seems to be that contact, if it is to be effective in ameliorating prejudice, must be characterized by (1) relative equality of status among the groups in contact, (2) commonality of goals, (3) cooperative interdependency, and (4) the positive support of authorities, laws, or customs (2, chap. 16; 3, pp. 338-339; 7, p. 323; 12, pp. 456-466; 30, pp. 1-13; 44, pp. 48-51; 87, pp. 417-441; 146, p. 15; 150, p. 438). To the above list, Stember would add relative equality of educational status (140, pp. 153-154).
The approach taken by Deutsch and Collins emphasized slightly different kinds of characteristics. In a study of white attitudes in interracial housing developments, they found that

for a disruption in rationales of prejudice to occur, the biased individual must be exposed to experiences (a) which contradict the rationales, (b) which are of sufficient intimacy and duration so as to be compelling enough to resist marked perceptual and memorial distortion, and (c) which seem relevant to the basis on which the objects of prejudice are grouped together (38, p. 146).

In a study dealing directly with attitude modification among teachers, Riessman found that contact or "exposure," in and of itself, "may only reinforce existing stereotypes." He found that teachers, like everyone else,

see selectively what they want and expect to see; consequently what is needed is a carefully directed, prepared exposure showing what to look at and how to look at the culture. . . . Teachers must be carefully prepared to look beyond the environment and the surface behavior in comprehending the meaning of the life and behavior of the poor (112, p. 328).

Finally, in a study of reduction in anti-Negro prejudice among prospective secondary teachers, Holmes found a significant correlation between such a reduction and "selective" contacts with Negroes on the campus and in the community (62).
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CHAPTER III

METHODS OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and explain the mechanics of the present study. Consequently, individual attention will be devoted to (1) a Description of the Subjects, (2) a Description of the Student Teaching Environments Compared, (3) the Procedures Used in Collecting the Data, (4) the Instrument, (5) the Procedures Used to Test the Hypotheses, (6) the Procedures Used in Processing the Data, and (7) the Procedures Used in Analyzing the Data.

Description of the Subjects

The subjects included in this study were all senior-level student teachers at North Texas State University in Denton, Texas. Only those seeking certification in secondary school teaching were asked to participate, and, because of the nature of the study itself, all non-white student teachers were excluded.

At the beginning of the second student teaching session, during the spring semester, 1973, the roster of all student teachers was reviewed in order to isolate all those who would qualify either for the experimental group or the control group.
Experimental Group

The experimental group consisted of an intact group of twenty-eight future teachers who had volunteered to participate in a unified core professional preparation sequence sponsored jointly by the North Texas State University School of Education and the Dallas Independent School District. Of special significance is the fact that this voluntary program is housed in a teaching center atmosphere in a predominantly black (80 percent or more) inner city school.

Control Group

The control group consisted of all those secondary future teachers scheduled to teach in a more traditional student-teaching environment in the Dallas metropolitan area. At North Texas State University, a traditional student-teaching environment has tended to be primarily middle-class, 80 percent or more white, and suburban.

Description of the Student Teaching Environments Compared

West Dallas Teacher Education Project

This inner city core professional preparation sequence has been described as "an attempt to move preservice teacher education from the realm of theory toward more realistic approaches" with an eye toward "preparing teachers to be successful at teaching in the inner city" (14, p. 21). The project was developed and is administered and conducted by three full-time staff members from the School of Education
at North Texas State University and by a full-time coordinator assigned to the project by the school district. These staff members in turn receive indispensable assistance from a group of Dallas Independent School District teachers who have volunteered to work with the project.

The West Dallas Teacher Education Project is concentrated in a densely populated neighborhood dominated by extensive public housing projects in a long-decaying sector of the inner city. The racial make-up of the neighborhood schools at the time of this study was 78 percent black, 20 percent Mexican-American, and 2 percent Anglo (14, p. 22).

Those future teachers who volunteer for the project typically have completed only the basic, introductory education course. In the West Dallas project, they are able to earn the remaining fifteen semester hours of professional education required for certification. During the first eight weeks of the program, they teach in a more or less standard student teaching situation in the host schools during the morning hours and meet with the University staff members in seminar sessions in the afternoon. The seminars thus replace the required education courses customarily taught on campus. After the first two months of the project, the afternoon seminars are discontinued, and the future teachers begin actual classroom teaching for the full day.
The Traditional Student-Teaching Environment

As stated previously, at North Texas State University a traditional student-teaching environment characteristically tends to be primarily middle-class, 80 percent or more white, and often suburban. In many instances, the cooperating school is one chosen by the student teacher himself. At North Texas State, the professional preparation sequence includes nine hours of campus-based classroom instruction completed prior to the student-teaching experience. Student teaching itself entails the earning of six semester hours of credit for work that is, in large part, administratively and instructionally distinct from the rest of the student's professional preparation. In each instance, the prospective teacher's experience is supervised jointly by a cooperating teacher within the public school and by a visiting staff member or graduate fellow from the University.

Procedures Used in Collecting the Data

During the month of January, 1973, at the area meetings of all student teachers held just prior to their going out into the cooperating schools, those control group students previously selected to participate in the study were identified and given oral instructions as to how and when they were to complete the study instrument. At that time, they were also handed the questionnaire booklet, an answer sheet, an envelope for returning both, and a list of printed directions concerning the instrument. The assistance of the University
student teacher coordinators was obtained in helping to see that each subject completed and returned his questionnaire to the Student Teaching Office prior to leaving the School of Education building.

During this same week, the cooperation of the directors of the West Dallas Teacher Education Project was obtained in assembling those student teachers who would constitute the experimental group. These students were given oral instructions as to how the questionnaire was to be completed. At this time, they were also provided a questionnaire booklet, an answer sheet, and the same list of printed directions provided the control group subjects, and each subject was asked to return the questionnaire prior to leaving for the day.

In order to alleviate possible fears of recrimination, all subjects, experimental and control, were identified only by social security numbers, and all were assured their responses would be treated with as much anonymity and confidentiality as possible.

At the beginning of the eighth week of the spring semester, when all the subjects involved in the study had had approximately equivalent time exposures in their student teaching environments, the questionnaire was administered again. All the experimental group subjects were assembled as before, and the same procedures were used in administering this post-test as were used in administering the pre-test.
At the same time, those students who comprised the control group were contacted again, this time by mail, supplied with a questionnaire booklet, answer sheet, the list of instructions, and a stamped, pre-addressed return envelope, and were asked to return this post-test within two weeks. Again with the assistance of the University coordinators and following, in some instances, a follow-up letter, an 84.2 percent rate of response (32 of the original 38 surveyed) was achieved.

Instrument

As indicated in Chapter I, the measuring instrument used in this study was the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory (MRAI) developed by Woodmansee and Cook (17, 18) and subsequently revised by Brigham, Woodmansee, and Cook (2), and Weissbach and Cook (16). The thirteen interspersed subscales of the MRAI, each designed to isolate a distinct dimension of racial attitude, are listed below, along with a sample item from each.

1. Integration-Segregation Policy. "The Negro should be afforded equal rights through integration."

2. Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships. "I would not mind taking a Negro to eat with me in a restaurant where I was well known."

3. Negro Inferiority. "Many Negroes should receive a better education than they are now getting, but the emphasis should be on training them for jobs rather than preparing them for college."

4. Ease in Interracial Contacts. "I would probably feel somewhat self-conscious dancing with a Negro in a public place."
5. Derogatory Beliefs. "Although social equality of the races may be the democratic way, a good many Negroes are not yet ready to practice the self-discipline that goes with it."

6. Local Autonomy. "Even though we all adopt racial integration sooner or later, the people of each community should be allowed to decide when they are ready for it."

7. Private Rights. "A hotel owner ought to have the right to decide for himself whether he is going to rent rooms to Negro guests."

8. Acceptance in Status-Superior Relationships. "If I were being interviewed for a job, I would not mind at all being evaluated by a Negro personnel director."

9. Gradualism. "Gradual desegregation is a mistake because it just gives people a chance to cause further delay."

10. Negro Superiority. "I think that the Negroes have a kind of quiet courage which few whites have."

11. Interracial Marriage. "The disapproval and dislike of others is of no importance if an interracial marriage is based on mutual love and respect."

12. Approaches to Negro Progress. "Civil rights legislation has contributed more to the Negro's progress than have programs to improve his education."

13. Negro Militance. "Violence by Negroes is a justifiable reaction to prejudice and discrimination by whites."

Scoring of the individual items is on the basis of an "agree-disagree" format with one point being awarded for each equalitarian response. Half of the responses deemed equalitarian are positive, and half are negative, with all being randomly distributed throughout the instrument. The more equalitarian the attitude, the higher the subscale score.

Subscale ten, however, is a special case in that it is not intended to be a true attitudinal measure. Subscale ten
is included primarily because of its potential for identifying those individuals trying to tailor their answers so as to cast a favorable reflection on themselves. Consequently, it has not been interpreted in the same manner as the other subscales, nor have subscale ten scores been included in each individual's total MRAI scores. Those individuals scoring seven or higher on subscale ten and one hundred or higher on the total Inventory were to be dropped from the study; however, no subjects fell into this category.

Again, as indicated earlier in Chapter I, validity and reliability coefficients have been computed by the authors of the MRAI using a known groups approach for validity and internal consistency and test-retest approaches for reliability.

In 1965, in the process of establishing validity scores, the authors administered the instrument to 630 white college students of U. S. citizenship from schools in two border South cities and two Western states. Of the 630 students, 313 held membership in groups which could be expected to possess specified group attitudes toward Negroes. These subjects formed the criterion groups against which the validity of the MRAI attitude dimensions could be tested. Using a known groups approach, the authors derived subscale scores for each dimension. Correlation ratios, or $\eta$'s, were calculated from the analysis of variance of each subscale score against attitudinal group membership thus yielding an index of the relative effectiveness of the subscales as measures.
of the individual dimensions. Likewise, coefficients of reliability for internal consistency were computed using the same criterion group subject responses, and test-retest scores of forty-one introductory psychology students at Wake Forest University were used in computing coefficients of reliability for stability.

Again, internal consistency coefficients ranged from .72 to .93 with a median of .84; stability coefficients from .51 to .95 with a median of .81; and validity or eta coefficients from .50 to .83 with a median of .58 (3, pp. 6-10).

Still another indication of the reliability of the MRAI has been furnished through the efforts of Ard and Cook of the University of Colorado to develop a short form of the instrument. Both versions of the Inventory were administered to six groups of white, Western college students, with N's ranging from 69 to 307, over a period of two years. A comparison of the scores obtained on the short form and the long form yields correlation coefficients ranging from .86 to .93 (1, pp. 3-4).

While the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory has not as yet experienced wide usage, the concept of the multi-dimensionality of racial attitudes has become widely accepted. As Stember has pointed out, the usual assumption has been that it is possible to isolate an abstraction called "prejudice," an oversimplification to which he has objected (15, p. 2). Traditionally it has been assumed that all attitudes,
including prejudice, consist essentially of three components: beliefs (the cognitive realm), feelings (the affective realm), and action-orientations (predispositions to behave in a certain way) (8, pp. 664-665; 12, p. 77). Indications that this traditional view is giving way are numerous. For example, Horn and Morrison's factor analysis of Minnesota Teacher Attitude Inventory scores has yielded evidence that not just one but five covarying patterns of items occur within that instrument (7). Scott's review of recent theoretical formulations in attitude study has revealed at least eleven defining properties or dimensions common to all attitudes (13, pp. 205-208). In considering just the specific area of prejudice, Kramer has found it composed of "many aspects, categories, and dimensions," (9, p. 389) a point of view also shared by Chein (4).

In studying the relationship between prejudice and race and social desirability, Dienstbier has found evidence of multi-dimensionality of prejudice and in fact has found that "it is very possible for an individual to indicate negative Negro prejudice on several measures while indicating positive prejudice on others." Dienstbier has expounded on this theme by adding that people express "racial biases, not bias" (5, pp. 211-212).

In summary, it is within this milieu, the recognized multi-dimensionality of all attitudes, and particularly prejudice, that the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory is designed to operate.
Procedures Used to Test the Hypotheses

The statistical treatment necessary to test the tenability of the hypotheses in this study was performed by the Computer Center at North Texas State University. The required data was entered on computer worksheets and then transferred to International Business Machines tabulating cards for computer processing. The research hypotheses were stated in the null form for statistical treatment, and the 5 percent level of significance was arbitrarily established as the point below which each hypothesis would be rejected. Following the statistical computation, the data was entered into tabular form to enhance its clarity for presentation and interpretation.

The formulas used for the computation of the means and standard deviations are the standard formulas found in Guilford (6). The t-test used to test the significance of the differences between the various means is the standard formula used by the Computer Center and can be found in McNemar (10). An appropriate t-table was consulted to determine the level of significance, and the significance of the t-ratio results was indicated in the manner of $P$ is less than or equal to .05.

The analysis of covariance used in comparing the degree of change indicated in the adjusted mean scores can be found in Roscoe (11). Calculated $F$ values were compared to the tabled $F$ values at the .05 level of significance and the appropriate number of degrees of freedom. When the calculated
value for $P$ was less than or equal to $.05$, the null hypothesis was rejected, thereby indicating the existence of a significant difference in the adjusted means of the various samples. However, when the calculated value for $P$ was greater than $.05$, the null hypothesis was of course accepted, indicating the existence of no significant differences in adjusted means.

Procedures Used in Processing the Data

The data obtained from pre-test and post-test administrations of the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory was key-punched onto IBM computer cards. The only other item of information included on the cards were arbitrarily assigned identification numbers for every student. The cards were then processed through an IBM sorter to tabulate the results.

The results of the pre-test and post-test administrations of the MRAI have been recorded in tabular form and are included in Chapter IV.

Procedures Used in Analyzing the Data

At the conclusion of the eight-week survey period, results of the pre-test and post-test administrations of the MRAI were tabulated. With the hypotheses expressed in the null form, responses from the control group and the experimental group were assembled for tabular presentation in Chapter IV along with an analysis and interpretation of the data. Specifically, the tenability of the hypotheses of this study
was tested by the following statistical treatments:

Hypothesis 1 was tested for significant differences between control group pre-test means and post-test means both with regard to the Inventory as a whole and with regard to each of the separate subscales.

Hypothesis 2 was tested for significant differences between experimental group pre-test means and post-test means both with regard to the Inventory as a whole and with regard to each of the separate subscales.

Hypothesis 3 was tested for significant differences between control group mean change and experimental group mean change, as expressed in terms of an analysis of covariance, both with regard to the Inventory as a whole and with regard to each of the separate subscales.
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In summary, the purpose of this study was to determine the nature of white student teacher attitudes relative to blacks, whether or not these attitudes were influenced by the racial environment in which student teaching was accomplished, and thereby either to reinforce the manner in which racial attitudes are treated in traditional teacher preparation programs or suggest new directions teacher training curricula might take.

In selecting an appropriate instrument for use in implementing the study considerable credence was given to the growing tendency among social and behavioral scientists to regard prejudice not as a unitary phenomenon, but as a multidimensional aggregate covering a broad spectrum of individual attitudes. The Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory, developed by Woodmansee, Cook, and others, seemed most appropriate in this respect in that the Inventory actually consists of thirteen separate subscales, ranging from a measure of attitudes regarding Integration-Segregation Policy to a measure of attitudes regarding Negro Militance.

Two groups of university students were asked to participate in the study. The first group, designated the experimental group, consisted of those white student teachers (twenty-eight
in all) who had volunteered to do their student teaching in a university co-sponsored pilot program in Dallas' inner city secondary schools. Of special significance for this present study is the fact that the student body make-up of these schools was 80 percent or more black.

The second group, the control group, consisted of all those white secondary future teachers scheduled to teach in a more traditional student teaching environment in the Dallas metropolitan area. The 32 subjects following the more traditional pattern found themselves student teaching in schools that were primarily middle class, often suburban, and 80 percent or more white.

Specifically, three research hypotheses were tested in the present study. Those three hypotheses are restated in the following pages, and accompanying each hypothesis is a detailed account of the research and statistical treatments employed in testing it, along with complete summaries and analysis of the statistical values derived.

Hypothesis 1: Traditional group subjects, teaching in a predominantly white suburban school environment, will undergo no significant changes in racial attitudes during the course of student teaching as measured by the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory, either with regard to the Inventory as a whole, or with regard to any of the separate subscales.

The Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory (MRAI) was first administered to the traditional or control group
subjects in January, 1973, at the area meetings of all stu-
dent teachers held just prior to their going out into the
cooperating schools. The results of this pre-test administra-
tion of the Inventory are presented in Table I. Again, the
more equalitarian the attitudes, the higher the subscale and
composite scores.

**TABLE I**

INDIVIDUAL MRAI CONTROL GROUP PRE-TEST SCORES

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| Total   | 287 | 304 | 270 | 139 | 179 | 206 | 219 | 309 | 111 | 72  | 184 | 139 | 122 | 2469 |

**TABLE I—Continued**
At the beginning of the eighth week of the spring semester, in March, 1973, those subjects comprising the control group were contacted again, this time by mail, and the results of this post-test administration of the MRAI are presented in Table II. After approximately seven and one-half weeks exposure to traditional student teaching environments—predominantly middle class, often suburban, and 80 percent or more white—control group subjects responded as follows:

**TABLE II**

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The statistical information thus derived was keypunched onto International Business Machine tabulating cards for processing at the Computer Center at North Texas State University. As explained in Chapter III, subscale ten scores are not reflected in the composite MRAI scores since the primary function of this subscale is to serve as a screening device rather than as a true attitudinal measure.

Subscale and composite means and standard deviations were then calculated both for the pre-test and post-test administrations, followed by calculations of the differences between pre-test and post-test means and the standard deviations of those mean differences. The t-test for related samples was employed to test the significance of these differences, and the .05 level was arbitrarily chosen as the point below which the hypothesis would be rejected. The results of these calculations are presented in Table III.

In summary, probability values ranged from 0.1366 for subscale twelve, Approaches to Negro Progress, to 1.0000 for subscale three, Negro Inferiority. Since in no case was the value of P less than or equal to 0.0500, the null hypothesis was confirmed. No significant changes in racial attitudes occurred during the course of student teaching among those future teachers who completed student teaching in a traditional, predominantly white, suburban school environment.

That subscale twelve should come the closest to approximating significance is perhaps understandable. No fewer
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than seven of the ten subscale-twelve opinion items align an essentially conservative educationally-based alternative against a more political, socially active course of action. In each case, the political, socially active alternative is interpreted to be the more equalitarian. Consequently, the tendency toward greater equalitarianism among control group subjects may represent not so much a shift in racial attitudes per se as a realistic rejection of education itself as a universal cure-all.

Hypothesis 2: Experimental group subjects, teaching in a predominantly black inner city school environment but following a unified core professional preparation sequence, will undergo no significant changes in racial attitudes during the course of student teaching as measured by the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory, either with regard to the Inventory as a whole, or with regard to any of the separate subscales.

The Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory was first administered to the experimental group subjects in January, 1973, during the same week it was administered to the control group subjects, at a general assembly of all those student teachers participating in the West Dallas Teacher Education Project. The results of this pre-test administration of the Inventory are presented in Table IV.
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During the eighth week of the spring semester, in March, 1973, those subjects comprising the experimental group were reassembled, and the MRAI was administered again. The results of this post-test administration of the Inventory are presented in Table V. After approximately seven and one-half weeks exposure to a lower class, inner city, predominantly black environment, experimental group subjects responded as follows:

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The same statistical procedures used to treat the control group data were employed to test the significance of the experimental group data. Subscale and composite means and standard deviations were calculated both for the pre-test and post-test administrations of the instrument, followed by calculations of the differences between pre-test and post-test means and the standard deviations of those mean differences. Again, subscale ten scores were omitted.

The t-test for related samples was used to test the significance of the differences observed, and the .05 level was arbitrarily chosen as the point below which the hypothesis would be rejected. The results of these calculations are presented in Table VI.
TABLE VI
TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE:  PRE-TEST AND POST-TEST EXPERIMENTAL GROUP MEAN SCORES

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*Significant at the .05 level.
In summary, probability values ranged from 0.0037 for subscale twelve, Approaches to Negro Progress, to 0.9221 for subscale five, Derogatory Beliefs. In three cases the value of $P$ was found to be less than or equal to 0.0500. For subscale four, Ease in Interracial Contacts ($P = 0.0104$), subscale eleven, Interracial Marriage ($P = 0.0315$), and subscale twelve, Approaches to Negro Progress ($P = 0.0037$), the null hypothesis was rejected. On these three subscales, a significant shift toward more equalitarian attitudes emerged. For the other nine subscales and for the instrument as a whole, the null hypothesis was confirmed.

Since the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory is essentially a descriptive rather than analytical instrument, any attempts to explain or account for the attitudinal patterns observed must remain largely speculative and highly conjectural. For example, the significant shift toward more equalitarian attitudes observed on subscale four can possibly be explained as a direct reflection of the contact theories of racial attitude change examined in Chapter II. It is also possible that this shift could be attributed, at least to some degree, to the general decrease in anxiety commonly observed to occur as the prospective teacher becomes more accustomed to his new role.
Explanations for the shift toward greater equality of attitudes regarding Interracial Marriage likewise remain highly speculative. For example, just as daily, continuous, and occasionally intimate association with blacks led the experimental group of teachers to develop more equalitarian attitudes toward interracial contact in general, it is possible that this same contact resulted in more equalitarian attitudes even with respect to the highly personal area of marriage. As these future teachers came to know and interact with blacks on a daily and sustained basis, many, perhaps for the first time, acquired the ability to relate to Negroes not as statistics, or case numbers, or stereotypes, but as people and, concomitantly, acquired the capacity at least to consider the feasibility of interracial marriage.

The most significant degree of attitude change relative to Hypothesis 2 was on subscale twelve, Approaches to Negro Progress, the most directly relevant of all the subscales to the role of the schools and to the problems of inner city black education. As mentioned previously, seven of the ten items on subscale twelve relate directly to education. In addition to the possibility a shift toward greater equalitarianism may in fact represent instead a partial disillusionment with the curative powers of education, speculative explanations might also include the possibility that the extent of interracial contact led to more realistic attitudes and thereby to more equalitarian attitudes, for on subscale
twelve, those responses deemed most equalitarian appear to correspond quite readily to those responses appearing less idealistic but more practical.

While subscale thirteen, Negro Militance ($P = 0.0875$), did not achieve statistical significance as originally defined, its relatively close approximation to significance is worthy of closer scrutiny. Again, the explanation could stem from very practical considerations. In subscale thirteen, those responses exhibiting the greater militancy are the responses judged the more equalitarian. The student teacher tendency toward approval of such militancy is perhaps reflective of the practical realization that some degree of militancy for blacks seems to be necessary for substantive change to occur.

In addition to those subscales on which movement toward greater equalitarianism was clearly shown, it is perhaps worthwhile to speculate on those two subscales on which the observed attitude change was actually away from the viewpoints considered most equalitarian. For subscale three, Negro Inferiority, the pre-test mean was $8.60714$ and the post-test mean was $8.32143$ for a difference of $0.28571$. For subscale seven, Private Rights, a similar difference occurred, from a pre-test mean of $7.07143$ to a post-test mean of $6.50000$, resulting in a difference of $0.57143$. Perhaps subscale three results can partially be accounted for by the discovery of sharp and personal conflicts of cultural values brought into focus by the nature of the experimental inner city
student teaching program. With respect to subscale seven and the issue of private rights, the shift toward more inequalitarian attitudes may be as reflective of a general disenchantment with the highly complex and bureaucratic forms of institutionalized education as it is reflective of a shift in attitude toward civil versus personal rights.

Hypothesis 3: During the course of student teaching, there will emerge no significant differences in racial attitudes between the traditional group subjects and the experimental group subjects as measured by the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory, either with regard to the Inventory as a whole, or with regard to any of the separate subscales.

In light of the intact nature of the experimental group and the fact that the two groups being compared were not randomly selected, analysis of covariance was selected as the most appropriate procedure for assessing group differences in racial attitudes emerging during the course of student teaching. The .05 level was again arbitrarily selected as the point below which the null hypothesis would be rejected. The results of the covariance calculations for each of the MRAI subscales and for the instrument as a whole are reflected in Table VII.

In summary, probability values ranged from 0.0061 for subscale eleven, Interracial Marriage, to 0.5796 for subscale six, Local Autonomy. During the course of student teaching, significant differences in racial attitudes emerged on three
### Table VII

**Analysis of Covariance: Experimental Group Versus Control Group Subscale and Total Means Scores**

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of the subscale measures. In the following cases the value of $P$ was found to be less than or equal to 0.0500: subscale four, Ease in Interracial Contacts ($P = 0.0121$); subscale eleven, Interracial Marriage ($P = 0.0061$); and subscale thirteen, Negro Militancy ($P = 0.0299$). For the other nine subscales and for the instrument as a whole, the null hypothesis was confirmed; no significant differences were found to have materialized.

As was the case with Hypothesis 2, efforts to account for the above results must be viewed tentatively and speculatively. The significantly greater gain in acceptance of Negro militancy among experimental group subjects perhaps can again be accounted for in terms of a greater appreciation of the urgency of social and educational problems among blacks realized by the inner city future teachers. The urgency of these problems, in the view of the experimental subjects, may very well have been sufficient to justify a certain degree of militancy.

It is important to remember that in the West Dallas Teacher Education Project no overt attempt was made to alter racial attitudes other than through provision of the contact situation itself. Consequently, it is logical to draw at least the tentative conclusion that much of the positively greater equalitarian gains observed for experimental group subjects can be credited to this contact situation. Specifically with respect to subscale four, Ease in Interracial
Contacts, and subscale eleven, Interracial Marriage, the significantly greater gains in equalitarian attitudes observed for experimental group subjects can perhaps serve as a further confirmation of the contact theories of racial attitude change examined in depth in Chapter II.

In addition to the principal information afforded by the testing and analysis of the research hypothesis, further analysis of the data reveals still more statistical facts and relationships that might prove to be of consequence. As described in Chapter II, in his own study employing the MRAI, Allen classified those mean scores above 7.5 as "clearly equalitarian," those ranging from 5.0 to 7.5 as "somewhat inequalitarian," and those falling below 5.0 as "clearly inequalitarian" (1). If one applies these same standards to the populations of the present study, he finds that on the control group pre-test, mean scores fall into the "clearly equalitarian" range on only four of the subscales, into the "somewhat inequalitarian" range on four of the subscales, and into the "clearly inequalitarian" range on four of the subscales. As one might expect from the hypothesis test results, precisely this same pattern holds for control group post-test scores. In other words, at least according to the admittedly arbitrary standards suggested by Allen, as a group those future teachers comprising the control group entered student teaching and left student teaching still with clearly inequalitarian attitudes regarding Ease in Interracial
Contacts, Gradualism, Approaches to Negro Progress, and Negro Militance, and still with somewhat inequalitarian attitudes regarding Derogatory Beliefs, Local Autonomy, Private Rights, and Interracial Marriage. Assuming teacher education bears some responsibility in the affective realm, some responsibility in engendering and strengthening democratic and equalitarian ideals, then at least with this control group population, this would seem to be a responsibility still largely unfulfilled.

If one applies the same Allen standards to the experimental group pre-test and post-test mean scores, he finds that on the former, mean scores fell into the clearly inequalitarian range three times, into the somewhat inequalitarian range five times, and into the clearly equalitarian range only four times. As for the post-test scores, three changes were noted, as attitudes regarding Ease in Interracial Contacts and Approaches to Negro Progress apparently advanced from the clearly inequalitarian to the somewhat inequalitarian classification, and attitudes regarding Interracial Marriage apparently edged over the line from the somewhat inequalitarian classification to the clearly equalitarian category. Still, perhaps it is significant to note that even after eight weeks of student teaching and even after eight weeks of intense involvement with a predominantly black school environment, those future teachers comprising the experimental group continued to maintain clearly inequalitarian attitudes regarding
Gradualism and somewhat inequalitarian attitudes regarding Ease in Interracial Contacts, Derogatory Beliefs, Local Autonomy, Private Rights, Approaches to Negro Progress, and Negro Militance. Again, the effectiveness of teacher education in engendering and strengthening devotion to democratic and equalitarian ideals would, in the main, seem to remain somewhat suspect.

There is yet another potentially significant analysis one can make of the data so far obtained. Looking at control group scores first, one finds the following pattern of individual subject subscale changes occurred:

**TABLE VIII**

CONTROL GROUP: PRE-TEST, POST-TEST INDIVIDUAL SUBJECT SUBSCALE SCORE CHANGES

*(n = 32)*

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Analysis of the above tabled data reveals a total of 132 subscale score increases, 115 decreases, and in 137 cases,
pre-test and post-test subscale scores were the same. Likewise, there were 16 composite score increases, 14 decreases, and in 2 cases, pre-test and post-test composites were the same. The largest individual composite score increase was 51.79 percent, from 56 to 85. The largest individual composite score decrease was 18.03 percent, from 61 to 50. In that the increases noted are randomly dispersed and the majority of the subscale score changes are changes of a single point, no further implications can be drawn.

A similar examination of experimental group scores reveals the following pattern of individual subject subscale changes:

**TABLE IX**

**EXPERIMENTAL GROUP: PRE-TEST, POST-TEST INDIVIDUAL SUBSCALE SCORE CHANGES**

(n = 28)

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Analysis of Table IX data reveals a total of 128 subscale score increases, 96 decreases, and in 112 cases, pre-test and post-test subscale scores were the same. Likewise, there were 18 composite score increases, 10 composite score decreases, and in no cases were pre-test and post-test composite scores the same. The largest individual composite score increase was 37.31 percent, from 67 to 92. The largest individual composite score decrease was 37.14 percent, from 105 to 66. The pattern of individual changes parallels the pattern of mean changes, and consequently no further implications can be drawn.
CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHY

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary of the Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate changes in white student teacher racial attitudes relative to blacks as related to the racial environment in which student teaching was completed.

The study was conducted during the spring semester of 1973. The control group population consisted of all those North Texas State University student teachers scheduled to teach in traditional, predominantly white, middle class public school environments in the Dallas metropolitan area. This group numbered thirty-two in all. The experimental group population consisted of an intact group of twenty-eight future teachers who had volunteered to participate in a unified core professional preparation sequence co-sponsored by North Texas State University and the Dallas Independent School District and centered in a predominantly black, lower class, inner city school environment.

The Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory was used to assess the degree of attitude change. The scale was administered during the first week of student teaching and again at the end of the eight-week student teaching period.
Specifically, three hypotheses were tested. Hypothesis 1 was tested for significant differences between control group pre-test means and post-test means both with regard to the Inventory as a whole and with regard to each of the separate subscales. In that no statistically significant changes in Inventory or subscale scores were noted, the null hypothesis was confirmed.

Hypothesis 2 was tested for significant differences between experimental group pre-test means and post-test means both with regard to the Inventory as a whole and with regard to each of the separate subscales. For nine of the subscales and for the Inventory as a whole, the null hypothesis was confirmed. For three of the subscales, those measuring Ease in Interracial Contacts, Interracial Marriage, and Approaches to Negro Progress, the null hypothesis was rejected. In these three areas statistically significant changes toward more equalitarian attitudes were observed.

Hypothesis 3 was tested for significant differences between control group mean change and experimental group mean change both with regard to the Inventory as a whole and with regard to each of the separate subscales. During the course of student teaching, statistically significant differences in racial attitudes emerged on three of the subscale measures, Ease in Interracial Contacts, Interracial Marriage, and Negro Militance. For the other nine subscales and for the instrument as a whole, the null hypothesis was confirmed.
Further analysis of the study data revealed that among both the experimental and control groups, the percentage of subjects beginning student teaching with clearly inequalitarian or somewhat inequalitarian attitudes was quite high. Moreover, in spite of the gains noted in three of the experimental group subscale areas, a substantial number of subjects in both groups, experimental and control, completed their student teaching experiences with racial attitudes remaining essentially unchanged.

Implications and Conclusions

The implications of the present study can be realized only when the nature and rationale of the specific experimental group environment, the West Dallas Teacher Education Project (WDTEP) can be realized. The WDTEP was centered in an inner city area in which the public school population was predominantly lower class and 80 percent or more black. Although the primary purpose of the WDTEP was conceived to be that of providing future inner city teachers with a more realistic and relevant student teaching experience (14, pp. 21-22), certainly there was at least a periphery hope that more positive racial attitudes would somehow be inculcated by the teachers-to-be. There was hope this might be achieved as a consequence of the daily, prolonged contact between white student teachers and black students and black fellow educators and as a result of the educational efforts of the University faculty members administering the program.
It is against a background of those generally accepted approaches to combating race prejudice examined in Chapter II that the results of this study can be assessed and some tentative conclusions can be drawn. First, those areas of positive attitude change, those reflecting a tendency toward more equalitarian attitudes, can be interpreted, at least to some degree, as a further affirmation of the contact theory of racial attitude change. However, the fact that the majority of the measured attitude areas demonstrated no significant change is likewise attributable, at least in part, to inadequate and incomplete application of this same contact thesis. In the first place, the West Dallas Teacher Education Project was almost exclusively informational and associational in design; little attention was devoted to the problem of prejudice as symptomatic of psychological need. Secondly, the type of association or contact achieved was not among status-equal groups, nor was there evidence of a genuine commonality of goals. Furthermore, the type of contact or association achieved remained primarily formal in tone. In conclusion, then, while the WDTEP emphasized contact as a way of alleviating racial awkwardness and prejudice, the nature of that contact was incongruous with what research has found to be most conducive to positive attitude change.

A second conclusion to be drawn from the study of attitude change among WDTEP participants is that attitude change, if it is to be accomplished, should be treated as a priority
item, and any programmed attempt to alter race prejudice should be comprehensive in design. Obviously prejudice is not an educational problem only, or a legal problem or psychological problem, or social problem—-it is all of these. In the words of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, "racist attitudes, behavior patterns, institutional structures, and cultural heritage built up over . . . three centuries are profoundly embedded in our society" (16, p. 38). This being the case, the Commission has said, it is unrealistic to expect such prejudice to be eradicated overnight or even in just a few years (16, p. 38), a conclusion also reached by Hogan (7, p. 164). Deutsch adds that

in a democratic society which holds "equality" as one of its main values, it is likely that the challenges to prejudiced sentiments will require that they be supported by fairly elaborate rationales (4, p. 137).

Clearly the task of penetrating these rationales is not a simple one. In his classic volume, The Authoritarian Personality, Adorno has insisted that countermeasures against prejudice should take into account the totality of the attitude structure (1, p. 973), and Mann has concluded that each component of racial prejudice must be reduced separately since there is no evidence to confirm that change in one component is necessarily related to change in another (11, p. 342). Finally, Banks has warned that attitude intervention programs, to be successful, must be specifically designed for that purpose (2).
Recommendations

According to an increasingly substantial number of sociologists, psychologists, and educators, what often passes at face value for race prejudice is not that at all (17, p. 7). According to Scott, "most racial antipathy in America is not 'pure' racism but derives from the disdain of higher classes for those below them" (13, p. 58). He goes on to add that the tragedy of race in this country . . . is that visible genetic differences, superficial in themselves, have become generally reliable clues to a person's class position--his education, his income, his manners (13, p. 58).

Likewise, Landis, Datwyler, and Dorn have found support for the hypothesis that "social class affiliation is more important than ethnic group affiliation in determining cultural behavior" (6, p. 85). In The Open and Closed Mind, Rokeach has cited a number of studies suggesting that while people do discriminate on the basis of race, they discriminate much more strongly on the basis of belief (12, pp. 132-147). Finally, following a study directed toward the problems of inner-city teaching itself, Smith has found that even for black teachers there is a direct relationship between social class origin and commitment to working with the students of the economically deprived inner city (15, p. 65).

It should be remembered that those student teachers comprising the experimental group at the West Dallas Teacher Education Project were not only white, but predominantly middle class. The students they were teaching were not only
predominantly black, but, perhaps just as important, heavily concentrated at the very lowest end of the economic and status spectra.

Given such a situation, a first recommendation would be that greater effort should perhaps be directed toward distinguishing more definitely between racial prejudice and economic and social prejudice. Perhaps a study similar to the present one could be designed in which the experimental group found themselves teaching in predominantly black but middle class schools or, on the other hand, in predominantly white but lower class schools. A comparison of these study findings with the present findings could shed a great deal of light on the relative strengths of racial and economic and/or social prejudices.

The instrument of measurement used in this study, the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory, is an exclusively verbal instrument. As such, it has inherent limitations. For example, in a study now considered somewhat of a classic, LaPiere illustrated that people are often less prejudiced in their actions than in their words (9, pp. 230-237), and in a study involving willingness of whites to pose for a photograph with a Negro of the opposite sex, Linn found a discrepancy between verbal attitudes and subsequent behavior in 59 percent of the cases (10, pp. 353-364). Following a thorough review of the literature, Green emphasized that the validity of any attitude scale is actually the extent to
which it accurately represents behavior within a particular "attitude universe." In so doing he clearly distinguished between a "verbal attitude universe" and an "action attitude universe" (6). And finally, Fendrich concurs in observing that "verbal attitudes can be either consistent with overt behavior depending upon the way respondents define the attitude measurement situation" (5, p. 355).

Assuming the distinction between verbal attitude and action attitude is a valid one, and in light of the exclusively verbal character of the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory, a second recommendation would be that greater attention be devoted to understanding more clearly the possible relationships between these two attitude universes with perhaps an eye toward developing an action-based equivalent of the MRAI to use in a sister study to this present examination.

By necessity, the experimental group in the present study was comprised of an intact group of twenty-eight future teachers who had volunteered to participate in a unified core professional preparation sequence. Enrollment variables made it impossible to isolate an experimental group of sufficient size utilizing random sampling. Consequently, in comparing attitude change within the experimental group to attitude change within the control group, analysis of covariance had to be employed as a means of statistically equating the two samples. A third recommendation, then, would call for replication of the study under circumstances which would allow for
true random sampling in the selection of both the experimental group and the control group and would therefore allow for the substitution of analysis of variance for analysis of covariance in the research design.

The present research design called for a pre-test post-test cycle of only eight weeks. A legitimate question arises as to the permanence of any attitude changes observed in the space of so relatively short a period of time, especially changes in an attitude so deeply felt and closely held as prejudice. Such doubts, then, prompt a final recommendation that the MRAI be administered a third time, perhaps at the end of another year, or two years, in order to assess the relative permanence of the attitudes and attitude changes originally observed.

A final analysis of subscale ten data suggests one more potentially significant relationship. When the same t-test and analysis of covariance treatments were applied to this screening scale as were applied to each of the other subscales, as is indicated in tables III, VI, and VII, no statistically significant probability values emerged. However, the actual decline of experimental group subscale ten scores from a pre-test high of 87 to a post-test low of 79 may constitute another indication that the MRAI is not unduly subject to conscious distortion or deception and that it is, indeed, a valid yardstick of the values it purports to measure.
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APPENDIX

MULTIFACTOR RACIAL ATTITUDE INVENTORY

1. The fact that an interracial married couple would be socially outcast, and rejected by both Negroes and whites, indicates that such marriages should be avoided.

2. The Negro should be accorded equal rights through integration.

3. I would have no worries about going to a party with an attractive Negro date.

4. I would accept an invitation to a New Year's Eve party given by a Negro couple in their own home.

5. I approve of the Black Power approach to improving conditions for Negroes.

6. There is nothing to the idea that the Negro's troubles in the past have built in him a stronger character than the white man has.

7. I think it is right that the colored race should occupy a somewhat lower position socially than the white race.

8. A hotel owner ought to have the right to decide for himself whether he is going to rent rooms to Negro guests.

9. The Negro and the white man are inherently equal.

10. When Negro demonstrators block city streets the crowd should be broken up and arrested.

11. There should be a strictly enforced law requiring restaurant owners to serve persons regardless of race, creed or color.

12. Enforcement of laws guaranteeing the right to vote will do more for the Negro than will voter education programs.

13. Negroes sometimes imagine they have been discriminated against on the basis of color even when they have been treated quite fairly.

14. If I were a teacher, I would not mind at all taking advice from a Negro principal.
15. Violence by Negroes is a justifiable reaction to prejudice and discrimination by whites.

16. In a local community or campus charity drive I would rather not be represented by a Negro chairman even if he or she were qualified for the job.

17. Society has a moral right to insist that a community desegregate even if it doesn't want to.

18. Gradual desegregation is a mistake because it just gives people a chance to cause further delay.

19. School officials should not try placing Negro and white children in the same schools because of the danger of fights and other problems.

20. I probably would feel somewhat self-conscious dancing with a Negro in a public place.

21. The people of each state should be allowed to decide for or against integration in state matters.

22. It is better to work gradually toward integration than to try to bring it about all at once.

23. I think that Negroes have a kind of quiet courage which few white people have.

24. I would not take a Negro to eat with me in a restaurant where I was well known.

25. Some Negroes are so touchy about getting their rights that it is difficult to get along with them.

26. A person should not have the right to run a business in this country if he will not serve Negroes.

27. I would rather not have Negroes swim in the same pool as I do.

28. As long as Negroes work peacefully for what they want I will support them, but I will oppose them when they make demands.

29. Civil rights workers should be supported in their efforts to force acceptance of desegregation.

30. Those who advise patience and "slow down" in desegregation are wrong.

31. I favor gradual rather than sudden changes in the social relations between Negroes and whites.
32. I can easily imagine myself falling in love with and marrying a Negro.

33. Suffering and trouble have made Negroes better able to withstand the stresses and strains of modern life than most whites.

34. I believe that the Negro is entitled to the same social privileges as the white man.

35. I am willing to have Negroes as close personal friends.

36. There is no basis in fact for the idea that Negroes withstand misfortune more courageously than do most whites.

37. We should not integrate schools until the Negro raises his standards of living.

38. Many Negroes should receive better education than they are now getting, but the emphasis should be on training them for jobs rather than preparing them for college.

39. Barbers and beauticians have the right to refuse service to anyone they please, even if it means refusing Negroes.

40. Although social equality of the races may be the democratic way, a good many Negroes are not yet ready to practice the self-control that goes with it.

41. If I were being interviewed for a job, I would not mind at all being evaluated by a Negro personnel director.

42. It would be a mistake ever to have Negroes for foremen and leaders over whites.

43. Many Negroes spend money for big cars and television sets instead of spending it for better housing.

44. I would feel somewhat uneasy talking about intermarriage with Negroes whom I do not know well.

45. Integration will result in greater understanding between Negroes and whites.

46. Since we live in a democracy, if we don't want integration it should not be forced upon us.

47. I would not mind at all if my only friends were Negroes.

48. Interracial marriages are quite unlikely to survive serious problems which are overlooked in the excitement of initial infatuation.
49. There should be a law requiring persons who take roomers in their homes to rent to anyone regardless of race, creed or color.

50. In fields where they have been given an opportunity to advance, Negroes have shown that they are good sports and gentlemen.

51. I would willingly go to a competent Negro dentist.

52. It is not right to ask Americans to accept integration if they honestly don't believe in it.

53. I feel that moderation will do more for desegregation than the efforts of civil rights workers to force it immediately on people.

54. Negroes should be given every opportunity to get ahead, but they could never be capable of holding top leadership positions in this country.

55. Preschool corrective programs which encourage underprivileged children to actively seek knowledge will do more for the Negro than will legislation guaranteeing him access to jobs.

56. If a Negro is qualified for an executive job, he should get it, even if it means that he will be supervising highly educated white persons.

57. If I were eating lunch in a restaurant alone with a Negro, I would be less self-conscious if the Negro were of the same sex as I rather than the opposite sex.

58. In order to preserve the best of the culture and heritage of both the white and Negro groups, the two races should not intermarry.

59. Even if there were complete equality of opportunity tomorrow, it would still take a long time for Negroes to show themselves equal to whites in some areas of life.

60. Negroes should not associate with black militants who talk tough since this will only make it harder for them to make real progress.

61. Integration of the schools will be beneficial to both white and Negro children alike.

62. There is no reason to believe that what Negroes have suffered in the past has made them a more noble people than are whites.
63. I would rather not have Negroes as dinner guests with most of my white friends.

64. I think that Negroes have a sense of dignity that you see in few white people.

65. What children of interracial marriages learn about both white and Negro viewpoints will help to improve relations between the races.

66. If I were a businessman, I would resent it if I were told that I had to serve Negroes.

67. The unusually strong love and trust that lead to interracial marriages will make them very rewarding.

68. Local communities should have no right to delay the desegregation of their community facilities.

69. Black Power leaders should be arrested and given stiff sentences for inciting Negroes to riot.

70. In the long run desegregation would go more smoothly if we put it into effect immediately.

71. Integration should not be attempted because of the turmoil it causes.

72. Even if Negroes are given the opportunity for college education it will be several generations before they are ready to take advantage of it.

73. Legislation to support an influx of better teachers into slum areas helps the Negro more than legislation providing equal employment opportunities for people in those same areas.

74. The fact that Negroes are human beings can be recognized without raising them to the social level of whites.

75. There is nothing to the idea that Negroes have more sympathy for other minorities than most whites do.

76. I have no objection to attending the movies or a play in the company of a Negro couple.

77. The inability of the Negroes to develop outstanding leaders restricts them to a low place in society.

78. Integration is more trouble than it is worth.

79. It doesn't work to force desegregation on a community before it is ready for it.
80. The federal government should take decisive steps to override the injustice which Negroes suffer at the hands of local authorities.

81. If desegregation is pushed too fast the Negro's cause will be hurt rather than helped.

82. Hard work and patience will do more for the cause of Negro equality than will demonstrating and picketing.

83. Real estate agents should be required to show homes to Negro buyers regardless of the desires of home owners.

84. If I were a landlord, I would want to pick my own tenants even if this meant renting only to whites.

85. Even though Negroes may have some cause for complaint, they would get what they want faster if they were a bit more patient about it.

86. I feel in sympathy with responsible Negroes who are fighting for desegregation.

87. Most Negroes really think and feel the same way most whites do.

88. In this day of rush and hurry, the Negro has met the problems of society in a much calmer manner than the white man.

89. Before I sponsored a Negro for membership in an all-white club, I would think a lot about how this would make the other members feel toward me.

90. If I were invited to be a guest of a mixed Negro and white group on a weekend pleasure trip, I would probably not go.

91. If the Negroes were of the same social class level as I am, I'd just as soon move into a colored neighborhood as a white one.

92. I would rather not serve on the staff of a Negro congressman.

93. Negro leaders who talk Black Power should get no help from whites.

94. Neither the color of a person's skin nor the shape of his facial features are of any importance, and they should not even be considered in choosing a marriage partner.
95. The problem of racial prejudice has been greatly exaggerated by a few Negro agitators.

96. If he were qualified I would be willing to vote for a Negro for Congress from my district.

97. Many favor a more moderate policy, but I believe that Negroes should be encouraged to picket and sit-in at places where they are not treated fairly.

98. When I look at the way Negroes have been treated, I can begin to sympathize with the riots.

99. Desegregation laws often violate the rights of the individual who does not want to associate with Negroes.

100. There is no basis in fact for the idea that the Negro's misfortunes have made him a more understanding person than the average white.

101. Since segregation has been declared illegal, we should integrate schools.

102. I'd be quite willing to consult a Negro lawyer.

103. Educating the Negro to hold supervisory positions will benefit him more than legislating his right to such positions.

104. I would rather not have Negroes live in the same apartment building I live in.

105. I would be willing to introduce Negro visitors to friends and neighbors in my home town.

106. The Negro's own experience with unfair treatment has given him a sensitivity and understanding that will make him an excellent supervisor of white people.

107. Negro leaders who press for integration will help the Negro to achieve social equality sooner than those leaders who encourage Negroes to develop characteristics which white men admire.

108. The bad feelings which are likely to arise between an interracial couple and their parents make such a marriage unwise.

109. Civil rights legislation has contributed more to the Negro's progress than have programs to improve his education.
110. The best way to integrate the schools is to do it all at once.

111. People who don't have to live with problems of race relations have no right to dictate to those who do.

112. If I were working on a community or campus problem with somebody, I would rather it not be a Negro.

113. When I see a Negro person and a white person together as a couple, I'm inclined to be more curious about their relationship than if they were both Negro or both white.

114. Unless we have laws guaranteeing Negroes the opportunity to hold supervisory positions in business, programs directed toward increasing the motivation of Negro workers will be of little value.

115. It is a good idea to have separate schools for Negroes and whites.

116. I admire Negroes who march through white neighborhoods demanding desegregation.

117. Negroes will improve themselves faster by learning a trade rather than by taking jobs the government forces employers to give them.

118. Race discrimination is not just a local community's problem but one which often demands action from those outside the community.

119. I have as much respect for some Negroes as I do for some white persons, but the average Negro and I share little in common.

120. It makes no difference to me whether I'm Negro or white.

121. Regardless of his own views, an employer should be required to hire workers without regard to race.

122. Interracial marriage should be discouraged so as to avoid the "who-am-I?" confusion which the children feel.

123. The disapproval and dislike of others is of no importance if an interracial marriage is based on mutual love and respect.

124. Unless legislation assures the Negro equal employment and housing opportunities, better education will mean little.
125. Although social mixing of the races may be right in principle, it is impractical until Negroes learn to accept more "don'ts" in the relations between teenage boys and girls.

126. When Negroes boycott a store that doesn't employ them, whites should join in the boycott.

127. I could trust a Negro person as easily as I could trust a white person if I know him well enough.

128. School integration should begin with the first few grades rather than all grades at once.

129. If I were a Negro, I would not want to gain entry into places where I was not really wanted.

130. Nothing should keep you from marrying someone you love, even though he may be of a different race.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Subscale</th>
<th>Items</th>
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| Integration-Segregation                 | Policy
| 1. Integration-Segregation              | 2(+) 19(-) 37(-) 45(+) 61(+) 71(-) 78(-) 86(+) 101(+) 115(-)       |
| Acceptance in Close Personal Relationships| 4(+) 24(-) 27(-) 35(+) 51(+) 63(-) 76(+) 90(-) 104(-) 105(+)         |
| Negro Inferiority                       | 7(-) 9(+) 34(+) 38(-) 50(+) 74(-) 77(-) 87(+) 119(-) 127(+)          |
| Ease in Interracial Contacts            | 3(+) 20(-) 32(+) 44(-) 47(+) 57(-) 69(-) 91(+) 113(-) 120(+)          |
| Subtle Derogatory Beliefs                | 13(-) 25(-) 40(-) 43(-) 59(-) 72(-) 85(-) 95(-) 125(-) 129(-)         |
| Local Autonomy                          | 17(+) 21(-) 29(+) 46(-) 52(-) 68(+) 79(-) 80(+) 111(-) 118(+)          |
| Private Rights                          | 8(-) 11(+) 26(+) 39(-) 49(+) 66(-) 83(+) 99(-) 121(+)                 |
| Acceptance in Status-Superior Relations | 14(+) 16(-) 41(+) 42(+) 54(-) 56(+ 92(-) 96(+) 102(+) 112(-)          |
| Gradualism                              | 18(+) 22(-) 30(+ 31(-) 53(-) 70(+) 81(-) 97(+) 110(+) 128(-)         |
| Negro Superiority                       | 6(-) 23(+) 33(+) 36(-) 62(-) 64(+) 75(-) 88(+) 100(-) 106(+)           |
| Interracial Marriage                    | 1(-) 48(-) 58(-) 65(+) 67(+) 94(+) 108(-) 122(-) 123(+) 130(+)         |
| Approaches to Negro Progress            | 12(+) 55(-) 73(-) 82(-) 103(-) 107(+) 109(+) 114(+) 117(-) 124(+)     |
| Negro Militance                         | 5(+) 10(-) 15(+) 28(-) 60(-) 69(-) 93(-) 98(+ 116(+) 126(+))         |
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